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that students and parents alike proved to be diverse, even profoundly ambivalent in their responses. On the one hand, he cites numerous examples of resistance movements that have come to be the stock-in-trade of school critics and bashers; on the other hand, he also addresses the accommodation that typified the experience of many—if not most—students. Noting that levels of response and ranges of options and experiences were remarkably varied, Adams writes that students often acted in ways that confounded their masters. Just as Tsianina Lomawaima observes in her work on Chilocco, Adams finds that “policymakers and school authorities never anticipated that Indian students would be active participants in the acculturation drama” (p. 266).

In the end Adams finds that boarding schools created complex, contradictory results for Indians and whites alike. As “yet another deplorable episode in the long and tragic history of Indian-white relations” (p. 336), schools clearly were often insidious institutions of coercive assimilation. Yet there was more to it. Like Frederick Hoxie, Tsianina Lomawaima, and Michael Coleman, Adams insists that students often survived the rigors and terrors of a war waged against children. Despite the concerted efforts of the schools, Indian children demonstrated a “conscious and strategic adaptation to the hard rock of historical circumstance, a pragmatic recognition that one’s Indianness would increasingly have to be defended and negotiated in the face of relentless hegemonic forces” (p. 336). This book is an important and eloquent discussion of that process.

Education for Extinction is everything that its title promises. Comprehensive, diligently researched (is there anything that Adams has not read?), and elegantly written, it is the definitive study of Indian education during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Clyde Ellis
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Grateful Prey: Rock Cree Human-Animal Relationships. By Robert Brightman. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993. \$40.00 cloth.

Robert Brightman’s *Grateful Prey* has a bold thesis: “I suggest that Cree hunting strategies are not now and have never been

in the past determined by material forces" (p. 34). Brightman rejects both Marxian anthropologists' emphasis on the foraging labor process and ecologists' focus on the influence of the ecosystem. Rather, he argues, "the social forms directly implicated in material production and reproduction are not at all materially determined but relatively arbitrary with respect to techno-environmental and biological coordinates" (p. 325). The key word above is *arbitrary*. Readers familiar with postmodernist theory will recognize it as the adjective that many structuralists favor to describe the relationship between signs and objects. Brightman indeed marshals the forces of semiotic theory to support his argument that a paradoxical culture, rather than nature or modes of production, shaped Cree hunting. The Cree, Brightman argues, viewed animals alternately as friends and adversaries. But he is also concerned with extending the analysis of signs from words to action and event (p. 31). This is a promising approach—it offers to inject some life and context into the oftentimes lifeless and decontextualized word games of cultural theory.

The analysis of the complexity of Cree cultural apprehensions of animals is insightful and provocative. One notable chapter, which considers the *witiko*, a human-like creature that eats people (pp. 136–58), seems to be inspired by the work of Claude Lévi-Strauss. Following Lévi-Strauss's postulate that eating cooked rather than raw food is a sign of culture, Brightman notes that the *witiko* is humanized when it approaches a fire and consumes boiled animal flesh. The stories of the *witiko* thus serve, in part, to reinforce the idea that the cooking and consumption of animal flesh are central to Cree identity; indeed, those outside the circle of the fire are monstrous. Another chapter—one of the most engaging in the book—describes Brightman's participation in a Cree "eat-all" feast in 1977 (pp. 213–43). The feast is replete with meaning: to bring luck to future hunts, to appease animals, to demonstrate control over game, and to spur the species' reappearance.

One of the most intriguing parts of the book is Brightman's discussion of Cree beliefs about women and animals—particularly the proscriptions relating to contact between women and killed game (pp. 124–32). According to Brightman, the root cause of the antagonism between animals and women—particularly menstruating women—is, ironically, the Cree's conflation of sexuality and hunting. Male hunters construct sex-hunting and ani-

mals-women as interchangeable metaphors. That metaphorical similarity parallels the dualism of production (hunting-male) and reproduction (birth-female). This section of the book demonstrates to best effect the utility of Brightman's semiotic approach. It is hindered, however, by his apparent unwillingness to consider materialist theories of causation. His discussion would have benefited enormously from an engagement with the work of Carolyn Merchant on the relationships in Algonquian society among nature, culture, production, and reproduction (*Ecological Revolutions*, 1989).

Brightman articulates one of his central arguments in his ninth chapter, "The More They Destroy, the Greater Plenty Will Succeed." This, the longest chapter (nearly sixty pages) attempts to reconstruct Cree attitudes toward animals during the beaver pelt trade of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. He begins by dismissing the two dominant schools of interpretation of the fur trade, the formalist (which views Indian participation in the trade as the result of technological improvement and consumer impulses) and the functionalist (which focuses on the erosion of the Indians' precontact social controls on hunting). "Neither interpretation," writes Brightman, "is sustainable except through the most selective use of documentary evidence" (p. 245). Yet Brightman is ultimately unable to transcend the terms of the formalist-functionalist debate.

The formalists have viewed the fur trade from the perspective of the European market and have explained Indian motivations to participate in commerce from that point of view. Functionalists, by contrast, have analyzed the trade from the perspective of the Indians. Brightman analyzes the exploitation of game from the perspective of the Cree, yet he has divorced this analysis from the assumption (redolent in the work of most functionalists) that Indians were aboriginal conservationists. Earlier in the book, Brightman argues that Cree attitudes toward animals vacillated between reciprocity and domination, but in this chapter he focuses almost exclusively on the adversarial side of the relationship. The Cree, Brightman argues, believed that animals regenerated after death. Thus, any amount of hunting was sustainable. "Crees conceived the moose, caribou, and beaver as infinitely renewable resources whose numbers could neither be reduced by overkilling nor managed by selective hunting" (p. 280). Ironically, this argument takes Brightman back to his point of departure: the staid formalist-functionalist debate. Why did the

Cree participate in the fur trade? Brightman offers an explanation that would satisfy a die-hard formalist (not to mention materialist): "The introduced technology and the desire for trade goods provided both the means and incentive for rates of predation that ultimately reduced caribou, moose, and beaver populations" (p. 300).

The implications of this argument are troubling. Brightman argues that the techniques of game management now practiced by the Cree were first introduced by the Hudson's Bay Company in the nineteenth century. Thus, he implies, absent outside influence, Cree culture is rich and internally divergent but static. Cultural dynamism—in the form of an awareness of declining game supplies—resides in Euro-Canadian culture.

Brightman succeeds in his characterization of the dissonant nature of the Cree relationship with animals. Animals, he persuasively argues, are both friends and adversaries. But therein lie the limitations of this study as well. A revealing section of this book tells of Brightman's decision as a graduate student to do his field research among the Granville Lake Cree. He writes, "I sought a community where indigenous religion was practiced rather than eulogized and one in which foraging prevailed over wage labor. I wanted to avoid studying 'memory culture'" (pp. 20–21). Brightman went to Manitoba determined to find a community isolated from the Euro-Canadian world. Despite the steel traps, guns, and snowmobiles at Granville Lake, he set himself to the task of field research in an exotic community: immersing himself in daily life, conducting interviews, and so on. Based on this research, Brightman flattens the distinctions between pre- and postcontact Cree culture. Detractors might call this methodology "upstreaming": ascribing values to precontact societies based on twentieth-century ethnology. As the historian Richard White has pointed out, although assimilationist studies are biased in favor of change, upstreaming is biased in favor of cultural continuity (*Middle Ground*, 1991). Many historians view the decimation of game in the fur trade as an anomaly in the Indian relationship with animals. Yet if both reciprocal and adversarial human-animal relationships were contained within precontact Cree culture, then nothing is anomalous in Cree-animal relations.

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