

**Scars of Empire –
A Juxtaposition of Duncan Campbell Scott and Jacques Soustelle**

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Abstract

Scars of Empire juxtaposes the lives and careers of the Canadian poet and civil servant Duncan Campbell Scott (1862-1947) and the French ethnologist and politician Jacques Soustelle (1912-1990). The work adopts a transnational approach to intellectual history that involves Algeria, Canada, France and Mexico. It argues that a juxtaposition of these individuals illuminates the struggles of liberal modern nation-states in relationship with Indigenous peoples. The dissertation explores the failures of both French liberal imperialism and Canadian domestic colonization in native policy, in Canada in the half century following the establishment of the Canadian nation state, and in France, during an acute crisis of de-colonization in the conflict over independence for l'Algérie française.

This exploration of Scott and Soustelle features examinations of Scott's poetry and fictional prose; Soustelle's ethnological works concerning Mexico; archives of the Canadian Indian Department during Scott's tenure; Canadian literary archives concerning Scott's career and the post-Confederation development of arts and letters in Canada; French governmental archives concerning Soustelle's stint as Governor General of Algeria; archival sources in Mexico concerning Soustelle's engagement with Mexican colleagues and his role as representative of the French resistance to Nazism while stationed in Mexico; and archives in French museums and academic institutions concerning the history of French anthropology, archaeology and ethnology during Soustelle's lifetime.

Employing a transnational approach in comparative intellectual history this dissertation puts Canada into a global conversation about legacies of settler

colonialism and European imperialism. It argues that national challenges concerning Aboriginal peoples in Canada and in France's relationship with its former territorial possessions in Africa are manifestations of contradictions and exclusions inherent in the application of liberalism. Scott and Soustelle are juxtaposed in this dissertation in order to better understand the history and ideology of policies directed at Indigenous populations in Canada and in l'Algérie française.

Dedication

For Carmine, Consuelo, Doug, Elsi, Roberta and Walter – my family,
my teachers...

Acknowledgments

At the outset of this dissertation, I especially wish to express thanks to historian E. Brian Titley and the literary scholar Stan Dragland with whom I collaborated on the documentary film *Duncan Campbell Scott: The Poet and the Indians* and whose principal academic works about Scott are central to my understanding of the subject.¹ I also acknowledge the contributions of everyone who worked on that project, particularly cinematographer René Sioui Labelle, editor Deborah Palloway and co-producer Michael Allder of The National Film Board of Canada.

My curiosity about the north and admiration for its people have been inspired and nurtured by an association with Temagami in north-eastern Ontario, Trent University in Peterborough, Ontario and Camp Wanapitei on Lake Temagami. I express heartfelt gratitude to Bruce and Carol Hodgins, John Milloy, Gary Potts, John Wadland and others for all they have shared with me.

As a graduate student following almost two decades of work in public broadcasting and documentary film making, I was encouraged to compare Canada and Mexico by my co-supervisor, the cultural historian of Mexico, Anne Rubenstein of York University and Kenneth Mills, professor of history and, at that time, director of Latin American Studies at the University of Toronto. Co-supervisor, Canadian ethnohistorian Carolyn Podruchny, delights in history that employs a multi-disciplinary, culturally

layered approach.² These scholars did not dissuade me from viewing history through an interdisciplinary, comparative lens. Their courses and supervision whetted my appetite to reflect on Canada and Mexico in a broader context about legacies of colonizing as well as decolonizing and re-colonizing in the modern world. The Oaxaca Summer Institute in Modern Mexican History organized by Professors William Beezley of the University of Arizona and William French of the University of British Columbia further spurred my thinking along these lines.

A decade after the Scott film was released I was in a doctoral course on Modern European History taught by William Irvine at York University. I expressed an interest in writing a paper about the bitter fight among French intellectuals over the Algerian War of independence. I was already familiar with the writings of both Jean Paul Sartre and Albert Camus on the matter and how their argument contributed to the ending of a close friendship. Professor Irvine encouraged me to examine the role of Jacques Soustelle, a man I had never heard of. In so doing, I became transfixed by an ethnologist, *provocateur* and politician whose life directly encompassed some of the great dramas and intellectual shifts of the twentieth century: the rise of fascism in Europe; French resistance to Nazism; the origins of modern French ethnology; Mexican *indigenismo*; and the bitter end of more than a century of French rule in Algeria.³

I met with journalist Bernard Ullmann, Soustelle's political biographer, while conducting my research in Paris. Ullmann, who died in late 2008, kindly shared his

infectious fascination with Soustelle, fine whiskey and the transcript of an incomplete memoir that Soustelle had recounted orally to one of Ullmann's colleagues.⁴ I want to acknowledge Ullmann's generosity, terrific humour and his splendid example in making a career transition from the discipline of journalism to longer-form, in-depth investigation.

I wish to thank archivists and librarians in Aix-en-Provence, la Ciudad de México, Kingston, Ontario, Oaxaca, Ottawa, Paris, San Cristóbal de las Casas and Toronto for their generous assistance. Seneca College in Toronto has been supportive to me as I went along this doctoral path while continuing my duties as professor of Journalism. My wife Li Robbins and my daughters Jessica, Rachel and Sarah have constantly inspired and supported my efforts. Since this work began, the birth of grandchildren Leo and Willa has provided solace, lots of laughs and renewed motivation for all my endeavors.

¹ James Cullingham, director/producer/writer, *Duncan Campbell Scott – The Poet and the Indians* (Toronto: Tamarack Productions in Co-production with The National Film Board of Canada, Ontario Centre, 1995), DVD distribution – Canada – V Tape, Toronto; international Tamarack Productions, Toronto; USA – Icarus Films, New York); Brian Titley, *A Narrow Vision: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986); Stan Dragland, *Floating Voice: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Literature of Treaty 9* (Concord, Ont.: Anansi, 1994).

² Carolyn Podruchny, *Making The Voyageur World: Travelers and Traders in the North American Fur Trade* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006).

³ Bernard Ullmann, *Jacques Soustelle – Le Mal aimée* (Paris: Plon, 1995); Nicole Racine, “Jacques Soustelle” in Jean Maitre, *Dictionnaire Biographique Du Mouvement Ouvrier Français – Quatrième partie 1914-1939 de la Première à la Seconde Guerre Mondiale*, Tome 41 Rova à Szy (Paris: Les Éditions Ouvrières, 1992); Dominique Balvet, « Jacques Soustelle et l'Algérie française: gaullisme et anti gaullisme » (thèse doctoral sous la direction de Jean-François Sirinelli, Université Charles de Gaulle Lille 3, 2003).

⁴ Jacques Soustelle, “Souvenirs, Apocryphes en forme de dialogue avec George Suffert” 1988 unpublished manuscript provided to the author in January 2008 by Bernard Ullmann. I retain that copy of the manuscript.

Ullmann died in December 2008, a few months after our final meeting. His demise was widely reported in the French press. See for example <http://tempsreel.nouvelobs.com/medias/20081231.OBS7906/le-journaliste-bernard-ullmann-est-mort.html> (accessed January 2009).

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Abbreviations

This list with abbreviations will help the reader with the Endnotes. A detailed list of principal collections appears in the Bibliography.)

Archives Centre d'Histoire Contemporaine – Centre d'Histoire, l'Université Sciences-Po, Paris ACHC

Archives du Musée du quai Branly, Paris (MqB)

Archives nationales d'outre-mer, Aix-en-Provence (CAOM)

Archivos Frans Blom, San Cristóbal de las Casas, Chiapas, México (AFB)

Archivos del Museo Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Ciudad de México (BMBAH)

Archives Association Germaine Tillion, Paris (AGT)

Biblioteca Daniel Cosío Villegas, Colegio de México, Ciudad de México (BDCV)

Bibliothèque centrale du Muséum national d'Histoire naturelle, Paris (MNHN)

Bibliothèque national de France – Mitterand (BnF)

Centre d'études mexicaines et centreaméricaines, Ciudad de México (CEMCA)

Centre Albert Camus, Cité du Livre, Aix-en-Provence (CAC)

Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa (LAC-BAC) (LMS for fonds of literary artists such as DC Scott and Elise Ayleen)

Inathèque, Bibliothèque national de France – Mitterand (INA)

Queen's University Archives, Kingston, Ontario (QUA)

Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto (TFRBL)

Prelude

Albany River 1993

Albany River, June 1993. My companion and I are five days paddle down river from Osnaburgh. The Treaty 9 commission of Duncan Campbell Scott travelled these waters in 1905. As we come out of a winding set of swifts we see a man standing in a canoe where the river widens. As we approach, it become clear he is hauling up a net. He smiles a bit as he struggles. After a few more minutes tugging, the large flat head of a fish with long tentacles on its face emerges. As the sixty pound sturgeon flops inside his canoe, the man dispatches it with the butt end of a sawed off paddle. He says there's a lot of food in a sturgeon. He and his family, camped nearby, have travelled up river from their spring camp.



Figure 1 Albany River fisher near Achapi Lake 1993 (photo by James Cullingham)

Ontario 1995

Osnaburgh First Nation, north-western Ontario, August 1995. My documentary crew and I are driving through 'Oz' in pitch darkness. We're on our way back to a motel in Pickle Lake in the midst of a film shoot about Duncan Campbell Scott. He was here on Lake St. Joseph at the headwaters of the Albany River in 1905. A meeting was held. A treaty was signed. Scott wrote poetry and took photographs. In '95 Osnaburgh is a mess. The kids burned the school down last winter. The nursing station is abandoned. Windows in the public buildings are covered with thick wire mesh like one sees in an American urban ghetto. That night kids lunge toward our van holding bags of solvents to their faces. As we slow down, a teenage girl bangs on the side of the van. Wendat/Québécois cameraman René Sioui Labelle is at the wheel. He rolls down the window, the girl screams in his face, "I want to die!"

Chiapas, México 2008



Figure 2 market in San Juan de Chamula 2008 (photo by James Cullingham)

I've taken a colectivo, a wonderfully packed, lurching communal mini-bus cum taxi, from San Cristobal de las Casas in Chiapas to the nearby Tzotzil Mayan community of San Juan de Chamula. I'm conducting doctoral research into Jacques Soustelle who was here in the 1930s working on his doctoral thesis. The village had been a flashpoint of conflict during the Zapatista rebellion against the Mexican state in the 1990s. San Juan de Chamula, and a few neighbour villages, now enjoy increased local autonomy as part of an uneasy truce between Zapatista loyalists and the federal government of Mexico.

It's market day in San Juan de Chamula. Not only is the town square packed with locals and peasants from more remote mountain villages selling agricultural products, handicrafts and household goods, the elaborate local church is packed with people, many of whom are chanting and swaying while appearing to be in an altered state. I've

purchased a pass from the local municipal hall to enter the church – all cameras are forbidden in its interior.

As I leave the church, a few middle-aged men invite me to follow them up a flight of stairs to a balcony in the rectory overlooking a courtyard behind. The stairwell is full of men and women playing musical instruments ranging from guitars to fiddles to various drums to all the brass instruments in a Mexican marching band. By the time we reach the walkway along the balcony the air is thickly clouded with the wondrous smell of copal, a Mayan form of incense. My companions stop just outside a door leading into a small room off the passageway that leads round the courtyard. We pause, I enjoying the music and the scent of smouldering copal. Then they beckon me to follow them into the room. Women and men are huddled together - alternately holding, unwrapping and immersing tiny wooden or clay figures of their saints directly in the smoke from small piles of glowing copal. After each figurine has been held for a minute or two directly in the smoke, each is wrapped in a colourful cloth and taken back down the stairs, across the courtyard into the back door of the church. Those in the room, some of whom are very elderly, are speaking as quietly and fervently in the local Tzotzil Mayan dialect as the accompanying music will allow. While some of the figurines appear vaguely Christian to me, there are no priests and all blessings are in Tzotzil Mayan. A few people make the sign of the cross.

When all the santitos have been cleansed, blessed and returned to the church, I ask my companions what was the meaning of what we'd witnessed. They explain that once a year, all the saints are removed from the church, cleansed and then returned. They say they were happy for me to see it because I agreed not to take pictures.

1. Introduction: Inquietudes

This dissertation is an interdisciplinary voyage in intellectual history. By juxtaposing Duncan Campbell Scott and Jacques Soustelle, this work puts Canada, France and Mexico into a transnational conversation about the scars of empire. These men's shared focus on the lives of Indigenous peoples as expressed in ethnology, the administration of governments, literature and politics provides a unifying thread. Through an exploration of Scott and Soustelle, it is concerned with the modern legacies of colonialism, imperialism and liberalism. Scott and Soustelle are juxtaposed in this dissertation in order to better understand the history and ideology of policies directed at Indigenous populations in Canada and in l'Algérie française.

This work began in a canoe. In the summer of 1992, I was camped with my family near Horseshoe Bay in Pukakswa National Park on the north shore of Lake Superior. At the suggestion of my friend and colleague, the filmmaker, anthropologist and author Hugh Brody, I took a collection of Duncan Campbell Scott's poems along. In the evenings when the wind calmed down on that great inland sea, I would paddle out to the mouth of the Pic River near the Heron Bay First Nation. Drifting in the prolonged Lake Superior sunset, I discovered that Scott's poetry was more intriguing and perplexing than I had presumed. I had first encountered Scott as an undergraduate student. Scott was generally regarded, in the circles I kept, as the notorious early twentieth-century bureaucratic mastermind of Canadian Indian policy. Paddling in the same waters Scott had visited on a Treaty expedition in 1906, I began to realize that his story was far more complex than I had imagined. How did this accomplished artist come to participate in

some of Canada's most egregious assaults on human rights? My wrestling with that question led to a 1995 documentary film *Duncan Campbell Scott: The Poet and the Indians*.¹ This dissertation emphasizes Scott's Treaty 9 experience because of its formative effect on his core convictions as a civil servant and because his journeys during the summers of 1905 and 1906 furnished provided him inspiration for some of his most important poems and short stories.

In writing this dissertation and in conducting research for the film in 1993-1994, my archival research at Library and Archives Canada in Ottawa focused on a reading of the "RG10" fonds of the Indian Department (well known to many historians of Aboriginal – settler relations in Canada) in juxtaposition with Scott's personal and literary papers in the "Elise Aylen – DC Scott fonds". This selective approach was inspired by a reluctance to replicate the work already accomplished by Canadian historians such as Titley, Olive Dickason, James R. Miller and John S. Milloy and to 'read along the archival grain' as an understanding of the anthropological historian Ann Laura Stoler's work engaged my curiosity and informed my approach.²

¹ James Cullingham, director/producer, *Duncan Campbell Scott – The Poet and The Indians*, documentary film, NFB producer Michael Allder (Tamarack Productions and National Film Board of Canada – Ontario Centre, 1995) Distributed by VTape in Canada; Icarus Films in USA.

² Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc., 1992); J. R. Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996); J.R. Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens: A History of Indian-White Relations in Canada*. 3rd ed. (Toronto ; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 2000); J.R. Miller, *Compact, Contract, Covenant : Aboriginal Treaty-Making in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009); John Sheridan Milloy, *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879-1986* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1999); Ann Laura Stoler, *Along The Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009); Titley, *A Narrow Vision*, 1986.

This dissertation adds to the consideration of Scott in the Canadian historiography. It engages simultaneously with Scott the senior bureaucrat and Scott the literary artist and public intellectual. His high standing during the emergence of a Canadian English language literature and his activities as a mandarin in the Indian department under several governments are not contradictory, but rather, consistent expressions of a widely shared Canadian liberal ideology that prevailed for several decades following Canadian confederation in 1867. Scott's literary defenders have anguished over what appears to some as a contradiction between his art and his bureaucratic endeavours. The Canadian literature specialist and cultural theorist Robert L. McDougall re-appraised Scott's legacy in the 1980s and 1990s.

The gist of the Indian problem is simple. For the first three decades of this century, whether as an accountant responsible for Indian funds or as Deputy Superintendent, Scott administered federal Indian policy relating to the Canadian Indians. Aspects of that policy, questioned in some quarters even in Scott's day, have proved prime targets for attack in the native-rights atmosphere of the sixties and seventies. Because Scott implemented government policy, apparently without seriously questioning it, he has suffered the Nuremberg taint of guilt through compliance with unjust orders. Particular charges range from duplicity to genocide. And the reputation of the poetry, wrongly, I think, is sometimes brought down with the reputation of the man.³

This dissertation is also a product of a lifetime's interest in France, French literature and existentialism, particularly the works of Albert Camus and Jean-Paul Sartre. In his tumultuous career, Soustelle, although trained as an ethnologist, was also an active politician. In addition, Soustelle practised counter terrorism, propaganda and

³ Robert L. McDougall, "D.C. Scott: A Trace of Documents and a Touch of Life," in McDougall, *Totems: Essays in the Cultural History of Canada* (Ottawa: Tecumseh Press, 1990), 188.

intelligence-gathering techniques mastered as the diplomatic representative of General Charles de Gaulle in Mexico during the Nazi occupation of France in World War II.⁴

Soustelle was haunted and inspired by Mexico, a land of ancient civilizations and site of the twentieth century's first great national revolution. As the last Governor General of l'Algérie française in 1955-1956, almost a quarter of a century after a transformative introduction to Mexico as a graduate student in the 1930s, Soustelle believed he could import to Algeria what he had garnered from a particular aspect of post-revolutionary Mexico – the cultural, economic, political and social programme known as *indigenismo*, a wide, sweeping and often contradictory set of policies to incorporate the *indio* (Indian) in Mexican society. Soustelle attempted to apply what he deemed valuable from *indigenismo* to relations between Europeans and Moslems in Algeria to salvage France's imperial project in the Maghreb. As a public figure engaged in French politics and academic life at the highest levels, Soustelle is a continuing presence in the history of modern France, particularly in regards to the Algerian question.

The political and ethical dimensions surrounding Soustelle's role in Algeria are prominent in the French historiography of Algeria and in the intellectual history of the elites responsible for French rule in Algeria since the advent of liberal rule under the Third Republic in the late nineteenth century. Accounts of Soustelle's role in the end of French rule are polarized. Scholars such as Raoul Girardet, Evelyn Lever, Bernard Droz, Paul Tyre and Todd Shephard credit Soustelle with the best of intentions upon his arrival in Alger in 1955.⁵ As Droz and Lever see his legacy,

⁴ Denis Rolland, *Vichy Et La France Libre Au Mexique* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1990); Rolland, « Jacques Soustelle, De l'Ethnologie à La Politique » *Revue d'Histoire Moderne Et Contemporaine* (1954-) 43, no. 1 (Jan. - Mar., 1996): 137-150.

⁵ See Bernard Droz et Evelyne Lever, *Histoire de la guerre d'Algérie 1954-1962*(Paris: Seuil, 1982) ; Todd

Quelle que soit la sévérité du jugement que l'on porte sur son politique ultérieur, Jacques Soustelle aura eu le rare mérite de rompre avec la bonne conscience compassée de tant de ses prédécesseurs et d'approcher avec humilité les terribles réalités algériennes.⁶

Other academic commentators, including Olivier Cour Grandmaison, Carole Reynaud Paligot and Benjamin Stora, regard Soustelle as part of a tradition of French imperial brutality in Algeria dating back to excesses of the July Republic, the failed Arab empire of Napoleon III and the concerted effort in the liberal era of the late nineteenth-century to transform Algeria into a southern extension of *la métropole*.⁷ This debate will be weighed at several junctures in this work.

This dissertation contributes to the scholarly discussion of Soustelle by carefully examining how his *formation* as a doctoral candidate in 1930s Mexico informed the political choices he made as Governor General of Algeria in 1955-1956. It explores how Soustelle's relationship with his doctoral supervisor, and then colleague, Paul Rivet and Germaine Tillion, his peer in ethnological studies and cabinet colleague in Algeria, shaped his thinking.⁸ It examines how the accomplished ethnologist became a failed politician. It does not linger over the controversies concerning Soustelle's eventual

Shepard, "How Ethnographic Research in 1930s Mexico shaped French efforts to fight Algerian nationalism in 1955," Paper delivered at the Unesco History Project conference in Cambridge (6-7 April 2009); Stephen Tyre, "From Algérie française to France Musulmane: Jacques Soustelle and the Myths and Realities of 'Integration', 1955-1962," *French History* (2006) 20(3): 276-296; Raoul Girardet, *L'Idée Coloniale En France De 1871 a 1962* (Paris: La table ronde, 1972); Alistair Horne, *A Savage War of Peace: Algeria 1954-1962* (New York: New York Review of Books, 2006 – originally published 1977), 105-7.

⁶ Droz et Lever, *Histoire de la guerre d'Algérie*, 67-68.

⁷ Olivier Le Cour Grandmaison, *Coloniser, Exterminer: Sur La Guerre Et l'État Colonial* (Paris: Fayard, 2005); Carole Reynaud Paligot, *La République Raciale : Paradigme Racial Et Idéologie Républicaine, 1860-1930* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 2006); Benjamin Stora, *La Gangrène Et l'Oubli* (Paris: La Découverte, 1991).

⁸ For a recent comprehensive biography of Rivet and profiles of many of students including Jacques & Georgette Soustelle and Germaine Tillion see Christine Laurière, *Paul Rivet Le Savant Et Le Politique* (Paris: Publications Scientifiques du Muséum national d'Histoire naturelle, 2008); Laurière, « Paul Rivet » (thèse doctoral dirigée par M. Jean Jarmin directeur d'études à l'EHSS, Paris).

clandestine opposition to the Algerian policies of Charles de Gaulle. That specific inquiry was central to the inquiry of Ullmann's political biography of Soustelle.⁹

Why make this juxtaposition? Historian Ann Laura Stoler has argued convincingly that attention be paid to ambiguous zones of colonization in many parts of the world including the Americas and North Africa. In a series of her monographs and in collections of essays that she has edited, Stoler has argued for a comparative, transnational approach in what is generally referred to as post-colonial studies.¹⁰ She has urged scholars to get off the beaten track so to speak and to consider the effect of colonial and imperial regimes through prisms that transcend official policy and pronouncements of political leaders. Critically for this enterprise, Stoler suggests that colonial administrators sometimes become willfully ignorant to defect knowledge of painful colonial realities.¹¹ This dissertation will demonstrate that both Duncan Campbell Scott and Jacques Soustelle sometimes achieved states of highly selective and limited consciousness in regards to the peoples subject to the policies they championed. Her approach provides an incentive to undertake a consideration of Canadian Indian policy and Scott's role in it rubbed against French policies in Algeria along with Soustelle's role in that drama. Stoler urges that post-colonial scholars compare policies in the American, British, French, Spanish, Russian or Soviet empires. Stoler does not relegate imperial

⁹ Ullman, *Le mal aimé*, 311-314, 332-338.

¹⁰ Ann Laura Stoler, "Intimidations of Empire: Predicaments of the Tactile and Unseen" and "Tense and Tender Ties: The Politics of Comparison in North American History and (Post) Colonial Studies," in Ann Laura Stoler, ed. *Haunted By Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2006), 3-65; Ann Laura Stoler and Carole McGranahan, "Introduction: Refiguring Imperial Terrains," and "Provincializing France," Donald Cooper in Ann Laura Stoler, Carole McGranahan and Peter C. Perdue, *Imperial Formations* (School for Advanced Research Advanced Seminar Series Santa Fe, N.M and Oxford England: School for Advanced Research Press; James Currey, 2007), 8, 10, 363-367.

¹¹ Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 140, 247-8, 256, 278.

comparisons to the past. She challenges the community of historians to compare nations, regions and eras. Stoler contends that such inquiries might prove most illuminating in the area of comparative studies of indigenous-settler relations in the developed world: “The interior frontiers of the nation-state, as evinced in the treaties with the Native Americans, were as dependent on colonial relations of dominance as were any of Europe’s external incursions.”¹²

In addition to Stoler and her colleagues in post-colonial studies, this dissertation has been influenced by a consideration of comparative history. Works by thinkers such as Michael Adas, James C. Scott and Charles Tilly have assisted in understanding the ambitions and limits of large scale policy initiatives such as post-confederation Canadian Indian policy and France’s conquest and administration of Algeria in a comparative light.¹³ Other studies that involve comparison in the Americas by Jeremy Adelman, Florencia E. Mallon, Cynthia Murrieta Radding, Carl E. Solberg and Camilla Townsend have been influential in grasping the potential of placing Duncan Campbell Scott and Canada into juxtaposition with Jacques Soustelle and France.¹⁴

¹² Stoler, “Intimidations of Empire,” 12.

¹³ Michael Adas, *Prophets of Rebellion: Millenarian Protest Movements Against the European Colonial Order* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979); James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition have Failed* (New Haven Conn. ; London: Yale University Press, 1998); Charles Tilly, *Big Structures, Large Processes, Huge Comparisons* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1984).

¹⁴ Jeremy Adelman, *Frontier Development : Land, Labour, and Capital on the Wheatlands of Argentina and Canada, 1890-1914* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994); Florencia E. Mallon, *Peasant and Nation : The Making of Postcolonial Mexico and Peru* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); Cynthia Murrieta Radding, *Landscapes of Power and Identity : Comparative Histories in the Sonoran Desert and the Forests of Amazonia from Colony to Republic* (Durham N.C.: Duke University Press, 2005); Carl E. Solberg, *The Prairies and the Pampas: Agrarian Policy in Canada and Argentina, 1880-1930* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1987); Camilla Townsend, *Tales of Two Cities: Race and Economic Culture in Early Republican North and South America: Guayaquil, Ecuador, and Baltimore, Maryland* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000).

Duncan Campbell Scott and Jacques Soustelle were both among ‘the best and brightest’ of their generations.¹⁵ David Halberstam coined that phrase in reference to the senior bureaucrats and military officers advising American Presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B Johnson over the Viet Nam War. Scott and Soustelle were also members of elites that shared general convictions, in Scott’s case about Canadian Indian policy, and, in Soustelle’s, about France’s role in Algeria. Further, both men were preoccupied with Indigenous peoples in their bureaucratic/political work and their intellectual production.

This dissertation is concerned with the failures of Canadian, French and Mexican liberalism in the governance of Indigenous peoples. In juxtaposing Scott and Soustelle, it sheds light on the inheritance of English and French imperialism and the nature of liberalism in Canada and France. How could the *indigenismo* of post-revolutionary Mexico inspire Jacques Soustelle in an effort to reform a colonial system that had been in place for 125 years? Why has the settler nation Canada failed so miserably to provide justice and economic opportunity for Indigenous Canadians? The juxtaposition of Duncan Campbell Scott and Jacques Soustelle provides a coherent historical means to consider these questions.

The shadow of the Algerian - French conflict, in which Soustelle played a central role, is apparent to this day in film, history, journalism and political studies, particularly throughout the French-speaking world. French military and diplomatic efforts in Algeria, Libya and Mali have the whiff of the challenges faced by Jacques Soustelle in North

¹⁵ David Halberstam, *The Best and the Brightest* (New York: Random House, 1972). Journalist Halberstam coined the phrase ‘the best and the brightest’ in his consideration of the liberals who contributed to a series of fateful decisions to ramp up the United States military presence in Viet Nam.

Africa of the 1950s and 1960s.¹⁶ Similarly, Canadians are subjected almost daily to the persistent nagging on the national conscience, historical memory and politics by unresolved conundrums of Aboriginal rights. For example, studies published in early 2013 revealed thousands of deaths in former Indian residential schools and current systemic discrimination against Aboriginals in the Canadian justice system; also, a decision of the Supreme Court of Canada revealed that the federal government had failed its constitutional duties in dealing with the Manitoba Métis in the nineteenth century.¹⁷

Research for this dissertation has been conducted at archives, historical sites and libraries in Canada, France and Mexico. It relies on the primary writings of Scott and Sosutelle in their books, essays, print journalism, correspondence, administrative papers and the photographs they took. The research also involved carefully screening films, both fiction and non-fiction, along with the hours of news or documentary footage and archival radio broadcasts in which they participated, or that touch upon their lives and work. The dissertation considers the intellectual tradition and milieu that formed each man through anthropology, ethnology, history, philosophy and ‘post-colonial’ literature. The scars of empire can be found in landscapes, literature, archives, documentary film making and the daily news in newspapers, on radio and on television.

¹⁶ See Olivier Zajec, « Au Mali, l’inusable refrain de la guerre au terrorisme, » *Le Monde diplomatique*, No 707 – 60^{ème} année. Février 2013, page 1; Yahia Belaskri et Elisabeth Lesne, eds, *ALGÉRIES 50*, (Paris : Magellan et Cie – Cité nationale de l’histoire de l’immigration, 2012).

¹⁷ Colin Perkel, The Canadian Press, “At least 3,000 native children died in residential schools: research,” *The Globe And Mail*, February 18, 2013; Joe Friesen, “NORTHERN ONTARIO Justice system for natives ‘in a crisis’,” *The Globe And Mail*, February 27, 2013, page A8; Tanya Talaga, “ONTARIO JUSTICE SYTEM REVIEW First Nations face ‘systemic racism’,” *The Toronto Star*, February 27, 2013, front page; “FIRST NATIONS AND JURIES Rebuild trust in the law,” *The Toronto Star*, February 27, 2013, lead editorial, page A18; Bruce Campion-Smith, “Watchdog blasts surge in aboriginal prisoners,” *The Toronto Star*, March 8, 2013, front page; “ABORIGINAL OFFENDERS Justice must include hope,” *The Toronto Star*, March 8, 2013, lead editorial, page A22; Gloria Galloway, “After 140 years and review of 2000 documents, Métis win historic land claim,” *The Globe And Mail*, March 8, 2013, front page; Steve Rennie, The Canadian Press, “Supreme Court sides with Metis in historic land claim dispute,” *The Toronto Star*, March 8, 2013, Canadian national news section.

Edward W. Said's method of carefully analyzing literature in light of imperialism has influenced my way of thinking about the writings of Scott and Soustelle.¹⁸ Said's consideration of Albert Camus, the French Algerian novelist, philosopher and political activist, is particularly relevant to this inquiry.¹⁹ This dissertation examines the extent to which Camus and Soustelle shared a vision of a cooperative future for l'Algérie française and how Soustelle's determination as Governor General to pursue a military victory over Algerian rebels divided them.

