With Good Intentions

Edited by Celia Haig-Brown and David A. Nock

With Good Intentions: Euro-Canadian and Aboriginal Relations in Colonial Canada

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This book is dedicated to my children, Sophie Ruth, Josie Valerie, and Roderick Edwin Vayro, and to my partner, Didi Khayatt.
– Celia Haig-Brown

I dedicate this volume to the memory of Horatio Hale, whose important contribution in portraying Aboriginal giftedness had largely been forgotten in the twentieth century.
– David Nock

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David Nock

Introduction

David A. Nock and Celia Haig-Brown

> Next I observed all the oppression and sadness throughout the earth – the tears of the oppressed, and no one helping them, while on the side of their oppressors were powerful allies.
>
> – Attributed to the Preacher, Ecclesiastes 4:1

> I hate your show and pretence – your hypocrisy of "honouring" me with your religious feasts and solemn assemblies … I want to see [instead] a mighty flood of justice [on behalf of the poor and oppressed] – a torrent of doing good.
>
> – Attributed to God by the prophet Amos, 5:21, 24, *The Living Bible*

> The "complicity" of individuals with ideological and social systems is not entirely a matter of their intentions.
>
> – Ania Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*

> The road to hell is paved with good intentions.
>
> – Traditional

> "I am almost one hundred years old, and I have seen everything change, even the position of the stars in the universe, but I have not seen anything change yet in this country," he would say. "Here they make new constitutions, new laws … but we are still in colonial times."
>
> – Gabriel Garcia Márquez, *Love in the Time of Cholera*

Complicating Colonization

Let us begin by saying what this book is not. It is not an apologist text. It is not primarily an effort to argue that some colonizers of the nation that we now call Canada were really "good-hearted" people, although most of the people represented here were that. It is not an effort to vindicate wrongs done to First Nations people and cultures as colonization proceeded.[1] And it is not a book that allows "the voices of once colonized peoples and their descendants to be heard,"[2] although the strength of their actions resonates throughout the chapters. In its focus on some people of Euro-Canadian ancestry who worked to temper the impact of their more corrupt siblings on the peoples and lands of Canada, it might be said to be a book

on white studies rather than Native studies. It tries never to lose sight of the fact that those acknowledged herein are fully implicated in the process of colonization despite their sensitivities. While the book concentrates on non-Aboriginal people working with First Nations peoples of this land, often in their resistance to injustices, it also gestures to our current situation of continued participation in a vast web of colonial relations. In the text, then as now, Aboriginal people are active agents negotiating complex sets of relations with the Euro-Canadians engaged in many layers of colonization and its accompanying reciprocal cultural change. From one perspective, we claim that the book is "a repository of bad memories and good intentions, of unworkable ideas and uncomfortable truths."[3] Ultimately, our hope is that this book might contribute to the project that J. Edward Chamberlin calls for in his recent book, *If This Is Your Land, Where Are Your Stories: Finding Common Ground* – it is time to reimagine "them" and "us."[4]

From a range of perspectives, then, this edited collection examines aspects of the lives of individuals of European ancestry and organizations working with Aboriginal people against injustice in colonial Canada.[5] Between the mid-nineteenth century and the first two decades of the twentieth, across the developing provinces of Canada and the Dominion of Canada, colonization of Aboriginal lands proceeded apace. The people in these chapters recognized injustices in this relentless movement, allied themselves with Aboriginal people who also saw the injustices and were actively resisting them, and worked in a variety of ways to address them.

Ultimately, all this book can do is add fragments to our ever-shifting understandings of the history of the relations between immigrants, settlers, and indigenous peoples during the times of overt colonization.[6] Drawing on existing documents, it lays out the views of individuals within each group that, at the time, ran counter to prevailing "wisdom" about appropriate ways and means of colonizing a land. The non-Aboriginal views, furthermore, ran counter to an increasing commitment to biological racism and what came to be called social Darwinism on the part of many people of European ancestry. Sometimes, despite initial expectations about "the Indians," based on beliefs of cultural hierarchy and stereotypes acquired in formal European and Euro-Canadian schooling, the people in the chapters that follow took the time to listen to, observe, and learn from First Nations and Aboriginal peoples. Assumptions interrupted, they saw Aboriginal cultures, languages, and ways of life as deserving of respect. Most came to know First Nations peoples more intimately as time went on. Because Native people worked closely and respectfully with them, people of European ancestry developed an appreciation for the intricacies of their languages and their superior knowledge of the land, a knowledge inextricably linked to intimacy with and long traditions of being in good

relation to it.[7] Most also came to a deeper understanding of the concomitant complexities of First Nations cultures. Some brought a sense of justice based on English law and Judeo-Christian precepts that allowed them to see and name injustice. In particular, they often exemplified the religiously based concern for social justice and righteousness toward the oppressed voiced by the prophets of the Hebrew Bible.[8] Many struggled with making sense of Christian morality in the face of opportunities for material gain for themselves or their countrymen and women.[9] They articulated their concerns in a range of fora. For the most part, they were ignored or dismissed by those who continued more aggressive agendas of land and resource appropriation and labour exploitation.[10] Their work is usually invisible in the mainstream presentation of Canadian history.[11]

At the same time, it is important to state that the people represented here rarely deviated from the overall goal of "Christianizing and civilizing" the people that they encountered as they lived and travelled in Canada. Too few vacillated from seeing European values and ways of being as the ultimate goal of interactions with First Nations people. In many cases, their developing respect for Aboriginal people was based on the latter's skill in taking up what they deemed to be appropriate and/or useful aspects of Christianity, European dress, and settlement into farming villages or business ventures.

An Idea in the Making

The idea for this collection began some years ago when Celia Haig-Brown was a doctoral student at the University of British Columbia. Asked to write a review of Professor David Nock's 1988 work, *A Victorian Missionary and Canadian Indian Policy,* she was taken with the sentiments expressed in a series of anonymous pieces included in the text called the "Fair Play Papers," appearing in this book as an appendix. These papers exemplify the thoughts of those well-intentioned and thoughtful people of European ancestry who were working with Aboriginal people during the time of active colonization of the nation now called Canada. They recognized the injustices being perpetrated and worked to temper the process of colonizing while never escaping being its agents. The focus of Nock's work is a compelling argument that the papers are the work of one E.F. Wilson, a missionary sent by the English Church Missionary Society (CMS) in 1868 to work with the Anishnaabek[12] of Ontario. Wilson left the CMS in 1873 and spent the next twenty years as principal of Shingwauk and Wawanosh Residential Schools. Increasingly disillusioned with the lack of success of the schools, he took steps to hand over day-to-day operation of the schools to a manager and travelled with his wife to the Cherokee Republic in Oklahoma and to a number of other "Indian" nations within the United States. He also read the works of Horatio Hale and Helen Hunt Jackson and found

his views of Aboriginal people changing dramatically. (His work is discussed more fully in Chapter 7.) The "Fair Play Papers" were written after this trip. In his consideration of the papers, Nock acknowledges that they "retain the Victorian notions of civilization and progress … But to the modern eye and no doubt to readers of the day, what is striking is the extent to which Fair Play [the pseudonymous author] takes exception with current Anglo-Canadian Indian policy."[13] It was this questioning of policy that captured Haig-Brown's attention. At about the same time as Nock's book, she had published a retrospective ethnography of the Kamloops Indian Residential School.[14] She had been hearing fairly strong criticism of her work, with some claiming that the views represented in the text were a perspective out of the present and that, *at the time,* the people who were involved believed that the schools were the best approach to civilizing the original people of Canada. Wilson, for one, came to appreciate the shortcomings of residential schools and as early as 1891, the year after the first Kamloops school was built, presented those views to the world in *The Canadian Indian,* a journal that would have been available to educators across the country. Nock's text was an indication that some of the concerns expressed implicitly and explicitly in Haig-Brown's book were not simply views from a distanced, contemporary standpoint.

This discovery planted the seed for the book now in your hands. If E.F. Wilson learned from his time and travels with First Nations people and from his reading of existing texts, what other people were working in Canada at the time who may have contributed a more critical view to the ways that so-called Christianizing and civilizing were serving colonization? As Loomba points out, "dominant ideologies are never total or monolithic, never totally successful in incorporating all individuals or subjects into their structures. So, to uncover the rootedness of 'modern' knowledge systems in colonial practices is to begin what Raymond Williams called the process of 'unlearning' whereby we begin to question received truths."[15]

If a number of such people could be identified, they would serve to contradict the presentist claim that, *at the time,* "we" Canadians thought that we were doing the right thing. Gathering historical pieces that documented their work could contribute to a fuller version of Canadian history, one that lays out challenges to the dominant ideology expressed *at the time* and that reveals concerns with the ways that colonization was proceeding.

A deeper historical question also guides this work. It is even more a question from a time beyond memory, what Euro-Canadians might call a question from pre- (written) history. This question has the potential to haunt us all in good ways if we, particularly non-Aboriginal people in this place, ever take the time to ask it: Whose traditional land are you on? And what does that question mean? If one recognizes oral tradition – and the Supreme Court of Canada has taken a step in that direction in its statement

on the *Delgamuukw* case[16] – then every place that we set foot in Canada, every city, every farm, every metre of space (admittedly, a limited way to think of the spiritual entity that First Nations people consider land to be) is part of one or more First Nations' traditional territory. If we take this claim seriously – and only those in deep denial of British law and our own historical relation to it might argue otherwise – then the educated Canadian may begin to get a stronger sense of what it means to be Canadian. In a recent study, the Coalition for the Advancement of Aboriginal Studies demonstrated the high levels of dissatisfaction of first-year university students with their knowledge of Aboriginal history and current issues in Canada.[17] While the study did not ask questions about people like those represented in this text, one might find similar levels of concern with presentation in schools of a monolithic, mythic history that not only leaves out Aboriginal people, but also leaves out those of European ancestry who spoke out against the implementation of particular aspects of Indian policy in the process of colonization.

Perhaps we might start our understandings of what it means to be Canadian by acknowledging all our historical relations to the land and First Nations peoples. We might work to create a history with as much complexity as our imaginations can grasp. We might teach our children and ourselves, as lifelong learners, that facing even the partial truths that we are capable of constructing is one way to imagine a strong nation. It is also a way to move out of a state of national denial and studied amnesia that can only weaken us. If we still believe in the importance of becoming and being educated people, we might ask what role history plays in that construction. We might take seriously the place of historical fragments that we conjure up in relation to our country both autobiographically and in larger social and historical contexts. Then we may decide that all citizens should have such education and that it can begin with children in schools. The naive assumption about what children must *not* be taught in order to become good citizens might be overcome.[18] Rather than following in the footsteps of E.F. Wilson, who let acquiescence to received wisdom guide his life until serious travel and reading finally allowed him to make sense of what he had been seeing, hearing, and generally experiencing, we might make an effort to educate ourselves, our children, and new citizens about our history as early and in the most straightforward and honest way that we can. Does it weaken or strengthen citizens to learn that their country has been the site of mistakes and deliberate dishonesty even as it struggled/struggles to be and become a decent and respectful democracy and to recognize human rights and common humanity of all its – even the reluctant[19] – citizens? Contradiction is a part of most human organizations: nations appear to be no exception. Should disillusion be the wages of maturation? Is there a magic time of life when it is okay to come to know of

our folly as a developing country? Or might we see an examination of our scruples, by which we expose our weaknesses and make an effort to acknowledge them, as a move in the direction of strength or at least resiliency for citizens and the nation?

If Canada wants to justly claim to be a country committed to human rights, then perhaps the irony of acknowledging the shortcomings and calculated transgressions that have been made in our history related to land policies and legislation is the place to begin. From there the possibilities are endless. What if we became a country, like few others, that admitted its failures and frailties and built from there to address them? The continued dismissal of the violations of treaties with Aboriginal peoples and the outright land thefts are beginning to be addressed in the courts and in treaty negotiations and renegotiations across the land. Children in schools should come to know the names of people like those in this text, their work, and the injustice that prevailed as well as what is already taught. New citizens should know these names and the names of the peoples of the traditional lands that they are on as the starting place for their coming to know and love a country with a past as flawed and racist as most others. Teaching citizens this history could provide an opportunity for all of us to work seriously to create a country not afraid to see the past for what it has been in order to build a strong present and a stronger future based on respect for future generations, for the ancestors, and for all the human beings who now live together on this land.

A Decolonizing Project

One way to address disillusionment with the current situation and other forms of modern angst is to seek knowledge of the past. Certain aspects of this knowledge may challenge existing understandings of our colonial history as a nation. We want to think of this collection as serving not a postcolonial project but a decolonizing one. First of all, drawing on the work of Linda Tuhiwai Smith[20] and Ania Loomba,[21] we recognize colonialism as an ongoing process in these times in Canada and other "former" colonies across the globe. Even though the Statute of Westminster in 1931 granted the former colonies "full legal freedom except in those areas where they chose to remain subordinate" and, more significant, even though Canada "brought home" the Constitution in 1982 and finally ceased choosing to remain subordinate, the persistence of Euro-Canadian dominance in social structures and the exclusion of perspectives of the original peoples and immigrant groups other than the Europeans indicate that we are still in colonial mode. As Tuhiwai Smith says, "by the nineteenth century colonialism not only meant the imposition of Western authority over indigenous lands, indigenous modes of production and indigenous law and government, but the imposition of Western authority over all aspects of

indigenous knowledges, languages and cultures."[22] Too little has changed for us to claim that Canada is now in postcolonial times. In keeping with Loomba's notion of the term postcolonial, we concur that "if the inequities of colonial rule have not been erased, it is perhaps premature to proclaim the demise of colonialism." She goes on to say that "we cannot dismiss the importance of formal decolonisation."[23]

Decolonizing is a process with relevance to those nations formed out of lands traditionally and from time immemorial occupied by indigenous peoples who felt the full impact of being colonized at the time of rapid capitalist development in Europe. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the origin of the word "colonialism comes from the Roman 'colonia' and referred to Romans who settled lands but still retained their citizenship."[24] A colony is: "4. a settlement in a new country; a body of people who settle in a new locality, forming a community subject to or connected with their parent state; the community so formed, consisting of the original settlers and their descendants, as long as the connexion with the parent state is kept up."[25] Citing this definition, Loomba points out that it "quite remarkably avoids any reference to people other than the colonisers."[26] *Terra nullis* (unoccupied land) was one of the drawing cards used to encourage immigration for people hungry to be landowners. The subsequent invasion of the lands of the existing occupants and the ensuing exploitation of the resources and their labour served the project of developing industrialism and the capitalist project of many European countries. England and France, of course, took the lead role in this regard in what we now call Canada. While colonization on the part of other countries may now be less direct and overt, the descendants of the original colonizers and more recent immigrants still live inseparable from this history with past and current indigenous peoples and communities.

