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Enemy Ancestors: The Anasazi World with a Guide to Sites. By Gary Matlock. Flagstaff, AZ: Northland Press, 1988. 116 pages. \$19.95 paper.

I am from Santa Clara Pueblo, New Mexico, and I am a part of the Anasazi cultural tradition that is the subject of *Enemy Ancestors*. My reactions to the book are both positive and negative. I will talk about these reactions in three categories: aesthetics, history, and philosophy.

Aesthetically and visually, the book is beautiful. The format, especially given the photographs, is excellent. There are some photographs, however, in which the technical skill and mastery of equipment overshadow what is being photographed. For instance, the artificial lighting within a rock shelter site in a southeastern Utah canyon turns the natural rough sandstone overhang into fluid gold. The texture and color of the sandstone are dramatically changed, compromising the reality of the photograph. So also in another photograph of Pueblo Bonito. The natural light in the Southwest is exquisite, and the use of technical equipment in a few of the photographs superimposes an aesthetic sensibility that changes the feeling of the place. Most of the photographs, however, are outstanding and capture the land and cultural forms in a truly aesthetic and informative way.

The historical content carefully explicates the classical organization of Pueblo cultural traditions. It is a view of Pueblo/Anasazi culture from an altogether non-Indian perspective, and, as such, it is good. It clarifies the terminology and classification used in archeology and elaborates the standard historical schema with pertinent research data and facts. All of it is well-written and instructive.

Philosophically, the opening of chapter 1—"It is not possible to understand the Anasazi without knowing the mesas, mountains, and canyons of the Southwest" (p. 3)—is a grand statement that stretches the author and the reader into the Pueblo world and thinking. Gary Matlock, however, seems not to fully realize the significance of the statement, for the theme is not carried through the book. He does not dwell on that most basic relationship between humans and the natural world but rather focuses on the human classification of other humans. The photographs are positive reminders of the unique relationship between the natural and cultural forms in the Anasazi world, and they

contrast sharply with the more academic discussion of Anasazi history.

In fact, the hope of discovering the intimate relationship between the Anasazi and the natural landscape is blatantly destroyed when the author writes,

In the end, it was probably this same inconsistent environment that both permitted agriculture for some thirteen centuries but was also ultimately responsible for the short migration of the Anasazi from the Four Corners to more southern regions. It may also have been the primary limiting factor that prevented the Anasazi from leaving the Formative or farming level of cultural development to achieve the more complex state or urban levels found in Mexico, Peru, China, and other areas of the world (p. 14).

With that summation of life in the Anasazi Southwest, the author shows his western European bias towards predestination and linear cultural development, which leads him to conclude that the complex, urban state is the end goal of all societies. He demonstrates little sensitivity to a more cyclic and organic lifestyle connected to the land and seasons, which was intuitively preferred and consciously chosen by the Anasazi people.

Overall, Matlock does not understand the philosophy and lifestyle of the Anasazi/Pueblo. The people obviously are appreciated and honored by the author, in his own way, but the book is written by a non-Indian, for non-Indians.

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Out of the Wilderness: The Emergence of an American Identity in Colonial New England. By John Canup. Middleton, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1990. 319 pages. \$35.00 cloth.

The last decade has seen a growing body of literature concerning the influence of the New World on Europeans. As examples of intellectual history, these works are long overdue. As examples of ethnohistory, they have been disappointing. John Canup's *Out of the Wilderness* fits both these generalizations. This work

shows the growing importance of the Indian in American intellectual history, but, unfortunately, it adds little to our understanding of Native Americans and their relationship with the Puritans.

Canup's book emphasizes the role of the American wilderness in Puritan conceptions of themselves as English subjects. His objective is to illustrate the Puritan colonists' anxieties "as they became, despite themselves, American" (p. 7). He does so by concentrating on seventeenth-century writers. In particular, he emphasizes writers who focused on "the physical and human environments of America," because the environment seemed to pose a danger for the newly "transplanted English culture" (p. 3).

The core of Canup's book concerns the physical and mental struggles New Englanders faced in subduing the American wilderness. Physically, the Puritans struggled to convert the wilderness into a garden. Mentally, they fought to prevent "moral and cultural degeneration" (p. 4). The dual problem of subduing the wilderness and their own inner selves accounts not only for how New Englanders viewed colonial expansion, but for how they conducted it. According to Canup, this physical and mental struggle explains the third-generation New Englanders' growing sense of provincial inferiority.

The strength of this book lies in the author's examination of seventeenth-century Puritan literature. His analysis of the documents is persuasive, and the connections he draws between writers are clear. These strengths are most evident in the first two chapters of the book. In these chapters, Canup traces how settlers and pamphleteers debated the influence of the physical environment on the colonists. Pamphleteers promoting the New England experiment argued that the region's environment was virtually identical to England's. Writers assumed they would be able to transplant English culture quickly and easily in the new land. However, differences in weather patterns between Old and New England, especially when coupled with the physical environment encountered, immediately raised questions about this assumption. The New England environment challenged the colonists' sense of themselves as English people.