Canadian historian Ian McKay's pivotal work has shaped the conversation about Canadian liberalism for more than a decade.²⁰ His perspective influences the analysis of Scott in this work. McKay has insisted on the primacy of federal Canadian Indian policy as a barometer of what he calls Canada's "liberal order framework."²¹ McKay puts liberal ideology in a Canadian context in describing how an elite group of English and French Canadian males put their stamp on the country in the first half century of Canadian confederation. The liberal order framework described by McKay prioritized ideas about private property, natural resource based economic development and individual rights within severe limits. McKay demonstrates that group and individual rights of Aboriginal peoples were placed outside the parameters of the supposedly universalist principals of Canada's political founders. McKay emphasizes Indian policy and western expansion as

¹⁸ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979); Said, *Culture And Imperialism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994).

¹⁹ Said, *Orientalism*, 312-313; Said, *Culture*, xxvii, 71, 78, 146, 174-185, 208-209, 259.

²⁰ Ian McKay, "The Liberal Order Framework: A Prospectus for a Reconnaissance of Canadian History." *Canadian Historical Review* 81, no. 4 (Dec. 2000): 617.; Ian McKay, "Canada as a Long Liberal Revolution" in *Liberalism and Hegemony: Debating the Canadian Liberal Revolution*, ed. by Jean-François Constant and Michel Ducharme (Toronto-Buffalo-London: University of Toronto Press, 2009); Ian McKay, *Rebels, reds, radicals: re-thinking Canada's Left History* (Toronto: Between The Lines, 2005); Ian McKay, *Thinking Otherwise: Leftists and the People's Enlightenment in Canada, 1890-1920* (Toronto: Between The Lines, 2008).

²¹ McKay, "The Liberal Order," 636; McKay, *Rebels*, 89.

critical planks of his liberal framework. McKay's writing about Duncan Campbell Scott has influenced the way this dissertation strives to fathom the meaning of the bureaucrat and artist Scott, in the history of Canadian Indian policy.²²

The American historian of Guatemala Greg Grandin argues that throughout Latin America liberal and conservative politicians, military officers and capitalists bent on modernity, often working in close cooperation with the United States, consistently undermined founding principals of American democracy throughout much of the twentieth century.²³ Grandin often interweaves historical analysis with an acknowledgement of present day outcomes.²⁴ In this way, his methodology and concerns as an historian of Latin American are applicable to the Canadian history of Aboriginal-settler relations because of the urgency of the issue on the Canadian national agenda.

Grandin also delineates the transnational influence of the Mexican Revolution on social activists and revolutionaries.²⁵ His emphatic assertion regarding the centrality of the Mexican experience to leftists in places such as Chile, Cuba and Guatemala in the decades following the revolution echoes the impact the Revolution and its *indigenista* politics had on the young French intellectual, Jacques Soustelle in the 1930s. Further, Grandin's contemplation of the international impact on activists, intellectuals and artists of Mexico's revolution is comparable to the period after 1962 when the legacy of the Algerian-French conflict weighed not only on French intellectuals such as Soustelle, but

²² McKay, "Canada as a Long Liberal Revolution," 353-361, 381.

²³ Greg Grandin, *Empire's Workshop Latin America, the United States, and the rise of the new imperialism* (New York: Metropolitan/Owl Books, 2007); Greg Grandin, *The Last Colonial Massacre: Latin America in the Cold War* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 178.

²⁴ Grandin, *The Blood of Guatemala: a history of race and nation* (Durham, NC and London, UK: Duke University Press, 2000), 1-5, 220-236.

²⁵ Grandin, *Colonial Massacre*, 174-175.

also on an entire galaxy of thinkers, activists and artists throughout the ‘post-colonial’ world.

A few reflections regarding style and approach are useful at this point. This is not an overly experimental work. It is a primarily a dissertation in text. It also features stylistic elements which reflect both the subject matter and my professional story-telling experience – experience that often relates directly to the concerns of this dissertation.²⁶ While respecting the academic milieu and discipline in which this work resides, my style and approach consciously reflects my complementary professional formation. This dissertation aims to encourage the reader to think deeply about Scott and Soustelle. The reader will sometimes encounter longish passages of Scott’s poetry or excerpts from the work of Jacques Soustelle. These are deliberate choices. There is an overarching, cumulative analytical framework that supports the reader while eliciting her/his wonder about the precise meaning of Scott’s and Soustelle’s work. As for Scott’s poetry, the dissertation does not presume to perfectly understand his interior process or meaning. Poetry is art. It is susceptible to divergent, yet equally valid, interpretations. That is part of its function. This dissertation situates Scott’s poetry in its place and time and ruminates on its meaning and suggests how the perceived value of Scott’s work has shifted within audiences over time.

The dissertation features some images. The photographs and graphics are selected to enhance the reader’s understanding and curiosity. Some of the photographs are by Scott or Soustelle. Their relevance is apparent within the context of the dissertation.

There are also photographs that I have taken in France, Mexico and Ontario between

²⁶ Cullingham, *The Poet and the Indians* cited in Stan Dragland, *Floating Voice: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Literature of Treaty 9* (Concord, ON: Anansi Press, 1994), ix; Mark Abley, *Conversations with a Dead Man – The Legacy of Duncan Campbell Scott* (McGill University Press, Montréal, 2013), 142-3.

1994 and 2010. At times these photos are used to jerk the reader's mind into the present. As both historian and journalist, I do not believe that history is purely a matter of the past. History motivates individuals and animates societies. The abiding concerns and work of Duncan Campbell Scott and Jacques Soustelle are meaningful in Algeria, Canada, France, Mexico and other parts of the world today. The dissertation serves at times as an invitation to think about the current political meaning of history.

This work is concerned with the formative perceptions of post-revolutionary Mexico drawn by Jacques Soustelle as a French graduate student and as a representative of the Gaullist resistance to Nazism while living in Mexico between 1932 and 1941. It is focused on Soustelle's perceptions regarding the meaning and intent of post-revolutionary *indigenismo* and various social and political reform policies of Mexican governments of the day. He brought with him a formation from the French academy and he applied his understanding primarily within French academic and political arenas. Almost a quarter of a century after first setting foot in Mexico, Soustelle became Governor General of Algeria. He brought with him convictions about reform that stemmed to a significant degree from his experiences and studies in Mexico. This dissertation is concerned with his work and that of Albert Camus, Jean-Paul Sartre, Germaine Tillion, Tzvetan Todorov and a number of other authorities on colonialism and social sciences that speak to ways of thinking about imperialism, post-colonialism and the Algerian question.

The work at hand juxtaposes two individuals near the centre of power in Canada and France as their countries were preoccupied with and transformed by questions concerning the lives of Indigenous peoples. In different ways, concerns about Indigenous

peoples were often the subject of the artistic and/or intellectual output of Scott and Soustelle. This work is relevant because these issues remain present day concerns for Canada and France.

There are some terms that appear frequently in the text. Liberalism suggests a set of beliefs that favour private property, individual rights, representative democracy and a secular state. Liberalism also contains severe contradictions and exceptions to each of these values.²⁷ Republicanism has specific meanings in the French context. Generally it signifies the end of monarchism and the installation of civil rights of all citizens and representative, secular democracy. Jacques Soustelle lived and worked during the Third, Fourth and Fifth French republics. The Third Republic crumbled with its defeat by Nazi Germany in June 1940. Soustelle began his political career in the Fourth Republic after France's liberation. He helped usher in the Fifth Republic under the presidency of Charles de Gaulle in a failed bid to salvage l'Algérie française.²⁸ Indigenismo has shifting meaning in Mexican history beginning in the late nineteenth century during the rule of Porfirio Díaz. This dissertation talks of the indigenismo encountered by Jacques Soustelle in his first extended stays in the country between 1932 and 1941. This activist set of reform policies, promoted by intellectuals such as the anthropologist Manuel Gamio, who welcomed Soustelle to Mexico, aimed at reintegrating Indians into a mixed Mexican

²⁷ See for example Domenico Losurdo, *Contre-Histoire Du Libéralisme* [Controhistoria del liberalismo] Translated by Bernard Chamayou (Paris: Éditions de La découverte, 2013), 9-46; Mehta, Uday Singh, "Liberal Strategies of Exclusion," in Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley and Los Angeles : University of California Press, 1997), 59-86 ; Jennifer Pitts, *A Turn to Empire: The Rise of Imperial Liberalism in Britain and France* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2005), 189-195, 204-239.

²⁸ Bernard Ullmann, *Jacques Soustelle le mal aimé* (Paris: Plon, 1995), 241-264.

society.²⁹ Its complex and, at times, contradictory ambition was to simultaneously reform and celebrate the culture of Mexican Indians while absorbing or assimilating them into the Mexican mestizo mainstream.

The dissertation begins with “Two Dead White Men,” a chapter which is dedicated to the essentials of each man’s biography and an examination of how their stature and reputation has shifted over time. The following chapter, “Their Journey In,” examines transformative journeys by each man – Scott to northern Ontario as a federal Canadian Treaty Commissioner in 1905-6 and Soustelle to Mexico to conduct his doctoral research in 1932-36. “Burden of Empire” then juxtaposes the influence of British imperial policy on the domestic colonialism of post-Confederation Canada with the legacy of French liberal imperial policies on the ideology that guided Soustelle after World War II. “Arts and Science” juxtaposes Scott’s foundational role in Canadian literature and cultural nationalism with Soustelle’s contribution to the development of French ethnology and its public diffusion in the twentieth century. The penultimate chapter “Politics” examines the record of each man under intense political and media scrutiny – Scott as the Canadian Indian Department’s leading representative during a period of increasingly draconian policies of assimilation in the 1920s and Soustelle as Governor General of l’Algérie française during the war of independence. The dissertation concludes with a meditation on the ethical and psychological complications regarding Scott’s role in Indian policy and a reconsideration of the place of Soustelle in the pantheon of French intellectuals concerned with l’Algérie française.

²⁹ Jacques Soustelle letter to Paul Rivet, November 30, 1932, MNHN; Claudio Lomnitz Adler, *Deep Mexico, Silent Mexico: An Anthropology of Nationalism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 250-7.

This dissertation contemplates the shifting meaning of the lives of Duncan Campbell Scott and Jacques Soustelle. How was each man representative of his society and especially its intellectual trajectory and its imperial/colonial pretensions? The prism of Scott and Soustelle's fascination and inquietudes over Indigenusness reveals much about the intellectual history and essential national identities of Canada and France. In a multicultural Canada and with France in a federated Europe, both now engaged with a "globalized" twenty-first century world, their struggles have much to teach us.

2. Two Dead White Men

Introduction

Duncan Campbell Scott and Jacques Soustelle are thorns in the historic memories of their nations. As both a literary artist and bureaucrat, Scott was frequently lauded in his lifetime. In the twenty-first century, Scott is frequently associated with the worst aspects of Canadian Indian policy. Until mid-career, Soustelle was regarded in a positive light by the French as an academic prodigy, a hero of the resistance and an able politician. With his fateful turn as Governor General of Algeria in 1955 Soustelle became a figure of controversy and notoriety.

Scott and Soustelle incarnated the intellectual, cultural and ideological firmament of Canada and France during their lifetimes. Crucially for this inquiry they also shared a lifelong preoccupation with Indigenous peoples who were principal unifying subjects of their work both as political men and as public intellectuals. In contemplating Scott and Soustelle simultaneously, one observes them wondering about, investigating, writing powerful works about and administering Indigenous peoples from the Canadian arctic, across Canada's boreal expanses, to the rainforest of Chiapas, Mexico, to the deserts and remotest mountains of north Africa. This transpired from that day in 1879 when John A. Macdonald, Canada's first prime minister, hired Scott to work in the Indian Department, until the death of esteemed ethnologist and notorious political maverick Jacques Soustelle was extensively reported in all major French national newspapers and on radio and television networks in the summer of 1990. This shared absorption with the "native" as seen through dual prisms of Scott's and Soustelle's lives and work provides a point of

comparison for the profound influence of imperial, colonial and post-colonial thought and political action in both Canada and France during the modern era.

Scott

Scott was the intellectual offspring of a new nation. A parson's son, he grew up in various small towns in Canada East and West before his family settled in a parsonage within walking distance from Canada's Parliament Hill. In 1879, when he was seventeen he was hired by Prime Minister John A. Macdonald as a clerk in the Indian Department. Scott's father William, who had preached among the Aboriginal peoples on Manitoulin Island during his travels, was MacDonald's friend. The Prime Minister was happy to help the boy get a start:

I shall have great pleasure in helping your son to a position in the public service at an early day. No one deserves more at my hands than a son of yours. Please let me know his age, what his previous pursuits have been and let him send me a specimen of his handwriting.¹

Duncan Campbell Scott would spend his entire civil service career there from 1879 until 1932 when he retired from the Department. He would move on from his junior clerical status to act as Treaty Commissioner, head of Indian education and ultimately Deputy Superintendent General, the Department's highest civil service rank, from 1913-1932. As a civil servant Scot was strategically placed to develop, refine and implement Canadian Indian policy. The policy in its critical late nineteenth - through early twentieth -century phase was a direct descendant of a cluster of British colonial policies, which a fledgling

¹ John A. MacDonald, letter of November 14, 1879 to William Scott. As cited in Arthur S. Bourinot "The Poet's Scrapbooks" *The Canadian Bookman and Author*, Vol. 38, No. 1, Summer, Ottawa.1962, 6; "Ottawa's Grand Old Poet Shows His Rare Gifts" *The Ottawa Journal*, June 21, 1947. In an interview six months prior to his death, Scott recounted the circumstances of his being hired by MacDonald more than sixty years earlier.

Canada inherited from imperial Britain at Confederation in 1867.² The new nation would take those imperial policies and harden them in determined pursuit of a national railway, settler colonization and exploitation of natural resources in what King George III had called “the Indian country”.³ Scott was the single most influential non-elected official responsible for these policies for a quarter of a century.

Scott’s artistic production is sometimes reviled, or simply ignored, by many observers of the settler – Aboriginal relationship in Canada from the latter part of the twentieth century until the present day. Scott was, in fact, an extremely accomplished poet, writer of short stories, musician and essayist according to his contemporaries as well as some present-day literary scholars. Scott was both a path-breaking artist and a civil servant of gravitas engaged in some of the nastiest business that Canada has ever required of one of its mandarins. Author Stan Dragland addressed the conundrum Scott poses for Canadian historians and cultural critics in my 1995 documentary film,

What is the problem? The problem is that this man who was almost wholly admirable in so many respects... whose poetry I deeply admire... who was in some ways the first truly indigenous poet of Canada... that’s a funny word to use for someone who was responsible for policies that were deeply harmful to Indigenous peoples... but it’s true. He wrote some great poems and many of them are about Indian people or the north. This man, who if you could just shave off the Indian Department aspect would be wholly admirable, was also the bureaucrat most responsible for a policy of assimilation.⁴

² Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada’s First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times* (Toronto: McLelland & Stewart, 1992), 247-56; J.R. Miller, *Compact, Contract, Covenant: Aboriginal Treaty-Making in Canada* (Toronto-Buffalo-London: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 66-122; E. Brian Titley, *A Narrow Vision: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada*, (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986), 1-22.

³ Royal Proclamation, October 7, 1763. Websource: <http://www.johnco.com/native/pro1763.html> (accessed January 2013).

⁴ Stan Dragland. *Duncan Campbell Scott: The Poet and the Indians*, documentary film directed by the author. Tamarack Productions in co-production with The National Film Board of Canada, 1995. Dragland is a literary critic, novelist and a former professor of English literature at the University of Western Ontario. Stan Dragland’s *Floating Voice: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Literature of Treaty 9* (Concord, ON: Anansi, 1994) is an erudite, multidisciplinary contemplation of Scott as a poet and Treaty Commissioner.

Some recall that Scott would write poems by pencil as he traveled Canada by canoe and train on Indian Department business. Scott often wrote about Indians, the Canadian frontier and what he regarded as the necessary struggle to impress the values of British civilization on a sometimes brutish, backward Canada. He wrote convincingly of nature in Canada. Some literary critics claim that he and his friend Archibald Lampman were among the first post-Confederation writers to achieve full poetic realization of the specific haunting power and beauty of the flora and fauna of Canada.⁵

Scott's Indian poems can startle and disturb imbued as they often, but not always, are with a transparent ideology rooted in firm convictions about once noble, but now vanishing peoples. An early poem written before Scott had risen high in the Departmental ranks reveals a profound conviction about how Canadian indigenous peoples were 'doomed races',

The race has waned and left but tales of ghosts,
That hover in the world like fading smoke
About the lodges: gone are the dusky folk
That once were cunning with the thong and snare
And mighty with the paddle and the bow;
They lured the silver salmon from his lair,
They drove the buffalo in trampling hosts,
And gambled in the tepees until dawn,
But now their vaunted prowess is gone,
Gone like a moose-track in the April snow.⁶

The complex relationship between Scott's bureaucratic career and his artistic production is clear in one respect: Scott the artist mined his 'day job' for artistic

⁵Douglas Lohead, "Preface," in *Powassan's Drum: Poems of Duncan Campbell Scott* (Ottawa: Tecumseh Press, 1985), xii; Gordon Johnston, *Duncan Campbell Scott and His Works* (Downsview, ON: ECW Press, 1983), 10, 26.

⁶ Duncan Campbell Scott, "Indian Place Names", *Selected Poetry of Duncan Campbell Scott, edited by Glenn Clever* (Ottawa: Tecumseh Press, 1974), 36; originally published in Scott's *New World Lyrics and Ballads*, (Toronto: Morang, 1905).

inspiration. His contemporaries took note of Scott struggling to balance bureaucratic duty with artistic impulse. Scott's friend Madge Macbeth, an Ottawa society columnist, remembered his unique approach to the business of Parliament,

With a highly-trained, efficient and devoted staff – Indian Affairs was not one of the Government's most exacting departments – Duncan had quite a little leisure during office hours. He did not suppress his artistic impulses at these times, but worked leisurely on his practice piano. It must have startled a new employee to enter his office and find him absorbed not in files or Blue Books, but in working on a soundless keyboard.⁷

The quality of the work and its stature in the development of Canadian literature raise thorny problems for the intellectual historian. In the present day, the intent of Canadian Indian policy during Scott's tenure in the Department appears at best misguided, and at worst implemented with murderous, even genocidal, consequences. Scott was a vaunted national figure in his own lifetime. He was widely respected as both a significant Canadian artist, one of a handful of men thought responsible for the very invention of a specifically Canadian body of poetry actually worth reading, and at the same time admired for his untiring efforts to civilize Canada's Indians.

⁷ Madge Macbeth, *Over My Shoulder* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1953), 143; Macbeth, "Duncan Campbell Scott - A Few of My Memories," *Canadian Author and Bookman*, Vol. 38, No. 1, Summer 1962, 2.



Figure 3 Duncan Campbell Scott c.1885 (courtesy John Ayles - DC Scott Estate)

Scott was not merely a late Victorian racist. He represented values that were widely held in Canada. As cultural critics Margaret Atwood, Northrop Frye and John Ralston Saul have argued, Scott and his peers incarnated a set of attitudes about Canada's relationship with Britain, the Mother Country and the obligations of supposedly civilizing a new nation's human inheritance : wards in the form of Native peoples subservient to a semi-independent Canada.⁸ With the residential schools he administered, with the oppressive policies on Indian dances, languages, political organizations and spirituality that Parliament charged him to enforce, Scott was a central figure behind Canadian

⁸ Margaret Atwood, *Survival: A Thematic Guide to Canadian Literature* (Toronto: House of Anansi Press, 1972), 60 ; Northrop Frye, *The Bush Garden: Essays on the Canadian Imagination* (Toronto, House of Anansi Press, 1971), 132, 145; John Ralston Saul, *A Fair Country: Telling Truths About Canada* (Toronto: Viking Canada, 2008), 84-5, 231-38, 257. See also Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), 116-19; Carl Berger, "the true north strong and free." in Peter H. Russell *Nationalism in Canada* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1966), 3-26.

policies directed at Indigenous peoples. This tension is equally apparent in his artistic production. Duncan Campbell Scott is a troubling character for the Canadian collective conscience.

Scott retired as deputy superintendant general of Indian Affairs in 1932. He spent the remainder of his life writing at his home on Lisgar Avenue near Parliament Hill, traveling with his second wife, the poet Elise Aylen, and remaining in steady contact with Canada's writers, publishers, journalists and visual artists including Emily Carr, Group of Seven member Lawren Harris and the Québécois painter Clarence Gagnon.⁹ On the occasion of his eightieth birthday, the venerable poet and champion of Canadian artistic life was saluted in the national press. *Saturday Night* magazine reported,

On August 2 Duncan Campbell Scott passes his eightieth milestone and walks into the eighty-first year of life as rich in work nobly done as any life ever lived in Canada.

He has been a great giver and a great lover - a great lover of beauty and a great giver of beauty, a great lover of Canada and a great giver to Canada. He has known great sorrows but they have been transformed into great pities.

The reputation which he made as an administrator still remains. He brought human and humane understanding to the problems of the Indian wards of the federal government.

His work gave him many opportunities to travel through this broad land. No one has ever wandered with eyes that saw more or ears that heard more, for he knows every bird song, every flower, every landscape, he hears the clang of ancient battles, the tenderness of the Indian legend and the throb of the drums of war.

It is right that we should salute those among us who share the proud position of a Duncan Campbell Scott. It is right that we should hail them often before we say farewell. It is right that we should honor him to this day and always, because as long as trilliums whiten and maples redden, as long as the crocus empurples the prairie and lupins mirror the sky and dogwood puts forth her stars, many who love Canada and the glories and changing beauty of her lakes,

⁹ Duncan Campbell Scott, letter to E.K. Brown, May 10-12, 1944. LAC-BAC, E.K. Brown correspondence MG30 D61 Vol. 3; Emily Carr letter to Scott and Elise Aylen, March 22, 1941. LAC-BAC, LMS-0204, Box 10, Folder 31; Scott letters to Clarence Gagnon, February 8, 1919, August 2 & 6, 1921 and December 1, 1927. LAC-BAC, LMS-0204, Box 11; Clarence Gagnon letter to Scott, June 6, 1931. LAC-BAC, LMS-0204, Box 11.

her meadows, her mountains, her skies and her snows, will hold the memory of Duncan Campbell Scott in pride.¹⁰

When he died in 1947 at the age 85, many leading newspapers and magazines deemed Scott to be Canada's unofficial poet laureate. Further, Scott was not merely a Canadian literary figure. Within two months of his death Britain's poet laureate John Masefield led a memorial service in Scott's honor at St. Martin's in the Field Cathedral in London. Masefield had a long association with Scott. He claimed that *The Piper of Arll*, an early Scott poem about a haunted ship, had encouraged him, then a dockworker in New York, to write poetry. Some four decades prior to the St. Martin's ceremony, Masefield had written a letter of gratitude to Scott,

I hardly hope that you will remember my name, ... Ten years ago, when I was in America, as a factory hand near NY, I read "The Piper of Arll" in the Christmas number of a paper called "Truth". I had never (till that time) cared very much for poetry, but your poem impressed me deeply, and set me on fire.¹¹

At the St. Martin-In-The-Fields memorial, Masefield returned the favour to Scott as he paid tribute to a man Masefield characterized as a great poet and humanitarian who understood and sympathized with the lot of Canada's Indigenous peoples. From his British vantage point, Masefield idealized Scott's vision of the Canadian landscape and its presumably primeval occupants,

When Duncan Campbell Scott began to write, the wish of the younger men was to declare the Canadian scene, with its greatness of mountain, lake, river and forest; its wildness; the fierce and eager dwellers in the wild, whether animal or men, and the exhilaration of being young in a land where poverty did not exist, where a new way of life was beginning, without the follies, the fetters and feuds of Europe.

To be young in such a land at such a time was very Heaven.

¹⁰ Leonard W. Brockington, "Duncan Campbell Scott's Eightieth Birthday" *Saturday Night*, Vol. 57, No 47, (August 1, 1942).

¹¹ John Masefield. Letter to DC Scott, November 8, 1905. LAC-BAC, LMS 0204 Box 11, Folder 26.

He entered the Department of Indian Affairs, in which Service his active life was passed. In this service, he came to know many Indians, to understand them, to see something of what could be done to save them from the evils the white men have brought to them.

He was deeply impressed by many of them. Admiration is a great help to understanding. In his poems and stories about them, we are brought, perhaps for the very first time to a living knowledge of what they are: a race that has learned to live the terrible northern winters, that can endure any thing that nature can bring, that can run the rapids in canoes, and run down the antelopes upon the prairie, that has ever a natural dignity, and has, as Man, always something of the beauty, the grace and the wildness of an animal, and will ever cling to that wildness, and shew it, when moved.

Many white men, and some white women, have tasted that wildness, and come to prefer it to anything tamer. There are those primitive fires in all of us. On the Canadian frontiers they give a passion to the national life.

Scott saw this, and portrayed it in some of the very best of our Canadian poetry and prose. He was a hopeful man, living in a young land about to flower in all the lovely ways of the humanities. He hoped for, and foresaw, a Canada great in all the arts; and saw, too, that that great land would be sublime, when called upon, in the splendour and sacrifice of great causes.

As one who loved his work, and owe much to him, I ask you to think of him with gladness and gratitude.¹²

As the Memorial proceeded, Canadian expatriates read primarily from Scott's Indian canon including *Watkwenies*, a poem about an Indian elder,

Vengeance was once her nation's lore and law:
 When the tired sentry stooped above the rill,
 Her long knife flashed, and hissed, and drank its fill;
 Dimly below her dripping wrist she saw,
 One wild hand, pale as death and weak as straw,
 Clutch at the ripple in the pool; while shrill
 Sprang through the hamlet on the hill,
 The war-cry of the triumphant Iroquois.¹³

In *Watkwenies*, one of Scott's earliest 'Indian' poems Scott reveals a morbid fascination with traits of a 'vanishing' race. Few of Scott's poems portray native peoples in transition, at least in the sort of positive, material progression that he took for granted

¹² John Masfield, "Address" D.C. Scott Memorial, January 22, 1948, St.Martin-In-The-Fields, London. Aylen-DC Scott fonds, LMS – 0204 Box 10, Folder 4.

¹³ Duncan Campbell Scott, "Watkwenies", originally published in Scott's *Labor and the Angel*, (Boston: Copeland and Day, 1898) , 15; cited in Scott, ed. Cleaver, *Selected Poetry*, 13.

for European Canadians. *Watkwenies* also depicts an exchange between the Indian woman and an Indian agent, the field representative of the government department where Scott spent his civil service career. The poem might refer to a Treaty signing or an annual commemorative Treaty day in the bush of northern Ontario or on the Canadian prairies at which Indians would receive token payments as a symbol of their relationship with Canada. Scott had first hand experience as commissioner for Treaty 9 in 1905-1906 which took him on long trips between Lake Superior and the coast of James Bay in northern Ontario. Scott believed such transactions were fulcrum points in the taming of wild Indians into civilized Canadians.¹⁴

The Forsaken, a poem about a woman left abandoned to die in a snowstorm by her starving tribe, was also proffered to those assembled in the venerable British church. Perhaps it seemed a fitting choice to Masfield because of its exotic portrayal of harsh Canadian conditions and its poetic empathy with a woman with an ill infant,

I
 Once in the winter
 Out on a lake
 In the heart of the north-land
 Far from the Fort
 And far from the hunters,
 A Chippewa woman
 With her sick baby,
 Crouched in the last hours
 Of a great storm. Frozen and hungry,
 She fished through the ice
 With a line of the twisted
 Bark of the cedar,
 And a rabbit-bone hook
 Polished and barbed;

¹⁴ Duncan Campbell Scott "The Last of The Indian Treaties" originally published 1906 *Scribner's 40* (1906); re-printed in DC Scott *The Circle of Affection* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1947), 109-22; and in *Duncan Campbell Scott: Addresses, Essay and Reviews, Vol.1*, Leslie Ritchie, ed, Introduction by Stan Dragland (London,ON; Canadian Poetry Press, 2000),82-93; Dragland, *Floating Voice: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Literature of Treaty 9* (Concord, ON: Anansi,1994).

Fished with the bare hook
 All through the wild day,
 Fished and caught nothing;
 While the young chieftain
 Tugged at her breasts,
 Or slept in the lacings of the warm *tikinagan*
 All the lake-surface
 Streamed with the hissing of iceflakes,
 Hurlled by the wind;
 Behind her the round
 Of a lonely island
 Roared like a fire
 With the voice of a storm
 In the depths of the cedars.
 Valiant, unshaken,
 She took her own flesh,
 Baited the fish-hook,
 Drew in a grey trout,
 Drew in his fellows,
 Heaped them beside her,
 Dead in the snow.
 Valiant, unshaken,
 She faced the long distance,
 Wolf-haunted and lonely,
 Sure of her goal
 And the life of her dear one;¹⁵

Scott encountered children in *tikinagans*, the distinctive Ojibwe and Cree cradleboards of the boreal region, in his lengthy Treaty voyages of 1905-6. *The Forsaken* was a dramatic choice for Masefield to make at the Scott memorial service. At its conclusion, the Aboriginal woman incapable of traveling on, is left to die by her starving people on an island in the course of a great snowstorm. Scott drew attention to what he considered barbaric Aboriginal practices, the remedy for which was Canadian civilization administered by the Indian Department, a lofty and humane goal in the eyes of Scott, Masefield and the audience gathered at St. Martin's for the memorial.

¹⁵ Duncan Campbell Scott, "The Forsaken", originally published in *New World Lyrics and Ballads* (Toronto: Morang, 1905), 15; cited in Scott, ed. Cleaver, *Selected Poetry*, 37.