While this collection cannot claim postcolonialism as its project – that is, to take Canada or First Nations to a place beyond colonization – it is an effort to acknowledge additional complexities of colonization and, in that work, to serve a decolonizing project. It is an effort to interrupt less complex narratives concerning the ways that colonization in Canada proceeded. Decolonization is a term with increasing usefulness as indigenous peoples around the globe insist on history taking seriously their claims to inherent rights based on their relationship with the land from a time before memory. Nonindigenous allies, following in the footsteps of some of those represented in this collection, hope to contribute to this work, often drawing on principles of social justice that echo the sentiments expressed by these Euro-Canadians. Perhaps ultimately, this book is self-serving. Loomba claims that colonialism degrades the colonizers themselves.[27] Only through the work of decolonizing can this degradation be addressed.

Forms of Racism and Racialism in the Premodern Era

One way to approach our efforts to create deeper understanding of aspects of the complexity of colonization is to place it within a context of a history of related ideas. Racism and racialism have a significant history in this regard. Today "everyone knows" that Aboriginal peoples of what we now call Canada were badly treated by the government and church, as in the notorious case of residential schools. Some things have changed: in 2003 Aboriginal students are more common in universities; many First Nations organizations have become powerful and effective in the last several decades; the churches that operated residential schools are only a shadow of their former strength. In selected spaces, a kind of Canadian political correctness has taken over and is meant to replace once negative stereotypes with new positive stereotypes about Aboriginal people as imbued with extraordinary spirituality, ecological knowledge, and philosophical insight. As remarkable as the content of this change has been its rapidity.[28] This abrupt change in outlook tends to underscore the analyses of regimes of knowledge by scholars such as Thomas Kuhn and Michel Foucault, who point out that what is accepted as solid knowledge can change quite quickly in a generation or less when what Kuhn refers to as normal science is overturned by periods of revolutionary science and when older paradigms are toppled quickly by newer ones. Foucault added to these insights by pointing out the special precariousness and openness to revision of the human and social sciences.[29]

What all this means is that modern readers of *With Good Intentions* may have little background to comprehend attitudes that predate the current regime of knowledge now predominant in Canada and elsewhere. For example, university students will argue with great vigour about the evil of the residential schools and even of its teachers and missionaries without knowing that many in that day and age wished to deny education to Aboriginal people altogether because they believed it was self-evident that First Nations people were too low on the evolutionary ladder to "benefit" from Western-style education. So, although the biological racists and extreme social-Darwinist supporters of previous generations are "innocent," in historical retrospect, of imposing residential schools, one would not expect that they should be given credit vis-à-vis missionary teachers for their biologically rooted racism. Missionary teachers, now often reviled, generally held that Aboriginal cultures were less advanced than those of the white settlers (as did the biological racists mentioned above) but stressed the capacity of Aboriginal students (as the biological racists did not) to ascend the ladder of civilization and held out the prospect of equality of the races. This ascension usually involved the Aboriginal peoples abandoning their traditional ways of life and adopting the cultures and industrial work-world of the whites. There are some individuals who differed yet again in going

beyond the attitudes of the day. The individuals discussed in this book all rejected biological racism; many of them also came to reject assumptions of cultural rankings of their day. One of the clearest examples here is Horatio Hale, the subject of Chapter 1. Hale is particularly important because he felt that Aboriginal peoples and cultures were at least equal to, and in many cases superior to, the European-derived white civilization of North America (what he referred to in customary usage of the day, before Hitler and the Nazis hijacked the term, as the Aryan peoples, meaning essentially those Indo-European peoples who are ancestors of most Europeans and many South Asians). All of the people discussed in this book challenged prevailing attitudes and practices visited upon Aboriginal peoples. In some cases, their challenge depended on a theoretical regime of knowledge at odds with the prevailing one, as witnessed in the work of Horatio Hale. In other cases, it had something to do with prophetic notions of justice and equity that may have been connected to Judeo-Christian roots. For example, one should not forget that the campaign to end the slave trade and then slavery in the British Empire was led by religiously motivated Evangelicals such as William Wilberforce and Thomas Fowell Buxton.

Roots of Biological Racism

Modern readers may need grounding in the extent of biological racism in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century attitudes. It was hegemonic, as Gramsci would say, until sometime around the Second World War. It is really only the fairly slow retreat of biological racism after 1945 and its more rapid retreat after the Canadian government's declaration of multiculturalism in 1971 that has made biological racism seem so remote and politically incorrect to modern-day, educated Canadians. However, "scratch one of our ancestors" and we are apt to find a biological racist. Luckily for us, most of these ancestors did not leave written records on the subject. For those who did, however, latter-day reputations have been shattered. Biological racism only retreated with the defeat of Hitler's Nazi regime with its glorification of the "Aryan" redefined as those solely of German (Nordic) blood and with the withdrawal of overtly colonizing nations from Africa, Asia, and elsewhere in the postwar period. In Canada the adoption of multiculturalism in 1971 as government policy, with its legislated rejection of a Nordic identity based on white supremacy, Anglo conformity, and race-based exclusionary migration policies, serves as another marker of the unacceptability of biological racism.

Concerning racial attitudes in the United States with relevance to Canada, noted scientist Stephen Jay Gould provides useful background. He points out that the 1700s and 1800s provided "the cultural milieu of a society whose leaders and intellectuals did not doubt the propriety of racial ranking – with Indians below whites, and blacks below everybody else."[30]

Although he may have overlooked Horatio Hale, he points out how foreign the modern attitude that all cultures are to be equally valued would have been to that era: "I cannot identify any popular position remotely like the 'cultural relativism' that prevails (at least by lip service) in liberal circles today."[31] Gould notes that the nearest approach to such cultural relativism (and by our modern standards it seems quite deficient) was the argument that such "inferiority is purely cultural and that it can be completely eradicated by education to a Caucasian standard."[32]

Gould then goes on to quote racist statements made by eminent scientists and presidents such as Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, and Abraham Lincoln that would make most educated moderns blush or fume with anger. Gould explains, "I do not cite these statements in order to release skeletons from ancient closets. Rather I quote the men who have justly earned our highest respect in order to show that white leaders of Western nations did not question the propriety of racial ranking during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries."[33] Lest Canadians feel smug, we may be reassured that many such statements are available from our early prime ministers, such as Sir John A. Macdonald and William Lyon Mackenzie King. Racially based exclusionary statements continued to be made as late as the 1950s by Liberal Minister of Citizenship and Immigration Walter Harris during the debate about revisions to the Immigration Act in 1952.[34]

A disturbing example of the biologically rooted racism of the day is provided by the endeavours of the Philadelphia physician and university teacher Samuel George Morton and his extensive collection of skulls from peoples around the world (1,000 of them by his death in 1851). Essentially, he measured brain or skull size and estimated that intelligence followed from the size of measurement. His conclusion, as discussed in Gould's *The Mismeasure of Man,* was that Caucasians had the largest cranial capacity, followed by Asians (Mongolians and Malays), then by North American Aboriginal people, then by "Ethiopians" (i.e., blacks).

Morton was not shy about drawing conclusions from his studies, which at the time were considered to be the epitome of empirical research. Morton noted a "deficiency of 'higher' mental powers among Indians."[35] He pointed out that "the benevolent mind may regret the inaptitude of the Indian race for civilization but sentimentality must yield to fact. The structure of his mind appears to be different from that of the white man, nor can the two harmonize in the social relations except on the most limited scale. Indians are not only averse to the restraints of education, but for the most part are incapable of a continued process of reasoning on abstract subjects."[36] This particularly interesting passage shows how biological racists were likely to resist trying to extend the "benefits" of Westernizing educational systems to Aboriginal people on the basis of their inability to benefit therefrom. In a public lecture at Boston entirely devoted to Aboriginal

peoples of America, Morton told his audience that the "intellectual faculties" of the Indians were not high and that "as a race they are decidedly inferior to the Mongolian stock." He deplored as a "'cheerless picture' the possibility of Indian intellectual progress."[37] Opposed to this attitude were the so-called humanitarians with benevolent minds who felt that the effort should be made on the basis that while Aboriginals' cultures were inferior, their potential as individuals was not. As we have suggested earlier, the humanitarians of benevolent mind tend to get castigated today for supporting residential schools, while biological racists and social Darwinists tend to be forgotten since they tended to stand aloof from such philanthropic endeavours as being entirely wasted on their subjects. In fact, some biological racists advocated policies that superficially seemed to promise some form of cultural continuity. Thus Francis Bond Head, lieutenant governor of Upper Canada in the mid-1830s, was eager to move all of the province's Aboriginal peoples onto Manitoulin Island, where as far as he was concerned they could continue a traditional lifestyle. In his mind, trying to introduce them to Western civilization and industrial pursuits was a waste of time and money due to their incapacity.[38]

Morton, it may be said, was no fringe or marginal scholar, as he might be today (one thinks of J. Philippe Rushton, a Canadian university professor still employed and still upholding the correlation of biological roots of race with intelligence quotients, who has faced a barrage of criticism and repeated calls for his dismissal).[39] In contrast to this, Gould points out that when Morton died in 1851, he was described as having probably the highest reputation among American scientists in the rest of the scholarly world.[40] The great Harvard scientist Louis Agassiz also shared Morton's paradigmatic idea of "polygeny" and its notion that the races were not linked from one common source (monogenism) but developed separately. Polygeny was especially conducive to a doctrine that the races were inherently unequal in capacity and should therefore be kept separate. Stephen Jay Gould has pointed out the conjuncture between polygenesis and American social structure: "It is obviously not accidental that a nation still practicing slavery and expelling its Aboriginal inhabitants from their homelands should have provided a base for theories that blacks and Indians are separate species, inferior to whites."[41]

Monogenism was not rooted in biological racism to the same degree as polygenesis since it often "upheld the scriptural unity of all peoples in the single creation of Adam and Eve."[42] Many missionaries came to adopt the idea that North American Aboriginal people were related to the ten lost tribes of Israel. (Certainly E.F. Wilson did so in his *Manual of the Ojebway Language*.)[43] To the extent that monogenism was accepted as true, it provided a rationale for the habitual optimism that missionaries felt about the suitability and capability of Aboriginal people for policies of

"amalgamation" and "civilization" (or assimilation, cultural replacement, or cultural genocide to use current terminology). However, most monogenists did not uphold ideas about any equality in actual achievement among the races, nor did they entertain the cultural relativist's idea that the practices of any existing society were equally valid. Such ideas were too foreign for the era. Many explained the apparently unequal differences as processes of degeneration that had occurred because of the negative effects of tropical climates on persons of colour. (Such tropical climates were still being cited by Walter Harris in 1952 as a reason for the unsuitability of persons of colour for immigration to Canada.)[44] Monogenists differed among themselves about whether or how quickly racial differences and inequalities initially caused by climate could be reversed. Samuel Stanhope Smith in the colonial period, president of what later became Princeton University, "hoped that American blacks, in a climate more suited to Caucasian temperaments, would soon turn white"![45]

Enter Social Darwinism

These two theories of monogenism and polygenism had both revolved around notions of divine creationism. Darwin's evolutionary theory "swept away the creationist rug that had supported the intense debate between monogenists and polygenists" and resolved the debate by supporting monogenism. At the same time, says Gould, evolutionary theory, especially in its social-Darwinist guise, "present[ed] an even better rationale for their shared racism."[46] Social Darwinism took from Darwin's theory of evolution the grim story of unending competition, with the disappearance of species as the penalty for lack of adaptation and the flourishing of species in number and range of habitat as the reward, characterized as "the survival of the fittest." Social Darwinism took intelligence and signs of cultural advancement as widely differing among the races, and its normal conclusion did not differ from the earlier discussions of racial inequality within monogenism and polygenism. The ability of the Caucasians to spread into Europe and India from their original habitat in Asia and then into the Americas, Australasia, Africa, and elsewhere was seen as evidence of their intelligence, superior culture, and adaptability – in short, the survival and proliferation of the fittest.

One example of this new, social-Darwinist racism is presented by Franklin H. Giddings, professor and head of sociology at Columbia University from 1893 to 1928. Alongside the University of Chicago, Columbia quickly became home to one of the two most important departments of sociology. Giddings was responsible for training an importantly large number of doctoral candidates who later attained distinction in the discipline, among them six future presidents of the American Sociological Society. He is best remembered for his efforts to quantify sociology. Although no great

statistician himself, he preached the virtues of such an approach to others.[47] There is no complete biography of Giddings, although Bannister does provide two provocative chapters.[48]

Giddings addressed some concerns related to race in *The Principles of Sociology,* originally published in 1896, the year of Horatio Hale's death. In it, he makes the then customary designation of higher and lower races. After a comment about the extinct Tasmanian people showing little ability, resistance, or adaptability, Giddings commented, "Another race with little capacity for improvement is the surviving North American Indian. Though intellectually superior to the negro, the Indian has shown less ability than the negro to adapt himself to new conditions."[49] Giddings further affirmed his belief in the evolutionary basis of racial inequality in his statement, "It is sometimes said that we ought not to assert that the lower races have not the capacity for social evolution, because we do not know what they could do if they had opportunity. They have been in existence, however, much longer than the European races, and have accomplished immeasurably less. We are, therefore, warranted in saying that they have not the same inherent abilities."[50]

It is not without significance that Giddings was at Columbia, where one of his colleagues was Franz Boas, the German-Jewish founder of university-based anthropology. It is reported that Giddings was anti-Semitic and had poor relations with Boas and Seligman (in economics) because of this. Giddings "was proud of his dolichocephalic skull and believed that all genius and culture were carried by blond Aryans."[51] Oberschall notes that Giddings' only methodological innovation had to do with an early version of measuring the prestige of racial and ethnic groups. This allowed him to rank groups, placing the American born of white American parents at the summit, followed by other whites in a pecking order from northern to southern European, by Latin American whites and eastern Europeans, by the civilized yellow, by the civilized dark, and finally by the uncivilized.[52] A similar ranking of religions gave seven or eight points to Protestants and one to Jews. Given the prejudice and discrimination he faced as a Jew, it is perhaps not surprising that Boas is often considered the founder or at least the apostle of American cultural relativism.[53] The extent to which Boas' cultural relativism as a founder of American anthropology is due to his personal response to Giddings (known as a founder of American sociology) remains open to further research.

