

Speck were influential in their efforts to encourage Indians throughout Maryland, Delaware, and Virginia to develop formal tribal organizations in pursuit of government recognition. While the chapter does focus on such organizational efforts, it is abrupt in its conclusion, thereby falling short of the authors' stated goal of filling gaps in the historical record where contemporary Maryland Indians are concerned. The book would have benefitted greatly from a more detailed description of contemporary indigenous communities in Maryland, particularly in light of the relatively ubiquitous amount of literature on Virginia Indians.

The fact that Seib and Rountree have produced an original research compendium with a general audience in mind *first and foremost* warrants high praise. Academia in general, and anthropology in particular, have too often strayed from their foundational principles of addressing critical public agendas. *Indians of Southern Maryland* offers an excellent example of honest and accessible ethnological research designed to enlighten and educate. If scholars find fault in the book, they should also find inspiration to conduct further critical research on the issues presented therein, and on behalf of the peoples who are at the center of the text.

Samuel R. Cook  
Virginia Tech

**“Métis”: Race, Recognition, and the Struggle for Indigenous Peoplehood.** By Chris Andersen. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2015. 284 pages. \$99.00 cloth and electronic; \$35.95 paper.

Legal scholar Paul Chartrand's forward to *“Métis”: Race, Recognition and the Struggle for Indigenous Peoplehood* references the late Métis leader Angus Spence, who proclaimed “we know who we are.” For Chris Andersen, this book's author, being Métis means identifying with the history, events, leaders, territories, language, culture, and political consciousness of the Métis people of the northern plains, and in particular, during the period extending from the Métis buffalo brigades in the early-nineteenth century to the Northwest Uprising in 1885. Hence, Andersen argues that “if the individual or group lacks a connection to the historical core in the Red River region it is not Métis,” whether the community pre-dates Red River, or whether an individual or community self-identifies as Métis today (6). Yet the idea of what it means to be Métis in Canada, and who can rightfully claim membership in the Métis Nation, remains a point of heated, and growing, controversy.

In an attempt to definitively put to rest the issue of Métis identity, Andersen challenges the prevailing orthodoxy that equates Métis with hybridity. Not quite “white” and not quite “Indian,” the Métis are portrayed as the hybrid offshoot of these two races, rather than as a distinct indigenous people. The problem with this kind of reductionist approach is not only the speciousness of its underlying assumptions—all indigenous peoples are “mixed” to a greater or lesser degree—but in addition, to deny the indigeneity and wholeness of the Métis as a distinct nation only serves to

further marginalize Canada's already "forgotten people." This emphasis on "mixedness," Andersen suggests, reflects the cultural ambivalence with which Canada has always approached the Métis: the idea that somehow, being Métis has never been seen as good enough. Hence, Métis are "understood as mixed, diluted missives of a deeper and more legitimate indigeneity, namely, that of our First Nation ancestors," in contrast to assumptions about the superior "purity" of "Indians" and "whites" (36).

Andersen maintains that in spite of the falsity of and damage caused by equating Métis with mixedness, misrecognition of the Métis has become deeply entrenched not only in scholarly literature, but also in state policy and law, where it has assumed a powerful, reified legitimacy. This misrecognition by the state has been intentional, he contends: part of its larger colonizing efforts is to reduce Métis to a mere byproduct of biological mixing. By undermining the peoplehood of the Métis, these false representations hamper their ability to gain an equal footing with other indigenous peoples and to participate more fully on a nation-to-nation basis with the Canadian state.