In a letter written to Scott's second wife, the young poet and playwright Elise Aylen, who did not attend the London ceremony, Masfield wrote about "a service for your husband in a church famous here for the keeping of memories of great men... Miss Robinson who is, I think, the best living speaker of verse, made *The Forsaken* a living experience...nothing more beautiful has been done here..."¹⁶ At the service Masfield also read from a message from Canada's Prime Minister, "Much of his work we believe will find an enduring place in the vaster field of English literature. For all who love nature he has mirrored the Canadian scene in its varying aspects of tender loveliness and rugged beauty."¹⁷ As Aylen made her way through Ceylon and India where she would eventually settle, she granted a newspaper an interview about her husband. In its tribute to Scott, The Times of Ceylon called him, "the uncrowned poet laureate of Canada" and stated that he was "...one of the few Canadians to receive international recognition in the field of literature."¹⁸ In both England and India, Scott's stature as a fixture of an emergent Canadian literature was duly noted at the time of his death. In the press accounts there is simply no concern about the merits of Canadian Indian policy. Scott was seen as a noble example of an artist and servant of the Canadian government and British empire.

At his British memorial, the last selection read was from Scott's *Fragment Of An Ode To Canada*. The poem from 1911, when Scott was achieving high ranking in the Canadian civil service, evokes a nationalism imbued with attachment to Britain.

THIS is the land!
It lies outstretched a vision of delight,

¹⁶ *Times of Ceylon*, December 29, 1948. LAC-BAC E. Aylen-DC Scott fonds, LMS – 0204 Box 9, Folder 8

¹⁷ W.L. Mackenzie King, "Message" on the occasion of D.C Scott Memorial, Office Of The High Commissioner For Canada, London, London Jan.2, 1948. LAC E. Aylen-DC Scott fonds, LMS – 0204 Box 10, Folder 4.

¹⁸ *Times of Ceylon*, December 29, 1948. LAC E. Aylen-DC Scott fonds, LMS – 0204 Box 9, Folder 8.

Bent like a shield between the silver seas
 It flashes back the hauteur of the sun;
 Yet teems with humblest beauties, still a part
 Of its Titanic and ebullient heart...

And Thou, O Power, that 'stablishest the Nation,
 Give wisdom in the midst of our elation;
 Who are so free that we forget we are—
 That freedom brings the deepest obligation:
 Grant us this presage for a guiding star,
 To lead the van of Peace, not with a craven spirit,
 But with the consciousness that we inherit
 What built the Empire out of blood and fire,
 And can smite, too, in passion and with ire.
 Purge us of Pride, who are so quick in vaunting

When all the flags of the Furies are unfurled,
 When Truth and Justice, wildered and unknit,
 Shall turn for help to this young, radiant land,
 We shall be quick to see and understand:
 What shall we answer in that stricken hour?¹⁹

Fragment of an Ode to Canada is one of several of Scott's overt tributes to the Empire.

Before a British audience just two years after World War II, its selection underscored the close ties between Canada and its mother country. Like many of his contemporaries in the Canadian elite, Scott was an enthusiastic defender of the British connection. He was asked to commemorate Royal visits in 1901 and 1939. On the latter occasion a poem for the departing Royal couple was read on national radio service of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.²⁰

In the latter stages of his life and at his death in 1947, Scott was not a household name in Canada, but he was clearly venerated by the literary and journalistic elites who

¹⁹ Duncan Campbell Scott, *The Poems of Duncan Campbell Scott* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1926), 11.

²⁰ LAC-BAC, Elise Ayles – Duncan Campbell Scott fonds, LMS-0204.

were familiar with his artistic output and civil service career. Ottawa society columnist Madge Macbeth remembered Scott with fondness,

He was a gentle man, a sensitive man, a man with deep fondness for his friends. Never aggressive or assuming a superior pose, he was humble, and yet did not like to be ignored...

In a certain mood, he was a wonderful mimic. I remember, for example, his imitation of a circus barker. As soon as he began his spiel in the manner of a red-faced, harsh-throated barrel-bodied man, the room fell away and we were choking in the dust of the Mid-way, our ears tortured by the whine of the distant calliope; and we were surrounded by a crowd of corn-gnawing, corn-licking, goggle-eyed rustics doing the fair.²¹

For many years following his death, Canadian literary critics and anthologists lionized Scott's role in the development of a national literature. They often pointed to his Indian Department experience as a positive source of inspiration for Scott. Canadian literary scholar Raymond Souster paid tribute to Scott's contribution in an introduction to a collection of Scott's poems published four decades after his death,

Nature was for him not merely as it was for Lampman – a friendly refuge from the meanness of man and the growing encroachments of a vulgar new mechanization of life, but a stage on which human demands were enacted in all their nobleness and ignominious failure. His years in the Department of Indian Affairs, where he was able to get to know the character of the Canadian Indian more intimately than any other poet before or since, stood him in good stead and led to the creation of a handful of unforgettable poems. Added to that were his travels across Canada and abroad, giving him a broad vision of the world unknown to his companions At The Mermaid Inn, Campbell and Lampman.²²

Douglas Lohead, Souster's colleague in the 1985 edition of Scott's poems, credited Scott with articulating an appreciation of the Canadian landscape that Lohead felt made Scott a proto-environmentalist, "For me these poems represent the way we look at our Canadian environment now, and Duncan Campbell Scott saw it first. In this he was poet

²¹ Macbeth, *Memories*, 2.

²² Souster, *Powassan's Drum*, x.

as visionary.”²³ Even in the late stages of the twentieth century some Canadian critics such as Souster and Lohead believed that Scott’s enduring literary merit trumped concerns over his record as a senior civil servant in the Indian department.

Duncan Campbell Scott was the vessel of the values and aspirations of a new nation. His political values, social mores and artistic predilections were a reflection of the shared aspirations of a post-colonial Canadian intellectual elite. In Ottawa, a small capital marked both by the Victorian grandeur of its Parliamentary buildings and a tough lumber town edge, Scott and his peers published, played music and entertained in salons and concerts that mimicked such elite behaviour in London, New York, Boston and old Quebec.²⁴ If Scott exemplified the ideals of a new nation, Jacques Soustelle, born in 1912 just as Scott reached the heights of Canada’s civil service, represented the highest intellectual traditions of France’s Third Republic.

Soustelle

Jacques Soustelle was the quintessential expression of a certain kind of French ideology that would defend some of the legacies of colonial expansion in the modern era. He was a scion of a venerable imperial and revolutionary tradition that had kept France at the forefront of western art, literature and science. Like Scott, Jacques Soustelle had humble beginnings; his rise was made possible by the national education opportunities of the Third Republic. The son of a lower middle class family Soustelle was a prodigy. He earned a national reputation as a brilliant student and writer before he was twenty-five.

Soustelle was born in south-western France of Protestant stock, which set him apart from his primarily Catholic peers throughout his career. His birth father abandoned

²³ Lohead, *Powassan’s Drum*, xii.

²⁴ Sandra Gwyn, *The Private Capital: Ambition and Love in the Age of Macdonald and Laurier* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1984), 455-57.

the family when Soustelle was a very young boy. His mother re-married a middle class man in Lyon with whom Soustelle got along well. In France's rigid system of national academic testing, he excelled. He was one of a handful of lycéens of his cohort in Lyon to aspire to France's *grandes écoles*. At age seventeen, he was accepted to France's pre-eminent training college for post-secondary educators and professors l'École Normale Supérieure in Paris located on the left bank in the shadow of the Pantheon.²⁵ He began graduate studies in philosophy. His professors included Marcel Mauss, a pioneer of French sociology, and Paul Rivet, a physician who became an archeologist and linguist after leading an expedition of cartographers and earth scientists through Peru prior to World War I. Soustelle's cohort included the ethnologist and humanitarian Germaine Tillion whose doctoral research took her to Algeria, and his wife Georgette Soustelle, who also became an ethnologist of Mexico. In Paul Rivet, Soustelle would find a *maître* who would serve as doctoral supervisor, employer at Le Musée de l'Homme, a kindred soul in the struggle to combat the rise of European fascism in the 1930s and a comrade in French resistance to Nazism after the military defeat of France to Germany in June 1940.

Rivet convinced Soustelle and Georgette to make Mexico the subject of their graduate research.²⁶ Soustelle first visited Mexico in 1932 when he was twenty years of age. As Soustelle continued his doctoral research in Mexico, he chronicled the experience

²⁵ Bernard Ullmann, *Jacques Soustelle – Le Mal aimé* (Paris: Plon, 1995), 16-17 Bernard Ullmann was a feature reporter with Agence France Presse throughout the 1950s and 1960s. His non-academic biography of Soustelle is a journalistic account of Soustelle's life with particular emphasis on Soustelle's association with Charles de Gaulle and the loss of French Algeria; Nicole Racine, "Jacques Soustelle" in Jean Maitre, *Dictionnaire Biographique Du Mouvement Ouvrier Français – Quatrième partie 1914-1939 de la Première à la Seconde Guerre Mondiale, Tome 41 Rova à Szy* (Paris: Les Éditions Ouvrières, 1992), 390-91; Nicole Racine is a French intellectual historian who wrote a biography of Paul Rivet, Soustelle's maître.

²⁶ Racine, "Soustelle, Jacques", 391; Jacques Soustelle, *Mémoires, apocryphes sous la forme d'une dialogue avec Georges Sufferi* (unpublished manuscript provided to the author by Bernard Ullmann in 2008); Christine Lauriere, *Paul Rivet Le Savant Et Le Politique* (Paris: Publications Scientifiques du Museum national d'Histoire naturelle, 2008).

in a non-academic work published in 1936. Soustelle's literary élan and contrarian attitude were already on display,

Comme tout le monde, j'ai détesté Veracruz.

On arrive imbu de cette marque européenne, et nord-américaine, qui mesure la civilisation à la hauteur des maisons et au bas degré de la température. Or à Veracruz les maisons sont basses et la température élevée. C'est un « pays chaud ». Je songe au froidement du tête qui accompagne, dans notre petit-bourgeoisie française, ces phrases: « Il est allé dans les pays chauds... Il a fait les colonies... » Car il n'y a que la France et les colonies. Cela vous classe un homme.²⁷

It was the beginning of a love affair with the country that would inspire Soustelle to write admirable works of ethnology and histories of civilization, some of which are published to this day.²⁸ As a young scholar, Soustelle was particularly marked by his encounter with the heady, idealistic days of Mexican *indigenismo*, an attempt to redeem Mexican Indians by helping them join a *mestizo*, modern Mexico. Often in the company of Manuel Gamio, one of the post-revolutionary Mexico's great theorists and a leading *indigenista* of his time, Soustelle toured the rural schools and cultural missions in Hidalgo, Oaxaca and Chiapas.²⁹ In his popular account Mexique terre indienne, Soustelle recounted a visit to a village near Querétaro in traditionally Otomí territory north of Mexico City,

En accord avec la mission culturelle (qui vient de s'installer à 50 kilomètres plus loin à Ixmiquilpan), on a assaini le village, trace deux petits jardins publics, donné des représentations théâtrales. On introduit chez les Indiens des notions d'hygiène, on lutte contre l'alcoolisme produit par la pulque. Un peu plus loin, les terrains communaux, l'ejido s'organisent sous la direction d'un ingénieur. Oui, malgré tout, c'est une vie nouvelle qui commence; l'indien soulève peu à peu cette Pierre tombale qui l'écrase: le fanatisme prêché par la clergé, qui le maintient dans sa misère. ...mon première contact direct avec l'éducation rurale.³⁰

²⁷ Jacques Soustelle, *Mexique terre indienne* (Paris: Plon, 1936), 7.

²⁸ Jacques Soustelle, *Les quatre soleils Souvenirs et réflexions d'un ethnologue au Mexique* (PARIS : CNRS Éditions, 2009) Originally published in Paris by LibrairiePlon, 1967.

²⁹ Soustelle, *terre indienne*, 18-33.

³⁰ *Ibid*, 18.

Mexico was Soustelle's primary political, cultural and intellectual inspiration. Even as he became embroiled in the resistance against Nazism and later in the bloody tragedy of Algeria, Soustelle returned literally and intellectually to Mexico – its indigenous present and past was the wellspring of his worldview. Writing about his return to Mexico in 1941, following a perilous mission to connect with General Charles de Gaulle in London to continue his resistance efforts of diplomacy and propaganda on behalf of *France Libre*, Soustelle ruminated on his Mexico,

Lorsque dans la nuit, le train franchit le pont international sur le Rio Bravo, entre la ville américaine de Laredo (Texas) et la ville mexicaine de Nuevo Laredo (Tamaulipas) et je vis dans l'aube tiède, les contours quadrangulaires des maisons d'adobe, je me retrouvai avec joie sur le sol de le Mexique qui était devenu, depuis dix ans, comme ma seconde patrie. J'avais appris à l'aimer, à aimer ses montagnes, ses steppes crevassées, ses forêts mystérieusement vibrantes, à aimer son peuple si riche de traditions millénaires et d'élan rénovateur. Déjà le général Cardenas président de la République, m'avait généreusement accordé la qualité de réfugié politique que la constitution Mexicaine, la plus humaine et la plus progressiste du monde, reconnaît à tous les persécutés.³¹

In 1955, having just published his most widely read work about Mexico, *La vie quotidienne des Aztèques*, Soustelle would strive to import his understanding of *indigenista* policies to French Algeria in a doomed effort to integrate Arab and Berber populations with Europeans. The extraordinary past of Mexico and its unrivaled melding of Aboriginality and European political ideologies would forever fascinate Soustelle throughout a turbulent and extraordinarily eventful life until his death in 1990.

Soustelle's work in Mexico between 1932 and 1936 began among the Otomí and Pame Indians in then remote mountain areas around Mexico City. As was required of him by French doctoral academic standards, Soustelle also undertook a secondary,

³¹ Soustelle, *Envers et contre tout* (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1947), 216.

comparative study of the Lacandon Mayans in southern Mexico.³² The Lacandon Mayans reside primarily in the rain forests of Chiapas. In the 1930s, Soustelle visited a group of approximately four hundred pre-industrial holdouts from both Christian, imperial Hispanic civilization and the then current ‘redemptive’ alternative of Mexican revolutionary *indigenista* policies. In addition to his academic research, Soustelle, at his left-leaning, anti-imperial apogee and using a pseudonym, fired off reams of journalism to left-wing publications in Paris condemning the Mexican Catholic church and the behaviour of landowners and foreign corporations plundering Mexico’s natural resources at the expense of Indigenous rural peoples.³³ Soustelle believed his *reportage* was a much needed response to what he considered unbalanced, sensationalistic accounts in the mainstream French press about the persecution of the Mexican Catholic church by the Mexican revolutionary left.

³² Soustelle, *terre indienne*, 141-145, 185-253; Jacques Soustelle, *Les quatre soleils : L’itinéraire intellectuel de Jacques Soustelle, ethnographe du Mexique terre indienne* (Paris : Plon, 1967), 185-253.

³³ Soustelle writing as Jean Duriez. Multiple issues of *MASSES* and *Spartacus*, (1932-1936) Bibliothèque nationale de France – Mitterand. See *MASSES*, September, October, November, December 1933; Soustelle, *Spartacus*, 7 décembre, 1934; 28 février, 1935.



Figure 4 Jacques Soustelle c.1938 during construction of le Musée de l'Homme (courtesy MqB)

Despite his enduring achievements in Mexican ethnology and culture, Soustelle is not known primarily as a social scientist. He is better known darkly for his work in Algeria. The ethnologist and resistance hero Soustelle, once associate director of le Musée de l'Homme, was selected across party lines by then French minister of the interior François Mitterand in 1955 to become France's last Governor of Algeria just as a vicious war of independence entered its decisive phase. On February 1, 1955 Abdelmadjid Ourabah, an Algerian member from Constantine, rose in France's Assemblée Nationale to read a ringing endorsement of the rights of Mexico's Indigenous peoples from Soustelle's work. Ourabah then posed a question which would haunt Soustelle and those who try to understand him for decades to follow,

La place que M. Soustelle revendiquait pour le peuple indien dans la nation mexicaine, comment pourrait-il la refuser aujourd'hui au peuple algérien dans la nation française?³⁴

Just days later Soustelle arrived in Algeria heady with an ambitious reform program informed by his knowledge of Mexican land reform and *indigenismo*. He recruited some of the most progressive social scientists that France could proffer including his former colleague at Le Musée de l'Homme, Germaine Tillion.

Tillion is renowned for her theory of *clochardisation* in which she detailed the poverty of the Algerian masses that resulted from settler colonialism coupled with a population explosion made possible through the introduction of antibiotics and mass vaccination.³⁵ She and Soustelle had a remarkable relationship. They were both students of Mauss and Rivet; they joined their colleagues at Le Musée de l'Homme in resistance against Nazism (Tillion was arrested and survived incarceration in a Nazi concentration camp); and in 1955, she and Soustelle would introduce their ambitious reform program of education and community organization based on Soustelle's understanding of the *indigenista* policies. The reform program known as *le plan Soustelle* crashed against the reality of an expanding military conflict between the French army and Algerian militants bent on national independence. Within six months Soustelle, while still espousing reform, was an advocate for *l'Algérie française* determined to win a war against what he regarded as barbarous opponents and Tillion had quit his cabinet although she remained on as a civil servant.³⁶ In 2008, Germaine Tillion died at age 103. The previous year, an operetta

³⁴ Cited in Jacques Soustelle, *Aimée et souffrante Algérie* (Paris: Plon, 1956), 7.

³⁵ Germaine Tillion, "L'Algérie en 1957" in *L'Afrique bascule vers l'avenir*, by Germaine Tillion (Paris: Éditions Tirésias Michel Reynaud, Paris 1999), 85,91,94-5; Tillion, *La traversée du mal entretien Avec Jean Lacouture* (Paris: Arléa, 2000), 97-8.

³⁶ Alistair Horne, *A Savage War of Peace: Algeria, 1954-1962* (New York: Viking Press, 1978),

Tillion wrote to boost morale among her fellow inmates at Ravensbruck concentration camp in the 1940s, was performed by Théâtre du Chatelet in Paris.³⁷

By the time Algerian independence was declared in 1962, Soustelle was a fugitive from France suspected by many for plotting assassination attempts against Charles de Gaulle, the man he had bravely served in the Resistance but had broken with over French policies in Algeria.³⁸ As a fugitive apparently intent on assisting in the murder of France's president, Soustelle continued to write magisterial works about Mexico including *Les quatre soleils*, an extraordinary contemplation of civilizations and the role of ethnology, in which Soustelle considered the Mayan and Aztec civilizations alongside great European and Asian cultures.³⁹ In his valorization of ancient Mexico, Soustelle was echoing the political ideology of the Porfirian era and Mexican archaeology and anthropology of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that sought to establish Mexico as a cultural peer of Europe by insisting on its own imperial past under the Aztecs, Mayans, Olmecs and Toltecs.⁴⁰

³⁷ Germaine Tillion, mise en scène Bérénice Collet, réalisation François Dubreuil, « *LE VERFÜGBAR AUX ENFERS une opérette-revue à Ravensbruck* » TMP CHATELET -AXESUD - ASSOCIATION GERMAINE TILLION. DVD of performance recorded at 65th anniversary of the liberation of Ravensbruck, 16-19 April, 2010. Courtesy of Nelly Forget, Association Germaine Tillion. The work was performed for the first time during the last year of Tillion's life June 2 and 3, 2007 at Théâtre du Chatelet, Paris.

³⁸ Ullmann, *le mal aimé*. 332-48; James D. Le Sueur, "Before the Jackal," 183-246 in Ben Abro, *Assassination July 14: An Underground Thriller*, with a historical essay by James D. Le Sueur (Lincoln & London: University of Nebraska Press, 2001) 'Ben Abro' is a pseudonym chosen by a couple of British students in Paris in the 1960s. Their spy novel is a thinly veiled portrayal of a French social scientist clearly based on Soustelle who joins in a plot to assassinate Charles de Gaulle over France's loss of Algeria. The book's publication resulted in a lawsuit brought by Soustelle against the authors that was settled out of court. The charges and counter charges over the involvement of Soustelle with the OAS is highly contested in the French historiography. There is wide agreement, supported by Ullmann's path-breaking research that Soustelle participated in meetings in which various assassination attempts were discussed.

³⁹ Soustelle, *Les quatre soleils*.

⁴⁰ Claudio Lomnitz-Adler, *Deep Mexico, Silent Mexico: An Anthropology of Nationalism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2001), 242-57.

Jacques Soustelle returned from self-exile to France in 1968 following an amnesty for opponents of Algerian independence and just prior to the death of his erstwhile mentor Charles de Gaulle. He re-claimed his seat in the Assemblée Nationale, was named to prestigious academic posts and continued writing books and documentary film scripts about Mexico. In 1984, the former exile was named to L'Académie française. At the induction, Claude Levi-Strauss hailed Soustelle's early academic works as masterpieces.⁴¹

His death in August 1990 provoked a litany of contradictory assessments. Some treated Soustelle as an unrepentant fascist supporter of anti-independence movements in Africa. Others remembered his service in the resistance. Most agreed that as an ethnologist he had been one of France's great twentieth-century intellectuals. As the leftist daily Libération expressed it, the French struggled to reconcile the divergent aspects of Soustelle's *mouvementé* career,

Jacques Soustelle laisse, au choix, le souvenir d'un intellectuel "gauchiste" des années trente, d'un animateur de la France libre, d'un gaulliste convaincu, d'un membre du CNR-OAS ou d'un connaisseur hors pair des civilisations aztèque, toltèque ou maya. Plus qu'une carrière politique sinueuse, ses livres sur le lointain passé de l'Amérique centrale lui survivront.⁴²

France's most respected newspaper Le Monde eulogized Soustelle on its front page. Like its rival Libération, the paper chose, above all, to recognize Soustelle's ethnological work,

Plus que la longue fidélité à de Gaulle, rien que sa fidélité plus longue encore à une Algérie française qu'avec acharnement il avait cru pouvoir maintenir en la transformant, ce sont ces « Indiens aux yeux d'obsidienne » des temps

⁴¹ Jacques Soustelle, *Discours de réception de M. Jacques Soustelle à L'Académie Française et réponse de M. Jean Dutourd* (Paris: Éditions Flammarion, 1984), 109-113

⁴² Faligot, Roger and Kauffer, Rémi "Jacques Soustelle: la fin d'un homme de science et de politique," *Libération*, August 8, 1990, 36.

précolombiens qui auront marqué, sans déception, le long itinéraire d'un intellectuel dont la guerre avait fait un homme d'action.⁴³

An accompanying article praised Soustelle's singular contribution to the world's understanding of Mesoamerica,

Le sens de sa mission s'impose alors à Jacques Soustelle : son œuvre montrera que ces Indiens, héritiers d'une tradition millénaire, sont dépositaires d'une véritable culture et qu'ils doivent être respectés comme tels. Dans toute son œuvre, Jacques Soustelle s'est attaché à mettre en évidence le continuum historique entre la préhistoire, les hautes civilisations et la culture des Indiens actuels.⁴⁴

Unlike their moderate counterparts in the French press, the French Communist Party daily L'Humanité 'eulogized' Soustelle as a murderer of Algerian citizens, a failed assassin and apologist of right-wing regimes from Asunción to Pretoria.⁴⁵ Finally, the centre right Quotidien de Paris surveyed Soustelle's life in tragic terms,

... la grande faiblesse de Jacques Soustelle fut précisément de ne pas se comporter en homme politique mais en homme de passion, de croire à ce qu'il croyait et de se battre pour des idées qui furent des siennes toute sa vie durant. Soustelle restera un cas à part, un homme de courage et de fidélité douloureuse.⁴⁶

Five years after his death, an international group of anthropologists and archaeologists held a conference in Soustelle's honour. One of his Mexican peers, Eduardo Matos Moctezuma, the director of el Templo Mayor, ruins and a museum at the site of the Aztec city of Tenochtitlan now in the centre of Mexico City, wrote an introduction to the conference's collected papers. First, Matos Moctezuma saluted the savant of Mesoamerica who had inspired a Mexican student,

⁴³ Jean Planchais "La mort de Jacques Soustelle..." *Le Monde*, August 8, 1990, front page.

⁴⁴ Christian Duverger, "De l'ethnologue de terrain au vulgarisateur de haut niveau," *Le Monde*, August 8, 1990, page 8.

⁴⁵ *L'Humanité* August 8, 1990.

⁴⁶ *Le Quotidien de Paris*, August 8, 1990, cited in cited in Dominique Balvet, "Jacques Soustelle et l'Algérie française: gaullisme et anti gaullisme" (PhD diss., Université Charles de Gaulle Lille 3, 2003), 769, footnote 69.

The first time that I heard the name of Jacques Soustelle was in Mexico's National School of Anthropology. It was in 1960 and I was a second year anthropology student. I eagerly read a book that fascinated me.: *The Daily Life of the Aztecs*. Its contents led me to one of the Mesoamerican societies and for the need to read both historical and archeological sources...Soustelle's book opened the door to Mesoamerican societies.⁴⁷

Matos Moctezuma did not shy from what might be the central contradiction in Soustelle's life: his steadfast support of l'Algérie Française. He evoked a time in the late 1960s and 1970s when the mention of Soustelle's name among Mexican social scientists would trigger a denunciation of Soustelle's position on Algeria. Even Matos Moctezuma, a friend of Soustelle's to the end, confessed he was unimpressed with Soustelle's stance,

I was never convinced by what he wrote about his decision to break relations with General de Gaulle with whom he had been a close collaborator during the World War II.⁴⁸

Soustelle gave his critics plenty of ammunition. His rejection of Algerian independence and insistence on the potential for his vaunted integration set him apart from many of his French intellectual peers including Jean-Paul Sartre and Raymond Aron. While Soustelle is often seen as a renegade in this regard, it is worth noting that his mentor Paul Rivet, Albert Camus and Germaine Tillion also opposed Algerian independence as war raged. Soustelle was astonishingly impolitic for a man who spent a great deal of his life in politics. Late in life, he seemed to cultivate a reputation as something of a crank taking positions in defence of Israel; some Latin American right-

⁴⁷ Eduardo Matos Moctezuma, "Remembranzas" in *Mille ans de civilisation Mésoaméricaine Vol 1 Hommages à Jacques Soustelle réunis par Jacqueline de Durand-Forest et Georges Baudot* (Paris: l'Harmattan, 1995), 3. Spanish original « La primera vez que oí el nombre de Jacques Soustelle fue en la Escuela Nacional de Antropología de México. Corría el año de 1960 y yo cursaba el segundo año de la carrera de Arqueología. Leí con avidez un libro que me pareció fascinante: *La vida cotidiana de los Aztecas*. Su contenido me llevó a conocer una de las sociedades mesoamericanas para la que era necesario leer tanto de fuentes históricas como de arqueología... el libro de Soustelle me abrió la puerta a las sociedades mesoamericanas." Translation by James Cullingham.

⁴⁸ Ibid, 3-4. Spanish original "Nunca me convenció lo que escribió en relación a su posición que o llevó a romper con De Gaulle, de quien había sido cercano colaborador durante la segunda guerra mundial." Translated by James Cullingham

wing leaders such as Stroessner of Paraguay; and most provocatively for the time, the government of South Africa as it muddled murderously towards the end of *apartheid*. Soustelle was almost singular in his public refusal to unquestionably embrace causes like Palestinian nationalism or the liberation struggle of the African National Congress. Soustelle aired his decidedly untrendy, contrarian views about the apartheid regime (and the United States of America) in prestigious publications such as Le Monde,

Je peux affirmer, par expérience personnelle qu'il y a quelques années on voyait encore au Texas ou Louisiane plus de traces d'apartheid qu'en n'en voit aujourd'hui à Johannesburg.⁴⁹

The Shifting Reputations of Scott and Soustelle

Duncan Campbell Scott and Jacques Soustelle share a similar trajectory in public esteem. They both shifted from being shining examples of their society's best values and traditions to being characterized as unsavoury reminders of a shameful past. Within twenty years or so of Scott's death in 1947 and after France 'lost' Algeria for good in 1962 despite Soustelle's efforts, their work and the values they embraced had been cast into a dark light. Throughout their lifetime, these men were often lauded for their accomplishments as creative people and for their activities in public life. In the twenty-first century, both are tarnished by their association with aspects of their countries' most infamous deeds. For almost all of Scott's career and for significant stretches of Soustelle's, these men were regarded as highly accomplished individuals, incarnations of 'the best and brightest' their societies were producing.⁵⁰ Jacques Soustelle was one of France's greatest twentieth-century intellectuals. Was he also a neo-fascist who planned murder? Duncan Campbell Scott wrote some accomplished poems and short stories; he

⁴⁹ Jacques Soustelle, "Ou veut-on venir à Pretoria?" *Le Monde*, Paris, December 3, 1977, 7 ; Ullmann, *Le mal aimé*, 398-9 ; Jacques Soustelle, *La longue marche d'Israël*, (Paris : Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1968).

⁵⁰ David Halberstam, *The Best and the Brightest* (New York: Random House, 1972).

campaigned for a lifetime on behalf of Canadian writers and painters. What individual responsibility must be ascribed to Scott for a comprehensive state and church sponsored assault on the human rights and dignity of Indigenous peoples in Canada?

For Duncan Campbell Scott this conundrum has resulted in a fundamental re-thinking by Canadian literary critics of the relationship between his ‘day job’ at the Indian Department and his poetry. The great Canadian literary and cultural theorist Northrop Frye grappled with the Scott enigma on several occasions. Equally attracted by the skill of Scott’s best poems and repelled by the colonized and colonizing ideology at times present in the poetry, Frye recognized Scott as an archetypal Canadian artist.⁵¹ Frye’s most celebrated student, Margaret Atwood, deals parenthetically with Scott’s Indian Department legacy while acknowledging the fundamental contribution that he and a fellow civil servant Archibald Lampman of the Canadian Post Office made to the development of Canadian letters,

Part of the delight of reading Canadian poetry chronologically is watching the gradual emergence of a language appropriate to its objects. I’d say it first began to happen in poets such as Lampman and Duncan Campbell Scott.⁵²

In 1986 Atwood included “Les Desjardins” a Scott short story in a collection of Canadian short stories that she co-edited.⁵³ It is perhaps a sign of Scott’s diminished stature in Canadian letters due to increased knowledge of his Indian Department role that he is omitted from a recent compilation of Canadian short stories.⁵⁴

⁵¹ Northrop Frye, “Conclusion to a Literary History of Canada” in *The Bush Garden: Essays On The Canadian Imagination* (Toronto: Anansi Press, 1971), 219.

⁵² Margaret Atwood, *Survival: A Thematic Guide to Canadian Literature* (Toronto: Anansi Press, 1972), 62.