After some experimentation with race integration immediately after the defeat of the Confederacy, racial apartheid and the theories justifying it were used to reinvigorate social Darwinism toward the end of the nineteenth century. An example of this, published by the German-born statistician Frederick L. Hoffman in 1896, was *Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro*. As with Morton sixty years earlier, Hoffman targeted the

humanitarians of his day who wished to benefit the "lower races" with philanthropy and education. He wrote, "The lower races, even under the same conditions of life must necessarily fail because the vast number of incapables which a hard struggle for life has eliminated from the ranks of the white races, are still forming the large body of the lower races. Easy conditions of life and a liberal charity are among the most destructive influences affecting the lower races; since by such methods the weak and incapable are permitted to increase and multiply, while the struggle of the more able is increased in severity."[54] Hoffman worked for an insurance company, and several such companies accepted his work to the extent that they refused to accept policies for blacks.[55] Although one sociologist, the African-American W.E.B. Dubois, wrote a critique of Hoffman's work, William Graham Sumner, known as a founder of American sociology, wrote Hoffman a personal letter congratulating him on "a fine and useful piece of work."[56]

The School Textbook: Inculcating Racism

So far we have been discussing the privileged classes and intellectuals of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. However, we might also ask about the working and labouring classes. These included the rapidly expanding blue-collar factory workers as well as those many still working on family farms. Until well into the twentieth century, education for such labouring classes was quite rudimentary. One might ask whether the outlook of the subordinate classes was any less prejudicial toward Aboriginal people than that of the educated classes. The answer is probably not. When agricultural settlement replaced fur trapping and alliances in war as the primary goal of colonial policy, the presence of Amerindians pursuing a traditional hunting, gathering, and fishing lifestyle directly obstructed the way of white settlers wishing to start and expand their farms. They justified their objections not by acknowledging blatant self-interest but by branding the Aboriginal way of life a waste of resources: too much land was required to sustain too few people. "As the settler moved into the wilderness," states historian Robert J. Surtees, "he did not look upon the Indians as a potential ally, nor did he require Indian support. More often he considered the Indians as a retarding influence and a nuisance for they seldom used their land – often good arable land – for agriculture, but continued to live by hunting and fishing."[57] One sees this sentiment in an editorial printed in 1868 in the *Sarnia Observer* protesting the holding of blocks of land by the local Ojibway (Anishnaabe). Representing the white settler attitude described by Surtees, the editorial sermonized, "The enterprise and progress of the country have so far advanced that public opinion now says to the Indian, 'you cannot hold so large a block of land to the detriment of others, obstructing the progress of the country. You must either fall into the ranks of progress, or

sell your lands at the high value which our labour and enterprise has given them; and stand aside so that others can perform the work for the public good.'"[58] The missionary E.F. Wilson wrote in 1878 to such a white settler in Algoma, "I am not surprised that people at the Landing should speak hard of the Indians – I am used to that – but I believe that with patience and persistent effort much may be made of them."[59] We do not have the incoming letter that prompted this response, but it is clear from the context that the letters represent the familiar distinction between missionary optimism for the potential of Aboriginal people as individuals and the self-aggrandizing, low estimation of their potential by white settlers.

Aside from the self-interest of farming settlers, it is to Canadian school textbooks that one may look to account for negative attitudes to Aboriginal people among the broad range of the citizenry. Free and mandatory public schooling came about only in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. However, as textbooks became an important aspect of such public schooling, it became one avenue by which the labouring classes were influenced by the outlook of the more educated middle class. Patricia V. Ofner wrote an intriguing MA thesis at Lakehead University that looked at the image of the Indian in sixty-five history and social studies books used in Ontario in Grades 5 to 10 between 1857 and 1980. Her method involved designating all references to Aboriginal people as negative or positive.

Overall, Ofner surveyed six books up to 1900 and found the negative designations at 82.5%, and from 1911 to 1930 the negative terminology actually rose to over 90%. From 1930 to 1970 the negative designations declined slightly to the 80-84% range. In the 1970s there was some noticeable change, although even then 69.4% of designations continued to be negative. Examples of racist statements included that Aboriginal people were "more like hogs than men" (1921); that they were "brute beasts without faith, law, religion, without God" (1912); that they were "childlike" (1902, 1905); and that Indian religion "was purest superstition" (1897) with "strange ideas about nature" (1905). Other references pointed to Indians' belief in magic, their wild orgies, their warlike nature, an emphasis on the use of torture, and their attraction to liquor. As a general conclusion, one might quote a textbook of 1930 stating that "the civilization of America today owes very little to the Aboriginal inhabitants."[60]

Of course, it had always been possible to present a very different and more positive picture, and in the 1970s some textbooks started to do just that. There are examples of Aboriginal people helping whites other than as military allies (for example sharing or teaching about food resources), of whites learning from Aboriginal people, of a positive religious life, of Aboriginal people "develop[ing] a technology suited to a land of long winters and heavy snows" (1978), and of positive estimation of art. In addition, more words were devoted to whites as sometimes treacherous and warlike.

An irony is that the writers arguably could have written more positive textbooks if they had depended on the writings of people like Horatio Hale and E.F. Wilson. Hale wrote, in 1883, *The Iroquois Book of Rites,* truly remarkable for its wonderfully affirmative descriptions and evaluation of Aboriginal life. Although Hale was in fact quite influential at the time in scientific and proto-anthropological circles, his positive views of Aboriginal cultures do not seem to have had much influence on his contemporary public school textbook writers. Clearly, the use of such books and their attitudes must have had important consequences for attitudes at a time when most children ceased their studies by Grade 8, if not before. Thus the self-interest of white settlers and their negative attitudes toward Aboriginal people, based on direct conflict between farming and hunting lifestyles, were further reinforced by the only formal learning that they were likely to acquire. Too little has changed in this regard, as is evident in the recent pulling of a textbook from Grade 2 curricula in which Inuit people are characterized as unemployable.[61]

During the extended historical period under review, it is important to understand that both educated and uneducated citizens of colonial Canada depended on an assumption of clear evolutionary stages leading upward, ladderlike, toward ever-increasing progress. At the bottom was what was termed "savagery," followed by "barbarism," and then finally "civilization." This idea had originally been developed in the eighteenth century by the French and Scottish philosophers and social analysts of the Enlightenment, although the idea itself had been known by the Spaniards and even by the ancient writers of classical civilization. As Robert Berkhofer Jr., describes it, the evolutionary paradigm worked "by analogy between the life cycle of a human being and the history of the species" and thus produced "a history of the sequences of stages of society that the race had passed through to reach the height of progress exemplified by Europe at the time. Just as a single person advanced from infancy through youth to reach adulthood, so all humankind had passed through savagery and barbarism before gaining civilization."[62] Although not new, "the intellectual context that gave real meaning to such a sequence did not develop until the latter half of the eighteenth century."[63] Berkhofer points out the important difference between the French and Scottish advocates of the typology: the French based the stages on "the ability of the human intelligence," while the Scots emphasized "the modes of subsistence and the division of labor."[64] An early writer employing this typology was William Robertson in his 1777 tome *History of America,* which stated that "in America, man appears under the rudest form in which we can conceive him to subsist" and that except for the Aztec and Inca empires, all the Aboriginal societies of America "should be designated 'savage.'"[65]

Virtually all writers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries shared in this evolutionary-stage analysis. However, differences in emphasis did exist. The first difference has been noted: whether the stage reached depended more upon innate abilities and intelligence or upon the environment. The second related to placing Amerindians on the steps of the evolutionary ladder. We have seen Robertson place them at the lowest level, savagery. On the other hand, Lewis Henry Morgan, writing a century later in his *Ancient Society, or Researches in the Lines of Human Progress from Savagery through Barbarism to Civilization* (1877), avowed that "the body of them [Amerindians] had emerged from savagery and attained the lower status of barbarism; whilst a portion of them, the Village Indians of North and South America, had risen to the Middle Status."[66] Morgan added to the complexity of the model by specifying three substages for each of the three broader stages. A point to emphasize is how important and influential a popularized form of racial evolutionism proved to be. One can see its influence on the school textbooks analyzed by Ofner, with their implicit or explicit depiction of Amerindians as at the stages of savagery and barbarism, and also on a writer such as McGill economist Stephen Leacock, who wrote "popular" books on academic topics outside his own field for the lay reader interested in self-improvement.

Stephen Leacock's Demeaning Depictions

This kind of dependence on the evolutionary ladder model is employed by Leacock's *The Dawn of Canadian History: A Chronicle of Aboriginal Canada* (1920). This was the first in a thirty-two-volume series described as "thirty-two freshly-written narratives for popular reading, designed to set forth, in historic continuity, the principal events and movements in Canada, from the Norse Voyages to the Railway Builders."[67] The series was edited by George M. Wrong and H.H. Langton of the University of Toronto. Wrong taught history from 1892 to his retirement in 1927 and was the head of his department and founder of what became the *Canadian Historical Review*.[68] Leacock himself is better remembered as a humorist and remains one of Canada's best-known writers. However, he was a professor of political economy at McGill and department head there until his retirement in 1936. Gerald Lynch points to his prolific output and its wide range across many subjects. He quotes Leacock's own boast that "I can write up anything now at a hundred yards."[69]

Perhaps it was this distance that made Leacock still dependent on the evolutionary-stage paradigm developed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. His chapter on Amerindians is more akin to Robertson than to Morgan in placing them at the stage of savagery rather than barbarism. Leacock was willing to grant to Amerindians one great invention – the

canoe. Given that Leacock spent his summers every year at a cottage at Old Brewery Bay near Orillia, Ontario, one can understand his own appreciation of the canoe. "In nearly all other respects," he claimed magnanimously, "the Indians of Canada had not emerged from savagery to that stage half way to civilization which is called barbarism."[70]

For the most part, he stands in sharp contrast to the people in this book who had actually spent time with Aboriginal people. Leacock acknowledged the political and cultural distinctiveness and pluralism of Aboriginal people in Canada. He felt qualified to claim that the Iroquois of the Six Nations "were in some respects superior to most of the Indians of the continent" and that they "had advanced further … than most savages,"[71] but whether describing the somewhat advanced Iroquois or what he portrayed as their less advanced neighbours, the emphasis in Leacock's narrative is always on the deficiencies of Aboriginal cultures. Readers of this text may wish to contrast Leacock's analysis with that of Horatio Hale, Silas Rand, or E.F. Wilson, with their many favourable descriptions and judgments.

In general, Leacock emphasized that Aboriginal people lacked knowledge of the use of metals, lacked "settled abodes or fixed dwelling places," possessed only "the most elementary form of agriculture," had no art of writing, and had only "a rude nature worship." A typical general statement reads that "when the first white men first came these rude peoples were so backward and so little trained in using their faculties that any advance towards art and industry was inevitably slow and difficult."[72] At this point, Leacock points out that this had once been true of Europeans and that they thus "had begun the intricate tasks which a growth towards civilization involved."[73] Leacock then quotes William Robertson in what Leacock called "a vivid passage" that described "the backward state of the savage tribes of America."[74] It seems likely that the entire chapter is indebted to Robertson in placing the Amerindians at the lowest stage of savagery rather than, with Lewis Henry Morgan, at the higher stage of barbarism. At least in theory, Aboriginal people could make the same advance to civilization as had Europeans before them, especially since Robertson emphasized environment rather than innate intelligence. However, given the primitive stage achieved by Aboriginal people in the eyes of Robertson and Leacock, no doubt advance to civilization would be tediously slow. Leacock explicitly states in reference to Aboriginal societies that "they spent a primitive existence."[75]

William Robertson lived from 1721 to 1793 and in his time was an eminent Scottish historian and proto-anthropologist. He wrote celebrated histories of Scotland and of the emperor Charles V. He became principal of the University of Edinburgh and was also moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. In 1777 Robertson authored his *History of America,* which was a key source for Leacock. This work, "in common

with the thought of the Enlightenment … accepted the evolution of human *society* as the essential fact of primary importance" and used "three stages of evolutionary typology: savagery, barbarism, and civilization in ascendant order."[76] As mentioned previously, Robertson ascribed all North American Aboriginal people to the stage of savagery. His anthropological chronicler, E. Adamson Hoebel, points to his generalized description of Amerindians as "in the main, dreary … loosely portrayed as feeble, indolent, improvident, lacking in the virtues engendered by developed property interests, intellectually unimaginative, devoid of love between the sexes, and near anarchists in civil affairs."[77]

Faint comfort that it may be, Robertson actually challenged biological racism. He believed in the common Enlightenment proposition that humans are the same in inherent gifts and intellect. If human societies varied so drastically in the stage of evolution that they had reached, it had not to do with inherent gifts and intelligence but with the nature of the climate. Hoebel shows that other Enlightenment thinkers such as Voltaire, Montesquieu, and Bodin pointed to the influence of climate and that in this regard Robertson was "a child of his times in laying great emphasis upon climate."[78] At the same time, Robertson attributed difference to other causes than climate and specified that "moral and political causes … affect the disposition and character of individuals, as well as nations, still more powerfully than the influence of climate."[79] The point here in concentrating on Robertson is his extensive influence on Leacock. It is probable that Leacock was no great scholar of the fine points of Robertson's analysis. Rather, what he received was the evolutionary-stage analysis, the specific attribution of North American Aboriginal people to the "savage" stage and a rather pronounced denigration of the social institutions and values of such "savages" as deficient and inferior.

Much more could be written to describe Leacock's work. Many of the adjectives and phrases are deeply disturbing to the modern reader. Aside from the picture of backward technology, the moral life of Aboriginal people is also depicted as inferior, whether it be their religion, male treatment of women, or their exultation in war and torture. Leacock blithely differentiated between Aboriginal people based on their supposed standing on the evolutionary ladder. Thus he writes that "the Athapascans stood low in the scale of civilization."[80] By comparison, the Iroquois stood higher on that ladder in terms of technical and institutional organization. However, what he called their "diabolical cruelty" rather vitiated these more admirable aspects of their society in his eyes.[81]

Horatio Hale's principal ethnographic writing was on the Iroquois, and it is interesting to contrast Hale and Leacock. Hale praised not only their advanced technology and institutions, but also the morality of their society. Even when it came to warfare and the practices of warfare, Hale was

able and prepared to provide a defence of the Iroquois based on their situation of having to defend their territories against hostile intruders over a period of centuries.

