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Author

Coates, Ken

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Powered by the <u>California Digital Library</u> University of California The Meskwaki and Anthropologists contains many important insights into Meskwaki history and the profession of anthropology. Daubenmier's book should encourage scholars interested in ethnographic fieldwork to consider the moral implications of their research. This case study offers useful insights into how future scholars might conduct research that is socially responsible and academically rigorous.

Stephen Warren Augustana College

Mohawks on the Nile: Natives among the Canadian Voyageurs in Egypt, 1884–1885. By Carl Benn. Toronto: The Dundurn Group, 2009. 280 pages. \$40.00 cloth.

The Mohawk of northeastern North America have long attracted attention. From the imagery of the ferocious warriors of the Six Nations Confederacy through to the contemporary militancy of groups at Caledonia, Ontario, and Kanehsatake, Quebec, the Mohawk have developed a reputation for assertiveness, engagement, and independence. As a larger community, they baffled observers with their affinity for steel work on skyscrapers, their political innovation when defending their rights, and their presence at the forefront of indigenous protests and legal challenges. That the Mohawk would play a significant role in nineteenth-century British imperial action in the Sudan, however, does stand out as something of a surprise.

Carl Been has produced an interesting narrative of the participation of sixty Mohawk on the Canadian Voyageur Contingent, dispatched to Africa during 1884 and 1885 in order to assist the British with the movement of troops and supplies during the Sudan War. Major-General Charles Gordon had been sent by the British government to Khartoum to put down the Mahdist Rebellion, an assignment that ended with Gordon dead and British authority in the area in ruins. The British, prompted by officers with experience in British North America, decided to recruit First Nations people for their abilities as boatmen. The British troops had to navigate the difficult waters of the Nile and believed that the special expertise of the Mohawk would be helpful in the campaign.

That the British had called on the new Dominion of Canada to assist with the imperial mission in Africa represented a significant increase in Canada's political standing. The specific request for boatmen capable of working the treacherous waters of the upper Nile River suggests that the British viewed their Canadian subjects through the long-standing lens of frontier life and aboriginality. The contingent that left Montreal in September 1884 included the some non-Aboriginal men, the Mohawk contingent, and a larger group from Manitoba, including about thirty Aboriginal people (including Salteaux, Ojibway, Cree, and Métis). Loggers from the Ottawa River valley, famed for their ability to work the timber booms in the powerful rivers of the region, were also joined by a diverse group of non-Aboriginal adventurers. For Canadians at large, the recruitment of the Nile voyageurs provided a boost in national pride; the fact that so many Aboriginal men participated in this first Canadian imperial expedition complicated the scene considerably.

Mohawks on the Nile is an unusual assembly of narrative, primary documentation, and analysis. Benn devotes half of the book to a careful and dependable reconstruction of the events of 1884 and 1885. Although the recounting pays particular attention to the nuances of the campaign, the author provides a substantial analysis of the Aboriginal aspects of the expedition. He is careful to place the voyageurs in the context of their time, and he neither exaggerates the occasionally trite and dismissive public comments about the First Nations participants nor overglorifies their important contributions to the Nile effort. The second half of the book is dominated by two memoirs written by Mohawk participants, Louis Jackson and T. S. Brown's Our Caughnawagas in Egypt (1885) and James Deer's The Canadian Voyageurs in Egypt (1885). These items are rare first-person accounts by First Nations participants, but both follow a traditional narrative line about the affairs of the campaign, and neither offers a particularly insightful cultural view of the events. Benn also provides excerpts from shorter primary documents, including favorable comments about Aboriginal involvement in the 1870 Wolseley Expedition to Red River that later convinced the British to use First Nations boatmen again and several short pieces about the Nile campaign. The section ends with an annotated biographical list of Mohawk voyageurs, which Been admits is sketchy and incomplete, and additional chronological and context material related to the Nile expedition.

The experience of the Mohawks on the Nile is filled with historiographical opportunity, particularly as regards the effort to understand Aboriginal engagement with late-nineteenth-century Canada. Earlier accounts of Canadian engagement with the Khartoum expedition made limited mention of the First Nations and Métis boatmen and presented the story largely in the context of British Imperial history and nascent Canadian military nationalism. An earlier article by Anthony Michel explored the relationship between Canadian identity and the Aboriginal participation and covers some of the same ground discussed in the book ("To Represent the Country in Egypt: Aboriginality, Britishness, Anglophone Canadian Identities, and the Nile Voyageur Contingent, 1884–1885," *Histoire sociale/Social History*, 2006). Been

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is at his best when dealing with the details of the expedition and the specific nature of the Mohawk participation. He has done an impressive job of finding accounts of First Nations involvement and weaving them into what, in the end, is a comparatively short narrative. He does, as Michel did earlier, describe the public reaction to the Aboriginal involvement in the imperial project and provide a balanced assessment of the manner in which Canadians responded to the military and employment opportunity presented to them.