⁵³ Margaret Atwood & Robert Weaver, eds, *The Oxford Book Of Canadian Short Stories In English* (Toronto-Oxford-New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 24-8.

⁵⁴ Jane Urquhart ,ed., *The Penguin Book of Canadian Short Stories* (Toronto: Penguin Canada, 2007) Scott appears in many earlier collections of this kind. In 1929, the literary critic Raymond Knister edited his *Canadian Short Stories*. In the forward he wrote, “And a perfect flowering of art is embodied in one

Gradually Canadian literary theorists began to fold Scott's Indian Department work more directly into their considerations. In 1980, Robert McDougall, professor of English at Carleton University in Ottawa, was asked to submit a biography of Scott for a new encyclopedia,

...his literary reputation has never been in doubt. He has been well represented in virtually all major anthologies of Canadian poetry published since 1900. His "Indian" poems, in which he drew on his experiences in the field, have been widely recognized and valued. There is some conflict here between Scott's views as an administrator committed to an assimilation policy, and his sensibilities as a poet saddened by the waning of an ancient culture. Precise in imagery, intense yet disciplined, flexible in metre and form, Scott's poems weathered well the transition from traditional to modern poetry in Canada.⁵⁵

From a literary perspective, the most persuasive re-evaluation is that of Stan Dragland who has spent a career wondering about Duncan Campbell Scott. Dragland confesses to being "torn apart"⁵⁶ by his conflicted view about Scott, but he wisely underscores Scott's enduring yet shifting place in Canadian intellectualism,

As a benign or sinister spirit, Scott continues to haunt us. Many of his essays show him consciously constructing Canada, still a work-in-progress fifty years after his death. By introducing his contributions to nation-making into the light of newer thinking about empire and race, we hope to enlist him for a further phase of the process.⁵⁷

By the early 1990s a decade after the 1982 entrenchment of "existing Aboriginal and Treaty rights" in the Canadian constitution and following a series of public disputes over Aboriginal land rights in many parts of Canada, but especially so in Québec, northern Ontario and British Columbia, as well as the ultimately fruitless constitutional

volume, In *The Village of Viger*, by Duncan Campbell Scott. It is work which has had an unobtrusive influence, but it stands out after thirty years as the most satisfying individual contribution to the Canadian short story.", xix.

⁵⁵ R.L. McDougall, "Duncan Campbell Scott" in *The Canadian Encyclopedia* Second Edition, Volume III (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1988), 1960.

⁵⁶ Cullingham, *Poet and the Indians*.

⁵⁷ Stan Dragland, "Introduction" *Duncan Campbell Scott: Addresses, Essays and Reviews* (edited by Leslie Ritchie) (London, ON: Canadian Poetry Press, 2000), xii.

debates concerning both Québec's place in confederation and Aboriginal rights in the Meech Lake and Charlottetown initiatives of the governments of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney (1984-1993), Duncan Campbell Scott's reputation changed dramatically. Canada experienced a series of highly publicized confrontations involving Indigenous peoples in the early 1990s. These include the Kahnawake (Oka) crisis in Quebec, Gustafson Lake in British Columbia and the circumstances surrounding the death of activist Dudley George in Ontario. Each situation provoked saturation media coverage and a wide range of legal, military and political responses. The Kahnawake conflict led directly to the commissioning of a Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples by the then government of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney. It was during this period that Aboriginal activists and scholars of the Indian Department exchanged the persona of Scott the foundational poet for Scott in his Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs role, the dark ideologue at the centre of a tragically misguided policy. Historian Winona Stevenson Wheeler argued Scott reflected mainstream values about race and nation in Canada,

He was a Victorian man. He was very stoic. I would say he was anal retentive. I think he really tried to, if not become a role model, at least live up to his perceived ideals of western civilization.

He was pivotal in that he took the initiative and actually ran with it. He imposed the policies. I guess a lot of us can look back in retrospect, in presentist terms, and see him as an evil force. We can blame him. We can call him the devil, but he was a man of his time. He represented an era. His ideology was the ideology of the day.⁵⁸

By the 1970s and 1980s, as Canada's Indigenous rights movement gained an audience schooled by the American civil rights movement and the anti-Viet Nam War

⁵⁸ Winona Stevenson (now Wheeler) in *Duncan Campbell Scott: The Poet and The Indians*, documentary film, Tamarack Productions in Co-Production with The National Film Board of Canada, 1995. James Cullingham, director/producer. Stevenson has since changed her family name to Wheeler. She is a professor and head of Native Studies at the University of Saskatchewan.

movement, Scott's peculiar double career appeared in a different light through the filter of a changed politics. In the aftermath of the failed White Paper on Indian Policy presented by the government of Pierre Trudeau in 1968, a policy which would have resoundingly capped the assimilation policies of Scott's watch, Indian leaders sparked a national reconsideration of the assimilation project.⁵⁹ If Trudeau and his Indian Affairs Minister Jean Chrétien insisted that Francophone Canadians had a right to their identity throughout the Dominion, surely Indigenous peoples warranted some special recognition of their rights and identities under Canadian sovereignty.

As Indian policy became a frequent subject of national discourse during this period, Canadian historians began focusing on Scott's role at the Indian Department. Unlike earlier scholars who had been primarily, if not exclusively, interested in his poetry and prose, E. Brian Titley expressly rejected consideration of Scott's literary output altogether while insisting that the real stuff of inquiry about the man lay in his civil service career. The Scott that emerged in Titley's ground breaking 1986 work A Narrow Vision: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada was a portrait from the dark side of the Canadian psyche.⁶⁰ Officious, conniving, Victorian to his marrow in his absolute certainty regarding British superiority, Titley's Duncan Campbell Scott was the determinedly effective *bête noir* to Indigenous aspiration in Canada. In Titley's view, post-Confederation Canada had primordial national business in seizing Indian lands and resources and in snuffing out systems of spiritual belief,

⁵⁹ Harold Cardinal, *The Unjust Society: The Tragedy of Canada's Indians* (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1969); H.A. McCue, *The Only Good Indian: Essays by Canadian Indians* (Toronto: New Press, 1972); Sally M. Weaver, *Making Canadian Indian Policy: The Hidden Agenda 1968-70* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981).

⁶⁰ E. Brian Titley, *A Narrow Vision: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986).

language, customs and political organization deemed inconsistent with rapid ‘civilization’. In this quest, in Titley’s view, Canada had a willing champion in Duncan Campbell Scott.

Clearly, Scott, in the minds of many observers, was no longer a sensitive artist with a trying bureaucratic job in which he acquitted himself admirably. Scholars like Christopher Bracken, Robin Brownlie and R. Cole Harris regarded Scott through the lens of post-colonial theory and looked at the Indian Department’s activities as the lynchpin of Canada’s assertion of national sovereignty and domestic colonization of Aboriginal peoples.⁶¹ In current Canadian historiography, this has been brilliantly encapsulated by Ian McKay in a series of extremely influential works about Canada’s “liberal order framework.” McKay casts the first seventy-five years of Canada’s history as a nation state as an on-going revolution led by, and for the benefit of, a liberal elite often at the exclusion of minorities and with particular malevolence in regards to policies concerning Aboriginal peoples.⁶²

Similarly, Soustelle the academic prodigy, heroic résistant and grand interpreter of Mexican civilizations was replaced by the end of the 1960s with image of a self-serving, ultra-conservative stalwart of indefensible causes. After Soustelle’s death, the British spy novelist Robert Stillman, then embroiled in a legal dispute over Soustelle’s alleged OAS ties called him, “ a pathetic, bronchitic old man, who really had nothing to

⁶¹ Christopher Bracken, *The Potlatch Papers: A Post Colonial History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997); Robin Brownlie, *A Fatherly Eye: Indian Agents, Government Power, and Aboriginal Resistance in Ontario, 1918-1939* (Don Mills, Ont. ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2003); R. Cole Harris, *Making Native Space : Colonialism, Resistance, and Reserves in British Columbia* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2002).

⁶² Ian Mackay, "The Liberal Order Framework: A Prospectus for a Reconnaissance of Canadian History." *Canadian Historical Review* 81, no. 4 (Dec. 2000): 617, 636; Ian McKay, “Canada as a Long Liberal Revolution” in *Liberalism and Hegemony: Debating the Canadian Liberal Revolution*, Jean-François Constant and Michel Ducharme (Toronto-Buffalo-London: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 353, 361.

say... at the end of the day, (he) was a *pauvre type, pauvre con.*⁶³ Indeed Soustelle's final days were marked by conflict with publishers and his political opponents. He felt wrongly accused of association with leaders such as Paraguay's dictator Stroessner even while at the same time being attacked by Stroessner's loyalists,

...des amis français résidant au Paraguay m'écrivent que la clique fasciste au pouvoir se vante de me faire arrêter par Interpol ! N'y a-t-il pas moyen de bloquer cette persécution?⁶⁴

Just a month before his death, Soustelle pleaded with his lawyer to resolve a rights dispute between French publishers over his works,

Votre lettre fait apparaître que je suis amené à m'engager dans un labyrinthe sans fin.

Je n'ai ni le temps, ni le goût, ni les moyens de partir à la chasse de documents, lettres, etc. vieux de plusieurs années.⁶⁵

Soustelle who had resisted Nazism in the 1940s and then plunged into the Algerian French conflict of the 1950s and 1960s was embattled still in his declining years spouting very unfashionable political views and sometimes battling publishers over matters concerning his intellectual property. His political biographer Bernard Ullmann fittingly dubbed Soustelle *le mal aimé*, or black sheep.⁶⁶

After his death, Soustelle was replaced in the Académie Française by Jean-Francois Deniau, one of the architects of the European Union. Deniau was a diplomat, a politician, a great sailor, a journalist and a novelist. As convention has it, it was Deniau's duty at his induction to offer an 'éloge' of the man he replaced 'sous la Coupole',

⁶³ Robert Stillman, as quoted in interview conducted by James D. Le Sueur, April 16, 1994 in Abro, *Assassination*, 244-245.

⁶⁴ Jacques Soustelle. Letter to his lawyer Charles Benfredj, November 11, 1989. Provided to the author by M. Benfredj, March 2008.

⁶⁵ Jacques Soustelle. Letter to his lawyer Charles Benfredj, July 1, 1990. Provided to the author by M. Benfredj, March 2008.

⁶⁶ Ullmann, *le mal aimé*.

Je n'ai pas essayé d'analyser une œuvre. Il y a parmi vous bien plus compétent que moi, les plus hautes autorités en ethnologies, mais aussi en sciences, en philosophie, en littérature... Non, j'ai seulement cherché à approcher un homme pour le comprendre un peu mieux que ce que les notices peuvent nous apprendre. A l'approcher avec prudence et, plus j'avançais, émotion. En sachant qu'il restera un mystère Soustelle. Et en trouvant cela bien. Parce qu'il n'y a pas, sans cette ombre portée du mystère, de véritable stature humaine ; et que l'incompréhensible, l'explicite sont les derniers remparts de notre liberté.

Chacun de nous, à vingt ans, et parfois plus tard, a rêvé d'être roi. De détenir le pouvoir suprême, et de se sentir nécessaire totalement et surtout naturellement. Ce moment où un être humain croit s'identifier à la volonté d'un peuple et à la permanence d'une nation, est-il plus haut et plus chaud ? Pour Jacques Soustelle, il aura brillé une fois, trop fort. Le soleil peut aussi brûler.⁶⁷

Deniau also revealed for the first time that Jacques Soustelle had tipped off French intelligence about one planned assassination attempt on Charles de Gaulle. Clearly, Soustelle who was then hidden 'quelque part en Europe' (the ingenious by-line he used in his anti-de Gaulle screeds to French newspapers) was in contact with the plotters. As Bernard Ullmann's investigation proves, on this occasion, it was Soustelle who chose mercy for his old comrade in arms.⁶⁸

Conclusion

Canada can be put into an international conversation about imperial ideology and the domestic colonization of Indigenous peoples. Juxtaposing Duncan Campbell Scott and Jacques Soustelle is a means to do just that. With increased control over its own 'Indian' policies, a post confederation Canada internalized and hardened British imperial systems.⁶⁹ Duncan Campbell Scott was as influential as any single person in

⁶⁷ Jean-Francois Deniau, "Éloge de Jacques Soustelle", reprinted in *Le Monde*, December 14, 1992, 9.

⁶⁸ Ullmann, *le mal aimé*, 409-412.

⁶⁹ Historians of Canada such as Robin Jarvis-Brownlie, Olive Dickason, J. R. Miller, John Milloy and E. Brian Titley have demonstrated how Indian policy was honed in the early post-confederation period. This dissertation places emphasis on the importance of a study of "aggressive civilization" as practices in the

implementing and honing those policies in the critical post Confederation era. Canada is often seen, and certainly Canadians enjoy seeing themselves, as a beacon of light in international human rights. However Canada was part of a larger story of rapacious settlement colonization rooted in firm convictions of the racial superiority of the ‘anglo-saxon races’. The life and times of Duncan Campbell Scott, contrasted with Jacques Soustelle’s, demonstrate that Canada was part of a global struggle to ‘develop’ natural resources, settle colonists and ‘civilize’ Indigenous peoples with often brutal methods. Such methods were overwhelmingly accepted by Canadian elites throughout Scott’s career.

Jacques Soustelle’s work as a social scientist and politician places him at the centre of French debates about its imperial past and its future in a post-colonial world. His formative academic associations with his teachers Marcel Mauss and Paul Rivet and his colleague Germaine Tillion make Soustelle a foundational figure in the emergence of French ethnology and anthropology. His ambitious, but doomed, tenure as Governor General of Algeria, plus his intellectual jousting with leading French writers about post-colonialism such as Raymond Aron, Albert Camus and Jean-Paul Sartre, make Soustelle an inescapable and compelling character in France’s end-of-empire reckoning.

United States that was commissioned by the Macdonald government just as DC Scott joined the Indian department as a clerk. The ‘Davin Report’ is a foundational document in this regard. Nicholas Flood Davin, “Report on Industrial Schools for Indians and Half-Breeds” Ottawa, 1879. CIHM No. 03651, York University library microforms; Dickason, *Canada’s First Nations*, 257-305; Robin Jarvis Brownlie, *A Fatherly Eye: Indian Agents, Government Power, and Aboriginal Resistance in Ontario, 1918-1939* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2003); J. R. Miller *Shingwauk’s Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996); J.R. Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens : A History of Indian-White Relations in Canada. 3rd ed.* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 99-207; John Sheridan Milloy *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879-1986* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1999), 51-186.

3. Their Journey In

Introduction

Duncan Campbell Scott and Jacques Soustelle undertook formative voyages early in their careers. For both men, these extraordinary voyages inspired some of their most profound and revealing writing. My purpose in this chapter is to evoke the enduring impressions and crystalline moments of focus from these voyages that contributed so essentially to the making of each of these men. Scott was a Treaty commissioner for the government of Canada in the summers of 1905 and 1906. He travelled on two extensive journeys through the lands of the Anishinabe and Cree peoples living in a large area from Abitibi Lake near present day Timmins, north to the west coast of James Bay at Fort Albany and south again to the shore of Lake Superior at the mouth of the Pic River near present day Marathon, Ontario.



Figure 5 Area of Treaty 9 Expedition (map by Ayman Kadora)

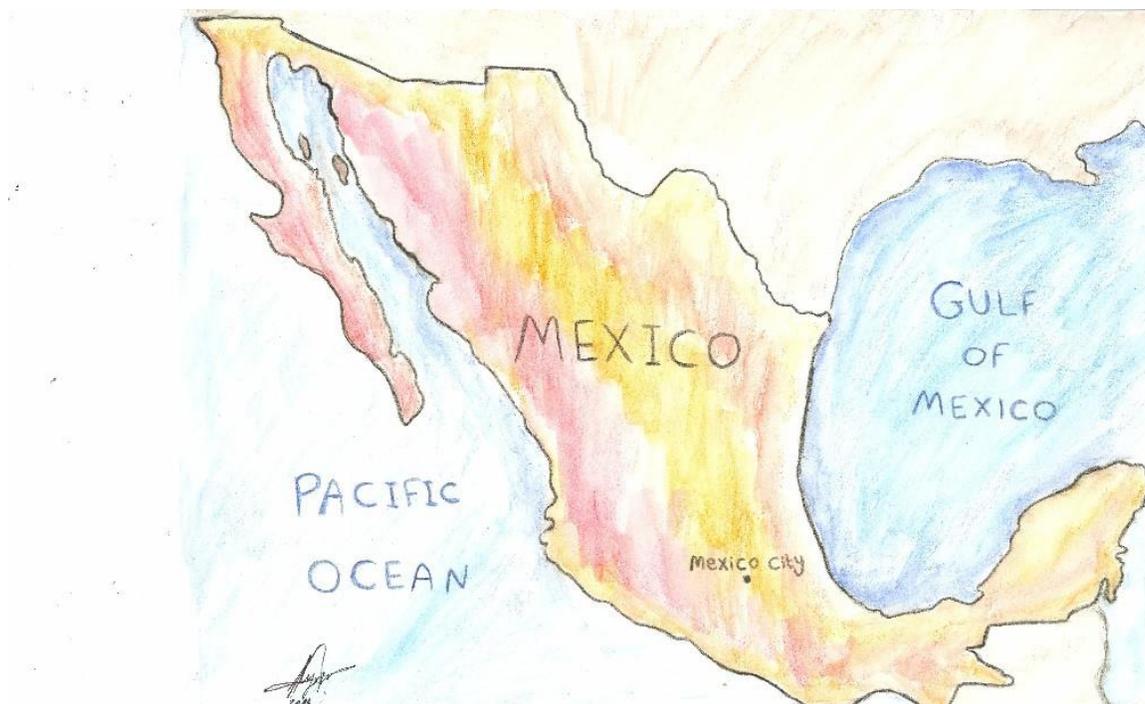


Figure 6 Map by Ayman Kadora

Soustelle conducted field research in Mexico for a doctorate in ethnology in 1932-34. His journeys were two fold: firstly, in central Mexico in an arc extending just south east of Mexico City, north and west through the states of Hidalgo, Mexico and San Luis Potosí.

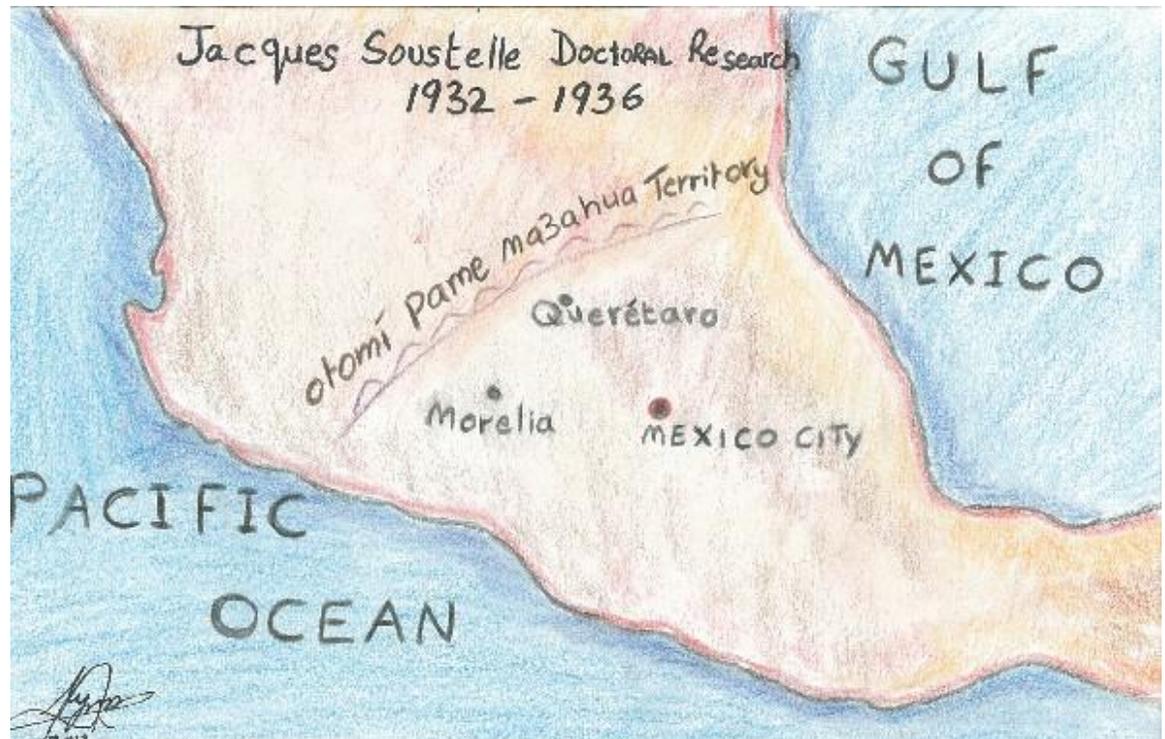


Figure 7 Primary Soustelle research area 1932-36 (map by Ayman Kadora)

Soustelle conducted a secondary trip in Chiapas in southern Mexico through the Lacandon rain forest that lies approximately between Palenque near the Gulf of Mexico to Ocosingo, a town about 70 kilometres east of the city of San Cristobal de Las Casas, in the highlands of Chiapas. In each case, the men were transformed. The journeys involved wilderness travel and encounters with Indigenous peoples in then remote territories of northern Canada and central and southern Mexico. They met people and encountered situations that affected their judgment and their work for the rest of their lives.

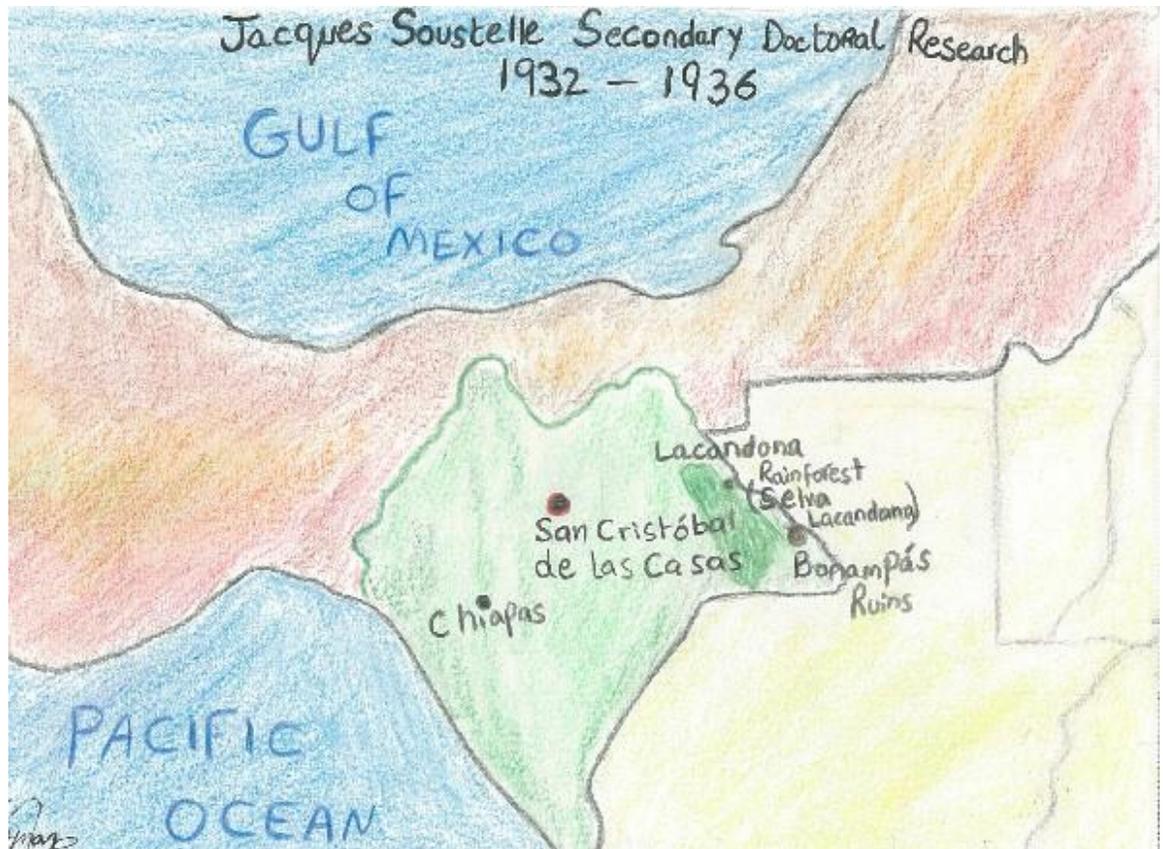


Figure 8 Soustelle secondary research area 1932-36 (map by Ayman Kadora)

Scott's extended exposure to Indigenous communities crystallized an ideology that buttressed his remarkably determined and far reaching career in the Canadian Indian Department. As an artist, the Treaty expeditions of 1905 and 1906 provided the fodder for many of the poems and short stories that distinguish him as a Canadian writer to this day. Mexico of the 1930s provided Soustelle with a second home. The mountains, jungles, plains and deserts of Mexico remained a sanctuary, a solace and an inspiration for Soustelle until his death in 1990. His love affair with Mexico began in the summer of 1932 when the then twenty-year-old Soustelle disembarked in Vera Cruz. Mexico was Soustelle's primary political, cultural and intellectual inspiration. Even as he became embroiled in the resistance against Nazism and later in the bloody tragedy of Algeria, Soustelle remained fascinated by Mexico. Its Indigenous present and past remained the

wellspring of his worldview. His observation of the attempts to alleviate the poverty and suffering of Indigenous peoples in the social and educational policies of the Mexican revolution would animate the fateful policies of *le plan Soustelle*, which he attempted to introduce in war-torn Algeria in 1955 after he was named Governor General.

The literature on travel as rite of passage, a coming of age and a moment of personal transformation for a wide range of nineteenth- and twentieth-century writers, intellectuals and explorers is diverse and rich. Such literature exposes different ways of evaluating the imperial gaze in the lives and works of individuals acting for, or against, colonizing interests. Although such works by no means deal exclusively with Mexico, Canada, France or Algeria, they share powerful insights about the transformative power of travel in regions shaped by European imperialism.¹

Both Scott and Soustelle were informed by particular national experiences of travel and exploration essential to their heritage and motivation. In Canada, the early European explorers including Samuel de Champlain, Samuel Hearne and David Thompson were among the earliest expressions of a Euro-Canadian literary tradition of which Scott became part.² Growing up in France, Jacques Soustelle was very much aware of the extraordinary eighteenth-century Latin American travels of Alexander Humboldt, particularly his accounts of New Spain or Mexico. As a young boy, Soustelle was transfixed by accounts of explorers and devoured books about France's African and

¹ James West Davidson and John Ruge, *Great Heart: The History of a Labrador Adventure* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997, c1988); Natalie Zemon Davis, *Trickster Travels: A Sixteenth Century Muslim Between Worlds* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2006); Natalie Zemon Davis, *Women On The Margins: Three Seventeenth Century Lives* (Cambridge, MASS: Harvard University Press, 1995); Margaret Laurence, *The Prophet's Camel Bell* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1963); Mary-Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London & New York: Routledge, 2008); Wendy Roy, *Maps of Difference: Canada, Women and Travel* (Montreal & Ithaca, NY: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005).

² Germaine Warkentin, *Canadian Exploration Literature: An Anthology*. Toronto, Ont.: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Asian territories.³ As a young scholar, he was emboldened by the accounts of the cartography and archaeological expeditions undertaken by his supervisor Paul Rivet in South America. As a young French traveller and explorer among Mexico's Indian people, Soustelle was also following in the footsteps Désiré Charnay, the enterprising nineteenth-century photographer of Mayan temples of the Yucatan and Chiapas.⁴

These formative voyages took place in the first half of the twentieth century. Both traveled through some rough terrain. Both Scott and Soustelle made extensive use of less industrialized forms of transportation such as canoes, mules and horses. Each of them relied heavily on Indigenous interlocutors and guides to make their way. The primary point of reference will be Scott and Soustelle's extensive writings about these journeys along with the photographs each man took and field audio recordings produced by Soustelle.

The secondary literature about Scott's art and his Indian Department career often examines the meaning of his 1905 and 1906 journeys as Treaty commissioner.⁵ The secondary literature about Soustelle tends to focus on Algeria, his activities for the French resistance to Nazism that he carried on in Mexico, London and Algiers from 1941-44 and his political career.⁶ There is surprisingly little attempt to reconcile Soustelle's early ethnological pursuits in Mexico with his career following the World

³ Jacques Soustelle, "Souvenirs, Apocryphes en forme de dialogue avec George Suffert" 1988 unpublished manuscript provided to the author by Bernard Ullmann in 2008, 4.

⁴ Désiré Charnay, *Voyage au Mexique 1858-1861* (Paris : Ginkgo, 2001)
Keith F. Davis, *Désiré Charnay, expeditionary photographer* (Albuquerque : University of New Mexico Press, 1981).

⁵ E. Brian Titley, *A Narrow Vision: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986) Stan Dragland, *Floating Voice: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Literature of Treaty 9* (Concord, ON: Anansi, 1994).

⁶ Bernard Ullmann, *Jacques Soustelle le mal aimé* (Paris: Plon, 1995).

War II. The chapter will interweave the trajectories and intellectual production of Scott and Soustelle from these voyages.

Powassan's Drum: Scott's Treaty Expedition + Soustelle Finds Mexico

In the spring of 1905, Duncan Campbell Scott was rising through Canada's Indian Department when he was named Treaty commissioner for Treaty 9. Scott was then thirty-five years old, a married father of one daughter. He was an established literary figure in Canada with publishers in Toronto, Ottawa, New York and Boston. As a journalist and cultural commentator he was known to the readers of such publications at the Toronto *Globe* through the column "At The Mermaid's Inn" that he had shared with fellow poets Archibald Lampman and Wilfred Campbell. His short stories and poetry had appeared in American magazines such as Scribner's and Muncey's.