Unfortunately, Leacock's book of 1920 does not represent the last depiction of the Aboriginal as deplorably primitive in Canada. Daniel Francis describes Leacock's "dismissive, even vicious attitude toward Native people" and points out that he published as late as 1941 a book sponsored by the House of Seagram entitled *Canada: The Foundation of Its Future,* which "took as its theme 'the struggle of civilization against savagery.'" This book included the statements that "the Indians were too few to count" (a theme in the earlier book) and that "their use of resources of the continent was scarcely more than that by crows and wolves, their development of it nothing."[82]

Our point is not that Leacock's was the only opinion on Aboriginal people in Canada in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, or we would scarcely be memorializing Horatio Hale, E.F. Wilson, and the others. However, it is clear that biological racism and forms of cultural racism based on exaggerated understandings of the evolutionary paradigm were all too common in Canada, as in the United States, even in academic circles such as Leacock's.[83] Many attitudes of Euro-Canadian settlers were influenced by an actual biological racist belief that Aboriginal peoples' intellect was by nature less advanced. Even if their views were not actually rooted in biological racism, other Canadians demeaned Aboriginal people by ignoring or downplaying positive features of their societies and by exaggerating deficiencies. This can be seen by comparing Leacock's comments with those of Horatio Hale and E.F. Wilson. In any society, on important matters there will be a range of opinion. At the same time, any period of society incorporates a kind of shared understanding of social issues due to what may be called the "discursive hegemony" prevalent. One stands in awe of a Horatio Hale, writing in the 1880s and 1890s, overturning much of the social-Darwinist discursive hegemony of his day. All this is not to say that the Euro-Canadians with good intentions whom we are surveying can be measured entirely by the expansive cultural relativism of today. Take E.F. Wilson, for example. For all his efforts to find and highlight positive aspects of Aboriginal cultures, there can be no doubt that Wilson used his own version of evolutionary theory, which led in his case to praising the Cherokee and Pueblo peoples as templates for other Aboriginal peoples. Wilson still positively evaluated many features taken for granted in the evolutionary schema, such as permanent settlements, permanent homes, and lack of a nomadic lifestyle. No doubt modern observers, deeply influenced by cultural relativism, will see and reject this residual evolutionism and will insist on the integrity of each Aboriginal culture and society. In response to this, one can only agree with Stephen J. Gould that complete cultural relativism was almost unknown at this time, even among those with the

best of intentions and good hearts. Horatio Hale may have come closest. It is a shame that for a number of reasons, the memory of Hale has been fading, probably because cultural relativism came to be identified with Franz Boas. Since Boas was fortunate to train several generations of graduate students at Columbia, they credited this doctrine solely to their "doktorvater" (a German phrase meaning literally doctor, as in PhD, and father) without realizing the influence of Hale on Boas in this regard.

However, while evaluating the other figures in this book, let us not engage in what has been called "presentism" or "whig history" – that is, the temptation to judge the past solely in terms of the present. While we will not find much complete modern-day cultural relativism, we will find many of the attitudes and behaviours of the Euro-Canadians examined in this book considerably at odds with those of the majority of their contemporaries. We will find a general tendency on the part of the subjects of this book to look for the positive in Aboriginal cultures; we will find a tendency to see rationality and reverence rather than primitiveness and superstition; we will find a tendency to seek guidance from the prophets of the Judeo-Christian tradition, to seek justice and mercy and right-dealing, to do unto others as we would have done unto us. Although such scriptural injunctions have never been easy to follow (it is always easier to find the mote in another's eye), there is no doubt that the subjects under review in the book were moved in these directions in ways that seemed to escape their non-Aboriginal contemporary fellow citizens.

Euro-Canadians Working for Justice in Colonial Canada

Contributors to this collection have taken up the notion of good intentions in a variety of ways: some argue that good intentions prevailed for the person under study; others show the irony of good intentions gone awry; still others struggle to reconcile their Christian morality with their own desires to get ahead. None escapes the irony of good intentions never being enough – in this case, to allow the respectful coming together of people holding distinct worldviews. Following something of a chronological order, the collection begins with David Nock's representation of Horatio Hale, the world-class scholar who is best known for *The Iroquois Book of Rites,* published in 1883 and still available in bookstores in a 1989 reprint. Initially drawn to Aboriginal people in an accessible winter camp, he published a pamphlet on their language at the age of seventeen that earned him an appointment as a philologist of the United States Exploring Expedition to the Pacific. When he was not appointed to a university following this expedition, he left academic work, married a Canadian, and moved to Canada, where he practised law for over twenty years. He also continued his connections with and interest in Aboriginal people and language. For Hale, the mental facility of a people is reflected in their languages. Based

on the respect he developed for a range of Aboriginal peoples with whom he came in contact over the years, Hale diverged greatly from the tenor of the day in his carefully argued expression of admiration of the people of the Six Nations evident throughout his most famous work. Notably, in comparing their cultures to those of Europe, he arrives at the same conclusion held by many "Iroquois" people themselves: their culture is superior in many ways.

Michael Blackstock examines the origins of the Aborigines Protection Society (APS) and several examples of their work in Canada in Chapter 2. Drawing on existing documents, he traces their humanitarian beginnings in an 1837 report to the British House of Commons. His focus on four of their interventions in Canada – and they were active throughout the British Empire – provides important insights into attitudes that ran contrary to the dominant racist thought of the day. At the same time, Blackstock takes the opportunity to argue that, despite their good intentions, ultimately the APS could not counteract their own Christianizing intentions, the impact of the Indian Act, and the disruption of any possibility of reciprocal social relations between Euro-Canadians, the English, and First Nations peoples. Bringing the reader to the present day, Blackstock worries that the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples may meet the same fate as the APS reports as the juggernaut of profit-driven capitalism continues to overshadow humanitarian agendas.

In Chapter 3, Thomas Abler considers the contradictory dimensions of missionary Silas Rand and his shifting attitudes to the Mi'kmaq, with whom he worked for more than forty years. As with Hale, his knowledge of the language and spirituality of the Mi'kmaq people gave him strong respect for their intellectual capabilities, counter to the attitudes of many other people of European ancestry. At the same time, his frustration with his inability to persuade them to abandon their traditional, mobile way of life and become settled farmers like good Christians should is telling. Upon visiting the Mohawks in 1858, he was delighted to find them settled, farming, and attending schools on their reserves, developments that affirmed for him the potential of all Aboriginal people, counter to the beliefs of the biological racists documented above. For readers, it also affirms his persisting ethnocentrism.

In Chapters 4 and 5, Janet Chute and Alan Knight bring us west to the Upper Great Lakes to consider the work of two distant relatives, lawyer and speculator Allan Macdonell and government surveyor and Member of Parliament Simon Dawson. With careful and thorough contextualization, they show Macdonell first as a man of integrity and commitment to justice for the Aboriginal people, with whom he had established good relations and workable business arrangements. Attracted to a Native land-claims movement established long before his time, he became the confidant of

Ojibway chief Shingwaukonse. By 1849, with his legal training serving them well, both worked with others to help create what Chute and Knight claim was, to that time, "the most articulate and forceful campaign for Native resource rights ever raised in the Canadas." Focusing on the Mica Bay incident, the authors show Macdonell as a person of foresight and decency, committed to creating a nation where indigenous peoples would play an integral role economically and politically.

Simon Dawson, Macdonell's distant relative, is the subject of Chapter 5. Here, Chute and Knight show how Dawson, a civil engineer, surveyor, and road supervisor, valued Native prerogatives over the perceived rights of miners, loggers, and settlers. A significant figure in the negotiation of Treaty 3 and the Robinson Treaties, Dawson came to appreciate the intricacies of Ojibway protocol through his respectful attention to detail as he travelled their lands. Negotiating thoughtfully and gently allowed him considerable success in his agenda of road building while maintaining some respect for the needs and wishes of the peoples whose lands and lives were being affected. With increasing knowledge of the people, his admiration and commitment increased. Lobbying for their right to vote and for the payment of annuities long in arrears and generally seeking "fair play" for the Ojibway guided much of Dawson's life work. While both Dawson and Macdonell indubitably contributed to the progress of colonization, they also lobbied strenuously for more respectful ways of proceeding that would include Ojibway concerns in treaty negotiations and Ojibway people in the fabric of the developing nation.

In Chapter 6, Celia Haig-Brown takes us into the life of Nahnebahwequa, also known as Catherine Sutton, an Anishnaabe woman who travelled to see Queen Victoria in 1860 in a fruitless quest to have land rights recognized. Despite the outcome, along the way, Nahne's contacts with supporters of European ancestry, particularly a fortuitous connection with the Quakers, first in New York and then in London, provide insights into the level of humanitarian commitment that some of them had developed for Aboriginal claims. Ultimately, their good intentions and accompanying support were not enough to secure Nahne's land for her before her death in 1865.

David Nock's chapter on E.F. Wilson documents an epiphany that created the impetus for this book. After years as the principal of two residential schools, Wilson travelled to several First Nations in the US and on the Canadian Prairies starting in 1885, an experience that, together with extensive reading, prompted a sea change in his attitudes to and understandings of Aboriginal people in Canada. He was influenced heavily by Horatio Hale, the subject of Chapter 1, as his interest in anthropology and ethnology increased. Hale's positive assessment of Aboriginal peoples' intellectual capacity and cultural achievements affected Wilson's own work. The

latter's "Fair Play Papers," while consistent with his ethnocentric view of what constituted civilization, called for an independent nation for Ontario's Indians. This recommendation, foretelling sentiments of many First Nations people in Canada today, was never realized. His best intentions came to naught.

In Chapter 8, Jan Hare and Jean Barman take us to the West Coast of the expanding nation of Canada to see Emma Crosby's work first in supporting her missionary husband and concurrently in providing a model of gender-appropriate Christian behaviour for young Tsimshian women of the north Pacific Coast. Notably, the Crosbys had been invited to come to Tsimshian territory to do their work. Mrs. Crosby's first efforts served her well, as she invited the girls to live in her house where they learned by doing, providing her with much-needed help along the way. Her good intentions manifested themselves not only in the preparation of women to be good wives, but also in their protection from more disreputable settlers (men) who were ready to take advantage of young, unmarried women. Good Christian marriage was the goal that she had for her charges. In 1879, finding the numbers of women needing her attention growing too rapidly, as well as wanting to lessen the Tsimshian influences on her own children, Crosby created a separate "home" for the girls, which was to carry on her work. Over time, the school became a government-funded residential school with all of the accompanying institutional effects. What started as good, albeit ethnocentric, intentions to protect and educate the girls in Christian ways became the confinement of an alien and hostile context.

In Chapter 9, Sarah Carter takes us to the Prairies to introduce a very different woman of colonial times, Amelia McLean Paget, the author of the classic work *The People of the Plains*. Unlike the Tsimshian girls of Emma Crosby's household, the Saulteaux servants in the McLean household had a strong influence on the children. As well as learning to ride and shoot, Amelia became fluent in both Saulteaux and Cree. The focus of the chapter is the development of Paget's book, which was certainly influenced by the time in 1885 that the McLean family spent with the Cree chiefs Big Bear and Wandering Spirit and their group as the First Nations people tried to avoid the North West Mounted Police. Years later, in 1906, she was commissioned by the governor general of Canada to prepare a report on the Plains Cree. As she conducted her fieldwork, many welcomed her as an old friend. Through her knowledge of the language, she listened carefully to the elders' knowledge and wisdom, which served as the basis for her book. Although it was edited by Duncan Campbell Scott, the superintendent of Indian Affairs at the time (known today for his low regard for Aboriginal peoples), Carter argues that much of the text remains true to Paget's sentiments. She challenged dominant stereotypes, including those related to

Cree women, and made efforts to explain particular practices in ways that would bring understanding and respect for the Cree and Saulteaux peoples. Although she wrote the work imagining a dying and disappearing people, her intentions have proven more important than expected, as her work remains a valuable record of aspects of Cree and Saulteaux life of the late nineteenth century.

Another character reaching adulthood in the difficult times of the transfer of Rupert's Land to the Dominion of Canada and Riel's resistance to that move is the subject of Donald Smith's chapter. As a young man, William Henry Jackson, later known as Honoré Joseph Jaxon,[84] was drawn through the logic of Riel's arguments to strong support of the Métis cause. This did not keep him from being imprisoned first by the Métis and then by the Canadians, tried as "Riel's secretary," and from there sent to the insane asylum at Lower Fort Garry. Fleeing to Chicago, Jaxon spent most of the rest of his life in the US. He began by changing his name, claimed to be Métis, and continued his lifetime commitment to fighting injustice wherever he saw it. Jaxon, something of a pack rat, kept records of and collected books related to the various causes to which he was drawn. He always planned that his collection would serve as the basis for a library for the Indians of Saskatchewan. Heartbreakingly, his good intentions went awry when, at close to ninety years of age, along with all his books and endless boxes of papers, he was evicted from his basement apartment in New York. Within a month, he was dead, all his books sold and his papers dumped into the garbage bins of New York City.

The final two chapters of the book take us back to British Columbia, where the turn of the century saw increasing activity for First Nations people working to protect land from encroaching settlement and resources from exploitation. The two men in these chapters dedicated much of their lives to working with First Nations peple on land rights and other aspects of cultural maintenance and survival. Ironically, their presence was used in efforts to dismiss the work of the First Nations leaders and reduce it to that of "white agitators."

A.E. O'Meara was one of those people. The subject of Chapter 11, by Mary Haig-Brown, he was definitely a well-intentioned man, often the centre of considerable controversy, and annoying to his superiors. He was a lawyer turned missionary whose direct political involvement with British Columbia's Aboriginal people began in earnest when he was invited by the Cowichan Nation on Vancouver Island to carry their 1909 petition to England. Following this initial work, he served as consultant for and advisor first to the Nisga'a and then to the Allied Indian Tribes of British Columbia. One of the first to cite the Royal Proclamation of 1763 as the legal reason that Aboriginal people in most of British Columbia still "owned" the land, his foresight receives passing comment, if any, in most histories

of the province. Until his death in 1928, O'Meara continued his work to have Aboriginal rights recognized by the Canadian government.

James Teit is another renowned figure in work with Aboriginal people for Aboriginal rights at this time in British Columbia, one who sometimes worked alongside O'Meara. In her chapter on the social activist, Wendy Wickwire nuances Teit's work for the recognition of land title as political rather than salvage ethnography. An immigrant "Scotsman" who married Lucy Antko, a woman of the Nlaka'pamux Nation, and worked in the area, he was originally recruited as an ethnographer by Franz Boas to contribute to the work of the British Association for the Advancement of Science (BAAS). Continuing collaboration with Boas over a number of years, Teit became increasingly committed to learning about and documenting the intricacies of the cultures of the interior of British Columbia. Ultimately fluent in four First Nations languages, his intelligence and sensitivity inevitably drew him into First Nations' land claims, where he served as a tremendous resource for the organizations engaged in the struggles.

All of the people and organizations represented in the ensuing chapters were exceptional people who had good intentions in their work with First Nations people. Wickwire reports that in a memorial that the interior chiefs of British Columbia sent to the Canadian government in 1910, they divided the whites into two groups. Some were "good" people who could be trusted; others were "greedy, ill-mannered people who came in search of gold and land." It could be argued that the subjects of these chapters belonged to the former group. They were "good" people and well intentioned. Their work contributes to deepening and complicating our understandings of relations between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people during these times. That being said, their work was not enough. In Canada we find ourselves still in the position of being a colonial country in need of some strong decolonizing work. We hope that this text contributes even in a small way to this work.

Notes

Although we wrote this introduction in stages, with David taking primary responsibility for the longer middle sections on racism and Celia responsibility for the beginning section on decolonizing historiography and the concluding section introducing each chapter, we both read and edited each other's work. Thus the final product is truly a joint construction.

