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**Seeing Red: A History of Natives in Canadian Newspapers.** By Mark Cronlund Anderson and Carmen L. Robertson. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2011. 336 pages. \$31.95 paper.

In *Seeing Red*, Mark Anderson and Carmen Robertson trace the depiction of Aboriginal populations within Canada's English-language press dating from the 1869 purchase of Rupert's Land to the present. Each of the twelve chronologically organized chapters focuses on a different topic involving the Aboriginal population. Though Canadians increasingly define their nation as a pluralistic society, Anderson and Robertson demonstrate that twenty-first-century representations of Aboriginals perpetuate many of the negative portrayals found in the nineteenth-century press while conflating First Nations, Inuit, and Métis into a monolithic entity. Colonial policies adopted during the nineteenth century drew upon assumptions casting Aboriginals as unprogressive or backward, morally depraved, and racially inferior to white Canadians. The assumptions falling within these three broad categories fostered a range of Aboriginal stereotypes that include the stoic Native, the savage, the Indian princess, and the childish Native. Through continued publication of these negative images the Canadian press has reified these stereotypes and presented justifications for colonial rule as common sense. The authors question the inclusiveness of Canadian society by demonstrating the ways in which twenty-first century newspapers continue to valorize colonialism while promoting assimilation and justifying or excusing the subjugation of Native populations. Since the 1960s newspaper coverage has abandoned biological critiques of Aboriginals, but judgments about Native cultures still frame stories involving Aboriginals.

One of the key themes in *Seeing Red* is that debates about Canadian Indian policy constructed a binary with the United States playing a central role: that is, Canadian newspapers contrasted the violent interactions between American Indians and the US government with the supposedly benevolent manner in which the Canadian government treated Aboriginals, employing comparative kindness and morality in its dealings while violence and military subjugation were inherent components of the Indian policies pursued by the United States. These laudatory representations of Canadian policy suggest that Aboriginal populations willingly sought the protection of the Canadian government. This sanitized depiction ignores the pressures Canada exerted to compel Aboriginal groups to agree to treaties as well as the assaults on indigenous cultures that took place within residential schools. Anderson and Robertson contend that the treaty system and the residential schools were clear representations of Canada's efforts to dominate Aboriginals, undermining claims advanced by the Canadian public, newspapers, and scholars that suggest Canada adopted significantly more benign policies than its southern neighbor. The authors

indicate this democratic and inclusive vision of Canada is as much an imaginary construct as the depiction of the Native savage.

Anderson and Robertson raise a number of relevant issues in their chapter on Aboriginal representation after World War II. Studies of American newspapers indicate that the war helped to ameliorate the negative depictions of Native populations within the United States. R. Scott Sheffield's 2004 *The Red Man's on the Warpath* reveals a similar wartime shift in Canadian newspapers, but Anderson and Robertson contend that by 1948 media representations of Aboriginals reverted to their prewar denigration. Focusing their study on the summer of 1948 revealed that most of the seemingly positive stories focused on the efforts of enlightened government officials to improve the lives of Canada's Native peoples, thereby casting Aboriginals as passive recipients of government aid. These stories bolstered assumptions about the superiority of English Canadian society and the need for Aboriginals to assimilate. Furthermore, Canadian newspapers resumed the printing of stories that belittled or mocked Aboriginals while perpetuating the characterization of Aboriginals as childlike or morally degraded. At the same time, Canadian newspapers largely ignored or dismissed Aboriginal critiques of Canadian Indian policies.

Anderson and Robertson contend that the wartime praise of Aboriginals represented a temporary shift brought about by a crisis. The authors identify similar short-term alterations in newspaper depictions of Aboriginals during the standoff at Anicinabe Park in 1974 and the so-called North-West Rebellion of 1885. The authors make a compelling case for interpreting the newspaper coverage of these events as aberrations, but scholars might also consider how these shifts represent the adaptability and durability of colonialism. Within this context, the coverage of Aboriginal groups—whether positive or negative—reflects the changing demands of Canadian colonialism and nationalism. As such, the portrayal of the noble Native warriors during World War II did not represent a departure from earlier newspaper representations of Aboriginals, but reflected the wartime need to enhance the moral standing of the conflict by praising the nation's armed forces.

These observations about Canadian newspapers suggest the need for further study of newspapers from the United States and other former settler societies. Mary Weston's discussion of World War II in *Native Americans in the News* (1996) indicates that American newspapers abandoned earlier depictions of American Indians as merciless savages in favor of a portrayal of Native men as noble warriors with innate fighting abilities. These heroic representations helped Euro-American political leaders justify the removal of federal support for Native tribes and nations in the United States during the postwar years. As Weston drew the citations for this particular chapter from newspapers published during World War II, future investigations could determine the

extent to which American newspapers may have resumed depicting American Indians as moribund, unprogressive, or degenerate during the late 1940s.