His career at the Indian Department was progressing smartly. He had risen from the post of clerk for which he was hired in 1879 to become the Department's chief accountant. The poet showed a surprising facility with numbers and his handwriting - which was often obscure at best in his poetic offerings - was clear, precise and heavily inked in the Department's records. As a functionary of the Department, Scott had already taken journeys into Indian country. His visit to the areas along the northern shore of Georgian Bay in 1898 had introduced him to a boreal expanse and a world of the imagination that the surroundings of Ottawa only hinted at. That trip would begin a poetic meditation that would inspire Scott's most evocative, accomplished and troubling Indian poems when coupled with his more extensive journeys into Indian country in the summers of 1905 and 1906. He was accompanied by fellow bureaucrats, members of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and, in 1906, by a few select friends who were

educators, writers and painters. In institutional terms, the Treaty 9 trips bolstered Scott's career. Within a few years, he received a significant promotion as the Department's director of education. By 1913, he would become Deputy Superintendent General, the top mandarin in Indian Affairs. He held that post for the rest of his civil service career.⁷

Jacques Soustelle was a graduate student in 1932 when he first visited Mexico. He travelled with his wife Georgette, also a graduate student of French physician and social scientist Paul Rivet. The couple had met at L'Institut de l'Ethnologie in Paris where Rivet taught them. Jacques Soustelle, then twenty years of age, was an academic prodigy. After excelling in national examinations, he was selected from his lycée in Lyon at age 17 to study at l'École normale supérieure in Paris. Rivet had profoundly influenced and impressed the young Soustelle and would continue to play a mentoring role for the essentially fatherless Soustelle for remainder of his life.⁸

In large part the teaching of Rivet inspired emerging scholars such as the Soustelles to select Mexico.⁹ Rivet championed fieldwork and face-to-face interaction with ethnological subjects and had made a name for himself as a cartographer and anthropologist undertaking exotic and dangerous journeys in Ecuador, Peru and Colombia. At l'École normale supérieure Soustelle was exposed to two gifted teachers with vastly different approaches: Rivet and Marcel Mauss, who had pioneered modern sociology along with Émile Durkheim. Mauss charted a path from sociology to ethnology when he evinced a fascination with comparative social studies. His essay on giving,

⁷ E.K. Brown "Memoir" in *Selected Poems of Duncan Campbell Scott* (Toronto: Ryerson, 1951), xi – xlii; Titley, *Narrow Vision*, 23-36.

⁸ Christine Laurière, *Paul Rivet – le savant et le politique* (Paris: Muséum national d'Histoire naturelle, 2008), 239, 519-20, 618-20 ; Ullmann, *Soustelle*, 21-2.

⁹ Jean-François Sirinelli, *Génération intellectuelle. Khâgneux et normaliens dans l'entre-deux-guerres* (Paris, Fayard. 1988), 104 ; Ullmann, *Soustelle*, 24-5.

which compares various Indigenous societies, including “Eskimos” and tribal groups of the Canadian north-west, in their attitudes about property is a classic comparative study.¹⁰ Mauss had whetted the young Soustelle’s interest in foreign lands and encouraged a multidisciplinary approach to academic work that Soustelle found appealing. He also provided Soustelle with one of his first professional academic assignments: writing an entry on shamanism for a French encyclopaedia.¹¹ However, it was the diminutive ‘*doctorcito*’ Rivet of the legendary Latin American expeditions, a man of action who served France heroically as a physician in World War I, who fired the imagination and commanded the unswerving loyalty of the young Jacques Soustelle. Rivet introduced a more active approach to social science. He encouraged his students to understand the living reality of Indigenous people. This emphasis on the present day was an important distinction for youthful scholars seeking the adventure of fieldwork in exotic locales. Late in life, Soustelle reflected that he, his wife and their peers found inspiration in Rivet’s insistence that Indigenous peoples survived colonialism and could not merely be seen as relics of the past.¹² Distinguishing themselves from the “arm chair” theories of sociologists such as Mauss, Soustelle and his peers ventured out into remote parts of the world seeking the linguistic and cultural vestiges of ancient civilizations and Indigenous peoples.

¹⁰ Marcel Mauss. *Essai sur le don: forme et raison d'échange dans les sociétés archaïques; préface de Florence Weber* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2007) First published in l'Année Sociologique, seconde série, 1923-1924; Marcel Mauss, *Sociologie et anthropologie; introduction par Claude Lévy-Strauss* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1993). Near the end of Soustelle’s career, some forty years after his first trip to Mexico, Soustelle was still vaunting the influence of Mauss’ seminal work in a 1975 report commissioned by the government of then French president Valéry Giscard d’Estaing - Soustelle, *La recherche française en archéologie et anthropologie* (Paris: La documentation Française, 1975), 13.

¹¹ Jacques Soustelle. “l’Homme et le Surnaturel – Les Phénomènes religieux » *L’Encyclopédie française, VII* (Paris : Société nouvelle de l’Encyclopédie française 1935)

¹²Soustelle, *Souvenirs*, 12-22.



Figure 9 Jacques & Georgette Soustelle, Chiapas 1934 (courtesy MqB)

For the Soustelles, this sense of mission meant Mexico. Meanwhile their young colleague at L'Institut d'Ethnologie, Germaine Tillion, who had also studied with Rivet and Mauss, went deep into the remote Aurès mountains of Algeria to conduct a study of Berber tribal peoples. Soustelle and Tillion joined forces twenty years later in Algeria after Soustelle was named Governor General. As Soustelle's thinking about Mexico and larger questions of civilization developed over the course of his life, he would emphasize the fundamental importance to him as a thinker in seeing things first hand by living among Indigenous peoples.¹³ As a scholar formed in the French élite tradition, he practiced within and would always maintain a respect for classic traditions of intellectual inquiry, but his taste for action and his sense of adventure found an outlet in the emerging field of ethnology.

Such an approach also appealed to Soustelle's commitment to social justice. He was sympathetic to anti-fascist movements in which Rivet was extremely active in France

¹³ Jacques Soustelle, *Les Quatres Soleils, Souvenirs Et Réflexions d'Un Ethnologue Au Mexique terre indienne* (Paris: Plon, 1967), 32-5,39-46,

as the Spanish Civil War raged, Mussolini consolidated power and Hitler began to emerge as a threat to all of Europe. Jacques Soustelle went to Mexico imbued with social democratic principals. The twenty-year-old Soustelle was an admirer and thoughtful critic of the Mexican revolution, an advocate for Indigenous rights, a proponent of maintaining Indigenous languages and an acerbic critic of the Mexican church, large landowners and the American capitalists that dominated Mexico's economy and coveted its rich natural resources. These ideas resonate in his first book, and in the journalism that he penned from Mexico under the pseudonym of Jean Duriez published in French leftist newspapers between 1932 and 1935.¹⁴

Conversely, Duncan Campbell Scott travelled with a sense of superiority. A man on the rise, an artist already confident in his abilities, in 1905-06 Scott undertook matters of fundamental importance to a still fledgling state. As a Treaty Commissioner Scott represented the Crown. In post-confederation Canada, Scott's role was vital to maintaining the tricky balance between federal power in Ottawa with its responsibility for Indians and provinces which jealously guarded their jurisdiction over abundant natural resources in hinterlands.

¹⁴ Jacques Soustelle, *Mexique terre indienne* (Paris: Grasset, 1936); Various editions of *MASSES* and *Spartacus*. Specific citations below. The dates of Soustelle's itinerary in Cuba and Mexico as well as the events that "Jean Duriez" reports on coincide with Soustelle's account in *Mexique terre indienne*. Perhaps already thinking of a prestigious academic future, Soustelle did not want to be associated by name with overtly leftist publications. The French intellectual historian Nicole Racine as well as historical scholars Christian Desbordes and Dominique Balvet concur that Duriez was Soustelle's journalistic pseudonym. Christian Desbordes, "Jacques Soustelle et la defense de l'Occident," Thèse du Doctorat en science politique, Université d'Auvergne, 2000, 33; Nicole Racine, "Jacques Soustelle" in Jean Maitre, *Dictionnaire Biographique Du Mouvement Ouvrier Français – Quatrième partie 1914-1939 de la Première à la Seconde Guerre Mondiale, Tome 41 Rova à Szy* (Paris: Les Éditions Ouvrières, 1992), 390-1 ; Dominique Balvet, "Jacques Soustelle Et l'Algérie Française: Gaullisme Et Antigaullisme." Doctorat d'Histoire sous la direction de Jean-Francois Sirinelli, Université Charles de Gaulle Lille 3, 2003, 25.

The border area between the boreal forests of north western Ontario and the prairies had been fraught with conflict for Canada since the earliest days of confederation when Louis Riel and the Red River Métis challenged Canadian authority in what would become Manitoba in 1871. Scott and his fellow commissioners were bringing a treaty with terms pre-determined by the governments of Canada and Ontario to an area that encompassed some of the lands that British commander Garnet Wolseley had led a force of two thousand British regular soldiers and southern Ontario volunteers across in the summer of 1870 in hot pursuit of Riel. With border questions resolved and with the completion of one transcontinental railway and the building of a second line to the north, the un-surrendered Aboriginal lands north of Lake Superior became a region of vital national interest.¹⁵ The official Treaty Report co-signed by Scott, Samuel Stewart and Ontario Commissioner D.G. MacMartin tersely expressed the Canadian state's desires,

Increasing settlement, activity in mining and railway construction in that large section of the province of Ontario north of the height of land and south of the Albany River rendered it advisable to extinguish the Indian title.¹⁶

The use of the word "extinguish" is worth noting.¹⁷ As the official account goes on to say, the Commissioners repeatedly told recalcitrant Indians in places like Osnaburgh, now called Mishkeegogamang, that they would continue to enjoy their hunting, fishing, gathering and trapping activities throughout their territories in exchange for settling on

¹⁵ J.R. Miller . "Compact, Contract, Covenant: The Evolution of Indian Treaty-Making" in Susan Neyland & Ted Binnema, eds. *New Histories for Old: Changing Perspectives on Canada's Native Pasts* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007), 66-91; J.R. Miller, *Compact, Contract, Covenant : Aboriginal Treaty-Making in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 207-14, 228-9, 297; For a useful discussion of the hardening tendencies in the transition from imperial to national concerns in North American "borderlands" and "national borders" see Jeremy Adelman and Stephen Aron, "From Borderlands to Borders: Empires, Nation-States, and the Peoples in between in North American History," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 104, No. 3 (Jun., 1999) 814-841.

¹⁶ Government of Canada, "The James Bay Treaty – Treaty No. 9 (Made in 1905 and 1906) and Adhesions Made in 1929 and 1930," LAC-BAC RG10 VOL.3033,235,225 P.3

¹⁷ John Flood. "The Duplicity of D.C. Scott and the James Bay Treaty," *Black Moss Journal*, Series 2, No. 2, (Fall 1976), 50-63.

defined reserves. The construction of railways and highways, mineral exploration, hydro-electric development and timber cutting encroached on traditional pursuits. The presence of an Ontario commissioner indicated what was really at stake given that the province held constitutional jurisdiction over natural resources - an authority which would soon trump Ottawa's responsibilities for its Indian wards.

In addition to the official report, Scott also wrote a significant journalistic account of the trips which appeared in 1906 in the prominent American magazine Scribner's. In often paternalistic terms Scott describes his duty on the part of Canada of bringing the Treaty to Indians along the Albany River. In his introduction, Scott refers to Canada's longstanding tradition of "puerile negotiations" between representatives of the British crown and the troubled, marginalized vestiges of what Scott deemed to be a once proud race foundering on the edge of irrelevance, if not outright extinction.¹⁸ His account for his American readers contains significant omissions from a man working at a high level on Canadian Indian policy. In the article, Scott did not mention the historic contribution that Indigenous peoples made in the creation and maintenance of the very nation state he represented. Many historians agree that Britain required the support of its Indian allies after the fall of New France.¹⁹ This was the initial strategic context for the terms protecting "Indian country" in King George III's Proclamation of 1763. The strategic value of the Proclamation was proven during the War of 1812 when Britain relied heavily on its Indian allies to protect British North America by achieving a stalemate with the

¹⁸ Duncan Campbell Scott "The Last of The Indian Treaties" *Scribner's* 40 (1906); re-printed in DC Scott *The Circle of Affection* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1947), 109-22; and in *Duncan Campbell Scott: Addresses, Essay and Reviews, Vol. I*, Leslie Ritchie, ed, introduction by Stan Dragland (London, ON; Canadian Poetry Press, 2000), 82-93.

¹⁹ Olive Dickason, *Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc., 1992) 181-88; J.R. Miller, *Compact, Contract, Covenant: Aboriginal Treaty-Making in Canada* (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 66-70.

burgeoning power to the south to turn back an American invasion. The Proclamation laid down the legal rules for the signing of treaties that prevailed in Canada of Scott's day and which are now enshrined in the provisions concerning Aboriginal rights in the Canadian constitution.²⁰ In his Scribner's article, Scott indulged in a near fantasy of frontier Canada,

In the early days the Indians were a real menace to the colonization of Canada. At that time there was a league between the Indians east and west of the River St. Clair, and a concerted movement upon the new settlements would have obliterated them as easily as a child wipes pictures from his slate. The Indian nature now seems like a fire that is waning, that is smouldering and dying away in ashes, then it was full of force and heat. It was ready to break out at any moment in savage dances, in wild and desperate orgies in which superstitions were involved with European ideas but dimly understood and intensified by cunning imaginations inflamed with rum. So all the Indian diplomacy of that day was exercised to keep the tomahawk on the wall and the scalping knife in the belt.²¹

Scott's view of the "early days" of settler – Indian relations in "The Last of The Indian Treaties" is historically flawed. Its analysis flowed from a mid-nineteenth-century historiography that glorified European military commanders and either romanticized or demonized the roles played by Indigenous peoples.²² Perhaps he was pandering to his American audience, but Scott, who could not afford to attend university, was dependent on a Victorian era schoolboy's understanding of Aboriginal and settler relations.

As to his responsibilities, Scott made clear that he was patient with his Aboriginal charges,

The simpler facts had to be stated, and the parental idea developed that the King is a great father of the Indians, watchful over their interests, and ever compassionate.²³

²⁰ Canada, Department of Justice. The Constitution Act 1982 see sections 25 and 35 in "The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms" http://laws.justice.gc.ca/en/const/annex_e.html, (accessed August 2012).

²¹ Scott, "Last of The Indian Treaties", in Ritchie, ed., *Scott: Addresses, Essays*, 82.

²² Bruce G Trigger, "The Historian's Indian: Native Americans in Canadian Historical Writing from Charlevoix to the Present," *Canadian Historical Review* 67:3 (1986): 315-42.

²³ Scott, "Last of The Indian Treaties", in Ritchie ed., 87.

Scott grandly entitled his article “The Last of The Indian Treaties”. Subsequent events would demonstrate that he was grossly inaccurate in his inflated view of the undertakings. In the course of the twentieth century, Canada would engage in major treaties with terms vastly different and more generous from those of Treaty 9 with the Cree of James Bay in northern Quebec (1975), with the Inuvialuit in the western Arctic (1984) and with the Nisga’a of north-western British Columbia (1998), to name a few examples. Further by 1982, Canada changed its constitution to acknowledge the existing aboriginal and treaty rights of Indigenous peoples in Canada. On paper at least, the amendments to the constitution represent a significant departure from a policy of “extinguishment”.

Scott’s Treaty expedition required a large crew to make its way across the north. In 1905 and 1906, the Treaty expedition team would sometimes consist of twenty-four men. The Commission held a feast of tea, bannock and bacon at each major community. Scott and his fellow commissioners were paddled by their Native guides in thirty-two-foot birch bark canoe which carried up to 2,500 pounds of provisions, camp equipment, and a treasure chest containing \$30,000 in small notes for Treaty payments of \$8 per adult. The crew was accompanied by two officers of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

²⁴Scott was convinced the RCMP officers were of no small significance in establishing his team’s credibility along the Albany River,

I am bound to say that the latter outshone the members of the commission itself in the observance of the Indians. The glory of their uniforms and the wholesome fear of the white man’s law which they inspired spread down the river in advance of the commission and reached James Bay before the commission. I presume they were used as a bogey by the Indian mothers, for no children appeared anywhere until the novelty had somewhat decreased and opinion weakened that the

²⁴ Ibid, 84.

magnificent proportions and manly vigor of our protectors were nourished upon a diet of babies.²⁵
 Scott's attempt at humour for the benefit of his American readers in 1906 reveals the depth of his arrogance regarding the Treaty 9 Commission.

Scott's journalism in the Scribner's article was also riddled with inconsistencies and contradictions. Scott proclaimed that Native signatories were ignorant while at the same time describing in some detail the pointed questions directed at the commissioners in places like Osaburgh.²⁶



Figure 10 Treaty 9 canoe Albany River 1905, photo by D.C. Scott (courtesy LAC)

Scott, his fellow commissioners and the RCMP officers were guided by a team of Indigenous guides.²⁷ The large, wind swept lakes, fast moving rivers and sometimes

²⁵ Ibid, 84.

²⁶ Ibid, 86-7.

²⁷ Ibid, 84-5. Aboriginal guides from north-western Ontario and Red River/Manitoba had extensive experience guiding British imperial and Canadian official parties. William Butler, intelligence officer to General Garnet Wolseley during the Red River Expedition of 1870 wrote extensively about his relationship

tortuous *nastawagan*, Anishinabe and Cree trails, that linked waters of the Canadian Shield in the Treaty territory made for arduous travel. Native guides portaged the elaborate camp equipage in order to keep the distinguished commission comfortable on the trip meant long and repeated carries over the narrow, rocky, muddy, mosquito infested trails.

Scott was photographed at the end of one such portage along with the moustachioed Stewart. Scott appears urbane, out of place on the muddy bank of the Root River, mosquito netting pulled back from his face while sporting argyle socks pulled up over his trouser legs. As Stan Dragland ably recounted in his literary analysis of the Treaty 9 expedition, that single image crystallizes the complicated role of Scott, a poet/bureaucrat from Ottawa, simultaneously pursuing Canada's political ends and his own artistic fulfillment in Anishinabe and Cree territory of northern Ontario in 1905-6.²⁸

with Aboriginal guides from the region in Canada at that time and in 1885 on the Nile River in Egypt when he accompanied Wolseley again - this time on a failed mission to rescue General Gordon in Khartoum. See William Francis Butler, *The Campaign of the Cataracts: Being a Personal Narrative of the Great Nile Expedition of 1884-5* (London: S.Low, Morston, Searle & Rivington, 1887), esp. 142-44; Butler, *The Great Lone Land: A Tale of Travel and Adventure in the North-West of America* (Toronto: Musson Book Co., 1924); Roy MacLaren, *Canadians on the Nile, 1882-1898: Being the Adventures of the Voyageurs on the Khartoum Relief Expedition and Other Exploits* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1978).

²⁸ Dragland, *Floating Voice*, 3-5.

INTERLOCUTEURS VALABLES: Guides for Scott & Soustelle

On these formative journeys both Scott and Soustelle displayed fascination and even empathy with certain interlocutors they met along the way. Scott, on the one hand, was responsible for convincing the Indians to agree to Treaty terms that were at best reductive and in some respects, duplicitous. However, some of his best, most truthful writing was inspired by the Treaty 9 experience. In some of Scott's poetry and prose that arose from his Treaty experience he demonstrates an affection for the peoples of the north and a sensitive appreciation for the lands and waters he travelled across.

Likewise, in central Mexico, Soustelle encountered impoverished Mazahua, Otomí and Pame Indians whose religious festivals, agricultural practices, music and resilience to a harsh life inspired him. In southern Mexico Soustelle met families of Lacandon Indians in Chiapas for whom he developed an abiding respect. In particular, Soustelle spent extended periods in the rain forests of Chiapas in the company of a great Lacandon hunter and shaman Tchank'in or "anacletto" who would figure prominently in Soustelle's youthful account of his journey in Mexique terre indienne in 1936,

C'était un homme grave et plein de dignité que cet "anacletto", grand causeur mais sobre de gestes, sa tunique d'une blancheur immaculée, ses cheveux noirs semblables à la perruque d'un seigneur à la cour du Roi-Soleil. Je ne peux raconter toutes les attentions qu'il montrait pour ses hôtes; tantôt il apportait des régimes des bananes, tantôt il roulait avec soin entre ses paumes des feuilles de tabac pour me confectionner des cigares.³⁰

²⁹ Translates literally as "valuable interlocutors". The term was used widely by Soustelle and other agents of French rule in Algeria to describe Algerian Muslim allies of the French cause. I employ it here to reference the local Indigenous individuals on which both Soustelle and Scott relied on first in their formative voyages discussed in this chapter.

³⁰ Soustelle, *terre indienne*, 227.



Figure 11 T'chankin c.1934, photo by J.Soustelle (courtesy MqB)

Soustelle ruminated at length about his friendship with the Mayan elder in his first book. Thirty years later in 1967, while on the lam from French intelligence officers and international police forces « quelque part en Europe » he paid tribute to the old man again in the Les quatre soleils.³¹ This work is a contemplation of the apogee of civilizations and

³¹ Soustelle, *Quatres Soleils*, 57-61.

their decline. As Soustelle meditated in Les quatre soleils from his Cold War era vantage point, he would often refer to the Mayan legend recounted to him by T'chankin and others about worlds ending in a storm of fire and a plague of human-devouring jaguars:³²

Nous le savons maintenant : tout soleil est condamné à s'éteindre. Une civilisation peut succomber sous l'assaut des barbares – les jaguars du premier univers ; elle peut sombrer dans l'impuissance et la futilité – les hommes sont transformés en singes ; ou bien s'effondrer sous les coups des forces naturelles – déluge, tremblement de terre ; ou enfin explorer dans ultime conflagration – la pluie de feu qui n'est plus, à notre époque, une simple image légendaire. Le mythe mexicain, expression d'une sagesse antique, rejoint l'inquiétude d'aujourd'hui.³³

Through his contemplation of T'chankin, Soustelle pondered the gap between western civilization and the bush existence of Indigenous people he encountered deep in the jungles of southern Mexico in 1933-4. In his first book, Soustelle distanced himself from any affiliation with a romantic notion of the noble savage. His admiration for the Lacandons was tempered by realism and a rather grim view of human society,

Je ne crois pas avoir embelli à plaisir les conditions de vie des Lacandons, ni leur caractère. Leur liberté est un es biens qui coutent cher à conserver. Cracher sur la civilisation materielle est commode, lorsqu'on en jouit. Je crois l'apprécier mieux que jamais, depuis que j'ai vu ce que signifie réellement, de labeur écrasant et d'insécurité constante, la vie primitive. Vivre en sauvage, ce n'est pas vivre insouciant et heureux ; il n'y a pas d'hommes heureux sur la terre.

Et cela dit, qui sait si à mon tour déjà en route vers notre civilisation, je ne pas irai pas bien cher, aussi, ce retour?³⁴

In his journalism and more obliquely in his poetry and prose, Scott profiled several Indigenous individuals who impressed him favourably in the summers of 1905 and 1906. He extolled the physical strength and bush wisdom of the paddlers. Names of some of the guides would later crop up as fictional characters in Scott's short stories and

³² Ibid, 39-92.

³³ Ibid, 12.

³⁴ Soustelle, *terre indienne*, 253.

poems. Jimmy Swaine, a Métis guide and fiddler, made the strongest impression on Scott.³⁵



Figure 12 Jimmy Swaine, 1905 photo by D.C. Scott (courtesy LAC)

Swaine led the team that paddled, poled, carried and cooked as Scott made his way across the north in 1905. Scott heartily commended Swain to his American readers,

³⁵ Fiddling became an intrinsic part of Métis culture in what became north-western Ontario and parts of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta after contact. See Lynn Whidden, Audreen Hourie and Lawrence Barkwell, “Métis Music and Dance” and Oliver Boulette, ““Red River Jig”: A Fiddle Tune and Dance that Defines the Métis,” in Barkwell, Leah Dorion and Hourie, eds, *Metis Legacy II : Michif Culture, Heritage, and Folkways*. Métis Legacy Series ; v. 2. (Saskatoon: Gabriel Dumont Institute, 2006), 161-172.

He is a fine type of the old half-breed race of packers and voyageurs which is fast disappearing; loyal and disinterested, cautious but fearless, full of the joy of life which consists in doing and possessed by that other joy of life which dwells in retrospect, in the telling of old tales, the playing of old tunes, and the footing of dance steps. Jimmy was enjoying a mighty old age after a mighty youth. He had been able to carry 600 pounds over a portage nearly a quarter of a mile long. He had run on snow-shoes with the mail from Moose Factory to Michipicoten, a distance of 500 miles, in six days, carrying only one blanket, a little hardtack, and a handful of tea. Now in his sixty-seventh year he was the equal of the best of the young fellows.³⁶

In addition to running a wilderness crew and carrying, in bare feet, the heavy portage loads of a man in his twenties, Swaine's musical abilities held special appeal to the artist cum Treaty Commissioner. Jimmy Swaine was an accomplished fiddler. Scott writes fondly of evenings by the campfire hearing Swaine play and later at night in his tent listening to the Métis fiddler play tunes on his beat up but adequate instrument,

He had scraped the belly and rubbed it with castor oil, and the G string had two knots in it. But what matter! When Jimmy closed the flap of his tent and drew it forth out of its blue pine box, I doubt whether any artist in the world had ever enjoyed a sweeter pang of affection and desire.³⁷

Although Scott, an accomplished pianist then married to the American violinist Belle Botsford, recognized the humanity in fellow musician Jimmy Swaine, he did not pause in his steadfast determination to conclude the Crown's purpose of clearing the way for Canadian dominance of the north and its Indigenous peoples.

Musiciens, Poetes, Adorateurs

Jacques Soustelle had a keen ethnological interest in music. His mentor Paul Rivet had instructed his students that music was a bridge between contemporary

³⁶ Scott "Last of the Indian Treaties", in *Addresses, Essays*, 85.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

Indigenous folkways and ancient civilizations. In 1932, Soustelle brought a rudimentary wax cylinder recording device to Mexico.³⁸ He recorded the very high pitched, choral keening of Mazahua women accompanied by drums, among other instruments. Field audio recording was a widely practiced by students of Paul Rivet. Germaine Tillion recorded Berber musicians in the Algerian mountains while the Soustelles were making recordings in Mexico.³⁹

Soustelle wrote at some length about his audio recording. Often he was accompanied by the expatriate German engineer and amateur ethnologist Roberto Weitlaner who worked for a mining concern in Mexico City. In Soustelle's popular account of his early days in Mexico, he wrote that sometimes the enterprising audio engineers provided alcohol to encourage the performances of recalcitrant singers, « Le seul problème consistait à verser assez pour les faire chanter et assez peu pour ne pas les assommer complètement... Il est vrai que cette limite paraissait difficile à atteindre. »⁴⁰ Soustelle well knew that pulque, the fermented juice of the maguey cactus, was a staple of many festivals and rituals in the Mazahua, Otomi and Pame villages he frequented in central Mexico. Soustelle participated in the preparation of a yearly festival in San Bartolo del Llano in 1933. He accompanied musicians on a tortoise shell guitar after he and his wife Georgette were instructed in ritualistic dance steps by the *jefe* of a *cofradía*, brotherhood, that had a troupe of dancers and musicians in the festival.

³⁸ In 2008, such recording devices were still on display at the Laboratoire de l'ethnomusicologie at Le Musée de l'Homme in Paris. There, in a cramped, high-ceilinged room off the main laboratory, hundreds and hundreds of boxes containing quarter-inch reel-to-reel audio tapes are filed on shelves. One such tape features the remaining recordings made by *la mission Soustelle 1932-4* and, fittingly enough, the recordings that the young Germaine Tillion made of Berber singers in the Aurès mountains of Algeria.

³⁹ Jacques Soustelle. Audio recording of Mazahua singers. Laboratoire de Ethnomusicologie, Musée de l'Homme, Paris. Tape 76-11-37 Mission Germaine Tillion dans l'Aurès 1936 and Mission Jacques Soustelle 1932-4.

⁴⁰ Soustelle, *terre indienne*, 73.



Figure 13 Mazahua drawing of J. Soustelle c.1932 (courtesy MqB)⁴¹

As he recalled in *Mexique terre indienne*, Soustelle sported a skirt made of tiny strips of metal fashioned for him by the jefe. He wrote,

Un autre motif piqua ma curiosité. C'était un petit bonhomme, de face, deux paillettes rondes figurant les yeux, et il tenait dans la main droite un objet carré. A ma demande le capitaine éclata de ce rire violent qui lui était particulier, et m'expliqua non sans satisfaction que ce bonhomme, c'était moi-même. Et l'objet carré? Eh bien c'était l'appareil photographique; je trainais toujours et partout, c'était devenu évidemment mon caractère distinctif aux yeux des Indiens de San Bartolo del Llano.⁴²

Soustelle's dance costume was topped off by a crown of feathers. To the amusement of his Mexican confrères Soustelle donned the costume, « Avec l'aide du chef qui ne se lassait pas d'admirer son œuvre, je revêtis le costume et me plaçai la couronne sur la tête. Chacun s'émerveillait de voir un étranger si brave sous ce vêtement. Ce fut un instant

⁴¹ Musée du quai Branly, Paris. Fonds Soustelle – Documents. Dossier 5120. Dessin 71.1933.71.107 exécuté par le chef des danses de S Bartolo del Llano représentant J. Soustelle

⁴² Soustelle, *terre indienne*, 87.

glorieux. »⁴³ The incident contradicts the received perception of the middle-aged Soustelle in his native France where he gained a persona as a dour intellectual and politician in the years after World War II. Clearly, the youthful, sometimes flamboyant public exuberance of Jacques Soustelle graduate student was subsumed over time by a poker faced, humourless public presentation. The skirt and the feathered hat from the *cofradía* are to be found now in the archives of le Musée du quai Branly in Paris.⁴⁴

In the extensive chapter of his Mexique terre indienne devoted to music, dance and ritual Soustelle demonstrated his developing ethnological passion for the living cultural representations of Indigenous ways. Unlike Scott, who tended to see signs of métissage as unequivocal symptoms of Aboriginal demise, Soustelle sometimes expressed his admiration for the Indigenous Mexican genius for cultural absorption and survival. On other occasions he bemoaned the toll Indigenous languages and folkways suffered under the official Mexican federal government ideology that embraced a “cosmic race” of mixed race peoples with Indigenous and European origins.⁴⁵ Soustelle’s writings reveal, in turns, admiration, skepticism or confusion over Mexican *indigenismo*, the cluster of policy and ideology for incorporation of the Indian in Mexico that was a hallmark of the post-revolutionary era in Mexico. Soustelle was welcomed to Mexico by Manuel Gamio, an ethnologist, archaeologist and government mandarin.⁴⁶ Gamio was a

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Musée du quai Branly, Paris. Fonds Soustelle – Objets. 71.1933.71.87 jupon; 71.1933.71.104 couronne de plumes

⁴⁵ Soustelle, *terre indienne*, 106-7, 126, 130.