1 Throughout the chapters, the variety of terms used to refer to indigenous peoples are indicative of changing understandings of their histories and current relation to Canada. We have decided not to standardize their use as an indication of the continuing shiftiness of the terms; rather, we have left them as each author has chosen to use them. "First Nations" is a politicized term that assumes three things: primacy of place, a form of nationhood, and a plurality of ethnicities. It is called into question by those who see it as too political and associated with a particular organization to the exclusion of peoples such as the Métis. Olive Dickason uses the term "Amerindian" in her extensive work,

Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1992), as does Georges Sioui in his work, *For an Amerindian Autohistory* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992). "Indian" is a term still used in federal legislation to legitimate specific descendants of the original peoples. Because of its historical and long-term use, it maintains a currency with the people themselves. "Aboriginal" literally means "out of" the original people. And all of this fussing could be seen as justification for Marie Battiste and James Youngblood Henderson's call for "decolonizing the Eurocentric need for definitions." *Protecting Indigenous Knowledge and Heritage* (Saskatoon: Purich Publishing, 2000), 36. It may be best to think of these terms in the context of Ania Loomba's discussion of "imperialism" and "colonialism" – that is, to acknowledge that each is a concept "best understood not by trying to pin it down to a single semantic meaning but by relating its shifting meaning to historical processes." *Colonialism/Postcolonialism* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 4. Another source of insight into the discussion is Michael Yellow Bird's piece, "What We Want to Be Called: Indigenous Peoples' Perspectives on Racial and Ethnic Identity Labels," *American Indian Quarterly* 23, 2 (Spring 1999): 1-21. He interviewed a panel of indigenous professors and graduate students and reported on terms they prefer and reject, relative to themselves. Increasingly, the names of specific groups such as Haida, Dene, and Mi'kmaq are used; they too are often in flux as people move away from anglicizations to spellings that more closely represent the sounds of the original languages.

2 Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism,* xi.

3 Adrian Searle, "Bad Memories Are Made of This," *Guardian Weekly,* 18-24 February 2005, 23.

4 J. Edward Chamberlin, *If This Is Your Land, Where Are Your Stories: Finding Common Ground* (Toronto: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003).

5 For the purposes of this book, we see "colonial Canada" officially ending with the Statute of Westminster, 11 December 1931. At that time, a British law granted "the former colonies full legal freedom except in those areas where they chose to remain subordinate." The *Constitution Act* of 1982 finally ended Canada's chosen subordination to Britain in relation to amendments to the Canadian Constitution. *The Canadian Encyclopedia* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1999), 2249. That being said, we also see the persisting effects of colonialism informing all our relations today.

6 While we were very tempted to include some chapters on negotiations between supportive people of European ancestry and the First Nations peoples of the United States, we decided to stay focused on Canada. For a view of "cultural intermediaries" or "cultural brokers" primarily in the US (of non-Native, Native, and mixed heritage), see Margaret Szasz, ed., *Between Indian and White Worlds: The Cultural Broker* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994).

7 Kathy L. Hodgson-Smith, "Seeking Good and Right Relations: Student Perspectives on the Pedagogy of Joe Duquette High School" (MA thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1997).

8 Marcus J. Borg, "Reading the Prophets Again," in *Reading the Bible Again for the First Time* (San Francisco: Harper Collins, 2001), 111-44.

9 We are grateful to Jan Hare, who, in reading an earlier version of this introduction, pointed out this tension.

10 Interestingly, a number of the people represented were accused at some time in their careers of being insane. The contemporary reader is left to ponder whether this labelling was at least in part a strategic move designed to lessen the effectiveness of the supporter's opposition to the injustices being perpetrated.

11 By mainstream, we refer to the presentation of history in school textbooks, the popular press, and other contemporary media.

12 There are a variety of spellings for the specific nations included throughout the book. The editors have maintained the spellings that the original authors employed and have not attempted to standardize them. "Anishnaabek" refers to the Anishnaabe people.

13 David A. Nock, *A Victorian Missionary and Canadian Indian Policy: Cultural Synthesis vs Cultural Replacement* (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1988).

14 Celia Haig-Brown, *Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential School* (Vancouver: Tillacum Press, 1988).
15 Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism,* 66.
16 *Delgamuukw: The Supreme Court of Canada Decision on Aboriginal Title* (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1998). See also John Borrows, "Listening for a Change," *Osgoode Hall Law Journal* 39, 1 (2001): 1-38.
17 Coalition for the Advancement of Aboriginal Studies, *Learning About Walking in Beauty: Placing Aboriginal Perspectives in Canadian Classrooms,* http://www.crr.ca. Go to Publications 2002.
18 Susan Dion, "Braiding Histories: Responding to the Problematics of Canadians Hearing First Nations Post-Contact Experiences" (PhD dissertation, University of Toronto, 2002).
19 There are Aboriginal people of many nations who do not want to be considered Canadian citizens. See Celia Haig-Brown, "Democratic Research to Inform Citizenship," in *Citizenship in Transformation in Canada,* ed. Yvonne Hébert (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 162-74. A recent CBC radio production (spring 2004) also featured a number of First Nations people on the topic of "Why I am not a Canadian."
20 Linda Tuhiwai Smith is a Maori scholar whose research has focused on both the conceptual and practical applications of the term "decolonizing" in the context of Maori struggles for self-determination. See her work, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (London: Zed Books, 1999).
21 Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*.
22 Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing,* 64.
23 Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism,* 7.
24 Ibid., 1.
25 *The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1971), 469.
26 Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism,* 1.
27 Ibid., 22.
28 For a discussion of the change in content in expected narratives about Aboriginal people and the rapidity of the change, see James A. Clifton, *Being and Becoming Indian* (Chicago: Dorsey Press, 1989), 2-5.
29 Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962). Perhaps appropriately, given his own early background in psychiatry and the Communist Party in France and Russia, Foucault's later understanding was influenced by seeing how regimes of knowledge, including the natural sciences, were politically sustained in Stalin's Soviet Union. Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977,* ed. Colin Gordon (New York: Pantheon Books), 109-10.
30 Stephen Jay Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man* (1981; reprint, New York: W.W. Norton, 1996), 63.
31 Ibid., 64.
32 Ibid.
33 Ibid., 66.
34 On Harris, see G.A. Rawlyk, "Canada's Immigration Policy, 1945-1962," *The Dalhousie Review* 42 (Autumn 1962): 287-300 at 292, 294. In reference to King, as late as 1947 he warned the House of Commons that "any considerable Oriental immigration would … be certain to give rise to social and economic problems of a character that might lead to serious difficulties in the field of international relations." Rawlyk, "Canada's Immigration Policy," 289. On Macdonald, an example would be a statement he made in 1890 regretting the mass influx of Slavic and southern European immigrants into the United States. He warned that as a result the United States "will have its vicissitudes and revolutions. Look at that mass of foreign ignorance and vice which has flooded that country with socialism, atheism and all other isms." Donald H. Avery, *Reluctant Host: Canada's Response to Immigrant Workers, 1896-1994* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1995), 61.
35 Gould, *The Mismeasure,* 88. On Morton, see also Robert E. Bieder, "Samuel G. Morton and the Calculations of Inferiority," in *Science Encounters the Indian, 1820-1880: The Early Years of American Ethnology* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986), 55-103.

36 Bieder, *Science Encounters,* 88-89.
37 Ibid., 85.
38 On Head, see T. Binnema and K. Hutchings, "The Emigrant and the Noble Savage," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 39: 115-38. Head defended his proposals using "Romantic notions that exalted primitivism and the 'noble savage' to justify this plan. A careful analysis of Head's Indian Policy reveals that many Romantic perceptions of Aboriginal peoples, while seemingly benevolent, were consistent with colonial policies that sought to alienate Aboriginal peoples from their lands and to segregate them from contact with European settler societies" (115). See also J.R. Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens: A History of Indian-White Relations in Canada,* revised edition (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 103-4. It is interesting to see that even in the 1830s, opposition to this plan came from "religious and humanitarian groups" in Canada and the home country, as these persons with good intentions supported a policy of "reserves-education-assimilation" on the basis that while Amerindian cultures were inferior, the individual Amerindians had equal intelligence and potential. Another point that came out in this debate was Amerindian fears that Head's policy meant a "threat to their lands." Thus it is possible that Euro-Canadians and British humanitarians and Amerindians opposed the Head policy for somewhat different reasons. However, the point here is to underline that biological racists such as Head tend to be forgotten, or even absolved, in the rush to blame those such as missionaries and humanitarians who believed that Amerindians were not inferior by nature but equal to Euro-Canadians.
39 See J. Philippe Rushton, *Race, Evolution, and Behavior: A Life History Perspective,* 2nd special abridged edition, distributed compliments of the author to university faculty in Ontario (Port Huron: Charles Darwin Research Institute, 2000). Some of the controversy that currently surrounds the position of the author is discussed in this Introduction. The special abridged edition was first published by Transaction Publishers, a mainstream social-science publishing house that also produces *Society,* a semipopular periodical of the social sciences (not to be confused with *Society-Societé,* a bulletin produced by the Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association). In response to "self-styled 'anti-racists,'" as designated by Rushton, Transaction withdrew from its involvement in publishing the book and apologized in the January-February 2000 issue of *Society,* 9.
40 Gould, *The Mismeasure,* 83.
41 Ibid., 74.
42 Ibid., 71.
43 E.F. Wilson, *Manual of the Ojebway Language* (Toronto: The Venerable Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge [SPCK], 1874), iv.
44 Rawlyk, "Canada's Immigration," 294. Harris warned that "it would be unrealistic to say that immigrants who have spent the greater part of their life in tropical or subtropical countries become readily adapted to the Canadian mode of life which, to no small extent, is determined by climatic conditions."
45 Gould, *The Mismeasure,* 71.
46 Ibid., 105.
47 Giddings was heavily influenced by the early British statistician, philosopher of science, and eugenicist Karl Pearson. (At this time the development of statistics was closely linked to eugenics.) Eugenics was a social-Darwinist science, at the time quite respectable, that suggested breeding among the less fit should be discouraged, while it should be encouraged among those considered the intellectually most fit (so-called negative and positive eugenics).
48 Robert C. Bannister, *Sociology and Scientism: The American Quest for Objectivity, 1880-1940* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), "First Principles," 64-74; "Pluralistic Behaviorism," 75-87.
49 Franklin Henry Giddings, *The Principles of Sociology* (1896; reprint, New York: Macmillan, 1904), 328.
50 Ibid.

51 Anthony Oberschall, "The Institutionalization of American Sociology," in *The Establishment of Empirical Sociology,* ed. A. Obershall (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), 187-251 at 226.
52 Ibid., 228.
53 Citing Michael Rogin's 1996 book, *Blackface: White Noise,* Roseanne Hoefel relates, "Not surprisingly, thus, respected racists like Lothrop Stoddard publicly and professionally belittled Boas as a pathetic Jew pitifully trying to pass as white." See her "'Different by Degree': Ella Cara Deloria, Zora Neale Hurston, and Franz Boas Contend with Race and Ethnicity," *American Indian Quarterly* 25, 2 (Spring 2001): 181-202 at 182.
54 Hoffman as quoted in Robert C. Bannister, *Social Darwinism: Science and Myth in Anglo-American Social Thought* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1979), 191.
55 Ibid., 192.
56 Ibid., 193. On Dubois' criticisms of Hoffman, see page 192. For two chapters on the life of Sumner, see Bannister, *Sociology and Scientism,* "Up From Metaphysics," 89-97; "The Authority of Fact," 98-110.
57 Robert J. Surtees, "The Development of an Indian Reserve Policy in Canada," in *Historical Essays on Upper Canada,* ed. J.K. Johnson (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975), 262-77 at 263. This article originally appeared in *Ontario History* 61, 2 (1969): 87-98.
58 *The Sarnia Observer* 17, 8 (18 February 1870), as quoted in Nock, *A Victorian,* 68-69.
59 Wilson to McMorine, 19 March 1878, as quoted in Nock, *A Victorian,* 75.
60 Patricia V. Ofner, *The Indian in Textbooks: A Content Analysis of History Books Authorized for Use in Ontario Schools* (MA thesis, Lakehead University, 1983). See also Garnet McDiarmid and David Pratt, *Teaching Prejudice: A Content Analysis of Social Studies Textbooks Authorized for Use in Ontario* (Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education [OISE], 1971).
61 Sadly, in 2003 the problem with some school textbooks persisted. A recent article from Canada's national newspaper tells of a textbook used for students in Grades 2 to 4 across Canada that contains some very negative stereotypes of Inuit people. The book was taken out of circulation in at least some schools when community members in Iqaluit complained. The publisher, whose mother wrote the book in 1996, has apologized. Paul Waldie, "Grade 2 Text Assailed over Jobless Inuit," *Globe and Mail,* 29 April 2003.
62 Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978), 47.
63 Ibid.
64 Ibid., 48.
65 Ibid.
66 Ibid., 53.
67 Stephen Leacock, *The Dawn of Canadian History: A Chronicle of Aboriginal Canada* (1915; reprint, Toronto: Glasgow, Brook, 1920), "Prospectus."
68 M. Brook Taylor, "George MacKinnon Wrong," in *The Canadian Encyclopedia* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1999), 2556.
69 Gerald Lynch, "Stephen Leacock," in *The Canadian Encyclopedia* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1999), 1312.
70 Leacock, *The Dawn of Canadian History,* 27.
71 Ibid., 38.
72 Ibid., 33.
73 Ibid., 34.
74 Ibid.
75 Ibid., 26.
76 E. Adamson Hoebel, "William Robertson: An 18th Century Anthropologist-Historian," *American Anthropologist* 62 (1960): 648-55 at 649, emphasis in the original. Details on Robertson's life come from page 648.
77 Ibid., 652.
78 Ibid., 650.
79 Ibid., quoted from the 1812 American edition of Robertson's *History of America*.
80 Leacock, *The Dawn of Canadian History*, 41.
81 Ibid., 37.

82 Daniel Francis, *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1992), 55.

83 Michael Coleman quotes commissioners of the US Department of the Interior, who had responsibility for "Indians," using the evolutionary-ladder concepts of savagery and barbarism in reference to their charges. These references occurred post-1900 and as late as the 1920s, which would be contemporaneous with Leacock. Michael C. Coleman, "Representation of American Indians and the Irish in Education Reports, 1850s-1920s," *Irish Historical Studies* 23 (May 2002): 33-51 at 38.

84 Songwriter James Keelaghan memorializes Jaxon in his "Honoré," a lament for the passing of Honoré Jaxon, on his fourth CD, *A Recent Future*.

1
Horatio Hale: Forgotten Victorian Author of Positive Aboriginal Representation

David A. Nock

Recovering the Memory of Horatio Hale

Scholars generally acknowledge that biological racism, social Darwinism, and evolutionary theories based on developmental stages bearing such evocative labels as "savagery" and "barbarism" were on the increase in the seventy-five years from 1850 onward. This period was characterized by colonial expansion by European powers around the world and by the development of theories of racial superiority underpinned by notions gleaned indirectly from Charles Darwin about the "survival of the fittest" of animal species. Such biological theories were applied or misapplied to presumed differences in intelligence within the human race. Although such notions came under a cloud as a result of the First World War (seeing the Caucasian race destroying itself in a savage slaughter did little to advance the idea of racial superiority in intelligence), they survived until the Nazi regime of 1933-45 brought racialist ideas into further disrepute. In addition, anticolonialist movements immediately following the Second World War showed that Third World peoples could and would be self-governing.

