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The Heartland Chronicles. By Douglas E. Foley.

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teaching and healing components, and can be used by Native American communities in achieving self-determination.

Lena Odjig White, in "Medicine Wheel Teachings in Native Language Education," describes three examples of programs in which Medicine Wheels have been used as an organizing principle. Hart's and White's papers complement each other well.

In the epilogue, Sylvia O'Meara relates some of her personal experiences as a university student. She sometimes felt that she was "being studied, dissected and categorized and...the real essence of being Indian was being missed" (p. 126). She questions why Canadian literature courses did not include Native literature. She describes the harm done by residential schools, including the loss of learning the traditional way of life and the loss of parenting skills when children are raised in institutional settings.

She calls for dialogue between Native people and government and programs designed and administered by Native people, that give children cultural self-esteem and teach traditional skills and respect for different ways of life. She also writes eloquently of what being Ojibway means to her. (For further reading on traditional Ojibway life, see *The Mishomis Book: The Voice of the Ojibway* by Edward Benton-Banai, St. Paul: Indian Country Press, Inc., 1988 and *Portage Lake: Memories of an Ojibwe Childhood*. Maude Kegg, edited by John D. Nichols, University of Minnesota Press, 1993.)

The themes of authenticity, authority, and identity run throughout the collection of paper. The work redefines the place of Native philosophies, teachings, and teachers in university settings. At the college level, various papers in the collection could be used as supplemental readings in courses on Native history, philosophy, art, literature, education, and contemporary issues.

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**The Heartland Chronicles.** By Douglas E. Foley. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 228 pages. \$34.95 cloth; \$14.95 paper.

My most significant finding about this book is its great value as a restudy of the Mesquakies of Tama, Iowa. From the 1940s through the 1960s, some thirty-five fieldworkers of the University of Chicago conducted extensive research under the supervision of

Professor Sol Tax for what came to be known as the "Fox Project in Action Anthropology." At about the same time, young Douglas Foley was sitting next in school to some of these "Fox Indians" (Mesquakies) being studied. Later, Foley (University of Texas-Austin) became an anthropologist specializing in South Texas Chicano-white relations. He conducted fieldwork among the Mesquakies, apparently as a cameo appearance in Native American studies, largely during four summers beginning in 1989.

The Mesquakies count among the most frequently studied Native American groups, "beleaguered" by researchers throughout this century. The book is a jarring account unveiling substantial tensions between Iowa citizens and the Mesquakies between the 1950s and the 1980s. Neglected in earlier works, these relations are the key focus of this study. From Foley's personal perspective of reevaluation and from what he calls "cultural borderlands," most earlier works on the Mesquakies now appear in an interesting new light. He has the advantage to approach his informants as their old school and sports buddy. He is well remembered as one of them on both sides of the "ethnic border" and shares a common experience with many of his interviewees. In comparison, while it is quite obvious that Sol Tax's Chicago researchers spoke as outsiders, Foley now analyzes with much greater authority based on his teenage experience with the Mesquakies.

Chapter one provides a general background on the Mesquakies' Algonquian heritage and their twentieth-century history and historiography. Although the author comments positively on the action anthropologists' basic methods, all of which belonged to the standards of a graduate program of the time, Foley holds that "reading someone else's field notes about your hometown is a very strange experience. You begin to see how anthropologists use rather limited, casual observations to create stories about people. The [researchers'] diaries contained facile characterizations of various individuals I knew personally" (p. 15). People Foley had known for years were portrayed dutifully, but uncritically, gloomy, fragmented, estranged, and repeatedly distorted: "At times [the researchers] seemed to take what was said very literally....Our ethnographies are often adrift. We have little control over what 'informants' tell us, and we often feel lost" (p. 16).

Chapter two deals with the arrival and the aftermath of the American Indian Movement (AIM) at the Mesquakie settlement and at Tama schools in the 1970s. Due to resulting civil disturbances, Mesquakie—white relations deteriorated and toughened significantly. Biased stories and severe accusations and stereo-

typing remained unquestioned even by local educators and state politicians. Foley tries to provide a more balanced account of the controversies via lengthy narratives by past and present informants. The combined facts eventually show that the Mesquakies had to go through many indignities that never saw an apology (pp. 47-54).