The phrase *raza cósmica* was coined by Mexican revolutionary philosopher, educator and politician José Vasconcelos in an essay originally published in 1925. See José Vasconcelos, *Obras Completas* (México: Libreros Mexicanos Unidos, 1957). Vasconcelos and Didier Tisdell Jaén. *The Cosmic Race: A Bilingual Edition* (Baltimore, Md: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997; 1979).

⁴⁶ Soustelle, *terre indienne*, 18; Soustelle letter to Paul Rivet from Toluca, Mexico November 30, 1932. MNHN.

leader of an activist ethnology and assertive *indigenismo* of the 1930s that sought to redeem and valorize Mexico's Indian past in the building of a *mestizo* nation.⁴⁷

Throughout the half century that spans Soustelle's writing about Mexico, be it academic monograph, journalism, table-top art tome or travelogue - there flows a steady current of passionate curiosity and love for the country and its people. These sentiments that are well expressed in his first published work on Mexico Mexique terre indienne published in 1936. Soustelle described an enthralling moonlit night of music in an Otomí village in 1933. An occasion on which Soustelle, wife Georgette and Robert Weitlaner were taken to an impromptu outdoor concert in a mountain valley of central Mexico,

...on était emporté comme par un charme... Le violon avait débuté par un motif assez court, et il le prenait, le reprenait, le transfigurait, paraissait l'abandonner, puis au moment où on le croyait perdu, pas du tout! le motif revenait, enlacé à lui-même mille fois, tressé comme une natte par les mains patients des Indiennes... Parfois un indigène du cercle élevait brusquement la voix et chantait trios ou quatre vers sur un ton aigu d'incantation, sans que personne parût l'entendre. En fait, personne ne semblait rien entendre ni faire attention à rien, nous étions tous comme pétrifiés, laissant aller nos pensées emportées par le vent au gré des deux musiciens. Si j'en juge par moi, ces pensées étaient chargées d'une tristesse sereine ou plutôt d'une indifférence heureuse, comme si nous étions devenus des oiseaux entraînés sans savoir où par quelque grande tempête... J'ai encore ce chant-là dans les oreilles quand j'écris, ou quand je pense à Jiliapan. Il se lie pour moi à la vision d'une vallée verte au creux des montagnes hostiles, et d'un groupe compact d'hommes, à peau brune où l'on est absorbé, retenu, un des leurs.⁴⁸

Such are the memories of his youth in Mexico that Soustelle would carry forward through the years. In future, he referred to Mexico as his second home.⁴⁹

Her Fierce Soul Hates Her Breath

Duncan Campbell Scott's travels with the fiddling guide Jimmy Swaine in 1905 ushered in a plethora of works by Scott in which culture and ethnicity intersect. Scott

⁴⁷ Claudio Lomnitz-Adler, *Deep Mexico, silent Mexico: an anthropology of nationalism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 250-7.

⁴⁸ Soustelle, *Mexique terre indienne*, 66-67.

⁴⁹ Jacques Soustelle, *Envers et contre tout* (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1947), 216.

expressed admiration for Swaine, a man who clearly incarnated both Indigenous and European traits. That stands in contradiction to much of his literary output which generally privileges the European and predicts doom for what he considered the darker, more disturbed or infantile Indigenous element. In his Indian poems, Scott sometimes exalts the prowess of a “weird and waning” race while predicting its demise.⁵⁰ Indeed a number of Scott’s pivotal poems that brush on the subjects of miscegenation and trans-cultural lives, “The Onondaga Madonna”, “Indian Place Names”, “A Scene at Lake Manitou” and “The Halfbreed Girl” among them, express no sympathy nor reveal little understanding of how Indigenusness might be woven into and preserved in a “civilized” Canada. Such poems suggest that aboriginality, whether savage or noble, must inevitably wither in face of the progress of the Canadian nation.

In the fall of 1906, immediately following the second treaty expedition, Scott published *Via Borealis* in a handsome edition featuring reproductions of wood engravings by the Canadian artist Alfred Howard.⁵¹ The publicity notice for the work proclaimed,

“Via Borealis”, slender though its contents, will surely enhance the poetic reputation of Mr. Duncan Campbell Scott. His art here is to be seen in its fullest perfection, and will be a revelation to many readers already familiar with his work. This little book will take flight on the wings of Christmas and will settle in many homes beyond the sea.

The seven poems it contains were written this summer during an extensive canoe trip which the author made through the wilderness of new Ontario.⁵²

⁵⁰ Duncan Campbell Scott “The Onondaga Madonna” in *Selected Poetry of Duncan Campbell Scott*, edited by Glenn Clever (Ottawa: Tecumseh Press, 1974), 14.

⁵¹ Jonathan Franklin, “Book Illustration by Canadian Painters to 1916,” National Gallery of Canada, Library. national.gallery.ca/pdf/exn16_e.pdf (accessed April 2012). “Howard was an example of a new breed of artist-designers in various media, including illuminations and wallpaper, and was an active exhibitor with the Toronto Art Students’ League, which published distinctive calendars between 1893 and 1904.”

⁵² Duncan Campbell Scott. *Via Borealis* illustrations by A.H. Howard (Toronto: Tyrell and Co. Toronto, 1906).

First edition at Thomas Fisher rare Book Library, University of Toronto.

Significantly, the publicity material does not state the actual purpose of Scott's "canoe trip". A reader unaware of his civil service duties might have well imagined the intrepid poet finding his inspiration by campfires he had lit himself on evenings following arduous days of paddling. There is evidence that Scott and his friend Pelham Edgar did paddle together in evenings in a small birch bark canoe and occasionally joined in the paddling from their positions in the freighter canoe.⁵³ However, Scott and his fellow Commissioners and officials usually refrained from paddling.

Via Borealis included a poem entitled "*The Half-Breed Girl*". The poem almost certainly owes its inspiration to the Treaty expedition. It is likely among the poems that Scott began to compose en route. Edgar made several references to Scott's poetic output on the 1906 journey in both his journalistic account and in his memoirs, "Duncan caught a poem as we were going through Island Lake and is still reeling it in. I have not seen it yet. This morning he read two splendid stories to me that he has written lately."⁵⁴ Edgar also refers to Scott's preoccupation with the camera.⁵⁵

Large reproductions of Howard's drawings in Lorne Pierce papers, Queen's University Archives.

⁵³ Pelham Edgar. "Twelve Hundred Miles By Canoe. Among Indians in Northern Waters," *Canada: The Illustrated Weekly Journal for all Interested in The Dominion*, Vol. IV (November 24, 1906 – March 16, 1907); Edgar, "Travelling With A Poet" chap. 5 in *Across My Path* (Toronto: Ryerson, 1952), 59-73.

⁵⁴ Edgar, *Across My Path*, 60. In his chapter entitled "Travelling With A Poet," Edgar relies on expanded entries from the journal he kept in the summer of 1906. The journal entries were initially published in the magazine *Canada: The Illustrated Weekly Journal for all Interested in The Dominion* in 1906-7.

⁵⁵ Edgar, *Across My Path*, 62.



Figure 14 Women at Brunswick House 1906, photo by D.C. Scott (courtesy LAC)

“*The Half-Breed Girl*” well reflects Scott’s broodings about the north, miscegenation and the merits of “civilization” and the Indigenous savagery of the Canadian north. Its protagonist is caught between worlds. Like Jimmy Swaine, Scot’s imagined Métisse female is to be admired for her adaptability to western norms while maintaining traces of Indigenousness. As a woman, she is regarded by Scott an agent of change via intermarriage. The conflict within Scott’s mind is apparent in his poetic lament for the romanticized savage past that he believes haunts her being:

The Half-Breed Girl

She is free of the trap and the paddle,
 The portage and the trail,
 But something behind her savage life
 Shines like a fragile veil...

But she cannot learn the meaning
 Of the shadows in her soul,

The lights that break and gather,
The clouds that part and roll,

The reek of rock-built cities,
Where her fathers dwelt of yore,
The gleam of loch and shealing,
The mist on the moor...

She wakes in the stifling wigwam,
Where the air is heavy and wild,
She fears for something or nothing
With the heart of a frightened child...

A voice calls from the rapids,
Deep, careless and free,
A voice that is larger than her life
Or than her death shall be.

She covers her face with her blanket,
Her fierce soul hates her breath,
As it cries with a sudden passion
For life or death.⁵⁶

The poem has deservedly attracted the attention of some of the leading critics of Scott's poetry.⁵⁷ It puts into opposition the "civilized" traits the girl has from her Scottish side with the "savage" elements of her Indian forebears. The poem reveals that Scott shared a racial ideology with the majority of Canada's elite during this period. The ideology created the structuring assumption of the poem: that a "half-breed" girl's soul must be the site of racial conflict. Her Scottish ancestry echoes in her soul bespeaking a civilized world that can only exist in conflict with her Indian background and lifestyle of netting fish and living in bush camps. Scott refers to the "frail traces of kindred kindness" that

⁵⁶ Duncan Campbell Scott. "The Half-Breed Girl" excerpted from *Selected Poetry of Duncan Campbell Scott* edited by Glenn Clever (Ottawa: The Tecumseh Press, 1974), 43.

⁵⁷ D.M.R. Bentley, "Shadows in the Soul: Racial Haunting in the Poetry of Duncan Campbell Scott," *University of Toronto Quarterly*, Volume 75, Number 2 (Spring 2006), 753-60; E.K. Brown, "Memoir" in *Selected Poems of Duncan Campbell Scott*, (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1951), xix; Stan Dragland, *Floating Voice: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Literature of Treaty 9* (Concord, ON: Anansi, 1994), 18,48,50,52,76,189,190,191-2,197.

haunt her as she awakes in a “stifling wigwam.” According to Scott, her mixed ancestry leads to confusion and despair, “she cannot learn the meaning – of the shadows in her soul”. Late at night with stars peering through the tent flap “like the eyes of dead souls”, the girl is poetically forsaken by Scott, abandoned to a state trapped between worlds, “her fierce soul hates her breath,...”. When one considers this poem alongside Scott’s admiration for Swaine, a fundamental contradiction arises: Scott sees merit in the male, musically inclined guide who literally charts a course between societies. However, in this particular poem, and others, Scott seems incapable of evoking the same successful possibility for his female protagonist who must, in Scott’s view, suffer a dual identity.

The poem reflects Scott’s primary concern with Indians: their inevitable disappearance via an absorption into Canadian life. In “The Last of the Indian Treaties” Scott reported to his American readers on a process that he believed he was witnessing first hand along the Albany River in 1905. Although he was impressed by the religiosity of some of his guides, he did not believe they would integrate Christianity so much as be inexorably overwhelmed by it,

The crew that took the commission from Moose Factory to Abitibi were constant in their vespers and every evening recited a litany, sang a hymn and made a prayer. There was something primitive and touching in their devotion, and it marks an advance, but these Indians are capable of leaving a party of travellers suddenly, returning to Moose Factory in dudgeon if anything displeases them, and the leader of the prayers got very much the better of one of the party in an affair of peltries. But any forecast of Indian civilization which looks for final results in a generation or two is doomed to disappointment. Final results may be attained in, say, in four centuries by the merging of the Indian race with the whites, and all these four things – treaties, teachers, missionaries, and traders – with whatever benefits or injuries they bring in their train, aid in making an end.⁵⁸

Scott’s predication of “an end” for Indian people changed according to his audience. In 1921 as Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, Scott delivered an extensive

⁵⁸ Scott, “Last of the Indian Treaties,” in *Essays, Addresses*, 92.

briefing before the Parliamentary committee on Indian Affairs. At that session Scott declared that he wanted to end “the Indian problem” and that the policies of the government he served would ensure that there were no more Indians in the “body politic” within fifty years. Scott predicted that the toughening of rules regarding compulsory attendance at residential schools and the loss of status under the Indian Act for Indians who left the reserve under certain circumstances or for the children of women who married whites, would speed the assimilation project.⁵⁹

In Scott’s day, he and fellow adherents of the assimilation creed believed that Christian religion and government policy would dovetail to achieve “civilization”. As historian John S. Milloy has demonstrated, the Canadian government inherited colonial policy that featured as, “Its central mechanism, the partnership of Christianity and civilization - - represented by the joint presence and activity of Departmental agents and missionaries on Canadian reserves.”⁶⁰ Although Scott was the son of a Methodist missionary, he did not display an active Christianity. His poetry contains only infrequent overtly Christian sentiments. However, there are recurrent evocations of spirit, of soul and ghostly presences as in *The Piper of Arll*. Scott’s father did missionary work among Indians prior to his son’s birth.⁶¹ In 1883, Reverend William Scott wrote a report to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs about the background to an Aboriginal land rights dispute in Oka, Quebec, an aspect of a festering conflict that turned bloody more than a century later in the summer of 1990.⁶² However, Duncan Campbell Scott did not

⁵⁹ Scott’s briefing notes and statement on enfranchisement LAC RG-10, Vol. 6810, file 470-2-3.

⁶⁰ John S. Milloy, “Second Thoughts: The Great Civilization Debate 1836-1840”, chap 4. (Ph.D. diss., Oxford 1981), 227.

⁶¹ E.K. Brown, “Memoir” in *Selected Poems*, xi-xiii.

⁶² Reverend William Scott, “Report Relating to the Affairs of the Oka Indians Made to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs,” LAC-BAC G10a RG10 Vol. 725 William Scott, Oka Indian Report.

entirely share his father's religious convictions. He never claimed that he was driven to his 'day job' out of a personal sense of Christian duty. He was not a regular Church-goer as an adult.

In 1893, two years after his father's death, Scott published "*In The Country Courtyard – To The memory of My Father*".⁶³ The poem is a meditation on death and loss set in a rural church cemetery in the evening. Although the poet allows that "God's own weeds are fair in God's own way", Scott does not use the occasion to celebrate, share or take comfort in his father's Christian faith. Further, as he approaches the poem's conclusion he summons a contemplation that, under the circumstances, is remarkable for its absence of Christian religious sentiment,

And now I leave the dead with you, O night;
 You wear the semblance of their fathomless state,
 For you we long when the day's fire is great,
 And when the stern life is cruellest in his might,
 Of death we dream;
 A country of dim plain and shadowy height,
 Crowned in strange stars and silences supreme.

Given what appears to be an almost agnostic approach to life, it is striking that Scott the bureaucrat always privileged strict Christianity as a lever in Indian policy. In his prose, Scott repeatedly invokes the fundamental place of Christianity in Indian policy.⁶⁴ Scott often fretted over the contest between Christianity and "savagery" in the Indian heart. This is tellingly expressed in a poem written following an 1898 Departmental journey that Scott took near the shores of northern Georgian Bay and the north-east corner of Lake Superior in northern Ontario, an area just south of the Treaty 9 territory he visited in

⁶³ Scott, *Selected Poems*, Brown ed., 107.

⁶⁴ Scott, "Last of the Indian Treaties", Scribner's 582-3.

1905-6. “*Night Hymns on Lake Nipigon*” describes a moonlit paddle of a canoe brigade in which singing takes on a tone of syncretism,

Sing we the ancient hymns of the churches,
Chanted first in old-world nooks of the desert,
While in the wild, pellucid Nipigon reaches
Hunted the savage.

Now have the ages met in the Northern midnight,
And in the lonely, loon-haunted Nipigon reaches
Rises the hymn of triumph and courage and comfort,
Adeste Fideles.

Tones that were fashioned when the faith brooded in
darkness,
Joined with the sonorous vowels in the noble Latin
Now are married with the long-drawn Ojibwa,
Uncouth and mournful.⁶⁵

Scott’s denigration of the Anishinabe (Ojibwa) language as “uncouth” contradicts Scott’s own *At Gull Lake, August 1810*, also published in 1935, about the beautiful Keejigo, an Anishinabe (Saulteaux) woman,⁶⁶

As Earth abandons herself
To the sun and the thrust of the lightning.
Quiet were all the leaves of the poplars,
Breathless the air under their shadow,
As Keejigo spoke of these things to her heart
In the beautiful speech of the Saulteaux.⁶⁷

Scott’s poetic output is replete with such contradictions. The calm vividness of his portrait photography from the Canadian bush is matched by many of his poems, including some of the Indian poems. It is tempting but unwise to dismiss all his work as the anachronistic, hateful outpourings of a Victorian out of step even with his own time.

Scott poses far more difficulty than that. As we will read in a later chapter “*At Gull Lake*,

⁶⁵ Scott, *Selected Poetry*, 34.

⁶⁶ Anyone who has had the pleasure of listening to the musical sounds of fluent Anishnabemowin will attest to its lyrical qualities.

⁶⁷ Scott, *Selected Poetry*, 96.

August 1810” could well speak to fundamental changes in Scott’s personal life and political outlook.

As for “*Night Hymns on Lake Nipigon*”, the scene of paddling Lake Nipigon at midnight rings with poetic and practical truth. It is often best to paddle large lakes late at night or just before sunrise – the wind is generally light. Lake Nipigon is a huge, infamously treacherous body of water for an open canoe without decking. Also, any experienced paddler knows well the comforting aspect of singing to pace the extreme exertion required in hours of paddling, particularly on a lake. “*Night Hymns on Lake Nipigon*” is a truthful, evocative poem about canoe travel, regardless of its religious and racial sentiments.

Soft with the silver drip of the regular paddles
 Falling in rhythm, timed with the liquid, plangent
 Sounds from the blades where the whirlpools break and are
 Carried
 Down into darkness;

Each long cadence, flying like a dove from her shelter
 Deep in the shadow, wheels for the throbbing moment,
 Poises in utterance, returning in circles of silver
 To nest in the silence.

All wild nature stirs with the infinite, tender
 Plaint of a bygone age whose soul is eternal,
 Bound in the lonely phrases that thrill and falter
 Back into quiet.⁶⁸

The poem endures. It found new life in the 1980s when filmmakers wed it to paintings by the great Anishinabe artist Norval Morrisseau in a video.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Scott, *Selected Poetry*, 35.

⁶⁹ Canadian Independent Filmmakers Cooperative. “Night Hymns on Lake Nipigon – poem by Duncan Campbell Scott with paintings by Norval Morrisseau,” Directed and produced by Trevor Davies and George Muncey, reading by John Arblaster, 1972. ISN#108498 VLTSLF#8903-5674 LAC-BAC.

As a young scholar travelling in Mexico, Jacques Soustelle reflected at length on the religiosity of Mexican Indigenous peoples. In both his first book Mexique terre indienne and in the journalism he penned under the pseudonym Jean Duriez, Soustelle took a very negative view of the Catholic church's responsibility in the subjugation of Mexican Indians,

Ainsi l'introduction du christianisme au Mexique n'a nullement signifié, contrairement à ce que l'on entend répéter sans cesse, une élévation de la culture des Indiens. Avec souplesse et diplomatie, le clergé a su conquérir sur ceux-ci une énorme influence, et cette conquête a été son seul but.⁷⁰

Soustelle was also very skeptical about the "conversions" that the church claimed. In his ethnological work he repeatedly discovered vestiges of Aztec and Otomí religious practices in the fiestas, songs and in the visual representations in *oratorios*, small private chapels throughout central Mexico. He detected the traces of pre-Colombian beliefs as he studied the Otomí language by establishing links in the music and poetry he observed first-hand in the 1930s with the foundational texts of Mexica people recorded by Friar Bernardino de Sahagún and his peers in the decades following the sixteenth-century Spanish conquest of Mexico. He observed that descriptions of natural events in Otomí were often related to the deity who was thought by the pre-Hispanic Otomí to control such events,

La phrase: "Il y a eu une éclipse du lune" se traduit par "L'Honorable Dame Lune est morte". On comprendra pourquoi de demeure sceptique sur la profondeur de l'évangélisation chez les indigènes du Mexique.⁷¹

He also carefully observed and documented the non-Christian practices of the Lacandon Maya in the rain forests of Chiapas in southern Mexico. The contrast between Scott and

⁷⁰ Jean Duriez (pseudonym for Jacques Soustelle) "La question religieuse au Mexique" Pt. IMASSES (Paris No. 9, September 1933), 10-13.

⁷¹ Soustelle, *terre indienne*, 46-7.

Soustelle on this matter, between Canadian Indian policy and emergent values of French ethnology infused with *indigenismo*, could hardly be more stark. In the left-wing publications *MASSES* and *Spartacus*, Soustelle wrote against those among the French political right and the French Catholic church who bemoaned the anti-clerical excesses of the Mexican revolution. Soustelle insisted the revolution responded however imperfectly and at times bloodily to centuries of Catholic oppression,

Et tel Français moyen, ne sachant rien de la révolution mexicaine ni de son dernier chef, le général Calles, a pourtant appris son nom comme celui d'un tyran et d'un Néron moderne. Pas une voix ne s'est élevée pour remettre les choses en places pour étudier et exposer clairement dans ses origines comme dans son développement présent le "conflit religieux".⁷²

Soustelle implored his readers to appreciate the tenacity and adaptive genius of Indigenous religions in Mexico. Soustelle of the 1930s, while a man of the left and an anti-fascist, was not a Marxist.⁷³ While he was not religious himself, he insisted that religious freedom should be a right of citizenship in a modern state. As a young man, he was adamant in his support of religious diversity in Mexico; as a middle-aged politician he argued for respect for Islam and the religious rights of Christian and Jewish minorities in l'Algérie française. Soustelle seemed to relish seizing on what he perceived as the limitations of Catholic hegemony among Mexican Indians,

Tous les Indiens du Mexique, à l'exception de quelques tribus inaccessibles dans les forêts et les montagnes comme les Lacandons, sont nominalement catholiques et se considèrent comme tels... Mais ce « christianisme » mérite examen. Avant la conquête, les indigènes du Mexique possédaient des religions hautement élaborées au point de vue théologique et rituel et solidement ancrés dans leur vie quotidienne. Les missionnaires se rendirent bientôt compte de la difficulté de les supplanter entièrement : ils trouvèrent préférable, avec la souplesse de la clergé de fabriquer une sorte de

⁷² Duriez (J.Soustelle), "Question religieuse," 10-11.

⁷³ Nicole Racine, "Jacques Soustelle" in *Jean Maitre, Dictionnaire Biographique Du Mouvement Ouvrier Français – Quatrième partie 1914-1939 de la Première à la Seconde Guerre Mondiale, Tome 41* Rova à Szy (Paris: Les Éditions Ouvrières, 1992), 390-1.

« mixte ». en adaptant les dogmes catholiques aux croyances indigènes, et vice-versa.⁷⁴

Conversely Scott in his early Indian poems and in statements on behalf of the Indian Department never considered a positive outcome in a mixing of Indigenous and western religions. Yet perhaps even the up-and-coming functionary of the 1905-6 Treaty Commission perceived something more admirable at work in Indian culture. These inklings surfaced in some of Scott's final poems and short stories in which Indian characters are featured. In 1906, one detects a grudging undercurrent of sympathy in Scott for the difficult transition that Anishinabe people were undergoing at that time. "The Last of the Indian Treaties" concludes with Scott's recounting of an encounter he had near the mouth of the Albany River at James Bay with an Indian man who had ventured from the deep bush to meet the commissioners,

The James Bay Treaty will always be associated in my mind with the figure of an Indian who came in from Attawapiskat to Albany just as we were ready to leave. The pay-lists and the cash had been securely packed for an early start next morning, when this wild fellow drifted into camp. Père Fafard, he said, thought we might have some money for him. He did not ask for anything, he stood, smiling slightly. He seemed about twenty years of age, with a face of great beauty and intelligence, and eyes that were wild with a sort of surprise – shy at his novel position and proud that he was of some importance. His name was Charles Wabino. We found it on the list and gave him his eight dollars. When he felt the new crisp notes he took a crucifix from his breast, kissed it swiftly, and made a fugitive sign of the cross. "From my heart I thank you," he said. There was the Indian at the best point of a transitional state, still wild as a lynx, with all the lore and instinct of his race undimmed, and possessed by the simplest rule of the Christian life, as yet unspoiled by the arts of sly lying, paltry cunning, and the lower vices which come from contact with such of our debased manners and customs as come to him in the wilderness.⁷⁵

As a Treaty Commissioner and later as Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, Scott stubbornly maintained that the "transitional state" for Indians must lead to

⁷⁴Soustelle, « question religieuse », 10.

⁷⁵ Scott, "Last of The Indian Treaties", in *Essays, addresses*, ed., 93.

absolute incorporation into Canadian society. As he matured as a poet and writer of short stories, more nuanced and complex narratives emerged.⁷⁶ The short stories, “Expiation”, “Spirit River”, “Vengeance is Mine”, “Labrie’s Wife” and “Vain Shadows” all revolve around relations between fur traders and Indians.⁷⁷ “Expiation” is the tale of a trader who ostracizes himself for cruelly mistreating a loyal Indian servant and contributing to his death. This tragic and well-wrought story is one of the very few occasions in which Scott’s fictional work deals with white guilt. “Spirit River” is set in a fictional village on the shore of Lake Superior where a multicultural cast of Indians, Métis and southern European immigrants interact. The fictional Spirit River is a believable imagined turn-of-the-century version of towns like Schreiber, Marathon and Jackfish on Lake Superior’s northern shore. There is perhaps a link between these artistic renderings and Scott’s concluding vignette in “The Last of the Indian Treaties”. Scott’s muted admiration for Charles Wabino of Attawapiskat is bound up in a sense of Victorian imperial superiority tempered by artistic curiosity and a humanism that Scott often squelched in his governmental pursuits.

That humanism and artistic force emerged in some of the later Indian poems. A *Scene At Lake Manitou*, published in 1935, is a depiction of the grief of an Indian mother over her dead son – a grief that Scott could fully appreciate having lost his twelve year old daughter in 1907; the aforementioned *At Gull Lake: August, 1810* tells of the heartbreak and eventual murder of Keesigo, a beautiful Anishinabe (Salteaux) woman in

⁷⁶ For valuable contributions to this theme, see Dragland, *Floating Voice*, 131-52 ; Elizabeth Waterston. “The Missing Face: Five Short Stories by Duncan Campbell Scott” *Studies in Canadian Literature*, Vol. 1, 2, (1976), 223-29. http://www.lib.unb.ca/Texts/SCL/bin/get.cgi?directory=vol1_2/&filename=waterston.htm (accessed July 2009)

⁷⁷ Duncan Campbell Scott, *Selected Stories of Duncan Campbell Scott* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1975), 11-26, 75-110.

love with a trader from the Orkneys; and finally, *Lines in Memory of Edmund Morris*, published in 1916 and referred to earlier in this work, pays tribute to the painter who briefly accompanied the Treaty Commission near Chapleau and Biscotasing, Ontario in the summer of 1906. Edmund Morris drowned in 1913.⁷⁸ In his poem, Scott compared his deceased friend to Akoose, a great prairie chieftain.⁷⁹



Figure 15 Edmund Morris & subject 1906 photo by D.C. Scott (courtesy LAC)

Lines in Memory of Edmund Morris encapsulates the Scott conundrum. In the poem, Scott elegantly memorializes a dear deceased friend by evoking the prowess of a great plains hunter. No doubt some of Scott's poems express vile racism; others are among the most vivid artistic depictions written by a non-aboriginal artist about what appeared to Scott to be remote parts of North America and its original peoples. As Edward W. Said argued, artists of empire more often than not reflect imperial values. He wrote about one great artist of the British Raj, "What a sobering and inspiring thing it is therefore not to just read one's own side as it were, but also grasp how a great artist like Kipling (few

⁷⁸ Tittley, *Narrow Vision*, 28.

⁷⁹ Duncan Campbell Scott, "Lines In Memory of Edmund Morris", originally published in Scott's *Lundy's Lane and Other Poems* (Doran, New York, 1916); also Scott, *Selected Poetry*, 64.

more imperialist and reactionary than he) rendered India with such skill.”⁸⁰ Duncan Campbell Scott was an artist in the employ of a fledgling nation state imbued with British imperial values. *Lines in Memory of Edmund Morris* in its way is respectful of Indigenous ways. Nevertheless, the attributes of Akoose are of the past, the splendid, primeval, aboriginal, mythic past of Scott’s imagination. Confronted with the real, breathing fully human Charles Wabino in 1905, Scott sees vestiges of Indigenous nobility, “still wild as a lynx”, but has forebodings of how such character will be diminished in a process of cultural transition. Scott’s ideology dictated that the man in transition must surrender. Akoose, however, will live forever in Scott’s poetry.⁸¹

Scott had a formative encounter of a more psychologically unsettling nature during the Treaty voyage of 1905. After he and his companions left the rail line at Dinorwic, Ontario, they began an arduous canoe journey upstream to the headwaters of the Albany River. En route, the Treaty Commissioners decided to stop at the Lac Seul post. Given that federal representatives of the rank of Scott and Samuel made infrequent trips to remote Indian country, Scott also decided to pay a visit to the local Treaty 3 reserve. Treaty 3 had been signed in 1873. It covered the North-West Angle near the present day Ontario-Manitoba border. Like Treaty 9, the earlier Treaty had been formulated to ease westward Canadian expansion – in this instance the passage of the Canadian Pacific Railway to the west.⁸² He learned from a trader located at the post there that Indians camped elsewhere on the lake were holding a Whitedog Feast. Anishinabe people held such feasts for various reasons. Ethnologists and First Nations elders recount that hopes of curing sickness and seeking success in warfare were among the

⁸⁰ Edward W. Said. *Culture and Imperialism* (New York, Vintage Books, 1994), xxi.

⁸¹ Personal communication Kenneth Mills, Toronto.

