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A Long and Terrible Shadow: White Values, Native Rights in the Americas, 1492-1992. By Thomas R. Berger.

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whether it is an accommodation to the long-resisted influence of her father (and his people) or to relating with another human being today. The beauty of *Firesticks* is that Diane Glancy provides resolutions on both planes: the visionary past and life in the present.

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A Long and Terrible Shadow: White Values, Native Rights in the Americas, 1492-1992. By Thomas R. Berger. Seattle, Washington: University of Washington Press, 1991. 183 pages. \$12.95 paper.

Given its subtitle, one is tempted to view this book as an effort to capitalize on the hoopla associated with the quincentenary. Avoid such temptation. This book is not your standard overview of Native American-European relations over the centuries. Instead, it is an effort to show how the questions confronting these relations in 1492 are the same questions being confronted today. The result is an interesting journey into comparative history. Still, having finished the book, one is left with a question: Who is Berger's intended audience? If it is for specialists, they will know most of the information already; if it is for the interested layperson, the book moves so quickly that much of the information will be lost in this whirlwind trip spanning five hundred years of history.

What type of pace are we talking about in this book? How about five hundred years of history in eleven chapters, one hundred and sixty-two pages of text? Within this framework, Berger takes his reader from sixteenth-century Spain to twentieth-century Canada, with stops along the way in the United States, Mexico, Guatemala, Brazil, Argentina, and Chile. The author claims that three issues are central to understanding native-nonnative relations: First, what gave the Europeans the right to acquire territory in the New World? Second, what gave the conquerors the right to subjugate the Indian peoples who already resided on the land in question? And finally, what justification was there for requiring Native Americans to repudiate their way of life? These questions occur whether one is talking about Bartolomé de Las Casas's debates with Juan Gines de Sepulveda or the current legal battles taking place in British Columbia concerning native rights.

Because this book is a popularization rather than an academic treatise, many of the things that scholars take for granted—footnotes documenting claims, for example—are missing. This is too bad, because Berger makes some assertions that are controversial, or at least debatable. For example, did the Yamasee come closer to destroying English colonization efforts in 1715 than Opechancanough and his allies had in 1622? Documentary evidence is necessary, and it is missing. Without such documentation, Berger's case is weakened.

One of the strengths of this book is the author's use of comparative history. Berger discusses Indian slavery by comparing the experience of Carolina Indian polities with their counterparts in Portuguese Brazil. In examining nineteenth-century wars against the Indians, the author contrasts the United States experience with that of the pampas Indians of Argentina. For the United States and Argentina, these wars provided a national cause "through which the populace could assert a common identity" (p. 97). However, the fate of the indigenous people who fought against the dominant cultures differed. In the United States, there was the rule of law, a legacy of the Marshall Court, which prevented the conquerors from doing whatever they wanted with their defeated enemies. This was not the case in Argentina, where native peoples were given two choices: assimilation or extinction.

Brevity is another of the book's strengths, but it is also a weakness. For example, the United States government's termination policy of the 1950s is given two short paragraphs. The 1934 Indian Reorganization Act is given a single paragraph, and, by the next page, Berger is discussing the 1971 Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act. While interested laypeople and scholars may understand how termination worked for such groups as the Menominee of Wisconsin, most readers will not. In another chapter, devoted to the Iroquois, Berger writes that the Covenant Chain "served the Iroquois for half a century" (p. 60). Unless the reader already knows what the Covenant Chain was and how it operated, he or she is lost. In addition, Berger argues that the Six Nations' decision to side with the British in their wars for empire against the French was the result of William Johnson's marriage to Molly Brant. This marriage, and his ability to "bind the Mohawks, and to a lesser extent the other Iroquois nations, to the British" (p. 60), explain it all. The problem here is that there is still considerable debate about whether Johnson and Brant were even married.

What makes Berger's arguments effective is that he shows how these issues are not just location-specific, but universal to native-nonnative relations throughout the Americas. Equally important to Berger's thesis is that many of the issues that scholars regard as historical are more than that. These issues or events still confront native-nonnative relations today. One such issue is disease. Berger, citing the Urubus-Kaapor experience in the 1950s, shows how disease continues to impact native communities.

During a foray into Brazilian Indian history, Berger argues that there are two schools of thought regarding native populations at the time of contact. One is the "American historical school," represented by Alfred Kroeber, and the other is the ethnohistorical school, represented by Henry Dobyns and Ann F. Ramenofsky (p. 33). Berger is clearly in the Dobyns/Ramenofsky camp, but so are many American historians (including this reviewer). Here it seems that Berger has created an interpretative model that no longer exists or at least no longer relies on Alfred Kroeber for support. Still, this type of division may be useful to any new reader in Indian-non-Indian culture studies.

If this book has any nonnative heroes, they are Bartolomé de Las Casas and Supreme Court chief justice John Marshall. These men demonstrate that, from the beginning of colonization, there were individuals who challenged the accepted Western notions about what to do with the indigenous peoples. Both Las Casas and Marshall raised fundamental questions concerning Indian-European relationships. For native peoples of the Spanish empire, Bartolomé de Las Casas was "the greatest defender of the rights of Indians the Catholic Church has ever had" (p. 5). By examining Las Casas's arguments, particularly those employed against Juan Gines de Sepulveda, Berger shows the ineffectiveness of attempts to protect indigenous Americans in Spanish America. According to Berger, the New Laws of 1452 were designed, in part, to protect the Indians from the conquistadors. When the conquistadors refused to support the New Laws, however, Charles V, fearing colonial insurrection, lost interest in native rights. From Berger's perspective, fear of insurrection was also at the heart of the United States government's decision to reject John Marshall's Supreme Court decisions regarding Cherokee rights in the nineteenth century.

That Chief Justice Marshall is one of the heroes of this book should not surprise the reader. Berger tells us he is a Canadian lawyer who became interested in native-nonnative relations after conducting an inquiry into a proposed gas pipeline in the western Arctic. Indeed, Berger has used some of Marshall's legal opinions in Canadian courts. Berger focuses specifically on John Marshall because the chief justice wrote a series of judgments that recognized native sovereignty, the legitimacy of tribal institutions, and indigenous title to the land. Marshall's decisions were an attempt to work out the ramifications of European occupation of Indian land. As a result of Marshall's decisions, the rule of law became part of the native-nonnative dialogue.

Berger argues that John Marshall wove native rights into the American legal system. Just as Las Casas had, Marshall acknowledged that groups like the Cherokee were nations, with governments exercising sovereign rights. Marshall also recognized aboriginal rights to the land in question. Although United States presidents rejected Marshall's opinions, in part because they feared state reactions to Marshall's decisions, the chief justice provided the rationale for our current conceptions of "Indian self-government" (p. 84).

In subsequent chapters, Marshall's importance becomes even more apparent. From Berger's perspective, Chief Justice Marshall at least allowed tribal peoples in the United States to maintain their cultural identity. Berger also shows how Marshall's opinions entered Canadian legal thought in the 1973 Nisga tribal case. In the Nisga case, Justice Emmitt Hall picked up where John Marshall had left off. John Marshall's opinions have become internationalized.

Thomas Berger is to be commended for his effort to provide a systematic, cohesive, and comparative history of native-nonnative relations. Nevertheless, if one is looking for new interpretations and detailed examinations for some of the questions raised, one would do well to look elsewhere. If, on the other hand, one is looking for a short introduction to the problems of Indian-European relations over the centuries, this is a good book to begin with.

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