Chapter three illuminates failures of the local educational system and the severe inequality extant during the 1970s between white and Mesquakie pupils. School teachers were not well trained in handling, for example, the "silence" of Mesquakie children in class. Some teachers admitted this lack and demanded special seminars where they could learn about the Mesquakie culture. The schools' sports clubs also played a powerful role in "anti-affirmative action" in selecting a team's "best" athletes. Some young Mesquakie women and men clearly belonged to the top players; however, coaches were pressured by rich white parents to ignore Mesquakie athletes in favor of whites (pp. 78-83).

Chapter four displays portraits of the Mesquakies written by Mesquakies and by outsiders. The Chicago researchers' writings are thus further reevaluated, but Foley largely excuses the project as being an academic child of its epoch. Its participants disguised the Mesquakies' chronic "leadership problem" and depicted their culture as being still "intact." In one of his 1950s local newspaper articles on behalf of the Mesquakies, the anthropologist Fred Gearing, a main representative of the Fox Project, held that the Mesquakies still live a traditional life in harmony. Strangely enough, Gearing's sympathetic idealistic view led him to write all these articles in the ("we-inclusive") first person plural form, although he is neither a Mesquakie nor related to them in any way (pp. 95-98). It also becomes clear from the book's middle chapters that during the 1920s and 1930s, several Mesquakie leaders repeatedly indicated to researchers and journalists the vast complexity of their culture and political affairs. Outsiders were cautiously invited to see for themselves, but hopefully to resign in awe before they would cast something in writing (pp. 103, 111). Foley frankly reflects on such academic efforts:

...academics have replaced the white pony soldiers. Whites took most of the land; now they are after this strange thing called "authentic culture" or "ancient wisdom."...The white intruders have traded in their...repeater rifles for cameras and tape recorders, but they still come looking for

what they do not have. Still relentless. Still attacking. Still greedy. (p. 99)

In contrast, contemporary Mesquakie novelist Ted Pipestem (his real name is R.A.Y.) is a well-recognized and acclaimed national writer, as is often echoed by Foley. He calls Pipestem a "crosser of cultural borderlands" and finds him a realistic Mesquakie voice who, in a postmodern *zeitgeist*, blends parts of his autobiography into "collages of experiences." Borrowing from Gramsci, Foley projects Pipestem as an "organic intellectual," that is, a self-taught intellectual, who as an artist faces a hard time in the cultural borderland. Most important to Foley is that Pipestem "has finally broken with the earlier culture of poverty and noble savage portrayals," and that his at times vulgar realism, biting humor, and his mysticism and lyricism will help to diminish old romantic stereotypes of Native Americans (pp. 114-118).

Chapter five tries to define a cultural middle ground between the two bordering ethnic groups. Its contents generally contribute to the understanding of what it means for a non-Western minority to "commute" between a non-Western and a Western-dominated world. For example, Foley renders in great detail his experiences during ceremonial activities. Readers will find themselves immersed here in lively descriptions of Algonquian traditions and modern cultural (re)inventions such as the powwow. Notably, Foley includes a subchapter on mixed-bloods and white "wannabe Indians," two groups that have rarely been dealt with by writers (pp. 138-149).