Seen in this context, it is important to acknowledge the avant-garde thinking of and to retrieve memories of the career of Horatio Emmons Hale (born in the United States in 1817 but resident in Canada from 1856 until his death on 28 December 1896). In his lifetime he fought ideas such as biological racism and the evolutionary perspective. These were rejected later in the twentieth century both as unscientific and as theoretical reflections by colonizing powers to delegitimize Aboriginal peoples under and outside their control. Hale's fight in his century was connected to the struggle in the twentieth century to overthrow such notions because he had an important influence on Franz Boas, one of the key founders of modern anthropology, whose struggle against the same ideas did eventually bear fruit.

Hale was a world-class scholar: member of the Royal Society of Canada; member of the American Philosophical Society; vice-president of the

Horatio Hale in photograph published in *American Anthropologist,* January 1897

anthropological section of the American Association for the Advancement of Science; member, secretary, and research director of the committee established to investigate the Indians of the Canadian Northwest by the British Association for the Advancement of Science; and ultimately president of the American Folk-Lore Society. He had a long connection with Canada, living for forty years in the small southwestern Ontario town of Clinton.

Hale provided very positive images and perspectives on Aboriginal nations and cultures and pictured the intelligence of Aboriginals as being on a par with, if not superior to, that of "Aryans," or white Caucasian settlers of North America. In common and scientific language of the day, most whites were referred to as "Aryans." In the twentieth century the Nazi movement took up this term for its own purposes and turned it into a

racist term with a more narrow and specialized meaning. During Hale's lifetime, the term referred to a related group of peoples who migrated westward and south into Europe and the Indian subcontinent from further east in Asia and who all spoke related languages from the common Indo-European family. In Europe all but one handful or so of the peoples of that continent were descended from this Aryan population. When Hale uses this term, then, it is simply his scientific way of referring to the European peoples and their offshoots abroad and should not be confused in any way with the later Nazi usage.

Hale received considerable scholarly recognition during his own lifetime. In addition, the *Encyclopedia Britannica* has played an important role in keeping alive his reputation by including an entry in every edition in the twentieth century from 1910 through 2005.[1] On the other hand, his reputation seems to have diminished over the years relative to that of Franz Boas. Boas is known today as the founder of North American anthropology, rather akin to other disciplinary founders such as Freud for psychoanalysis and Durkheim for sociology. Like such thinkers, Boas had a group of graduate students trained by him at Columbia University who were able to take the name and influence of their founder and perpetuate it over the decades. Jacob W. Gruber suggests that "it is a fact of the history of anthropology that Boas is yet its central figure, a firm point of reference which provides the measure and the perspective for that which went before and for that which followed."[2] Hale never held a university appointment and thus lacked a circle of graduate students to carry on his name. As a result, despite his own personal influence on Boas (the careers of the two men intertwined in the 1880s and early 1890s when Hale acted as research director to Boas in the context of anthropological investigations of the Indians of northwestern Canada) and despite some limited scholarly recognition that Hale influenced Boas' adoption of cultural relativism, Hale's recognition has waned (for example, that important Canadian milestone *The Canadian Encyclopedia* contains no entry for Hale).[3]

The importance of our current discussion is less to rectify the rights and wrongs of anthropological history than to recognize that Hale is an important thinker among whites who had good intentions toward the First Nations and who desired more favourable recognition of Aboriginals by the Euro-Canadian colonizers of Canada and the United States. Although without graduate students, he was not without influence: Hale mentored the amateur anthropologist and activist Rev. E.F. Wilson, and another Canadian missionary scholar, Rev. Dr. John Maclean, dedicated one of his two books to Hale.[4] It is also clear that the career of Franz Boas in the United States did not take off until Hale helped to finance Boas' early fieldwork in the Pacific Northwest from funds provided by the British Association for the Advancement of Science.[5] Hale's own observations of Aboriginal

societies, especially the Six Nations in southwestern Ontario, continue to impress readers in the various editions of his most important text, *The Iroquois Book of Rites*.[6] When it is remembered that these observations were made at a time of increasing biological racism, with its assumption of innate racial intelligence, then this appreciation must be even greater.

Hale's Development as a Pioneer Anthropologist

Hale was born on 3 May 1817 in Newport, New Hampshire. His father died suddenly in 1822. His mother, Sarah Josepha Buell Hale, became, as Fenton suggests, "a distinguished journalist and editor, as well as an advocate of women's rights."[7] She edited the leading magazine for women in the United States for forty years (*Godey's Magazine and Lady's Book,* 1837-77), wrote an important encyclopedia of biographies about distinguished women *(Woman's Record, or Sketches of All Distinguished Woman from "the Beginning" till A.D. 1850)* and fought for more access for women to advanced education.[8] Her feminist endeavours influenced Hale in a similar vein, and he fought to ensure the entry of "female pupils into the high schools, on the same terms and with the same advantages which were allowed to male pupils – a privilege which had previously been denied to them."[9] Discussion of the status of women and their esteemed place in Iroquoian society is, in fact, a notable feature of *The Iroquois Book of Rites*. Hale was also influenced by his mother to esteem literary pursuits. His first important academic study was published when he was seventeen, an age at which most students are just completing high school or entering first-year university.[10] This monograph addressed the vocabulary of a group of wintering Aboriginals who made their camp "within a stone's throw of Harvard Yard."[11] Hale was to retain his interest in language during his entire career in anthropology.

As a result of this pamphlet, he was appointed in 1837 as philologist of the United States Exploring Expedition to the Pacific under the leadership of Captain Charles Wilkes. Funded by the United States government, this expedition went around most areas of the Pacific Ocean as well as making a stop in the Oregon Territory. Hale studied the ethnology of all the peoples and languages encountered. This research led to the publication in 1846 of his massive *Ethnography and Philology,* almost 700 pages in length; a second edition was published in 1968.[12] Fenton laments that this study, "immediately acclaimed by scholars here and abroad as indispensable," did not lead to a university appointment and refers to it as "a tragic footnote to the history of American science that a mind of this calibre" could not devote itself to further studies in these subjects.[13]

Instead, Hale took his leave of such interests for twenty-three years (and thirty-five between publications) and devoted himself to law and business. He had moved to Chicago and was admitted to the Illinois bar in

1855. His marriage in 1854 to Margaret Pugh turned out to be of central importance to his public as well as private life. She inherited lands in Canada West (Ontario) in and near the town of Clinton, and Hale became the administrator of the estate. Hale expected the job to end quickly. Instead, as Clinton developed (incorporated 1858), his activities expanded. He became involved as a conveyancer, estate executor, insurance agent, and generally as a lawyer for the town.[14]

Fenton suggests that, unlike his fellow Iroquoianist Lewis Henry Morgan, Hale was unlucky at law in that his "practice kept him too busy to leave but did not make him rich like his friend Morgan in the booming flour town of Rochester."[15] On the other hand, "if Clinton proved an unlucky choice for a law practice, it was a strategic location for ethnology," close as it was to Brantford and the Six Nations of the Grand River and also adjacent to further Aboriginal settlements.[16] In the late 1860s, Hale started to work with various chiefs of the Six Nations, leading to his own fascination with the League of the Six Nations and specifically to the condoling (i.e., mourning) rituals associated with deceased leaders. Given his interest in languages, he was also lucky that the Grand River Reserve, with a population of 3,000, had speakers of all six of the Iroquoian languages as well as speakers of Algonquin, Delaware, and the language of the far-flung and vanishing Tutelos. Fenton refers to this field as "a linguistic laboratory that awaited discoveries."[17]

To estimate the importance of Hale in early Canadian anthropology, it is worth reviewing the late Douglas Cole's "The Origins of Canadian Anthropology, 1850-1910," which appeared in 1973. This article is noteworthy, as it discusses most (but not all) founding figures of preprofessional anthropology in Canada. It establishes that at least by the 1880s these figures were involved in a rather integrated circle with many mutual linkages. Although Hale is only one of the figures featured, Cole does refer to him as "the most significant figure in Canadian anthropology in the pre-Sapir period."[18] (A student of Boas, Edward Sapir was in Canada from 1910-25 and effectively started fully professional anthropology.)

Cole emphasizes the degree to which Hale had departed from biological racism, social Darwinism, and deterministic evolutionism. Cole recognizes the primary importance of *language* to Hale and even calls him a "fanatic in his insistence upon the primacy of language in ethnological study."[19] Cole adds that Hale "was virtually unconcerned with the physical characteristics of races" as being "too easily modified by environment to be at all conclusive as indications of racial character."[20] For Hale, the mental facility of peoples was reflected in their languages. The Iroquoian languages he found to be highly inflected, rich, sonorous, and superior structurally to Aryan and Semitic. His conclusion, based on his measurement of intelligence according to profundity of language, was that the Iroquois were "a

people whose achievements, institutions, and language show them to have been in mental capacity and the higher elements of character, not inferior to any race of men of whom history preserves a record."[21] Hale proposed similar positive judgments about a variety of other Aboriginal peoples. He praised the various Algonquin languages for their subtle distinctions, facility of composition, and power of abstraction, referring to the Algonquins as "the native-American Greek race." He referred to the language of the Athapascans as "one of the most remarkable emanations of the human intellect" and commented favourably on the capabilities of its speakers, the Navajos and Apaches.[22] Hale realized that he was swimming against the tide and criticized "the 'Aryocentric' theory of linguistics and ethnology, which, during the past seventy years, has perverted and hampered those sciences."[23] Dramatically (and no doubt conscious of its shock value), he referred to "the Aryo-Semitic superstition" as an ill-founded prejudice similar to the geocentric theory that had been replaced by the Copernican Revolution.[24]

Cole points out that Hale was "harking back" to an earlier tradition of "enlightenment ethnology" influenced by francophone immigrants to America P.E. Duponceau (French) and his friend in scholarship Albert Gallatin (Swiss), which had been well established in the earlier part of the nineteenth century. In explaining differential degrees of "progress" between societies, this tradition emphasized the effects of environment and ecological adaptation rather than innate racial or biological factors.[25] However, by mid-century "anthropology … had been taken over by the racial assumption," and Hale was attacking the orthodoxy of his day in his "issuing an affirmation of cultural relativism."[26] Cole concluded that "Hale came as close, perhaps, as any of his generation to the position of cultural relativism in anthropology."[27] Hale warned his fellow researchers that they must disabuse their minds of the "delusions of self-esteem which would persuade us that … the particular race and language which we happen to claim as our own are the best of all races and languages."[28] In the following section, I would like to examine more fully Hale's comments on Aboriginal and specifically the Iroquoian Six Nations' cultures and societies.

Hale and *The Iroquois Book of Rites*

In 1883 Hale published *The Iroquois Book of Rites* as a contribution to D.G. Brinton's Library of Aboriginal American Literature. Along with a series of articles, this book established Hale's reputation as an Iroquoianist second only to Lewis Henry Morgan in the concluding half of the nineteenth century.[29] Hale was listed as an editor because he reduced the condoling rituals of the Iroquois Confederacy to writing with the cooperation of Six Nations' chiefs.[30] However, two-thirds of the book consists of Hale's own observations on the Six Nations.

A predominant tone of admiration begins in the Preface. Here he suggests that "the love of peace, the sentiment of human brotherhood, the strong social and domestic affections, the respect for law, and the reverence for ancestral greatness, which are apparent in this Indian record and in the historical events which illustrate it, will strike most readers as new and unexpected developments."[31] Such general and overwhelmingly positive endorsements occur several places in the text and are clearly designed to counter another more prevalent negative image of the Iroquois as warlike, cruel, and torturing savages. A further example of Hale's representation of Aboriginals against the one he is seeking to displace underscores his differences from the common perception:

> Instead of a race of rude and ferocious warriors, we find in this book a kindly and affectionate people, full of sympathy for their friends in distress, considerate to their women, tender to their children, anxious for peace, and imbued with a profound reverence for their constitution and its authors. We become conscious of the fact that the aspect in which these Indians have presented themselves to the outside world has been in large measure deceptive and factitious. The ferocity, craft and cruelty, which have been deemed their leading traits, have been merely the natural accompaniments of wars of self-preservation, and [do not] indicate their genuine character.[32]

Hale was well aware of the widespread negative reputation of the Iroquois, and he used a number of rhetorical devices to advance the point of his own narrative. One was to diminish or reduce the numbers of such cruelties. He realized that this image of the Iroquois largely came from their custom of burning prisoners and subjecting them to forms of ritual torture. He suggested that "out of the multitude of their captives, the number subjected to this torture was really very small."[33] Another rhetorical device was to point out the custom of incorporating captives into their own nations: "No other Indian community, so far as we know, has ever pursued the policy of incorporation to anything near the same extent, or carried it out with anything like the same humanity."[34] Hale suggests that the Iroquoian peoples used such practices of incorporation "even towards the most determined and the most savage of their foes" and when "finally victorious, showed themselves ever magnanimous and placable."[35]

Another rhetorical device used with relish by Hale was to condemn the condemners – that is, the white European "Aryan" commentators. The number of Iroquois victims, Hale concluded, was no match to "the number of criminals and political prisoners who, in some countries of Europe, at about the same time, were subjected to the equally cruel torments of the rack and the wheel."[36] Later on Hale enumerated "the crucifixions, the

impalements, the dreadful mutilations" and many other such details used in "the most enlightened nations of Europe and Asia" and came to his ironically expressed conclusion that the Iroquois were really "far inferior to their civilized contemporaries in the temper and arts of inhumanity."[37] Hale finished with a recognition of the burning of men and women for matters of religious faith in Europe (he carefully distinguished that women were not burned at the stake by the Iroquois) and noted that "to put either men or women to death for a difference in creed had not occurred to them."[38]

This final rhetorical device hinged on the idea that Iroquoian tortures were reserved only for those who had engaged in stealthy, sneaky, and sudden attacks on their villages in the absence of the male warriors, leaving "a heap of embers smouldering over the mangled remains of [their] wi[ves] and children."[39] Indeed, Hale emphasized that a number of such attacks were undertaken by the French or their French-sponsored Aboriginal allies.[40] Seen in this perspective, Hale suggested that it was understandable that torture might be utilized as a response when applied to some (a small number) of the male warriors who perpetrated such outrages.

This is a difficult and contentious topic then as now. My aim here is not to provide a final objective representation of this controversial topic but simply to point out that Hale wished to present an overwhelmingly positive view of the Iroquoian peoples. He felt this necessary to counter the prevalent negative stereotype of the Six Nations (for example, as expressed by Stephen Leacock and discussed in the Introduction to this book).

