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Yet I have read it with interest and involvement. Moore is to be commended for the style and conviction with which he has made his argument.

Cornelius J. Jaenen
University of Ottawa

The Canadian Sioux. By James H. Howard. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984. 207 pp. \$15.95 Cloth.

James H. Howard, who died unexpectedly while still in his fifties—after a brief illness, was an anachronism, an old-style generalist ethnographer in the manner of Alanson Skinner. In an era when participant observation meant sitting around in bars drinking with frustrated American Indian men and women, Howard sat in cabins recording the memories of the elderly. Other anthropologists traced out social networks; Howard trailed the diffusion of dance steps and costumes. In the early 1970s the National Museum of Canada's Urgent Ethnography Programme funds went begging for takers: Howard responded in 1972 by spending two months in Saskatchewan and Manitoba visiting each of the Sioux reserves. *The Canadian Sioux* is the result of those two months, supplemented by ethnohistorical sources and deepened by Howard's lifetime of experience with Sioux communities. Howard's report was submitted to the National Museum but found no publisher at that time (the Mercury Series was just being inaugurated). Raymond DeMallie and Douglas Parks finally opened a publication outlet for descriptive works like Howard's through a new series, *Studies in the Anthropology of North American Indians*, undertaken by the University of Nebraska Press. *The Canadian Sioux* was solicited for the series by DeMallie and Parks, who tragically had to prepare the manuscript for publication after Howard's death.

There are seven Dakota reserves in Manitoba and Saskatchewan and one tiny Lakota reserve in Saskatchewan. The Dakota are descended, for the most part, from refugees from the 1862 Minnesota Uprising; the Lakota are from Sitting Bull's (Tatanka Iyotake) Hunkpapa band, which fled north after the 1876 Battle of the Little Big Horn. Most of the Hunkpapa, including their great leader, returned to the United States in 1881. The Dakota bands who did not return were granted reserves by the Canadian

government, although that government never made treaties with them, the Sioux having no recognized title to Canadian lands. Members of the eight Canadian Sioux bands now have a peculiar legal position, functioning as American Indians but technically not having treaty rights. (In Canada, persons of American Indian ancestry are divided into treaty tribes who are legally entitled to the benefits based on treaty obligations, and non-treaty tribes who have no more privileges than any other Canadians. Non-treaty tribes include ethnic Métis, descendants of the French-Canadians who hunted on the prairies with American Indians, mostly Cree, or settled with northern forest Peoples; members of northern bands who until recently have been relatively untouched by colonization; and persons whose American Indian status was taken from them when women married non-Indians or non-treaty men, or who were enfranchised prior to the belated extension of the vote to American Indians in 1961). When Howard visited the Sioux reserves in 1972 there were only approximately 2500 recognized Canadian Sioux, roughly 4% of the total American Indian population in the two provinces of Manitoba and Saskatchewan. Algonkian speakers—Cree and Ojibwa—dominate the American Indian populations in these provinces. Canadian Sioux have doggedly held on to their language and heritage against assimilation not only to the Euro-Canadian culture but also against absorption into the Algonkian-speaking American Indian majority. What Howard discovered was that the Canadian Sioux in 1972 had a stronger Sioux culture, in his estimation, than their cousins in the United States.

Howard found that the Canadian Sioux reserves in 1972 did not exhibit the drunkenness and abject poverty that blighted so many of the United States Sioux reservations. Not that no one ever got drunk—rather, it was “Saturday night drinking,” he reported, instead of debilitating alcoholism. Nor that Canadian Sioux had plenty of money—they certainly didn’t; but their reserves, though small, were not as remote or as marginal in land quality as most United States Sioux reservations, employment opportunities were somewhat better and people seemed to him to refuse to fall into the hopelessness signaled by trash accumulated around rotting shacks. Howard noted that the Canadian Sioux had been accustomed to working hard to survive on their own, remembering that they had no claim to the Canadian land they built homes on and that the position of their reserves near

towns had made it easier for them to obtain day work. Howard's focus on tradition slighted another factor in Canadian Sioux sense of relative well-being, the worry of the Canadian government that Indians on their side of the border would be "infected" by the American Indian Movement. This worry stimulated the government to increase its aid programs to American Indians. A number of American Indian politicians, including several Sioux, saw that they now had a lever to bend government action to their interests. 1972 was the beginning of a decade of resurgence of American Indian pride and financial capability in Canada.