The closing chapters of *Seeing Red* address events from the past forty years, including the Oka Crisis of 1990 and the centennial celebrations of Saskatchewan and Alberta in 2005. These chapters demonstrate the longevity of negative characterization of Aboriginals while indicating that newspapers increasingly published criticisms of Native populations based on their supposed possession of special rights and their engagement in reverse racism. Newspaper editorials and letters to the editor, particularly in areas of Canada dependent on the exploitation of natural resources, abound with examples of these critiques. These responses warrant further analysis in that they mirror similar debates about Native communities and economic development within the United States. Alexandra Harmon's investigation of the challenges Native wealth and prosperity present in *Rich Indians* (2010) could serve as an analytical model. Anderson and Robertson themselves demonstrate how these issues surface during Canadian discussions of Aboriginals and resource rights in recent critiques of Aboriginals based upon their usage of modern technology to maintain whale hunts and other traditional activities. The authors astutely argue that this represents a perpetuation of the assumption that Aboriginals live within static societies and lose their authenticity if they seek to embrace aspects of modernity without first abandoning their cultures.

Anderson and Robertson adeptly demonstrate the ways in which Canadian newspapers continue to promote colonialism. *Seeing Red* fills a gap in existing scholarship as comparatively few studies have addressed the representation of Aboriginals in the Canadian press, and serves as a needed Canadian counterpart to John Coward's *The Newspaper Indian* (1999). However, the ways in which Canadian newspapers conceptualize Native voices is largely neglected. The authors explain that Aboriginal efforts to contest representations found in the Canadian press had little influence to justify their limited analysis of Native voices in the press. Yet such study would reveal how Aboriginals understand and attempt to combat colonial domination. In addition, examining the ways in which Canadian newspaper editors misinterpreted or mischaracterized Native voices would enhance the authors' representation of newspapers as a colonized space that continues to justify the dispossession and control of Aboriginal populations.

One Native source that could have furthered the authors' analysis of the efforts of Canadian newspaper editors to marginalize or undermine Native peoples was misidentified. The fourth chapter, "The Golden Rule," opens with an epigraph reprinted from the *Dawson Record*, which features a discussion between several Natives. While the quotation seemingly buttresses the authors' contentions about the tendency of Canadian newspaper editors to ridicule Aboriginals for their inability to speak grammatically correct English,

this particular fictional conversation is the work of Alexander Posey, a Creek humorist from Indian Territory. Posey's "Fus Fixico" letters appeared during the early years of the twentieth century in newspapers across the United States and satirized prominent local and national leaders. A closer analysis of Posey's Indian dialect reveals that it does not echo the halting speeches crafted by many non-Native writers to mock American Indians. It is unclear if the *Dawson Record's* editor recognized the humor or political critiques within the reprinted dialogue, and *Seeing Red* leaves pertinent questions about the usage of Posey's writings unasked. Nevertheless, the book offers an excellent overview of representations of Aborigines within Canada's press, and raises the possibility of transnational studies aimed at illuminating the perpetuation of colonial ideologies within newspapers from other former settler societies.

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**Spaces Between Us: Queer Settler Colonialism and Indigenous Decolonization.** By Scott Lauria Morgensen. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011. 336 pages. \$75.00 cloth; \$25.00 paper.

With *Spaces Between Us*, Scott Lauria Morgensen makes a set of vital contributions to the fields of Native studies, (American) queer studies, and settler studies. Rigorous, reflexive, and unfailingly generous, Morgensen develops a critically comparative methodology in order to examine Native and non-Native American queer cultures and politics as these unfold in conversation on a terrain shaped by settler colonialism. Morgensen is concerned to show how modern queer cultures and politics can work to "erase native people and naturalize settler colonialism" even when explicitly antiracist or anticolonial in orientation (3). To this end, he convincingly outlines the workings of a specifically settler-colonial biopolitics that queers Native people while defining queer settler subjects as "a primitive, racialized sexual margin akin to what white settlers attempt to conquer among Natives." He then goes on to chart twentieth-century manifestations of queer primitivism, in which non-Native queers embrace, rather than flee, the identification of queerness with racialized primitivity (32).

One chapter examines the way in which the berdache, originally generalized as a figure of primitive sexual and gender diversity by such early twentieth-century ethnographers as Margaret Mead, in the 1970s and 1980s eventually came to ground the claims to recognition of non-Native gay and lesbian anthropologists and gay counterculturalists. In another, Morgensen develops an ethnographic account of the back-to-the-land counterculturalism