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the growing list of well-documented, reasonably-argued studies of Indian policy in United States history.

Francis Paul Prucha
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KEEPERS OF THE GAME: INDIAN-ANIMAL RELATIONSHIPS AND THE FUR TRADE. By Calvin Martin. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978. 237 pp. \$10.95

In *Keepers of the Game*, Calvin Martin has written a complex and provocative history of native American response to the fur trade. Martin begins with native world-views. He provides case studies which detail the ecological attitudes of northeastern Indians particularly the Canadian Micmac and Ojibwa and, generally, the Cree. He also discusses how such attitudes influenced Indian behavior in the development of the fur trade and their reaction to devastating post-contact diseases. Arguing persuasively that man-animal relations of personal status were at the center of native cosmologies, Martin hypothesizes less convincingly about the historic consequences of such relations. He argues that the fur trade both confirmed and provoked a simultaneous collapse of man-animal harmony and the deterioration of native social and religious beliefs.

Martin's book carries the hallmarks of historians' new-found fascination with Indian cultures, a curiosity now usually called ethnohistorical. First, Martin takes native American people on their own word. He utilizes a broad range of mythological, folkloric and ethnographical data in an effort to comprehend the Indian's experience from the inside-out. Second, Martin's extensive reading in such sources informs his interpretations of strictly historical evidence which usually demonstrates a severe Euroamerican bias toward Indian beliefs. Third, Martin has widely read the literature of anthropology and wildlife biology. He argues the need for all scholars to overcome the provincial interests which characterize contemporary academic specialization. In combining what he sees as the most salient features of the first three ethnohistorical cornerstones, Martin strives for a holistic voice. He brings them together in a single interpretation of native American attitudes to nature, the cultural changes which followed their eager participation in the fur trade and the devastating effects which attended. As a pioneering exploration in ethnohistory's grand attempt to achieve academic integration, *Keepers of the Game* will challenge students of native America for years to come.

Martin's sources may not be strong enough, nevertheless, to support his argument that destructive overtrapping resulted from the man-animal

war he posits. He provides no hard, factual evidence (apart from congruent literary testimony) about the extent or causes of over-exploitation of fur animals. This lack may be serious. Among the Abenaki, who were close neighbors of the Micmacs, there is no indication of the improvident use of fur animals. In fact, the Abenaki had sophisticated conservation techniques and continued to trade profitably until Anglo-American settlement overran their hunting territories in the late eighteenth century. Until we know exactly how, and why, each tribal group adapted to the trade, we cannot evaluate the extent to which Martin's hypothetical Indian-animal war is accurate.

Similarly, the connections Martin makes between overhunting and Christianity are not convincing. A great deal of evidence, some of which Martin cites, suggests that Christianity sometimes reinforced native Americans' traditional hunting relationships with animals. Martin, however, argues that Indians apostatized, rejecting their tradition of man-animal reciprocity in favor of the utilitarian values of western Europeans. Yet Martin's concept of apostasy is polymorphous and its changing meaning is confusing. Apostasy means an abandonment of one's previous beliefs. Martin suggests that apostasy occurred both before and after native and Euroamerican contact. But he does not distinguish clearly between conservative and radical reorientations of native belief systems. Martin applies the concept of apostasy to a variety of situations which it fits uneasily: Indian rejection of traditional beliefs, their reorientation around new nativistic rituals such as the Midewiwin, their acceptance of Catholicism and finally, to the tepid response of Christian converts which even resulted in a second act of apostasy when they sometimes returned to their traditional religious values. To work, Martin's interpretation of apostasy, and its effects in what he calls the secularization or despiritualization of the Indian world, requires detailed studies of all these varied forms of religious change.

Such observations only partially obviate the book's significance. Martin's imaginative use of a wide variety of evidence leads to substantial contributions. Whether one accepts his hypothesis about man-animal hostilities, or not, it is necessary to recognize the role native beliefs played in the fur trade and in all other encounters with European institutions. This is Martin's signal strength. Additionally, his epilogue disparages effectively contemporary views about the "ecological" Indian.

In sum, *Keepers of the Game* consolidates the scattered literature about man-animal relations in northeastern native American world-views, forwards a highly controversial hypothesis about Indian motivations in the historic fur trade and shatters the false Indian hero created by recent American environmental advocates.

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