The New England environment produced a paradoxical situation for the colonists. At the time of settlement, England was beginning to experience a nostalgia for the "wildwood." New England's forest offered the prospect of a wilderness previously

unimaginable in England. To the Puritan settlers, the figurative wilderness of the Bible was made literal by the presence of howling wolves and rattlesnakes. The forest reminded them of humanity's fall from grace in the Garden of Eden. Their new environment no longer looked like the garden paradise they hoped to recreate. Instead, it challenged their fundamental assumptions about colonization and their hopes for a better future.

Puritan writers, worried about the future of their experiment, justified their concern by writing about their Indian neighbors. For New England authors, the Indians and their forest environment suggested the possibility of cultural regression. The authors worried that prolonged exposure to this wilderness might lead them down the same path the Indians had chosen. To prevent this from happening, the colonists embraced the notion of Christian stewardship and began to try to bring nature under control. The Puritans therefore worked to subdue the wilderness, but they were only partly successful. Though the forest receded, the custodians of colonial culture increasingly worried that the dangers of the forest had only retreated into "the inner wilderness of human nature" (p. 28).

Included in this book is a section detailing how the wilderness influenced New England religious orthodoxy. Although the wilderness might allow one to contemplate God in private, it was certainly not acceptable to live alone. An individual alone in the wilderness was likely to become "native." The lesson Thomas Morton taught was that it was dangerous to live outside the community. Canup argues that there was more at work among the Puritans than just the fear of losing their English identity.

To the Puritans, wilderness implied danger. The forest magnified the dangers that seventeenth-century Puritans assumed resided in the human soul. Puritan writers believed that the wilderness was the antithesis of civilization. In the woods one could throw off the restraints society imposed. Writers such as Samuel Whiting feared that without societal controls, a person could degenerate into a wild beast.

This fear of degeneration helps account for New Englanders' concern with bestiality. As New England courts and writers saw it, bestiality blurred the distinction between civilization and wilderness. Moreover, it endangered the humanity of the entire community. For Puritan New England, bestiality challenged the trinity of any community: humanity, civility, and Christianity.

Bestiality showed how quickly civilized people could backslide into "savagery." Only within the communal setting could Puritan authorities enforce acceptable standards of behavior. Authorities feared that individuals who withdrew from society would "degenerate . . . into wild beasts or monsters" (p. 47).

Fear of the wilderness forced New England writers to contemplate the American Indian. This is the focus of the middle chapters of the book. In the sections dealing with the Native Americans' role in the creation of an American identity, the work is disappointing. It contains no new information on the subject of Puritan-Indian relations, merely using the Indians as foils to understand the Puritans.

Despite chapters entitled "Indian Origins and Colonial Destinies" and "The Triumph of Indianism," the book displays no understanding of the Indians of New England. Instead, these chapters trace the problems writers had in figuring out the Indians' origins or why New England "waged preventive war . . . on Indian culture" (p. 149). In this book, the Indians' presence is important only because it served to confront New England intellectuals with the possibility of degeneration. It was this fear of cultural degeneration that led New England writers to dwell on the question of Indian origins. They also struggled with the question of whether the devil was more powerful in America than "Gog and Magog" had been in England. Answering these questions posed significant problems for Puritan authors. They had come to America to escape the devil. Yet the presence of the Indians and their society led the Puritans to believe they were in greater danger than they had ever been before. The final solution for Puritan thinkers was to transform the Indians into "the semblance of English and Christians" (p. 148).

Because the Puritans decided to convert the indigenous Americans rather than understand them, the reader gains no sense of the type of societies the Indians who entered John Eliot's praying towns came from. The book ignores the various Indian groups the settlers met. The Indians always remain outside the scope of this book.

This failure to understand Native Americans occurs in other sections of the book as well. Canup discusses how Puritan authors used Metacomet's war as a sign of cultural degeneracy. They saw the conflict as an example of how colonists had "'learned the ways of the Heathen' in a more literal sense" (p.

183). In addition, Metacomet's war is important for understanding the changes in Puritan conversion practices that followed the conflict. There is no analysis of the war itself and no discussion of what Metacomet hoped to achieve. Indeed, Metacomet is still listed as King Philip in the bibliography. In this book, the Indian serves as a reminder to Puritan writers about the dangers facing them in America. The Indian represented what Puritans most feared about colonization—becoming something other than English.

By the end of the seventeenth century, New Englanders, represented by Cotton Mather, were ambivalent toward their American identity. Men like Mather were unable to think of themselves as "either American or Englishmen" (p. 6). Mather was unable to renounce either of these identities for the other. Searching for a solution to his dilemma, he resuscitated the Puritan jeremiad tradition, raising the "taint of heathenism and wilderness" before his colonial audience. America was capable of producing cultural degeneration.

Not surprisingly, Canup sees Benjamin Franklin as a product of the New England identity crisis. It was Franklin's generation that looked "outward and eastward . . . not inward" for their intellectual and literary models. The question, however, remained the same: Are we English or Americans? And Franklin, like his Puritan predecessors, had to respond to questions concerning "American degeneracy" (pp. 237-38). In the end, Franklin reacted to his own cultural predicament by "'Anglifying' himself." This Anglification was ultimately unsuccessful. When Franklin and others like him recognized this failure, American independence became possible.

Canup is to be commended for his integration of literary and historical scholarship. This work is outstanding in detailing how the Puritans viewed their New World. However, the one-sided portrayal of the Indians makes the book incomplete.

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