Readers of this journal would, I suspect, be looking for a fair bit more cultural insight and nuance than is provided in Mohawks on the Nile. The final two chapters of the main section of the book place Mohawk participation in two different contexts: the Mohawk as workers and the Mohawk as allies. In the former chapter, Benn argues that the Mohawk engagement with the Nile expedition fit a broader pattern of male employment, travel, and identity as hard-working, risk-taking employees. The background he provides in making this interesting point is limited in scope but is suggestive. It is the closest the author comes to using the Nile experience to delve into the inner workings of Mohawk life during the nineteenth century. The chapter about the Mohawk as allies picks up a familiar thread in the history of Mohawk-British and Aboriginal-newcomer relations in North America, namely Aboriginal alliances with European powers. Been sees the Nile campaign as a crucial part—and the final example-of the British approach to the Mohawk as allies; subsequent efforts to recruit the Mohawk into military service, he asserts, focused on individuals and not group engagement. In their roles as allies and as workers, the author argues, the Nile expedition fit within broad patterns of Mohawk participation in the British Empire.

Without overstating Benn's point, because he is careful not to push it too far himself, the Mohawk participation in the military affairs of the empire is offered as a counterpoint to the now-standard view of the Mohawk and other First Nations standing aloof from the new Dominion of Canada and avoiding entanglement in the affairs of the British Empire. This episode stands as part of a larger pattern of First Nations' engagement with newcomers, and of the often-calculated and occasionally eagerly embraced opportunities to be part of larger Canadian and British initiatives. The book also points out that the press coverage and public response to the affairs of 1884 and 1885, while occasionally resorting to standard stereotypes and portrayals of First Nations people, generally reviewed the Mohawk engagement positively and without recourse to simplistic assumptions about indigenous life or militarism.

On balance, this is an interesting work. It does not advance any theoretical or conceptual understanding that is broader than the specific topic of the book. The story is well told, and the author goes as far with the narrative as the limited sources permits. Much of the analysis focuses on Mohawk-Canadian and Mohawk-British relations. The insights into the Mohawk communities and the Mohawk experience more generally are quite limited. Been does not try to tie the narrative into a deep understanding of Mohawk culture and society, but he does place the events of 1884 and 1885 within the Canadian political and economic context. *Mohawks on the Nile* tells us a great deal about Aboriginal participation in a unique Canadian imperial expedition. It does not tell us as much as it might have about the nature of Mohawk society during a period of rapid change.

Ken Coates University of Waterloo

Native Men Remade: Gender and Nation in Contemporary Hawai'i. By Ty P. Kawika Tengan. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008. 296 pages. \$84.95 cloth; \$23.95 paper.

Ty P. Kawika Tengan's *Native Men Remade* provides considerable insight into one aspect of the ongoing quasi-renaissance of Native Hawaiian language and culture. Manifestations of the reacquainting include the creation of the Native Hawaiian program at the University of Hawaii–Manoa, immersion classes and schools, and Senator Daniel Akaka's bill to provide Native Hawaiians with the same kind of "Native" status and a hope of assigned lands similar to what American Indian tribes "enjoy."

Tengan provides an excellent brief history of the changing roles and perceptions of Native Hawaiians throughout the last two hundred years. For the contemporary situation, he pays particular attention to large numbers of Native Hawaiians in the tourism industry and a current perception of "feminization" among Native males. He writes that Native females have taken many of the leadership roles in the Native revival, and that only recently has a mechanism developed to make the Native males feel more masculine. He argues that non-Natives cause Natives to see themselves as less than "male" on a continuum, and that only with the development of newly formed agencies have Native Hawaiian males seen a turnaround in self-image and in perception by others.

The most interesting sections of the book provide ethnography of the formation and development of one of these groups—a group that the author observed but also in which he was a participant. Traditionally, anthropology students are taught to be participant-observers with the participant part de-emphasized and the observer part stressed. Tengan is not the first to try to do both, nor will he be the last. More anthropology is of this type because

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