Howard's book is a traditional ethnography. Band and sub-band names are meticulously listed, the history of the Dakota is given in both Euro-American and Dakota versions; war traditions are recounted; the economy and social customs are presented; and philosophy, religious beliefs and ceremonialism (Howard's particular interest) are recorded. Howard uses verbatim accounts—in English—(Whether some are transcribed from Sioux, he doesn't say, but probably they were given in English; I know his Saskatchewan informants would normally speak English). Where two informants differ on a topic, Howard includes the variations. Most of the material is memory from reserve elders. Howard mentions that he found the Canadian Sioux to be friendly and for the most part happy to give him the information he wanted. The fact that he introduced himself in Dakota and could converse in that language, plus perhaps his visiting accompanied by his wife, must have given his acquaintances confidence that he was genuinely interested in Sioux culture and that he was not a government or church agent. Some anthropologists may fault Howard for not inquiring into current political affairs, but we owe him deep gratitude for obtaining the traditional details of the Canadian Sioux heritage that no one else was recording. Today most of his informants are dead or disabled by age (In 1984, of his two fine informants from Sioux Wahpeton—Round Plains—in Saskatchewan, Sam Buffalo is in an old folks' home and Robert Goodvoice, victim of a stroke, can hardly speak). Leaders on the Sioux reserves today can use Howard's book as one of their resources in creating a curriculum for their schools and in reinforcing presentations of tradition in such events as the Men's Traditional Dance contests at powwows. Howard's attention to ethnohistory, as remembered by the Sioux

as well as from material found in documents, is also of great value to the Sioux themselves. In two short months Howard's dedication to Sioux concerns, supported by his deep knowledge of Sioux heritage and his obvious selfless commitment, gained for all of us a description of Dakota tradition that cannot be replicated.

Other than some notes by Skinner published in 1919, the only ethnographies of the Canadian Sioux were Wilson Wallis's work, contemporary with Skinner's and restricted to the Manitoba Dakota, a 1970 paper on powwows by Sam Corrigan, and my own limited work on Saskatchewan Dakota in my unpublished 1964 dissertation and my chapter in the 1970 *The Modern Sioux*, edited by Ethel Nurge. Howard's is the first book-length study covering all the Canadian Sioux reserves and reasonably balanced in its coverage of material and spiritual culture. Like Howard's publications on United States Sioux and on the Bungi (Plains Ojibwe), this work on the Canadian Sioux becomes a base-line study. There remains a wide spectrum of research that could be carried out among Canadian Sioux. Some of the reserves and American Indian organizations in Canada have been sponsoring research into their histories and traditions.

Howard's two-month survey does not go into the depth possible from more concentrated investigation of local band economies, Dakota ecologies, social structures and political histories of particular reserves, history of American Indian agriculture or fishing, contemporary religious practices, mythology and legends presently told, etc. To give examples, the line of Canadian Dakota reserves follows the northwest-trending line of the prairie-parklands border, and the adaptation of the Dakota to this ecological zone is barely sketched by Howard, or anyone else. Howard doesn't elaborate on the Canadian Dakota adherence to traditional band leadership by hereditary chiefs and chiefs' executive assistants, although the history of how this has worked, the conflicts between this principle and the democratically elected leadership demanded by the Canadian government, and the ramifications of this into the overall social structure would be a fascinating political or group-dynamics history. Ravi Lal's recent work on American Indian farming in Manitoba is uncovering a picture of innovations and adaptations very different from the stereotyped notion of hesitant ignorant American Indian farmers.

Howard's important details on the Grass Dance in *The Canadian Sioux* could be the start of a major monograph on the development of the powwow on the Northern Plains, a monograph that could illuminate aesthetics, philosophies, symbol systems, musicology, dance studies, social structures including intracommunity, between communities, and between American Indians and non-Indian agencies, craft technologies and histories, ethnic studies, the psychology of personal expression versus group rules. If there is one fault I can justifiably criticize in Howard's book, it is the old-fashioned impersonality of his accounts: the names of Robert Goodvoice, Sam Buffalo, Wayne or John Goodwill and Hector Obie conjure men whose personal stories would be valuable social documents. Howard must have learned something of these histories in his interviews and he could have put them into his record; he didn't. The opportunity remains for another researcher to illustrate Canadian Sioux history and heritage by vivid biographies—of women as well as of men.

The Canadian Sioux is well-organized and carefully edited, a credit to DeMallie and Parks. Although printed from camera-ready typescript, it is clear and easy to read. There is a good index. Illustrations are lacking, perhaps because the 1972 National Museum report manuscript had none and Howard died before he could add any. The University of Nebraska Press does not indicate plans for a less expensive paperback edition that would make the book more accessible for American Indians as well as students. As it is, Howard's book is a must for American Indian studies libraries.

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Coyote Stories. Edited by William Bright. *International Journal of American Linguistics—Native American Texts Series*. Monograph No. 1. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978. 203 pp. \$28.00 Cloth.

These remarks are offered on the assumption that a late review is better than none and that the volume under consideration—published in a fairly obscure series—may otherwise escape the notice of readers of this journal.

This collection of Coyote stories, which were selected from a large number of cultural and linguistic traditions native to