⁸² Miller, *Compact, Contract*, 167-70.

motivations.⁸³ On July 6, 1905, members of the Lac Seul band were feasting likely in hopes of warding off illness. One of the Dominion Police Officers with the Commission, Joseph L. Vanasse submitted an account of the proceedings to a magazine a few years after the event. He described signs of ill health at Lac Seul,

Here was a centenarian couple sitting on the ground under their tent; there was a four-year-old boy stretched on the ground, the poor little fellow was dying of consumption.⁸⁴

Under such circumstances, goods and money would be collected as payment for the medicine person holding the feast. The Anishinabe of the Treaty 9 region also practiced shaking tent ceremonies in which medicine people would seek visions inside a wigwam or tent. During such ceremonies, the structure would often begin to shake violently as the fasting medicine person received visions. Sweats in different tents, in which water would be poured on rocks inside a tightly sealed tent or wigwam to produce steam and vapour to cleanse the body and purify the spirit, sometimes accompanied these ceremonies. Sweats

⁸³ D.M.R. Bentley "Shadows in the Soul: Racial Haunting in the Poetry of Duncan Campbell Scott". *University of Toronto Quarterly*, Volume 75, Number 2, Spring 2006, 760-64; Dragland, *Floating Voice*, 22,30, 155, 155-63, 171; For an overview of spiritual practices in the approximate area see Christopher Vecsey, *Traditional Ojibwa Religion and its Historical Changes* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1983); James Redsky and James R. Stevens, *Great Leader of the Ojibway: Mis-Quona-Queb* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972); George Nelson, Jennifer S. H. Brown, and Robert Brightman. *"The Orders of the Dreamed": George Nelson on Cree and Northern Ojibwa Religion and Myth, 1823*, edited by Jennifer S.H. Brown and Robert Brightman, (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1988; Edward S. Rogers, *The Round Lake Ojibwa* (Toronto: Published by the Ontario Department of Lands and Forests for the Royal Ontario Museum, 1962) Rogers spent ample time in the Round Lake area, north of Lac Seul, at a time that Ojibwa spiritual practices were widely remembered and practised by elders. His work remains fundamental to the understanding of Indigenous peoples in that area. A white dog sacrifice is also part of traditional Iroquoian practice. See also Elisabeth Tooker, "The Iroquois White Dog Sacrifice in the latter part of the Eighteenth Century," *Ethnohistory* 12,no. 2 (Spring 1965): 129-140 as cited in Titley, *Narrow Vision*, 111, note 4.

⁸⁴ Joseph L. Vanasse "The White Dog Feast" *The Canadian Magazine* (Toronto: Vol. 30, No. 1, Nov. 1907), 62.

were designed to open the mind for the reception of an enhanced perception of life and the cosmos. Such ceremonies are practised by Anishinabe presently.⁸⁵

The events of July 6, 1905 profoundly affected Duncan Campbell Scott. There exist three written accounts of the day's events: those of Scott himself, co-Commissioner Samuel Stewart and the police officer Vanasse. There appears to be no record, written or oral, of how the day's events were perceived by the Anishinabe participants.

Approximately twenty years later these events inspired Scott's most disturbing Indian poem, *Powassan's Drum*, published in 1926. That poem expresses Scott's anxiety over Native spirituality.

The official report of the Treaty Commission, co-signed by Scott, Stewart and McMartin of Ontario makes scant mention of the day in question, "The afternoon of the 6th was spent in a visit to the Lac Seul Reserve in an attempt to discourage the dances and medicine feast which were being held upon the reserve."⁸⁶ In 1905 many Indigenous religious rites were illegal in Canada. Scott and his fellow commissioner Stewart extended the intent of a law directed primarily at the west coast 'potlatch' and the sun dance of the prairie peoples to sacred activities of the Anishinabe in the woodlands.⁸⁷

However, the other accounts are more ample. In his personal journal, Samuel Stewart

⁸⁵ Jennifer S. H. Brown, "I Wish to Be as I See You": An Ojibwa-Methodist Encounter in Fur Trade Country, Rainy Lake, 1854-1855," *Arctic Anthropology* 24: 1987, 19-31. Brown and Maureen Matthews, "Fair Wind: Medicine and Consolation on the Berens River," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 1994 4: 55-74; Maureen Matthews and Roger Roulette, "Fair Wind's Drum: Maamiwan Obaajigewin", in Jennifer S. H. Brown and Elizabeth Viberts (eds.), *Reading Beyond Words* (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 1996), 330-59; The author witnessed a spiritual sweat ceremony involving medicine people, political leaders, elders and visitors from the Republic of South Africa in 1997 at the Sagkeeng First Nation on the Winnipeg River in Manitoba. See also Christopher Vecsey, *Traditional Ojibwa Religion and its Historical Changes* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1983).

⁸⁶ Government of Canada, The James Bay Treaty – Treaty No. 9 (Made in 1905 and 1906) and Adhesions Made in 1929 and 1930 LAC-BAC RG10 VOL.3033,235,225, P 4.

⁸⁷ Katherine Pettipas, *Severing the Ties that Bind: Government Repression of Indigenous Religious Ceremonies on the Prairies* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1994), 123-4, 163-4; Titley, *Narrow Vision*, 67, 162-83.

produced a detailed report, one of the longest entries in the personal journal that Stewart kept through the Treaty 9 voyages during summers of 1905 and 1906.

Before arriving at the post we had heard the sound of a drum some distance up the Lake, and we now learned that that was a medicine drum that was being used at a "Dog Feast" which was being held on the reserve about 8 miles distant. As certain of the proceedings connected with the feast are contrary to law, we decided to go to the reserve and endeavour to put a stop to them. Henry Kau-agee, Chief of the Lac Seul Band, who had come to meet us, informed us that he had used his influence to the utmost to prevent the feast from being held but that the majority of the band was against him in regard to this matter. Accompanied by the Chief and Mr. Mackenzie we left about noon for the reserve and arrived there about 1pm. Our approach to the reserve created not little excitement among the Indians who were assembled on a hill overlooking the lake. This excitement was to a great extent occasioned by seeing the two policemen in uniform in the canoe, and also from the fact that we formed a rather large party evidently intent upon important business. On landing Mr. Scott speaking for the Commissioners demanded to see the Conjuror. For a time the Indians professed ignorance as to the whereabouts of this important personage but the Chief at last located him for us. The man was a short, stout-built Indian and it was soon very evident that he had all the Indians under his control. He was very diplomatic in his answers to the questions asked of him and would not commit himself by a promise to discontinue the practice of conjuring. We learned that his name was Nistonaqueb, and that he was considered to have great skill in driving out the evil spirits from those afflicted with any kind of disease. We heard that Nistonaqueb made a good living by his conjuring but he professed to be giving his services for free and out of compassion for those who were suffering from various ailments. The goods and money received by him were used to appease the evil spirits that were tormenting those for whom his services were called into requisition. He also said that he was acting under instructions from Pow-wassang the head Conjuror of the district who would visit him with diverse pains and penalties if he neglected to hold these Dog Feasts. Nistonaqueb showed great diplomacy in the manner in which he conducted his case. We could not but be surprised at the wisdom shown by him in the replies given to certain questions and the manner in which he avoided to answer others. We gave the Indian a lecture on the folly of their actions conduct and told them that their actions for the future would be carefully watched. Afterwards we invited them all to come to the post in the evening where a good meal would be given them. We arrived back at the Post at 4 PM and found that Mrs. Mackenzie had an excellent dinner ready for us. We were sorry that Mr. Scott was not able to partake of the good things provided which included a roast of caribou as he was somewhat indisposed. Miss Mitchell, Mrs. Mackenzie's niece, assisted in entertaining us and we were well looked after.⁸⁸

⁸⁸ Samuel Stewart. Treaty 9 Journal 1905. LAC-BAC, RG10 Vol 11399.

Like Scott in “The Last of the Indian Treaties”, Stewart believed that the Indians were impressed, even fearful, of the presence of the two Canadian policemen. A photograph taken from a high vantage point on shore shows the Treaty flotilla crossing a lake, canoes aligned side-by-side and with flag raised. This panorama was afforded the feasting Indians of Lac Seul who looked out as the Commission approached and landed on shore. Police officer Joseph L. Vanasse recreated the scene in his account,

This being the third day of the White Dog Feast, as practiced by the Ojibway Indians at Lac Seul, it was consequently the most interesting. As we approached we could hear easily in the distance the beating of the drums at the camp. We had been seen coming, for the natives were all standing on the brow of the hill, lining the shore. They were quite amazed by our presence among them, as they did not expect that we would go to them. In order to impress them all the more, I picked up the Union Jack which was waving over our canoe and carried it up the hill, to the camp, marching in the footsteps of the Commissioners.⁸⁹

Returning to Stewart’s account above, it is clear that the Indians were not the only impressed parties. It is intriguing that Stewart used the upper case every time he wrote the word “Conjurer”. He states that the Commissioners “could not but be surprised at the wisdom” Nistonaqueb displayed. Clearly, the Commissioners encountered a self-possessed, confident man who was nothing like the projections of childish Natives in the pre-conceived ideas of Scott and his cohorts. Nistonaqueb and “Pow-wassing the head Conjurer” were clearly different from the grateful, proto-Christian Charles Wabinoo. These medicine men had perhaps more in common with the fictional Akoose than the “Indians in transition” along the Albany River that summer. Finally, in Stewart’s account, we learn that Scot, who had “demanded to see the Conjurer” fell ill after returning to the Lac Seul trading post and did not join in the entertainment provided by the trader’s family that night, “We were sorry that Mr. Scott was not able to partake of the good

⁸⁹ Vanasse. “The White Dog Feast”, 62.

things provided which included a roast of caribou as he was somewhat indisposed.” Scott’s absence may hint that he was having a disturbing reaction to the powerful and confident Indigenous man he encountered earlier in the day.

The final account of July 6 is Scott’s, a hand-written journal kept during the Treaty expedition. The entries were written in truncated phrases, really nothing more than a series of bullet points. Scott was familiar with point form written communication as he often carried on important Departmental business by telegram. In his Treaty voyage journals, Scott appears to have been keeping a sparse factual record to aid in the writing of the official report back in Ottawa. Clearly, he spent more time on the Treaty trips writing poetry, as the rapid publication of Via Borealis in autumn 1906 and the admiring accounts of the academic Pelham Edgar who accompanied the Commission in 1906 would attest.⁹⁰ Scott’s journal scribbled in the bush and water-damaged in places, makes for laborious, sometimes, inconclusive reading.⁹¹ At the best of times, Scott’s handwriting in his personal papers, unlike the densely stroked entries he made as a clerk and accountant with the Department, is murky – in places his Treaty journals are simply indecipherable. Fortunately, the entry for July 6, 1905 survives, and is clear enough to be read,

Broke camp at 6:45. Up at 5 bath in lake. Lovely morning. Reached Lac Seul Post at Very few Ind. Had breakfast with the Mackenzies in charge of the Post. Lunched whitefish. Learned that the Inds were having a dance and making medicine on the Res. About 7 miles away. Went down in canoe. Mac-rae and his party. Long argument with old medicine man – cunning old gent with a swollen jaw. Powassan the head medicine man had sent them word to [indecipherable] the medicine. Conference with Mackenzie about this. Warned Ind. Not to dance. He promised to do what he could to stop it. But we must speak to Powassan. Returned about 4 taken ill⁹²

⁹⁰ Pelham Edgar. “Travelling With A Poet” chap. 5 in *Along My Path* (Toronto: Ryerson, 1952), 60.

⁹¹ Duncan Campbell Scott. Treaty 9 Journal. LAC RG-10 Vol 11399.

⁹² Ibid. July 6, 1905.

Such is Scott's only account of a formative moment in his life, one that years later would resurface in his poem *Powassan's Drum*. Scott's encounter with "the old medicine man – cunning old gent with a swollen jaw" clearly made a strong impression. Although the local trader and de-facto Indian Department agent Mackenzie "promised to do what he could do to stop it", Duncan Campbell Scott decidedly did not win the day with Nistonaqueb. Scott left the encounter puzzled and troubled by the "old gent" and by the apparent eminence of his master Powassan. Scott is alone in describing Nistonaqueb in grotesque terms, specifying his "swollen jaw". By day's end, Scott was taken ill. The question arises, was he cursed by Nistonaqueb? Certainly, ethnological evidence of curses in Anishinabe culture abounds.⁹³ One can only speculate as to what truly occurred as a result of the argument with Nistonaqueb that day. What is certain is what remains - *Powassan's Drum*, a foundational work of Canadian literature.

Powassan's Drum is a long nightmarish poem. Selected stanzas follow that illustrate Scott's bewilderment and apprehension over what he witnessed in July 1905. The poem was completed in 1922 and published in 1926. In April, 1925 it was read by playwright and producer Bertram Forsyth at Victoria College Chapel at the University of Toronto. In addition to Forsyth's performance, Scott read his own poetry at the Victoria College event⁹⁴ The first lines of *Powassan's Drum*, "Throb-throb-throb-throb/Is this throbbing a sound?/Or an ache in the air?", evoke the only mention that Scott made of Indian drumming in "The Last of The Indian Treaties",

⁹³ Brown and Brightman (eds.), *Orders of the Dreamed*, 64-66.

⁹⁴ "Bard of The Northland Stirrs Hearers With Poems," *The Globe*, April 23, 1925, City News Section. "Mr. Scott further impressed his audience with the wealth of literary material available from the Indian whose Deputy Superintendent General he is in the Civil Service at Ottawa;"; Bentley "Shadows in the Soul", 760; Dragland. *Floating Voice*, 89, 161.

In our journey we had been borne by the waters of the Albany through a country where essential solitude prevails. Occasionally the sound of a conjurer's drum far away pervaded the day like an aërial pulse;...⁹⁵

The suggestion that “solitude prevails” betrays a widely shared misapprehension of the Canadian north as profound as the miscomprehension of Native spirituality in the poem *Powassan's Drum* itself. To the Anishinabe, their homelands were not a solitary place. Humans, animals, plants, the winds, stars, sun and moon made the territory a homeland for the people who lived along the Albany.⁹⁶ Scott, even though he was already acquainted with the north and travel in the Canadian bush, was freighted along the Albany with reductive perceptions of what civil society and civilization might contain. By 1922, Scott had processed his unpleasant brush with shamanism on the Treaty Commission into poetry. His recollection transmuted Nistonaqueb, the “cunning old gent with a swollen jaw” into a nightmarish, satanic figure,

He crouches in his dwarf wigwam
Wizened with fasting,
Fierce with thirst,
Making great medicine
In memory of hated things dead
Or in menace of hated things to come,
And the universe listens
To the throb — throb — throb — throb —
Throbbing of Powassan's Drum.

Is it a memory of hated things dead
That he beats — famished —
Or a menace of hated things to come
That he beats — parched with anger

⁹⁵ Scott “Last of The Indian Treaties”, p.90

⁹⁶ This distinction of world view between the people who live in the north and are dependent upon its primary resources and the southern gaze of travelers, recent settlers and resource developers is featured in the following: Thomas R. Berger in *Northern Frontier Northern Homeland: Report of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry Report* (Ottawa: Government of Canada, 1977); Hugh Brody in *Maps and Dreams* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1984); Wayland Drew, introduction to Bruce M. Litteljohn, and Wayland Drew, *Superior, the Haunted Shore* (Toronto: Gage Publishing, 1975) Boyce Richardson, *People of Terra Nullius : Betrayal and Rebirth in Aboriginal Canada* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1993); Boyce Richardson, *Strangers Devour the Land* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1991; 1975)

And famished with hatred —?⁹⁷

Scott interprets the drum as a signal of hatred. In Anishinabe culture, drumming is frequently associated with healing and the benevolence of the world's creator.⁹⁸ As the poem gathers in intensity, frequent allusions to the sounds of wind, water and thundering skies are added to the steady throbbing of Powassan's drum - sound is prevalent in the work of Scott who was an accomplished musician.⁹⁹ As a raging storm gathers strength Scott introduces a nightmare of aboriginal potency,

Then from the reeds stealing,
 A shadow noiseless,
 A canoe moves noiseless as sleep,
 Noiseless as the trance of deep sleep
 And an Indian still as a statue
 Molded out of deep sleep,
 Headless, still as a headless statue
 Molded out of deep sleep, Sits
 modelled in full power, Haughty
 in manful power, Headless and
 impotent in power. The canoe
 stealthy as death
 Drifts to the throbbing of Powassan's Drum.
 The Indian fixed like bronze
 Trails his severed head
 Through the dead water
 Holding it by the hair,
 By the plaits of hair,
 Wound with sweet grass and tags of silver.
 The face looks through the water
 Up to its throne on the shoulders of power,
 Unquenched eyes burning in the water,
 Piercing beyond the shoulders of power
 Up to the fingers of the storm could.

⁹⁷ Scott in Clever, ed., 83-86

⁹⁸ Dragland, *Floating Voice*, 166-171; Mathews and Roulette, "Fair Wind's Dream," in Brown and Vibert eds., *Beyond Words*, 131.

⁹⁹ Leonard W. Brockington, "Duncan Campbell Scott's 80th Birthday," *Saturday Night*, Vol. 57, No. 47, Toronto, August 1, 1942, 25; Madge Macbeth, "Duncan Campbell Scott: A Few of My Memories" *The Canadian Author and Bookman* (Ottawa: Volume 38, No. 1 Summer, 1962), 2; Sandra Gwyn, *The Private Capital: Ambition and Love in the Age of Macdonald and Laurier* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1984), 455-7.

Is this the meaning of the magic —
 The translation into sight
 Of the viewless hate?
 Is this what the world waited for
 As is listened to the throb — throb — throb — throb —
 Throbbing of Powassan's Drum?

The sun could not answer
 The tense sky burst and went dark
 And could not answer.
 But the storm answers.
 The murdered shadow sinks in the water
 Uprises the storm
 And crushes the dark world; At
 the core of the rising fury
 Bursting hail, tangled lightning
 Wind in the wild vortex
 Lives the triumphant throb-throb-throb-throb-throb-
 Throbbing of Powassan's Drum.

The terror expressed in *Powassan's Drum* harkens perhaps to Scott's subjective feeling as he skulked away ill from his confrontation with Nisconequeb on July 6, 1905. On that day, Scott encountered something imponderably non-Christian, something utterly at odds and resistant to the ideology that he was expected to advance as a representative of the Canadian government. The episode fixed the adversary in Scott's mind. Perhaps he reached the frustrating understanding, intellectually and viscerally, that the Aboriginal world contained forces beyond his control. That realization fuelled both his art and his determination to further policies aimed at creating a Canadian identity more palatable to his own understanding and beliefs about liberal progress and modernity. Memories of Niconequeb perhaps steeled him for the hardening of Indian policies of which he would become a principal advocate as he climbed up the ladder at the Indian Department.¹⁰⁰

Scott's revulsion is perhaps somewhat of a contradiction. Scott, particularly late in life, was familiar with and practiced various aspects of theosophy and divination that

¹⁰⁰ Titley, *Narrow Vision*, 67; Bentley, "Shadows in the Soul," 760-64.

were prevalent in Ottawa of the 1920s and 1930s. Scott's second wife, the poet Elise Aylen, was a noted theosophist and spiritual seeker who left Canada permanently after Scott's death in 1947 to live out her days in an ashram in India.¹⁰¹ On one occasion, as Scott courted the young Aylen in the latter part of his career at the Indian Department, he wrote of his frustrations in attempting to get to the 'other side' from a Halifax hotel room where he was on Departmental business, "I tried divination this morning with the Gideons Bible but did not get much out of it."¹⁰²

Ceux d'en Bas

Scott's unwillingness to abide aspects of Anishinabe spirituality along the Albany River reflects the ideological predisposition of a post-Victorian representative of the Canadian state. Jacques Soustelle, however, displayed as a young ethnologist a keen fascination in the spiritual ways of Mexican Indigenous peoples. In the remote villages in the states of Hidalgo, Mexico, San Luis Potosí and Oaxaca Soustelle carefully observed festivals and religious rites and wrote extensively in both his popular works and his academic papers about vestiges of ancient spiritual ways.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ Gwyn, *Private Capital*, 466-70.

¹⁰² Duncan Campbell Scott letter to Elise Aylen September 8, 1929. Lord Nelson Hotel Halifax LMS-0204 Elise Aylen- DC Scott fonds LAC-BAC, OttawaBox 1 Folder 4 "Personal correspondence DC Scott 1929"

¹⁰³ Soustelle *terre indienne*, 46-7, 52, 66-7, 199; Soustelle, « La famille otomi-pame du Mexique central » (Paris: Institut d'ethnologie 1937); Soustelle, *Quatre soleils*. 63, 80-2, 97, 103-6, 172-3, 188.



Figure 16 Otomí festival 1934 photo J. Soustelle (courtesy MqB)

Between 1932 and 1934, Jacques and Georgette Soustelle often lived among Mexican Indians. In his *Mexique terre indienne* he entitled a chapter “Ceux d’en bas” (literally “those from below”, best translated to English as the “underdogs”) which denounced the racism that Mexican Indians faced particularly in rural areas. Soustelle borrowed his chapter’s title from the eponymous novel by Mariano Azuela, a frank depiction of the suffering of ordinary people during the revolution. Soustelle greatly admired Azuela’s work.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁴ Soustelle, *terre indienne*, 149 ; Mariano Azuela, *Los De Abajo y Mala Yerba* (México, D.F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2004) Originally published 1915.

... les notabilités, ..., n'ont pas assez de mots pour exprimer leur intime sentiment de supériorité sur les "Inditos" assez bêtes pour tomber dans les panneaux qu'on leur tend. J'ai rarement vu poussée à un haut degré que chez ces gens la morgue de la gente de razón" selon le titre que se donnent à eux-mêmes les créoles et les métis par opposition aux indigènes. Chez les propriétaires de la maison où nos quartiers étaient installés, notamment, cette morgue insupportable me repugnait; ce n'étaient, en s'adressant aux Indiens, que cris violents: Andale!: vas-y! Cours! Comme si tout indigène était un domestique né. sic¹⁰⁵

The Soustelles travelled widely through central Mexico and had a memorable journey to the Lacandon rain forest of Chiapas in 1934. For months at a time, the Soustelles lived in small villages or in the forest in homes and camps of Otomí, Mazahua or Lacandon Mayan people. Jacques Soustelle became sufficiently conversant in both Otomí and the Mayan dialect of the Lacandons to pursue research in the local languages.¹⁰⁶ Throughout the period Soustelle exhibited a fascination with religion and spiritual rites. In both his journalism and ethnological works that followed, Soustelle generally exhibited an open mindedness and lack of moral judgment about the practices he observed.

The Lacandons numbered less than 400 in 1934. Most of them did not speak Spanish. None among the group that the Soustelles encountered had converted to Christianity. They lived without electricity, running water or internal combustible engines, in family groups numbering between 20 and 50 people, cultivated small plots that they hacked out from under the rain forest canopy and hunted animals. In the 1930s social scientists had barely begun investigating them.¹⁰⁷ As a doctoral student, Soustelle was aware of American anthropologist Alfred M. Tozzer's 1904 doctoral thesis from

¹⁰⁵ Soustelle, *terre indienne*, 29.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid*, 71, 227.

¹⁰⁷ Soustelle, *quatre soleils*. 45-66. The American anthropologist Alfred M. Tozzer, Danish archeologist Franz Blom and his wife the Swiss photographer Gertrude Darby were among those whose work among the Lacandons influenced Soustelle. As a doctoral student, Soustelle was aware of Tozzer's doctoral thesis: Alfred M. Tozzer, "A Comparative Study of the Maya and the Lacandones," PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 1904.

Harvard University; Soustelle was also familiar with the disparate works of the German explorer and photographer Teoberto Maler and of the French photographer Désiré Charnay who travelled through Mayan territory, including the Lacandon forest, in the late 19th century.¹⁰⁸ As a requirement for his doctorate, Soustelle needed to conduct a secondary investigation to his primary work in central Mexico among the Otomi. His sense of adventure and ethnological enterprise was piqued by the Lacandon Mayan. In fact, he first accompanied some American and German amateur explorers to the region in 1933 in an ill-advised misadventure led by a German pilot from Mexico City.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁸ Christine Barthe (sous la direction de) *le Yucatán est ailleurs Expéditions photographiques Désiré Charnay (1857-1886)* (Paris: Musée du quai Branly, Actes Sud, 2007); Alfred M. Tozzer, "A Comparative Study of the Maya and the Lacandones," PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 1904; *Social Origins and Social Continuities* (New York: The Macmillan company, 1925); Ignacio Gutiérrez Ruvalcaba, *Teoberto Maler: Historia De Un Fotógrafo Vuelto Arqueólogo* (México, D.F.: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2008).

¹⁰⁹ Soustelle, *terre indienne*, 155-160.



Figure 17 Lacandon family c1934 photo J. Soustelle (courtesy MqB)

Although that group did make contact with the Lacandon Mayan, Soustelle was embarrassed when its members falsely reported to the Mexican and French press they had discovered abandoned treasure in the rain forest. Soustelle enlisted Paul Rivet in Paris to clear his name of the sensational story.¹¹⁰ He was determined to return to the Lacandon rain forest with a more scientific approach and in January 1934, Soustelle lived for four months among the Lacandons. In occasional letters to his supervisor, Soustelle kept Rivet abreast of his itinerary,

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

- d'abord, avec l'avion, nous avons survolé le fleuve Jatalé et les régions voisines pour aller atterrir au lieu dit San-Quentín, où nous avons fait préparer un champ d'atterrissage ; de là nous avons rejoint à pied l'unique « Caribel » de la région, qui est habité par 5 familles de Lacondons... avec qui nous sommes très bien entendus – Ils nous ont servi de guides et d'informateurs jusqu'à notre retour à El Real, l'hacienda qui nous servait de base.¹¹¹

It was there Soustelle met the redoubtable hunter and shaman T'chankin.



Figure 18 J. Soustelle & T'chankin c. 1934 (courtesy MqB). Photo by Georgette Soustelle.

¹¹¹ MNHN fonds Rivet 2 APIC Sous. Jacques Soustelle, letter to Paul Rivet. Mexico, March 20, 1934.

With T'chankin as their interlocutor the Soustelles trekked from their base camp among the Lacandon Mayan to Metsaboc Lake, a spiritual site for the Lacandon Maya, located in the heart of the Lacandon rain forest an area in southern Chiapas just north of Guatemala and west of the Yucatan peninsula. There they were shown a number of caves and petroglyphs that Soustelle argued linked these people to the people who lived in the same region before the Spanish Conquest.¹¹² This was extremely significant to Soustelle because it exemplified, for him, the point of Rivet's teachings: traces of ancient Indigenous ways persist among their living descendants.

Soustelle, like Tozzer before him, pondered the link between these rain forest people and the great civilisations that had built magnificent temples and monuments at nearby Yaxichilan, Bonampak and Palenque. The Lacandons' reverence for the vestiges of those great civilizations and the evident link of language convinced Soustelle and ethnologists since that these people were descendants of the Mayan classic period. Conversely, the Mexican revolutionary state government was busy unearthing and curating official archaeological sites where Mexico's glorious imperial civilizations could be set apart from modern Mexican society, but held up as shining remnants like ancient Greece and Rome.¹¹³

Soustelle considered T'chankin a wise man and, as he did in the Otomi-Pame-Mazahua villages in central Mexico, Soustelle absorbed as much as he could of Lacandon

¹¹² MNHN Soustelle letter of March 20, 1934 to Rivet.

¹¹³ Néstor García Canclini, *Culturas Híbridas: Estrategias Para Entrar y Salir De La Modernidad* (Buenos Aires: Paidós, 2001), 165-77; Quetzil E. Castañeda, *In the Museum of Maya Culture: Touring Chichén Itzá*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 5, 117-21; Alex Saragoza, "The Selling of Mexico: Tourism and the State, 1929-1952," in Gilbert Joseph, Anne Rubenstein, & Eric Zolov, *Fragments of a Golden Age – The Politics of Culture in Mexico Since 1940* Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001), 91-115.

religious practices. He was invited by T'chankin to observe an invocation which required the careful building of a special structure and the laborious preparation of an intoxicating beverage made from forest plants. Soustelle was a careful observer of such practices. As in Central Mexico, the piety and strength of faith of the Lacandons impressed him,

Au total, la religion, dans la vie quotidienne d'un Lacandon, pèse lourdement... Or il bâtit encore un temple, souvent plus spacieux et mieux agencé que sa propre case, avec sa table - autel ou ses étagères ; il façonne avec soin ses encensoirs, modèle les figurines qui représentent les dieux, utilise le roucou, le noir de fumée la craie pour les décorer ; il va récolter dans la forêt la gomme aromatique du copal et les baies odorantes ; il bat l' dans la forêt corce dont on fait les bandeaux rituels, creuse un tronc d'arbre pour la fabrication du baltché, érige un abri sous le quel on prépare le k'ayem, entreprend de longs et fatigants pèlerinages à Yaxchilán : bref, lui qui a déjà tant de mal pour se procurer ce qui lui est indispensable, pour lui-même et pour le siens, s'astreint en outre à un travail presque équivalent pour les services de ses dieux.¹¹⁴

Among the Lacandon Mayan, Soustelle began to ruminate about questions that would concern him for the rest of his career. He became deeply aware of the role of religion in people's lives across cultures. The fate of the Lacandon – their link to the great ancient Mayan civilizations - gave rise to a life-long concern in Soustelle about the destinies of civilizations. In contemplating such matters in his writings, his point of reference was the demise of classic Mayan civilization and the rise and fall of the Aztecs who had tamed most of Mexico in a few centuries, but fell to the Spanish in the course of two years. His highly regarded Les quatre soleils of 1967, a mature work which complements his first, Mexique terre indienne, uses the ancient Mexican account of a succession of worlds that end in destruction as his *leitmotif* of human progress and decay. Soustelle believed this way of looking at human history and the cosmos was imbued in the daily lives of the Lacandons. He experienced this way of looking at the world himself

¹¹⁴ Soustelle, *Quatre soleils*, 83.

one day as he and his companions paused to eat during a long day's journey through the rainforest,

Pour manger, ils s'accroupissaient sur le sol, tiraient de leurs filets de portages des Calebasses graves où ils mélangeaient avec l'eau le maïs qu'ils avaient pris comme provision. Avant de porter la nourriture à leur bouche, ils plongaient le bout des doigts dans la bouillie, et en jetaient des gouttes aux quatre points cardinaux en psalmodiant une courte formule sur des tons montants et descendants.