In tracing the roots of this misrepresentation, Andersen examines the ways in which Métis identity has been articulated in two areas of state activity: the court system and the national census. By replicating and thus legitimizing racialized understandings of the Métis, the ways in which these sites approach definitions of Métis "helps us to make sense of the comparative inability of the Métis Nation to make claims to Métis peoplehood" (95). Particularly relevant here is the Supreme Court of Canada's decision in *Regina v. Powley* (2003), the first constitutional rights case in Canada to deal specifically with the Métis. While the *Powley* decision was met with widespread support by many Métis in Canada—affirming as it did the existence of a rights-bearing Métis community in Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario—in rendering its decision the Court reiterated a definition of Métis rooted in hybridity. Rather than using historical attachment to the larger Métis people to establish the existence of a rights-bearing Métis community, the criteria of the "Powley test" developed by the Court were self-identification, mixed ancestry, and separateness from European and tribal communities. The *Powley* decision also opened up the possibility of "other" Métis peoples in Canada.

The racializing logic employed by the Supreme Court of Canada is also reflected in a second important area of state activity, the national census. In order to be recognized as Métis in the Canadian census, one must only self-identify as such. Hence, any individual in Canada of mixed indigenous heritage can claim to be Métis, regardless of their connection to the historic Métis Nation. Not surprisingly, then, the number of "Métis" in the country has exploded over the past decade, undoubtedly reflecting false identification claims in large measure. This is problematic not only because of the need to for reliable data on the Métis population in Canada for fiscal and policy reasons, but in the larger sense of the power of the census to create a particular vision of social reality. By failing to ground its definition of Métis in terms of connection to "the Red River core," the census relegates Métis to little more than "an official administrative designation for forecasting social spending budgets" (80).

In addition to state activities, Andersen also takes issue with much of the ethno-historical scholarship in Canada, which has come to similarly equate all mixed

indigenous communities in the Upper Great Lakes region with “Métis.” The emphasis on hybridity rather than Métis peoplehood in both administrative and scholarly categories leaves the concept of “Métis” conceptually open for others to use for their own ends. Not surprisingly, this has been occurring with increasing frequency in Canada. This tendency has been compounded by the fact that the Canadian constitution recognizes three categories of indigenous peoples: First Nation, Inuit and Métis. Despite their lack of connection to the historic Métis Nation, individuals of mixed indigenous ancestry who do not readily fit into one of these categories, or have been marginalized in various ways by colonization, have adopted the term “Métis.” Respecting the right of these individuals and groups to define themselves as indigenous is one thing; their appropriation of Métis peoplehood is quite another. As Andersen bluntly puts it: “Métis is not a soup kitchen for indigenous individuals and communities disenfranchised in various ways by the Canadian state” (24). Indeed, it is hard to imagine the same kind of appropriation being undertaken with such abandon towards any other group of indigenous people, or being met with such benign acceptance.

*“Metis”: Race, Recognition, and the Struggle for Indigenous Peoplehood* strikes at the heart of what it truly means to be Métis in Canada. It is a powerful, timely, and cogently articulated work that should be required reading for everyone who writes about, engages with, or is simply curious about the Métis. The Métis truly do know who they are. It’s about time the rest of us got on board and accepted this fact.

Kelly Saunders  
Brandon University

**Native American Whalers and the World: Indigenous Encounters and the Contingency of Race.** By Nancy Shoemaker. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2015. 320 pages. \$34.95 cloth.

American Indian history is undergoing a “maritime turn.” Over the past two years, important books have refuted scholarly and popular perceptions of North America’s indigenous inhabitants as landlocked peoples, including Joshua Reid’s *The Sea Is My Country: The Maritime World of the Makahs* (2015), Andrew Lipman’s *The Saltwater Frontier: Indians and the Contest for the American Coast*, (2015), and Jace Weaver’s *The Red Atlantic: American Indigenes and the Making of the Modern World, 1000–1927* (2014). Nancy Shoemaker enlarges this robust new wave of scholarship with her book *Native American Whalers and the World: Indigenous Encounters and the Contingency of Race*. Drawing on the records of “over 600 Native Americans who collectively went on several thousand voyages” (18), Shoemaker explores the United States whaling industry from the vantage points of its American Indian mariners. At its heart, this superb book contends that the stories of nineteenth-century Native American seafarers have much to tell us about the complicated, fragile, and malleable discourses of race at home and abroad.