In chapters six and seven, recent and contemporary Mesquakie political economy is primarily analyzed from the perspective of tribal autonomy. Political and economic autonomy is key to prosperity in Native American communities as it is to others. During the early 1990s the Mesquakies wanted to see immediate economic success help improve community standards—a legitimate claim eventually furnished by a tribal casino operation. Money was not considered a destructive force to the traditions anymore. On the contrary, the option for the casino was a clear decision for the quick dollar which is seen as a "healthier" agency for language and culture maintenance than futile Bureau of Indian Affairs policies or constant federal cuts of Native American programs. Foley suggests that the post-World War II civil rights movement and the appearance of AIM created some new "organic intellectuals" or "home-grown leaders" among the Mesquakies (p. 18). He terms these new college-educated leaders

"progressive traditionalists" who leave no doubts about their commitment to lead the tribe through successful business ventures. The road towards the Mesquakie casino was very hard, and some controversies still linger between conservative and progressive forces. However, the classical dichotomy between the culture-preserving "traditionalists" and the culture-ignoring "progressives"—that is, the "good" vs. the "bad" "factions" becomes obsolete with Foley's creation of the "traditionalists" and "progressive traditionalists," two still antagonistic groups who nonetheless try to work towards common goals (p. 203). Finally, Foley also renders the strong voices of twenty-seven Mesquakie women, who reveal what they consider grave injustices by the tribe's patriarchical legal system. For example, men can enroll their offspring with Mesquakie and non-Mesquakie women alike, but women cannot at all. Even though, according to Foley, Mesquakie women consider the term "feminism" derogatory, they overwhelmingly address gender themes that cross-cut through female generational and educational levels, and Foley suggests further investigations by qualified researchers (pp. 165-172).

In conclusion, the book's title *The Heartland Chronicles* is difficult to understand in relation to its major contents: cultural borderlands, ethnic relations, and Mesquakie-white narratives. Since the title-riddle is not resolved in the introduction, a clearer title supported by a subtitle seems imperative. On the technical side, the book's otherwise commendable standards are severely diminished by an unusually large number of typos, inconsistent name spellings, and an annoying way of handling the pseudonyms. At times Foley himself does not remember the names correctly and confuses his own stereotypical creations (pp. 48, 58, 59). Two of his "pseudonym characters" are accomplished writers in reality. Foley extensively quotes their works, so that things become very odd when they appear disguised again in the bibliography. Instead of supporting lexical Mesquakie expressions, the book becomes a dead-end for the spread of these authors' real names. Timid editorship, it seems, is responsible for this misrepresentation.

The highly intriguing homecoming theme could have been elaborated even more precisely. What was it like for Foley to resume old relationships; what kind of difficulties did he face; what are the opportunities for anthropological homecomers in the age of postmodernism and separating other from self; how did Foley define his role within these two realms; what were the

limitations of his "emic" approach (i.e., from a Mesquakie perspective the study still could be claimed "worthless" since Foley is white and an "insider" only for the part of White Tama)? Eagerly searching the book for more numerous clues that would have satisfied these expectations, I feel that the returning home buddy backdrop has not been completely covered.

All in all, the *Heartland Chronicles* yields refreshing surprises that help to cause a change of perception of things previously considered solid truths. The study's corrective aspects regarding earlier works on the Mesquakies show once again that anthropology is not about "truth" per se, but about human perceptions, interpretations, and representations. I enjoyed the book tremendously and find it creatively well written, innovative in the presentation of its rich descriptive data, and useful for instruction in fields such as anthropology, sociology, history, multiculturalism, ethnic studies, education, as well as for general audiences.

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**Indian Depredation Claims, 1796-1920**. By Larry C. Skogen. Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996. 290 pages. \$34.95 cloth.

Indian Depredation Claims, 1796-1920 by Larry Skogen is the second volume of the University of Oklahoma Press series titled "Legal History of North America." Skogen provides a highly detailed historical account of federal government efforts to use tort law as a litigation strategy to solve disputes between frontier settlers and Native American populations being encroached upon. His research traces governmental policies created to pay for monetary losses whenever settlers or Native Americans were economically harmed by the illegal destruction or theft of property by the other. Depredation claims, as they were called, could be submitted by settlers or Native Americans. But as he cautions, nearly all claims were initiated by settlers against Native people because civil litigation was common in Anglo legal traditions and such formalized, written procedures were not part of an Indian nation's dispute resolution orientation.

Methodologically, Skogen (a major in the United States Air Force) analyzed several sources of historical data. Primary importance was given the more than 10,000 claims filed against