However, Hale's reimaging of the Iroquois went much further than downplaying their use of warfare or torture. He pictured them as producing the greatest lawgivers, political thinkers, and religious idealists of history. Hale based this portrayal on his understanding of the League, or Confederacy, of the Iroquoian Nations and on his knowledge of its charismatic prophet Hiawatha. Hale was convinced that the aim of the League, as envisioned by its originator, was universal peace. As Hale put it, "We can now see that the plan of universal federation and general peace which Hiawatha devised had nothing in itself so surprising as to excite our incredulity. It was, indeed, entirely in accordance with the genius of his people. Its essence was the extension to all nations of the methods of social and civil life which prevailed in his own nation. If the people of a town of four hundred families could live in constant 'peace and friendship,' why should not all the tribes of men dwell together in the same manner?"[41]

In another passage, Hale described the various ways of the Six Nations in dealing with other peoples, "all tending to the establishment of universal peace."[42] The aim of the League, said Hale, was to extend peace to all nations by incorporating them within the League (the League was devised before contact with Europeans and thus did not anticipate non-Aboriginal

nations). Although "experience … quickly showed them that this project, admirable in idea, was impossible of execution," allowing or even encouraging new members of the League, either as full-fledged nations or as groups of individuals or bands, was nevertheless a "plan … kept in view as one of the cardinal principles of their policy."[43] Hale's view of the League was certainly elevated and idealistic. He saw it in part as a modern-day United Nations as well as a spiritual and sacred association.

It follows from Hale's fascination with the Iroquoian Confederacy that he paid a great deal of attention to its principal founder, Hiawatha (Hayonwatha, Ayonhwahtha, or Taoungwatha in alternate Iroquoian orthography). As Hale recognized, Iroquoian storytellers had conflated this historical person to a supernaturalistic being akin to a god. Other leading figures of the origins of the League had been portrayed in comparable legends as godlike or demonic: the latter is seen in Atotarho, who was depicted as a vicious would-be tyrant assassinating his rivals and trying to confound Hiawatha.

In addition, some Euro-American scholars and popularizers had taken the figure of Hiawatha and woven their own legends about him. The ethnologist Henry Rowe Schoolcraft and the poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow are examples cited by Hale: "and thus by an extraordinary fortune, a grave Iroquois lawgiver of the fifteenth century has become, in modern literature, an Ojibway demigod."[44] Hale went on to suggest that if a Chinese traveller from the Middle Ages had mixed up King Arthur (a semi-mythical figure) with King Alfred (historic) and both with Odin (a god of the Nordic pantheon), then the result would not have been more preposterous than what had happened to the memory of Hiawatha.[45]

For Hale, then, Hiawatha was a real person with a real story that he wished to reconstruct. Despite his success at demythologizing Hiawatha's life, Hale's regard for him remained undiminished. For Hale, Hiawatha remains a personage of religious significance although not supernatural. At one point, he compares Hiawatha to the Prophet Mohammed in reference to his flight from one nation to another before the League became established.[46] There is a comparison to the Protestant Reformation in Europe in Hale's comment that the League "was really a Great Reformation, not merely political, but also social and religious."[47] Hale's most eloquent statement lauds "the persistent desire for peace, pursued for centuries" and "the sentiment of universal brotherhood" among the Iroquois as seen by few other peoples "unless it may be found incorporated in the religious quietism of Buddha and his followers."[48] Further religious undertones were added by Hale in his reference to the rites of the condoling council as forming "an Iroquois Veda" (referring to the Hindu sacred writings). In terms of the Judeo-Christian tradition, Hale went so far as to regard Hiawatha as a "remarkable lawgiver … [comparable] to Moses."[49]

While Hale's own religious awe for the League is clear, he also uses comparisons to European political institutions and their settler offshoots to enhance his admiration of the Six Nations. He praises the League by pointing out that "the regard of Englishmen for their Magna Charta and Bill of Rights, and that of Americans for their national Constitution, seem weak in comparison with the intense gratitude and reverence of the Five Nations for the 'Great Peace,' which Hiawatha and his colleagues established for them."[50] A further example of the esteem Hale accorded to various institutions of the Aboriginal peoples is gleaned from the appendix "Note F" in *The Iroquois Book of Rites*. This note also establishes two other points. The first is Hale's own style of inverting contemporaneous understandings and stereotypes. The second is his own denigration of the Aryan peoples who settled in Europe and in much of the Indian subcontinent (with the aim of deflating the high ranking attributed by biological racists to supposed Aryan genetic superiority).

His note starts with the observation that the Basque language of northern Spain and southern France is one of the few non-Aryan European languages. He then discusses scholarship, which pointed to parallels between the Basque language and Aboriginal languages in North America. These parallels are indirect, lying in the structure and form of these languages rather than in exact vocabulary. They were salient enough to suggest to Hale that the Basques may have been part of an earlier and larger Aboriginal race that was overwhelmed and incorporated by the Aryan invaders. Hale then attributes different attitudes toward government to the Aboriginal as contrasted with those of the Aryan peoples. The ancient Aboriginal Europeans, including the Basques, were (and are) "a people imbued with the strongest possible sense of personal independence, and resulting from that, a passion for political freedom."[51] The Aryans, especially in Asia, he depicts as "utterly devoid of the sentiment of political rights. The love of freedom is a feeling of which they seem incapable. To humble themselves before some superior power – deity, king or brahman – seems to be with them a natural and overpowering inclination."[52]

The upshot of this analysis is that the Aryans of Asia and those in parts of Europe where the ancient Aboriginal Europeans were few (e.g., eastern Europe) continued to exhibit their love of tyranny and lack of freedom. Where the Aryans confronted and intermixed with the local liberty-loving Aboriginal population, the resulting hybrid race exhibited the best of both political sentiments. The irony and paradox of this analysis to Hale's contemporaneous readers were that Europe's "traits of character and … institutions which have given them their present headship of power and civilization among the peoples of the globe" sprung "not from their Aryan forefathers"[53] but from the Aboriginal Europeans who had been absorbed

but who had carried into the dominant Aryan bloodlines their taste for freedom.[54]

All this may be extremely foreign to modern readers. However, it is important to realize that such an analysis was also foreign, in a different way, to the evolutionary scientific racism of the day. (See the Introduction and below in this chapter for details on biological racism.) Instead, according to Hale, Aboriginal peoples have traits of the most progressive kind, and their values, norms, and institutions show evidence of this. Hale pointed out that Aboriginal communities "have had political systems embodying some of the most valuable principles of popular government."[55] He agreed with various commentators that the Spanish in their conquests of Central and South America "destroyed a better form of society than that which they established in its place."[56] Hale's analysis concludes with the following statement: "The intellectual but servile Aryans will cease to attract the undue admiration which they have received for qualities not their own; and we shall look with a new interest on the remnant of the Indian race, as possibly representing this nobler type of man, whose inextinguishable love of freedom has evoked the idea of political rights, and has created those institutions of regulated self-government by which genuine civilization and progress are assured to the world."[57]

This must have sounded bizarre to readers of his day. Here were the Aryan populations of Europe and Asia, founding ethnicities of the vast majority of the European population, being devalued by Hale just at the time their descendants were colonizing the world and dominating the world economy. At the same time, Hale regarded various Aboriginal peoples of the world as equal or superior in abilities and character because he appreciated their greater love of liberty and democracy.

Hale's analysis was far removed from the modes of thought of his contemporaries. Hale confronted biological racism with his aim to glorify Aboriginal societies and diminish, at least in part, the glories of European civilization and specifically the Aryan bloodlines that had dominated its population.

Hale not only glorified the League of the Six Nations, venerated its founder, and pointed to its ideals in diminishing conflict and war and its quest to establish the Great Peace both within and without. Hale also underscored many other virtues of the Iroquois. One of these takes us back to Hale's mother, who is often identified in current American encyclopedias as a feminist. As noted earlier, Hale himself took measures to bring equality of access for females to high schools. His mother had fought earlier in the United States for expanded postsecondary education for women. The status of women is a major topic in *The Iroquois Book of Rites,* and reading between the lines, one can suggest that Hale thought that the Iroquois had something more to teach the sexist Aryans and their offshoots in

Europe and the Americas about "genuine civilization and progress." Hale points out the "regard" for women among the Iroquois, hotly denies the frequently made charge that Aboriginal men always treated women as beasts of burden, and claims for the Iroquois "the complete equality of the sexes in social estimation and influence."[58] He describes the status and roles of women in some detail and draws upon the early missionaries as providing the best evidence. Hale then warns Europeans and Euro-Americans that the Iroquois do not engage in "artificial expressions of courtesy" toward women, and he brands these as "merely signs of condescension and protection from the strong to the weak."[59] Instead, the status of Iroquois women is grounded in more important and substantial rights, such as rights over property, in choosing future rulers, and over children.[60]

In an earlier passage, Hale details the importance of women in the political system, "in which female suffrage had an important place," a feature that he later refers to as "this remarkable fact."[61] He suggests that female suffrage "remains in full vigor among the Canadian Iroquois to this day."[62]

Contemporaneous readers scarcely had to be reminded that in 1883 female suffrage (i.e., voting and political rights) in the colonizing nations of Canada and the United States was still the stuff of hopes and dreams for "first-wave" feminism. Hale's feminist upbringing and his subsequent positive evaluation of women's rights helped pry him loose from evolutionary-stage sequences that pointed to European or European-derived nations as inevitably being more progressive and advanced in traits and institutions than Aboriginal cultures.

This equality of women was only one more marker of the positive nature of Iroquoian culture as sketched by Hale. He expounded this topic in his chapter on "The Iroquois Character." Hale pointed out that one could hardly have expected something as admirable as Hiawatha's dream of universal federation to spring from a people lacking in intelligence. Instead, he insists that the Confederacy and its ideals were "entirely in accordance with the genius of his people."[63] Hale paints an almost utopian portrait of the Six Nations as possessing a multitude of positive traits. These included their sharing disposition, their sociability, their amiability, their good humour, their relative equality, and their peacefulness.[64] Hale's evidence here is drawn extensively from French missionary accounts from the seventeenth century, and one of these observers (characterized by Hale as fair-minded and cultivated) found in the Iroquois "virtues which might well put to blush the majority of Christians"[65] (a significant admission given its missionary author). Another noted their "perfect goodwill" and doubted "if there was another nation under heaven more commendable in this respect."[66]

Hale knew that he was still fighting the hegemonic negative image of the Iroquois, a stereotype that he credits in part to the celebrated American

historian Francis Parkman. Once again he spent considerable ink suggesting that these features came about only when the Iroquois were put "on the defensive" and forced to fight "not merely for their land, but for their lives."[67] Hale felt that it was hardly fair to judge a people fighting wars of self-preservation rather than "by their ordinary demeanor in time of peace, and especially by the character of their social and domestic life."[68]

Hale and the Evolutionary-Stage Paradigm

Hale's relationship to the evolutionary-stage sequence so dominant in his day is worth examining. As discussed in the Introduction, this form of social analysis had become commonplace in the eighteenth century. The French and the Scots were early advocates of it. Such an evolutionary perspective is clearly present, for example, in Adam Smith's economic classic *The Wealth of Nations* (1776), which posits four evolutionary stages: starting with hunters, "the lowest and rudest state of society, such as we find it among the native tribes of North America"; then moving upward to shepherds, "a more advanced state of society"; then "in a yet more advanced state of society" to strictly agrarian societies with little in commerce and manufactures; and finally to a commercially oriented society, again designated as in "a more advanced state of society."[69] The typology proceeded from "low and rude" societies (hunting) and contrasted them to "the civilized nations," such as existed in modern Europe.[70] In the Introduction, Smith's contemporary William Robertson was quoted as using a similar typology in his 1777 *History of America*.[71] The most elaborated evolutionary typology was published in 1877 by Lewis Henry Morgan in his *Ancient Society, or Researches in the Lines of Human Progress from Savagery Through Barbarism to Civilization* (1877).[72]

This lengthy title may help indicate why much of the evolutionary perspective has failed to survive as a dominant paradigm in modern scholarship. Words such as "savagery" and "barbarism" were used by scientists such as Morgan as purely descriptive terms. They might point out that the ancestors of the civilized European peoples had been barbarians or savages at one point in the evolutionary cycle. In other words, scholars did not necessarily assume that a given people was fated by biology or race to stay in one of these lower stages of development. Many scholars suggested that a particular nation could evolve to a higher direction over time, just as the barbarian Anglo-Saxons had evolved into the civilized English. However, much popular usage of terms such as "savage" and "barbarism" was thoroughly negative in its connotations. In common speech, "civilization" and "civilized" were used to denote superiority. In addition, the conflation of race and intelligence complicated the belief in possible progress from one stage to another. It is true that evolutionary analysis still survives, although generally such key terms as "savagery," "barbarian," and sometimes

"civilized" and "civilization" have been replaced by more descriptively neutral terms related to economic commodity and food production such as hunting and gathering, horticulture, agriculture, and industrial production.[73] Victorian notions that ideological and cultural systems can be judged along evolutionary lines as superior or inferior have been abandoned.

Because of their common interest in the Iroquoian peoples and Six Nations, Morgan and Hale became scholarly friends in the late 1860s until Morgan's death. However, Hale was uncomfortable with evolutionary-stage analysis because he was unconvinced that the economic means of subsistence of a people implied a lower ranking for their social, political, cultural, religious, and linguistic institutions on the scale of human progress (a staple of Victorian cultural evolutionism). Thus he believed that the Six Nations were more advanced in institutions of political liberty and in the equality of women than the so-called "civilized" peoples of Europe.

