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The listing of secondary sources in the notes and bibliography has serious shortcomings. The author omits much recent Canadian scholarship, while referring to dated Ph. D. dissertations from Illinois in the 1940s and 1950s. Given his attention to events between 1701 and 1748 and to the governors general of New France, it is inexcusable that Peyser does not refer to Y. F. Zoltvany's biography of Vaudreuil (1974) or S. D. Standen's of Beauharnois (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1975), or, for that matter, D. J. Horton's study of Intendant Hocquart (Ph. D. dissertation, McGill University, 1975). As a result, the broader policy toward the pays d'en haut is not well handled. Peyser is prepared to rely on Louise Phelps Kellogg (1908, 1925) but never mentions the Smithsonian's multivolume *Handbook of North American Indians*.

There are interesting documents and some good scholarship in these pages, but there also are very significant shortcomings. The collection is undoubtedly necessary but not necessarily good.

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Lost Harvests: Prairie Indian Reserve Farmers and Government Policy. By Sarah Carter. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990. 323 pages. \$34.95 (Canadian) cloth.

Northern Plains Indian agricultural adaptations during the first phases of placement upon Canadian prairie reserves have long been perceived a failure because self-sufficiency was never attained. These Indians were often described as having no interest in farming or not having the aptitude to succeed. In this important monograph, Sarah Carter describes a very different disposition. Many reserve residents, eager to fulfill the promises they made in the numbered treaties, actively sought the skills for farming and applied considerable energies to cultivation. Carter systematically demonstrates that it was fluctuating Canadian government Indian policies, however, that provided the most significant obstacles undermining the efforts of these new Indian farmers.

In the opening chapter, Carter discusses the literature about many Indians as horticulturalists in North America and specifically on the Northern Plains. In this discussion, she distinguishes between the prevailing myth that all Plains Indians were wandering nomads and the fact that specific groups were occasionally reported to be gardening or farming. Agriculture was put forward by late nineteenth-century policymakers as the paramount civilizing influence to fix Indian people on a finite, delimited land base. Also, an important element of this program was the assumption that farming would demonstrate how land was a commodity to be stewarded and from which rewards for progress could be taken. The ideology of agriculture as a civilizing process was used to bring Indians within a system of social control. Carter counters this attitude with another, by suggesting that Indians already understood the possibilities of farming with a pragmatic resignation, so it was perceived as one way to achieve many of their own aspirations, especially within the evolving constrictions of reserve life.

Carter annotates her central argument with important descriptive chapters. Many Indian leaders complained that the federal government only minimally responded to the terms of the treaties that promised the means for agricultural self-sufficiency. Federal policymakers, who infantilized Indians while imposing simplistic programs, placed accomplished non-Indian farmers on home demonstration farms on selected reserves. These failed because of both undercapitalization and the restricted experience of most of the recruited farmers. Throughout this period, the emphasis was constantly directed at eradicating tribalism, perceived as the enemy of individualism and independence, and restricting Indians' movements and activities through use of the notorious pass system. In contrast, the neighboring homesteaders, who were exploited through land speculation, took up lands that formed a sea around the island reserves. In some cases, groups of Indians and the federal government were too "slow" in establishing reserves and were overwhelmed by the on-rush of land-seeking immigrants. This resulted in the many unresolved treaty entitlement controversies of today.

The 1880s saw a decade of harsh weather fluctuations, including erratic growing seasons. Reserve Indians differed from the immigrants in that they could not move on to try other locations. Instead they had to persevere, since they were being deterred by clause 70 of the 1876 Indian Act from even taking up homesteads in Manitoba and the Northwest, "thereby preventing the Indian farmer from seeking better railway, market, or soil advantages" (pp. 161–62).

By the late 1880s, many Indian farmers were successful in producing substantial crops and selling hay but were impeded by limited access to the modern harvesting equipment of the day.

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Some labor-saving machinery was doled out to the more industrious bands and individuals, but soon complaints came from the surrounding non-Indian homesteaders about market competition from the Indian farmers, many of whom organized their labor communally. Not surprisingly, the use and repair of existing equipment was severely limited, and constraints were placed on Indian farmers for what could be sold off reserves, reducing incentives for a cash economy. Although the ultimate government goal was for lands to be distributed in severalty and for the reserve system to be eliminated, in practice Indians were issued certificates of occupancy preventing any semblance of realty title ownership. The subdivision of reserves, especially those with prime agricultural lands, was administered without any legal description in terms of property.

tion in terms of property.

Early in the 1890s, occupation subdivision was discontinued, but forced surrenders of unoccupied lands within reserves or of abandoned reserves continued. During this decade, reserve residents were treated as peasants where "their operations [were kept] small and their implements rudimentary" (p. 209). Laurier's Liberals, elected to government in June of 1896, turned attention to extending their hold on patronage and further acculturation programs, one of which was the File Hills Colony. Combining the social models of a company town, settlement houses, and the closed society of a peasant colony, this experiment included isolating a group of successful farmers and their families from all forms of interference to their progress through engineered social control. Meanwhile, other lands, including whole reserves—some of which were agriculturally self-sufficient and successful—were forcibly surrendered. Bands were often coerced into amalgamation with others to allow for block settlement of their former reserve areas by groups of European or American settlers willing to pay the tariff of speculators, many of whom were within the Liberals' ranks.

Containing the operational costs of administering Indian affairs was another Liberal policy, and the result was the fostering of further underdevelopment of many reserves and increasing impoverishment of these populations. The Canadian governments, Conservative or Liberal, continued to subscribe to its ideas of progress, social Darwinism, and acculturation of people it considered primitive. The resiliency of prairie Indians is celebrated in Carter's descriptive documentation and analysis, which especially counters the "lack of initiative and diligence" argument. The

consequences of the multifarious policies are described, including the direct impact of these policies on the individuals and groups she singles out. Carter does not directly connect her analysis of policies to her descriptions of their impact upon Indians. She acknowledges that Indians were busy seeking their own strategies of survival in the midst of uneven power relations in the various levels of both societies and their increasingly cohesive and com-

mingling social relations.

This major Canadian contribution to a literature on Indian farming systems in the Americas makes a forceful comparison between the long-established Indian horticulturalists and those who were being forcibly acculturated to farming for economic subsistence on reserves/reservations. Carter's paradigm of how the government's construction of the acculturated Indian was modeled as a "peasant farmer" demonstrates the insidious foundations of Canadian Indian policy, both in theory and practice. This book about an underaddressed topic is extremely well written and should be included on a short list of best books to read about Canadian Indian affairs. The publisher is particularly urged to release a paperback edition in the next months to allow the ideas of this volume to be used in classrooms and to make it available to more than just academic consumers.

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My Elders Taught Me: Aspects of Western Great Lakes American Indian Philosophy. By John Boatman. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1992. 84 pages. \$29.50 cloth; \$14.50 paper.

Perhaps the most striking and controversial aspect of John Boatman's brief treatise is to be found in chapter 5, "The Star People." Here the author claims that the celestial beings of the Great Lakes and of Native American oral traditions generally represent extraterrestrial visitors who interacted with the ancestors and who, to some extent, continue to be involved in the affairs of earth. In this scenario, Original Man was a humanoid who, with his grandmother Nokomis, was lowered from the sky. The epic battles of the Thunderbirds and Water Manitous around Devils Lake, Wisconsin, and Lake Nipigon in Ontario (see, e. g., Norval Morriseau's Legends of My People) may have been the result of a war