Cole points out the cultural relativism of many of Hale's assumptions and his fight within anthropology against "the racial assumption." Hale, as previously mentioned, consistently praised many Aboriginal languages for their complexity and sophistication. Cole suggests that "this conclusion led naturally to an attack on the developmental stage theory of evolutionary progress. Complex and inflected languages, Hale maintained in contradiction to the conventional wisdom, did not grow out of simpler agglutinative or monosyllabic forms: they existed among peoples at all levels of civilization. Similarly, every form of government and social institutions, be it patriarchy or matriarchy, endogamy or exogamy, clans or the absence of clans, could be found among primitive societies."[74] Later Cole refers again to Hale's "hostility to developmental stage theory" and to the fact that this made his framework "strikingly Boasian."[75] Of course, as Gruber has pointed out, Boas actually started out in the late 1880s doing research under the direction of Hale. Hale gave Boas much direction whether wanted or not. Hale was, in fact, a major influence on the development of Boas' thought, despite Boas' erasure of all memory of Hale after 1897 following several initial laudatory obituaries.[76]

Gruber, in addition to Cole, recognizes that Hale's "individuality lies in his rejection of a progressionist [evolutionary-stage] point of view which would substitute a natural hierarchy of cultural systems for that so often raised by those who stressed the importance and permanence of biological differences in the classification of the variety of mankind."[77] Hale's work stressed "a view of a common humanity, an essential human condition, which lay imbedded within the constantly differentiating ways of man's behavior."[78] Focusing on Hale's response to evolutionary theory, Gruber writes: "In a world, however, in which the 'rude' races were assumed to have given rise to the advanced where man was affirmed to have progressed through still apparent stages of savagery and barbarism to a highly

selected civilization, and where social policies and political programs were justified on the assumption of innate differences in the cultural capabilities of different races, Hale's was, for a generation, a lonely voice without effect."[79]

Conclusion

The general conclusion of this chapter, then, is to signal the importance of Horatio Hale as one of those Euro-Canadians with serious good intentions toward Aboriginal peoples. He consistently tried to present a positive image of them at a time when a negative image was predominant. This negative image was often based on biological assumptions about innate intelligence. Or such negative images were based on the notion that specific social and political institutions of Aboriginal peoples were inferior and less advanced than those of others, thus tying in with the general assumption of evolutionary stages and their emotive designations, such as "savage" and "barbarian." Hale disagreed with both views and consistently held that intelligence was indicated by language; that Iroquoian and most Aboriginal languages were sophisticated and indicated a highly developed intelligence; that Iroquoian and many Aboriginal social, political, and religious institutions and cultural practices showed just as much or more progress as those of the so-called "Aryan" (i.e., Indo-European) nations. And finally, if Aboriginals had not developed the economic and technological features of European civilization that enabled Europeans to dominate militarily, then it was because of the environmental and geographical advantages of Europe as compared to the lack of such in the Americas.

Hale's true heritage seems to have been the influence of these ideas on Franz Boas and his American school of anthropology.[80] One wonders if Boas' failure in later years to acknowledge this influence on the development of his thought had something to do with the fact that Hale "got on Boas's nerves"[81] during the latter's spell doing research with funding from the British Association for the Advancement of Science under the research direction of Hale. Unfortunately, Hale, as the older man with a name in the field, acted a bit like Polonius in Shakespeare's *Hamlet,* tendering advice to an impatient younger man when it was unsought.[82] As a young but already experienced German academic "Doktor," Boas was not seeking advice. He regarded himself as beyond the apprentice stage and as a fully mature scholar. Some of Hale's other research protégés were amateur anthropologists who were career missionaries (Rev. E.F. Wilson, for example), and Hale's advice probably was better received in such circumstances. Of course, Boas may simply resemble any number of scholars who wish to take sole credit for their perspective without acknowledging the shoulders of the giants they actually stand on.

Going back to the Introduction, it is also clear that Hale did not have an extensive influence on his contemporaries or near contemporaries in Canada. The portrayal of Aboriginals in school textbooks as analyzed by Patricia Ofner and by Garnet McDiarmid and David Pratt (see the Introduction) was consistently negative during this entire period in a way that would have dismayed Hale. His influence on Leacock's image of Aboriginals amounted to exactly zero, although William Robertson's much earlier evolutionary tome of 1777 still resonated with Leacock in a way that Hale's 1883 study did not.

What influence Hale did have seems to have been on the missionary and amateur scholar Rev. E.F. Wilson and on a fellow missionary and scholar, Rev. Dr. John Maclean. (When Wilson turned to serious ethnological interests after 1885, Hale was his main mentor, and the two developed a sustained correspondence that led to Wilson's employment by the British Association for the Advancement of Science in the same research project on the Indians of the Canadian Northwest in which Boas had been engaged.) It is likely that Hale developed this interest in missionaries during his earlier work with the United States Exploring Expedition to the Pacific (1837-42). For Hale, missionaries had been a key available source of knowledge about Aboriginal languages and vocabularies. Boas, in contrast, had little interest in using missionaries, and they were quickly displaced by his graduate students as fieldworkers.[83] With Wilson's retirement from work with Aboriginals in 1893, with Hale's death in 1896, and with Boas' "amnesia" in reference to Hale's formative influence on him, a situation was established that tended to overshadow and erase Hale as one of the prominent Euro-Canadians with good intentions toward Aboriginal Canadians.

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Notes

News of William Fenton's death on 17 June 2005 came as this paper on Horatio Hale was being corrected at the proof stage. William Fenton was one of the few scholars who had devoted several projects to reviving Hale's memory. As such, we, the editors, acknowledge his importance in keeping Hale's memory alive after its neglect in much of the twentieth century.

1 See *Encyclopedia Britannica,* 11th ed., vol. 12 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1910), 34, and *The New Encyclopedia Britannica: Micropaedia,* 15th ed., vol. 5 (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, 1998). Note also that Hale's entry remains in the 2005 *Encyclopedia Britannica* online edition at http://www.britannica.com.

2 Jacob W. Gruber, "Horatio Hale and the Development of American Anthropology," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 111, 1 (1967): 5-37 at 5.

3 *The Canadian Encyclopedia* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1999).

4 The dedication reads: "To Horatio Hale, Whose Eminent Labors as a Philologist and Ethnologist Have Been Admired by the Scientific World, The Following Pages are Dedicated By Permission With Sincere Affection and Respect." See John Maclean, *The Indians of Canada: Their Manners and Customs* (London: Charles H. Kelly, 1892). On Maclean, see Sarah Carter, "The Missionaries' Indian: The Publications of John McDougall, John Maclean and Egerton Ryerson Young," *Prairie Forum* 9 (1984): 27-44.
5 On this, see Gruber, "Horatio Hale," 23-24.
6 Horatio Hale, *The Iroquois Book of Rites* (Philadelphia: D.G. Brinton, 1883; reprint, ed. William N. Fenton, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963). A facsimile edition was printed in 1972 by the Coles Publishing Company, Toronto. The original edition appeared as Number II of Brinton's Library of Aboriginal American Literature.
7 William N. Fenton, "Hale, Horatio Emmons," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography, 1891-1900,* vol. 12 (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1990), 400-2 at 400.
8 See the entries on Sarah Josepha Hale, née Buell, in *The New Encyclopedia Britannica,* vol. 5 (Chicago: EB, 1998), and in *Collier's Encyclopedia,* vol. 7 (New York: Collier's, 1996), 593.
9 See entry on Horatio Hale in *A Cyclopaedia of Canadian Biography,* ed. George Maclean Rose (Toronto: Rose Publishing, 1886), 375.
10 Indeed, when cutbacks threatened Hale's place on the United States Exploring Expedition of 1837-42, Sarah Hale lobbied for the inclusion of her son. One of her key points about the young man was that he had "always sustained the reputation of extraordinary talents in all his literary pursuits." See as quoted from William Stanton, *The Great United States Exploring Expedition of 1838-1842* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), 65.
11 Fenton, "Hale, Horatio Emmons," 401.
12 The classic study of the expedition is by William Stanton, *The Great United States*. There is considerable discussion in Stanton's volume of Hale's contributions and their importance; see especially pages 372-77. Horatio Hale, *Ethnology and Philology* (Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1846; reprint, ed. Fred C. Sawyer, Ridgewood, NJ: Gregg Press, 1968). See also Barry Alan Joyce, *The Shaping of American Ethnography: The Wilkes Exploring Expedition, 1838-1842* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001).
13 Fenton, "Introduction," in Horatio Hale, *The Iroquois Book of Rites,* ed. William N. Fenton (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963), vii-xxvii at ix.
14 There are fascinating extracts from Hale's correspondence to Morgan in Gruber, "Horatio Hale." On the point at hand, see pages 11-12, in which Hale avows that "I came to Canada fourteen years ago on some business, that of looking after some land which had descended to my wife, which I supposed would only occupy a short time. A flourishing village, however, – that from which I write – had just sprung up beside the land and presently spread over it, giving me so much to do though every year proposing to return I have not yet been able to get away. Most of my books still remain in Philadelphia … Thus I must admit that I have become somewhat rusted in philological studies, though still devoting to them some spare time here and in occasional visits to the libraries of New York and Philadelphia."
15 Fenton, "Introduction," x.
16 Ibid., xi.
17 Ibid., xii.
18 Douglas Cole, "The Origins of Canadian Anthropology, 1850-1910," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 8, 1 (1973): 33-45 at 38.
19 Ibid.
20 Ibid.
21 Ibid.
22 Ibid. for both Algonquins and Athapascans.
23 Ibid.
24 Ibid.
25 Ibid., 38, 39. On Gallatin and Duponceau and their "enlightenment ethnology," see Robert E. Bieder, "Albert Gallatin and Enlightenment Ethnology," in *Science Encounters the Indian, 1820-1880: The Early Years of American Ethnology* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986), 16-54 at 35 especially.

26 Cole, "The Origins," 39.
27 Ibid.
28 Ibid.
29 This is suggested by the note on "Decease of Members," in the Royal Society of Canada's *Proceedings for 1897,* vii. Please also note that in Martin J. Cannon's caveat "the word 'Iroquois' is one that is seen as unfavourable to many members of the Six Nations," and that the term "Haudenosaunee" is preferred ("Not Simply Social Darwinism: Exploring the Practical and Pedagogical Utility of Social Evolutionism in Contemporary Sociological Theory," unpublished paper, 2005, n.p.).
30 Hale specified the Iroquoian and English names of these leaders in *Iroquois Book of Rites,* 39-47. They included Chief J.S. ("Smoke") Johnson, Chief George H.M. Johnson (his son), and Rev. Isaac Bearfoot, an Onondaga. A group photograph was taken of his informants examining wampum belts, and the result was distributed by Hale to several prominent ethnologists and came to be placed in the Six Nations Court House at Ohsweken. Fenton comments, "Hale tells us exactly how he worked and who helped. There was never a better set-up for Iroquois ethnology." Fenton, "Introduction," xiv.
31 Hale, "Preface," in *Iroquois Book of Rites*.
32 Hale, *Iroquois Book of Rites,* 37.
33 Ibid., 97.
34 Ibid., 96.
35 Ibid.
36 Ibid., 97.
37 Ibid.
38 Ibid., 97-98.
39 Ibid., 94.
40 Ibid., 94-95.
41 Ibid., 85.
42 Ibid., 88.
43 Ibid.
44 Ibid., 36. On Schoolcraft, see Bieder, "Henry Rowe Schoolcraft and the Ethnologist as Historian and Moralist," in *Science Encounters,* 146-93.
45 Hale, *Iroquois Book of Rites,* 36.
46 Ibid., 23.
47 Ibid., 73.
48 Ibid., 37-38.
49 Cole, "The Origins," 38.
50 Hale, *Iroquois Book of Rites,* 33-34.
51 Ibid., 189.
52 Ibid.
53 The prominence of the "Aryan superiority" theory can be detected in Italian scholars contemporary to Hale who attempted to attribute causes of regional underdevelopment in Italy's south to a deficiency of Aryan bloodlines, which could be found further north in the country. See Peter D'Agostino, "Craniums, Criminals, and the 'Cursed Race': Italian Anthropology in American Racial Thought, 1861-1924," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 44, 2 (April 2002), 319-43. This view in turn had some influence on the United States' adoption of a restrictive immigration policy in 1924. D'Agostino, "Craniums," 339.
54 Hale, *Iroquois Book of Rites,* 189-90.
55 Ibid., 190.
56 Ibid.
57 Ibid.
58 Ibid., 64-65.
59 Ibid., 65-66.
60 Ibid., 66.
61 Ibid., 29.
62 Ibid., 30.

63 Ibid., 85.
64 Ibid., 84-85.
65 Ibid., 85.
66 Ibid., 84.
67 Ibid., 83, including the reference to Parkman.
68 Ibid., 84.
69 Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776; reprint, ed. Kathryn Sutherland, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 393.
70 Ibid., 393, 398.
71 On Robertson, see E. Adamson Hoebel, "William Robertson: An 18th Century Anthropologist-Historian," *American Anthropologist* 62 (1960): 648-55.
72 For a modern edition, see Lewis Henry Morgan, *Ancient Society, or Researches in the Lines of Human Progress from Savagery through Barbarism to Civilization* (1877; reprint, ed. Eleanor Burke Leacock, Cleveland: Meridian Books, 1963). On Morgan, see Bieder, "Louis Henry Morgan and the Evolution of an Iroquois Scholar," in *Science Encounters,* 194-246.
73 See Gerhard E. Lenski, *Power and Privilege* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966) and its related introductory textbook, Gerhard E. Lenski, *Human Societies: A Macrolevel Introduction to Sociology* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970). See also Stephen K. Sanderson, *Macrosociology: An Introduction to Human Societies* (New York: Harper and Row, 1988). Eleanor Burke Leacock pointed out that "due to the negative connotations of the words 'savagery' and 'barbarism,' other terms for these levels are generally employed." See her "Introduction," in Lewis Henry Morgan, *Ancient Society, or Researches in the Lines of Human Progress from Savagery through Barbarism to Civilization,* ed. Eleanor Burke Leacock (Cleveland: Meridian Books, 1963), i-xx at xi. However, in England archaeologists V. Gordon Childe (1892-1957) and Grahame Clark (1907-95) "buil[t] directly upon Morgan's work and use[d] his terminology." Leacock, "Introduction," xi.
74 Cole, "The Origins," 39.
75 Ibid.
76 For the neglect of Hale by Boas and his students after Boas' obituary of Hale in 1896, see Gruber, "Horatio Hale," 32n91.
77 Ibid., 18.
78 Ibid.
79 Ibid.
80 See ibid. for the classic statement on this topic, particularly its specific section on "Hale's Influence on Boas' Anthropology" (31-34).
81 See, for example, the letter from Boas to his wife complaining of Hale's "most saucy letters" and of Hale's "vanity, pedantry, and sensitivity" (quoted in ibid., 31). It is worth quoting Gruber's point that Hale was a "man of seventy-two, with some fair distinction in the field, addressing a Boas of thirty whose work had not yet found him a position in the establishment" (ibid., 31).
82 Ironically but not unnaturally, Boas quickly developed into the same sort of paternal figure to his graduate students that Boas rejected in Hale. Boas' first doctoral student, Alfred Kroeber, writing in 1956 (fifty-five years after receiving his doctorate), saw Boas "'as a powerful father figure, cherishing and supporting those with whom he identified in the degree that he felt they genuinely were identifying with him, but, as regards others, aloof and probably fundamentally indifferent, coldly hostile if the occasion demanded. A true patriarch, in short, with patriarchal strength and outlook.'" Quoted in Ira Jacknis, "The First Boasian: Alfred Kroeber and Franz Boas, 1898-1905," *American Anthropologist* 104, 2 (June 2002): 520-32 at 528.
83 On this issue of the influence of missionaries in nineteenth-century anthropology, see C.L. Higham, "Saviors and Scientists: North American Protestant Missionaries and the Development of Anthropology," *Pacific Historical Review* 72 (2003): 531-59. E.F. Wilson is mentioned as an example.