- Si nous faisons pas cela, il y aurait des orages, et puis des tigres viendraient, et nous dévoreraient, disait Tchambor.¹¹⁵

Soustelle emphasized that civilizations could and would terminate. By the 1960s he came to consider France's abandonment of Algeria as the sign of a French civilization in decay. Questions about the primacy of religion, the fate of civilizations and the observation of politics were among the preoccupations that the young Jacques Soustelle took from Mexico in 1932-1934.

Soustelle was both an advocate and a fierce critic of the Mexican revolution. With the archaeologist and educator Manuel Gamio and other *indigenistas* as his guides, Soustelle visited several rural schools where Indians were expected to benefit from the revolution's social progress. In a letter to Paul Rivet, Soustelle mentioned the first such visit,

Beaucoup de choses se sont passé depuis la dernière fois que je vous ai écrit, et en somme cette période pourrait se résumer sous le titre de « chasse aux Otomis » - La première expédition a été à Actopan, où nous sommes allés avec Gamio. Nous avons logé dans l'École normale rurale, très bien accueillis naturellement.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁵ Soustelle, *terre indienne*, 199.

¹¹⁶ MNHN fonds Rivet 2 APIC Sous. Jacques Soustelle letter to Paul Rivet. Mexico, November 30, 1932. For a discussion of Gamio's multi-faceted role as anthropologist, activist and government employee, see Claudio Lomnitz, "Bordering on Anthropology: Dialectics of a National Tradition," in *Deep Mexico, Silent Mexico: An Anthropology of Nationalism* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 250-4.

In Canada as Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, Duncan Campbell Scott led an effort of “aggressive civilization” in which policies of compulsory education, often in residential schools, and enforced assimilation through a variety of means was designed to terminate Indian identity.¹¹⁷ Jacques Soustelle came to Mexico as the Mexican revolution’s very different approach to Indian redemption and integration was shifting.¹¹⁸ The Secretaría de Educación Pública (SEP) had begun to dedicate itself to the establishment of local-run rural schools and cultural missions throughout Mexico. The intent was still assimilation, an effort to eventually forge a Mestizo *raza cósmica* as the social bedrock of a unified Mexican nation.¹¹⁹ In sum, *indigenismo* aspired to enlist Mexican Indians in the project of institutionalized social revolution. On the whole, it was a government initiative with which Soustelle found favour and one that he thought courageously challenged the past predations against Indian people by the Catholic Church and the long dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz (1876-1880 and 1884-1911) that preceded the revolution,

Enfin ceux des Indiens qui sont déjà en marche, par l’agrarisme et par la diffusion de l’éducation, vers une autre destine que celles de leurs pères, de leurs aïeux et de cent générations dont l’incessant labeur est resté cache derrière le brillant décor du Mexique colonial, républicain et porfiriste. J’ai déjà rendu hommage plusieurs fois, dans ce souvenirs, aux maîtres ruraux. Je les tiens pour le vrai ferment du Mexique d’aujourd’hui eux dont la peine et quelquefois le sang fondent peu à peu un peuple nouveau avec sept millions de paysans à peau brune opprimés et méprisés. Qu’on feuillette les rapports des missions culturelles et des écoles rurales publiées par le Secrétariat de l’Éducation; on y verra les marches épuisantes à travers les montagnes, l’hostilité des caciques et des prêtres, les rebuffades et les mauvais traitements. Dans un village du Querétaro, l’instituteur se voit boycotté par les pauvres ignorants; à force d’insistance, il finit par en connaître la cause:

¹¹⁷ Titley, *Narrow Vision*, 76-7.

¹¹⁸ Alexander S Dawson, *Indian and Nation in Revolutionary Mexico*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2004; Alexander S Dawson, "From Models for the Nation to Model Citizens." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 17, no. 2 (1998): 375-402.

¹¹⁹ Vasconcelos and Jaén, *The Cosmic Race*.

- Le cure nous a dit que vous veniez élever nos enfants dans la religion protestante et qu'ils iraient tous en enfer.¹²⁰

In 1936, with the publication of his first book, it was already clear that Soustelle felt the initiative was an essential plank for social justice in Mexico.

In his first book he registered some concern about the cultural flattening that the *indigenismo* project could entail. His Mexico, it would appear, needed to display its

Indigenous characteristics with pride,

Dans l'accomplissement de leur tâche, pourtant, ne risquent-ils pas de dépasser le but, en poussant les Indiens à abandonner leurs particularités ethniques ou plutôt nationales pour se fonder dans la masse indistincte des métis?¹²¹

It was, however, in the political realm that ethnology student Jacques Soustelle would register his harshest critique of the Mexican revolution under the pseudonym Jean Duriez.

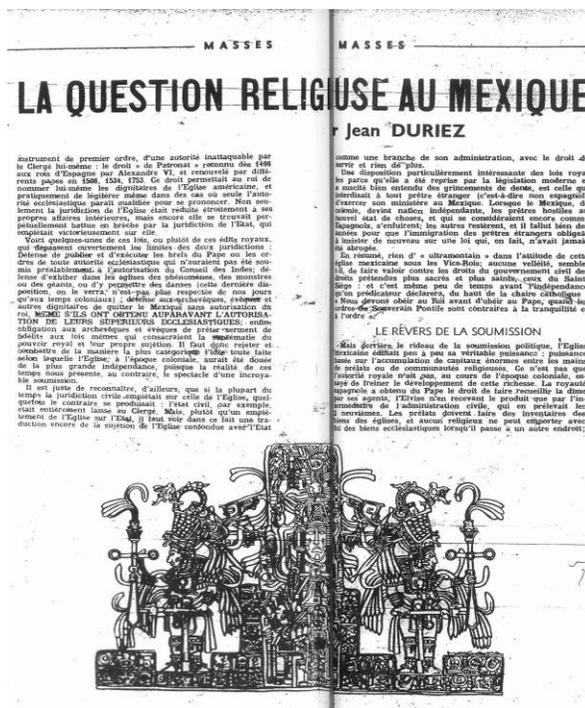


Figure 19 MASSES 193 (courtesy BNF Mitterrand)

¹²⁰ Soustelle, *terre indienne*, 150.

¹²¹ *Ibid*, 151.

Perhaps it was because he was a rising scholar in receipt of French scholarships from the French government who did not want his real name associated with left-wing journals such as *MASSES* and *Spartacus*; perhaps as a guest of the Mexican government he was worried that “Jacques Soustelle” might wear his welcome out in Mexico if its embassy in Paris took note of his dispatches. In neither his incomplete memoirs, nor in a long interview with an oral historian published after his death did Soustelle speak to the mystery.¹²²

In these articles Soustelle displayed the contrarian streak which earned him the *sobriquet*, or nickname, le Mal aimé, the French equivalent of ‘the black sheep’, from his biographer Bernard Ullmann.¹²³ He called Diego Rivera “un farceur pseudo révolutionnaire”.¹²⁴ Some analysts suggest that Soustelle developed an overly positive outlook on the post-revolutionary Mexico he observed as a young man.¹²⁵ However, a review of his journalism from Mexico reveals tendencies that haunt, or distinguish, his political career after the war. His loyalty lay not with the official revolutionary party, then led by Plutarco Elías Calles, but with the peasants. He made common cause with the subjects of his ethnological research, the agrarian Indians of Central Mexico and the oppressed of Chiapas.¹²⁶ He attacked the Catholic Church in a long series of articles about religion in Mexico.¹²⁷ He also was extremely dubious about the socialist qualifications of the incoming president Cárdenas,

¹²² Soustelle, *Souvenirs*, 27-45.

¹²³ Ullmann, *Le Mal aimé*, 9-10.

¹²⁴ Jean Duriez (Jacques Soustelle), “La lutte contre la guerre et le fascisme au Mexique,” (Paris, *Spartacus* Décembre 14, 1934), 3.

¹²⁵ Stephen Tyre, “From Algérie Française to France Musulmane: Jacques Soustelle and the Myths and Realities of ‘Integration’, 1955–1962.” *French History* 20, no. 3 (09, 2006), 277-86.

¹²⁶ Soustelle, *terre indienne*, 125-153.

¹²⁷ Duriez (Soustelle), “La question religieuse au Mexique,” (Paris, *MASSES*, editions of September, October, November and December 1933).

Mais plus dangereux encore que le fascisme bruyant à chemises de couleur et à saluts romains, est le fascisme larvé, le fascisme méconnu qui se présente sous le nom même du socialisme : telle est justement la tendance du gouvernement actuel du Mexique. A la suite des dernières élections, en effet, général Cárdenas, doit entrer en décembre à la Présidence, et consacrer sa période de gouvernement à la réalisation du Plan de Six Ans.

Comme l'écrit Salazar Mallén, fasciste notoire et grand admirateur de Mussolini, la caractéristique du fascisme est justement de planifier l'économie tout en conservant le régime d'exploitation capitaliste. Le Plan comporte surtout une offensive raisonnée contre les organisations ouvrières : tous les syndicats « minoritaires » c'est-à-dire révolutionnaires devront disparaître au profit des syndicats unique contrôlés par les leaders corrompus à la solde du Parti officiel. S'ajoutant aux mesures déjà existantes (Tribunaux du travail, etc...), cette unification des syndicats tiendra la classe ouvrière mexicaine prisonnière d'un système corporatif destiné à perpétuer la collaborations des classes., c'est-à-dire l'exploitation d'une classe par l'autre. C'est ce qu'on appelle, dans les discours officiels le « socialisme mexicain ».¹²⁸

Soustelle was convinced that the revolutionary elite of Mexico City, along with its bevy of international leftist and bohemian artistic followers, did not truly understand rural Mexico. Soustelle admired the courage and tenacity of rural teachers who worked directly with villagers, but he had little faith in the grandiose plans of the official Mexican revolutionary party in power,

Ce que veulent, ce qu'ont toujours voulu les éducateurs révolutionnaires mexicains, c'est suivre le sens de l'évolution qui depuis les temps de la Conquête et surtout de l'Indépendance, brasse les races et fait que le nombre des métis tende à en former la base humaine du pays. Ils veulent créer une culture métis, où les éléments indigènes tiendront leur place et seront revêtus d'une éminente dignité, mais sans refouler les éléments européens. C'est quelque chose d'infiniment plus délicat et plus difficile que d'exalter systématiquement tout ce qui est Indien ou que l'on croit tel; ...

La réalité n'est pas si belle. La réforme agraire est privée de toute signification socialiste par le fractionnement des terres communales, qui est en train de créer au Mexique une petite propriété individuelle aussi arriérée et aussi lourde pour le progrès social qui constitue la base des certains pays d'Europe.¹²⁹

¹²⁸ Duriez (Soustelle) "La lutte contre la guerre et le fascisme au Mexique" (Paris: *Spartacus*, Décembre 14, 1934), 3.

¹²⁹ Jean Duriez (Jacques Soustelle) « Comment "ils" voient le Mexique, » *MASSSES*, Juillet 1934, 12.

In the 1930s, Soustelle evinced a scepticism of left leaning intellectual elites that would resurface in his lone wolf approach to the Algerian question. In the 1950s, he insisted that the Front de Libération Nationale (FLN), the leading Algerian revolutionary party, did not represent a majority of rural Algerians. As we shall see, Soustelle would famously claim that he understood the plight of the *fellaghs*, the Algerian peasants, in a way that FLN intellectuals and his *boulevardiste* opponents on the Parisian left of the 1950s did not.¹³⁰ Soustelle believed that the FLN and its supporters were removed from everyday Algerian reality just as he believed the advisors surrounding Lázaro Cárdenas could not reconcile their *indigenista* policies with the bitter realities of Mexican rural existence.¹³¹

The Mexican education of the twenty-something Jacques Soustelle is summed up in a letter to his mentor Paul Rivet written after he and his wife had completed the first phase of their research in Central Mexico. The letter begins with Soustelle's scientific interests. He speaks of the pottery that he collected at archeological sites; expresses mild annoyance that some of his would-be subjects have become Mestizos; but confidently proclaims that he has found "survivants" in Otomi, Pame or Mazahua villages scattered through the mountains.¹³²

What is most intriguing about the letter is how Soustelle shifts to political concerns. He mentions the change of power in Mexico and the ongoing violence of the Cristero revolt in parts of Mexico. The Cristeros were right-wing Catholics sometimes with fascist tendencies that opposed the revolution and wished to restore the Catholic

¹³⁰ Jacques Soustelle, *Le drame algérien et la décadence française Réponse a Raymond Aron* (Paris : Plon – Tribune Libre 6, 1957), 2.

¹³¹ Duriez (Jacques Soustelle), 1934, 12.

¹³² MNHN fonds Rivet 2 APIC Jacques Soustelle from San Angel, Mexico to Paul Rivet, December 8, 1933. This folder of correspondence between Rivet and Soustelle contains many letters written by Soustelle to Rivet from Mexico between 1932 and 1940. Some touch upon Soustelle's doctoral research; some about his military service prior to June 1940; and some offer political commentary on the Cardenás and Camacho presidencies.

church's primacy in Mexican life. The Cristeros were reacting to the harsh anti-clericism of the revolution in some areas, particularly Sonora in northern Mexico. In an article on the anti-fascist movement in Mexico, Soustelle made specific mention of the atrocities, including mutilation and rape, committed by the Cristero side.¹³³ Continuing in a political vein, the letter begs Rivet for information on the political scene in France where leftist supporters of the Popular Front were struggling with the right and worried about the rise of fascism in Spain, Italy and Germany. The letter is re-produced here in its entirety,

San Angel, 8 Décembre 1935

Cher Docteur,

Nous venons de rentrer de la première partie de notre enquête et comme il m'a été impossible jusqu'ici de vous donner de nouvelles, faute de poste, je profite tout de suite de l'occasion. Nous sommes tous deux en bonne santé, quoique ce mois et quelques jours de randonnée soit parmi les choses les plus dures que nous avons jamais faites, étant donné que dans la traversée de la Sierra fonds on ne trouve presque rien à manger ni à boire, le pauvreté des gens est pire que tout de ce qu'on eut croire et des étendus très vastes sont dépeuplés. Par contre ce pays est d'une grande beauté, avec des contrastes violents entre les sommets, le climat froid, et le fond des ravins où règne le véritable climat tropical. Le début de notre travail a été plutôt archéologique, avec la visite des ruines de Tolufuilla et Ranas, d'où nous rapportons de la poterie et divers objets. Ensuite, surtout ethnographique et linguistique. La plupart des anciennes missions Chichimèques sont aujourd'hui à demi dépeuplés et métissées. Toutefois on trouve, avec les maillons éloignés et séparés par les montagnes, une chaîne de survivants jusque dans San Luis Potosí.

Vous savez peut-être qu'en ce moment le pays n'est pas très tranquille. Le général Calles a dû se retirer aux Etats-Unis, remplacé par Cárdenas, autour duquel s'est formé une sorte de front commun groupant le Parti National Révolutionnaire, les syndicats et les communistes. Mais, surtout ces derniers temps, une attaque très vive s'est déclenchée contre les communistes, tendant à les mettre au ban des activités officielles. Il ya environ 10 jours, sur le Zócalo de México, au moment des manifestations ouvrières en honneur de l'anniversaire de la Révolution, les fascistes « Chemises Dorées » ont chargé à cheval la foule ; des centaines de coups de feu ont été tirés, il y a plusieurs morts et des quantités de blessés. De leur côté, les catholiques font preuve d'une activité très inquiétante. Ces sont soulevés en armes dans Jalisco et Sonora, et dans plusieurs régions d'Agascalientes, Puebla, Morelos, Michoacán. Ils se consacrent principalement à brûler les écoles, tuant les maîtres ou les mutilant. Il est arrivé récemment à

¹³³ Duriez (Soustelle), « Comment "ils" voient le Mexique, » 12.

Mexico deux institutrices à qui les bandits « cristeros » avaient coupé les oreilles, après les avoir violés. Si vous en avez l'occasion, apprenez ses exploits à Ricard.

Excuser tout le bavardage, mais je sais que vous intéressez à ce pays. Quant au nôtre, ce qu'on en apprend ici revient à rien. Impossible de se faire la moindre idée sur la politique extérieure. Que signifie la permanence de Laval au gouvernement ? Que devient le Front Populaire ? Dans l'ignorance de ce qui se passe, je me contente de vous envoyer à vous personnellement et à vos compagnons de lutte l'assurance que nous pensons à vous et à ce que vous faites, en attendant de revenir aider comme nous le pourrons.¹³⁴

On his return to France in 1934, Soustelle quickly finished his thesis and published Mexique terre indienne.¹³⁵ Rivet immediately enlisted him in the creation of Le Musée de l'Homme in Paris and named Soustelle, at the age of twenty-five, assistant director.¹³⁶ However, from a promising career at the highest reaches of French social science as the designated successor to Rivet as director of Le Musée, Soustelle's life and career was changed irrevocably by the Second World War. As a resistance leader, Gaullist politician and controversial advocate of l'Algérie française, Soustelle would swerve dramatically from an exclusively academic career. However, Mexico would remain a fundamental source of his intellectualism as both a social scientist and political activist.

Conclusion

The Treaty 9 Commission of 1905-6 was a step up the ladder for the promising Indian Department bureaucrat Duncan Campbell Scott. He demonstrated to his superiors in Ottawa that he was capable of senior responsibilities. He, along with Samuel Stewart, was able to bring the Indians under treaty in a geographically critical area with the acquiescence of Ontario without major difficulty. Scott witnessed first-hand the ground on which the Department's civilization campaign would be waged. The Treaty 9

¹³⁴ MNHN fonds Rivet 2 APIC Soustelle letter to Rivet, Dec 8, 1935.

¹³⁵ Soustelle, *terre indienne*, 1936; Soustelle, *La Famille Otomí-Pame Du Mexique Central*, Université De Paris. Travaux et mémoires De l'Institut d'Ethnologie. Vol. 26. (Paris: Institut d'ethnologie, 1937).

¹³⁶ Nicole Racine, "SOUSTELLE, Jacques," in *Dictionnaire*, 390-1.

Commission enhanced his understanding of the reserve system and the pattern of growth in schools and Departmental management that would be required as settlement proceeded west. In Scott's mind, his Treaty 9 Commission experience re-affirmed the merit of the designation as wards of the state accorded to Indian peoples under Canada's Indian Act. He emerged more convinced than ever that the civilization program must continue. In future years, particularly after he became Deputy Superintendent General in 1913, he actively pursued toughening the policy in areas such as mandatory school attendance, the removal of Indian status, the suppression of Indian political organization, the outlawing of land claims research and enforcing existing prohibitions on Indian spiritual activities such as the potlatch and sun dance.¹³⁷ As he wrote in "The Last of the Indian Treaties" Scott the mandarin was convinced such steps were necessary step in "making an end" of Indigenusness in Canada. Scott as bureaucrat was an inflexible defender of a system rooted in the traditions of British colonialism. Scott resided uneasily between polarities of brutal assimilation and humane accommodation that has afflicted Canadian policy concerning Indigenous peoples since the creation of the Canadian state in 1867. Although he seldom referred to his Indian Department career following his retirement in 1932, it is clear that Scott viewed the Treaty 9 Commission as a watershed in his civil service career. A year before his death, he re-published "The Last of The Indian Traties" his 1906 essay for Scribner's Magazine in his final book.¹³⁸

¹³⁷ Brownlie, Robin, *A Fatherly Eye: Indian Agents, Government Power and Aboriginal Resistance in Ontario, 1918-1939* (Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 2003), 136-38; John S. Milloy, *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879-1986* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1999, 70-1; Pettipas, *Severing the Ties*, 1994, 149-51; Titley, *Narrow Vision*, 75-93, 162-183.

¹³⁸ Duncan Campbell Scott. *The Circle of Affection* (Toronto:McClelland & Stewart, 1947), 109-22.

As an artist, the Treaty 9 Commission of 1905-6 was equally important to Scott. The publication of Via Borealis immediately following the Commission enhanced Scott's stature as one of Canada's premier poets. The Commission also provided a vein of inspiration that Scott would mine for years. As we have seen, *Powassan's Drum* emerged in 1922 following the encounter on Lac Seul with Nistonaqueb in July 1905. Later chapters explore other major poems including *The Height of Land*, published in 1916, and short stories such as *Expiation*, published in 1923 that reveal additional aspects of Scott's world view that flowed from the experience of the Treaty Commission. Also, Scott's friendships with the scholar Pelham Edgar and the artist Edmund Morris were affirmed by their joining the Commission in 1906. In that way, the Treaty Commission played a part in consolidating the network of Canadian artists and intellectuals of which Scott was a charter member.

For Jacques Soustelle the Mexico he first encountered in the 1930s would inspire and comfort him for the rest of his turbulent life. The understanding of Mexico that he garnered in that initial voyage would echo in his academic writings and even political speeches. To this day, Soustelle is a respected authority on Mexican ethnology.¹³⁹ Admirers of Soustelle's trenchant works on Mexican Indians are faced with a singular conundrum: why was he incapable of exhibiting a similar empathy for those beaten down by one hundred and twenty-five years of French domination of Algeria? Like Scott, Soustelle was the inheritor of a refined colonial system. As we shall see, Soustelle's ideas, actions and dilemmas in Algeria are part of a French intellectual tradition

¹³⁹ For example, *Les Quatre Soleils – Souvenirs et réflexions d'un ethnologue au Mexique* was re-published by CNRS of Paris in 2009. Soustelle's doctoral thesis of 1936 was published in Spanish as "La familia Otomí-Pame" in 1993 by Centro de los Estudios Mexicanos y Centroamericanos in Mexico City. As of July 2009, the book was available in bookstores in both Mexico City and Oaxaca. Soustelle's *The Daily Life of the Aztecs* originally published in French in 1955 was re-published by Dover Press of New York in 2002.

concerning matters of colonialism and imperialism that run throughout the thoughts of Alexis de Tocqueville in the 1830s to Albert Camus, Franz Fanon and Jean-Paul Sartre in the 1950s and 60s.

4. Burden of Empire

Burden of Empire

Duncan Campbell Scott and Jacques Soustelle were formed and transformed during pivotal voyages early in their careers. This chapter examines the ways in which Scott and Soustelle represented their respective nation's imperial ideals at critical junctures in their lives. Each man was an exponent of an elaborate imperial tradition; further, both Scott and Soustelle were called on to represent their nation's imperial legacy at decisive historical moments.

Imperial Legacies

Jacques Soustelle incarnated the contradictory impulses surrounding imperialism in post-Revolutionary France. Since 1789, France has been both aggressively imperialistic and eloquently anti-imperialistic, often at the same time. In 1955, as a man of politics and the academy, Soustelle represented a tradition that uneasily encompassed both the colonial leaders who savagely quelled Native revolts in the French empire and the likes of the *piéd noir* writer Albert Camus and French Caribbean apostles of de-colonization such as Aimée Césaire and Franz Fanon.¹

When Jacques Soustelle was named governor general of Algeria in 1955 France had been in Algeria for 125 years. At the time, almost no one in either France or Algeria was predicting that the French would be gone seven years later.² Since 1830, a

¹ Aimé Césaire, *Discours Sur Le Colonialisme* (Paris: Présence Africaine, 1976; 1955) ; Frantz Fanon, *Les Damnés de la terre* préface de Jean-Paul Sartre (Paris: Maspero, 1961); Albert Camus, *Actuelles : Écrits Politiques* (Paris: Gallimard, 1977).

² Ian Lustick, *State-Building Failure in British Ireland & French Algeria* (Berkeley: iiS Institute of States, International Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 1985), 72-3. See also, Lustick, *Unsettled*

succession of governments including a restored Bourbon monarchy, the constitutional monarchy of the King Louis-Philippe, the ‘liberal empire’ of Napoleon III, the second, third and fourth republics, and the Vichy regime, supported *l’Algérie française*.³ Until the late 1950s, socialists and communists joined in the general enthusiasm for France’s *mission civilisatrice* in Algeria. Many French people, across a broad ideological spectrum, championed metropolitan control over Algeria, an extension of France, merely separated from the motherland by the Mediterranean.

Duncan Campbell Scott came of age as Canada was in its infancy as a nation-state and as such he was also a leading technician of a particular imperial system. Scott began his career in 1879, only three years after the passage of Canada’s Indian Act, which consolidated various colonial laws the fledgling state inherited from its British parent.⁴ Indian policy was a matter of fundamental importance to the new country and Scott himself was present at the creation of Canadian Indian policy. He was a central figure in the process of adapting Indian policies inherited from British North America to serve Canadian national purposes. In 1879, the Canadian Pacific Railway had not even reached the Canadian prairies, let alone the Pacific Ocean in distant British Columbia. The political leadership and emerging civil service of the nascent state had to “civilize” the tribes of Indians between zones of settlement in Ontario and the new province of British

Disputed Lands: Britain and Ireland, France and Algeria, Israel and the West Bank-Gaza (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1993), 239-301, 317; see also Lustick, “Two-State Illusion: The idea of a state for Palestinians and one for Israelis is a fantasy that blinds us and impedes progress,” *The New York Times, Sunday Review*, 1. Lustick argues that errors in judgment of French rulers in Algeria are being repeated in the Middle East.

³ The literature containing the narrative history of France’s history in Algeria is extensive. Two principal works are, Yves Courrière, *La Guerre d’Algérie* (Paris: Fayard, 2001); and Alistair Horne, *A Savage War of Peace: Algeria, 1954-1962* (New York: Viking Press, 1978).

⁴ Olive Dickason, *Canada’s First Nations: A History Of Founding Peoples From Earliest Times* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1992), 257-72; J.R. Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide The Heavens: A History Of Indian-White Relations In Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), 83-98; E. Brian Titley, *A Narrow Vision: Duncan Campbell Scott And The Administration Of Indian Affairs In Canada* (Vancouver, UBC Press, 1986), 1-11.

Columbia. That responsibility fell to the Indian Department, then part of the Ministry of the Interior. Consequently, the young Duncan Campbell Scott, hired by his father's friend, the Prime Minister, may have started out humbly enough as a clerk, but he was destined to spend a career in a Department with very serious undertakings of the new Dominion as its brief.

As we have seen, in 1905-1906 Duncan Campbell Scott represented Canada in Treaty negotiations in the north. As a functionary of the Canadian Indian Department, Scott was part of a tradition of Indian policy that had its origins in the Royal Proclamation of 1763, which established guidelines for British policies towards Indians following the conquest of New France.⁵ Throughout his career at the Department, which spanned more than half a century (1879-1932), Scott honed policies and administrative procedures rooted in British imperial practice. In the three or four decades leading to Canadian confederation in 1867, British imperial theorists, colonial administrators, and politicians, debated settler colonialism and Native policy for Australia, Canada, the Cape colonies in southern Africa and New Zealand.⁶ The literature concerning the traditions

⁵ Dickason, *Canada's First Nations*, 181-88; J.R. Miller, *Compact, Contract, Covenant: Aboriginal Treaty-Making in Canada* (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 66-70.

⁶ See for example Hugh Brody, *Maps and Dreams: Indians and the British Columbia Frontier* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1981); Colin Bundy, *The Rise & Fall of the South African Peasantry* (Cape Town and London: David Phillip – James Currey, 1979); Sarah Carter, *Lost Harvests* (McGill-Queen's Native and Northern Series. Vol. 3. Montreal Que.: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990); Cole R. Harris, *Making Native Space : Colonialism, Resistance, and Reserves in British Columbia* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2002); John S. Milloy, "The Era Of Civilization – British Policy For The Indians of Canada, 1830-1860" (PhD dissertation, Oxford University, 1978); Noël Mostert. *Frontiers : The Epic of South Africa's Creation and the Tragedy of the Xhosa People* (New York: Knopf : Distributed by Random House, 1992); Adele Perry, *On The Edge of Empire: Gender, Race and the Making of British Columbia, 1849-1871* (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 2001); Henry Reynolds, *The Other Side of the Frontier : Aboriginal Resistance to the European Invasion of Australia* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1982); E. Brian Titley, *A Narrow Vision: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986)

In 1995, I directed and produced the video documentary *We Have Such Things At Home*, a comparative examination of Native policy in Canada and South Africa. (Toronto: produced by Tamarack Productions – distribution www.vtape.org)

and practice of British imperialism is vast. In this chapter, I focus on select foundational texts that situate Scott as a political actor for a Canadian Indian Department that was spawned directly from British imperialism. From the 1830s to the 1860s, British academic and colonial administrator Herman Merivale wrote and lectured about Native policy in the empire.⁷ Following confederation the Canadian Indian Department soon found itself enmeshed in the dilemmas and contradictions that Merivale had foreshadowed. In 1879, the year Scott was hired, the Canadian government asked journalist and politician Nicholas Flood Davin to study American ‘industrial schools’ for Indians. The ‘Davin report’ gave rise to Canada’s own system of residential schools for Indian children. Merivale and Davin’s texts define the spectrum of Canadian imperial policy, from an approach tempered by Christian humanism that respected some aspects of Indian culture, on the one hand, and aggressive civilization on the other which proposed a rapid transitional phase to outright assimilation into a presumed Canadian mainstream. Canadian Indian policy has uneasily resided between these poles since Confederation. It suffered its most contradictory and lethal phase during the tenure of Duncan Campbell Scott in the Indian Department. As Keith Smith has argued, when the new Canadian state asserted its hegemony westward, an aggressive Indian policy steeped in imperial tradition was a foundational tool:

While imperialism and colonialism are never the same in any two situations, Euro-Canadians imposed themselves on the territory and First Nations of western Canada in many ways parallel to British interventions elsewhere. They brought with them generally British cultural understandings, legal and political structures, social and gender hierarchies and capitalist economy. They were just

⁷ Herman Merivale, *Lectures on Colonization and Colonies* (London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1841); David McNab, "Herman Merivale and the Native Question, 1837-1861" *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 9, no. 4 (Winter, 1977): 359-384; Dickason, *First Nations*, 248, 264-5.

as prepared as Britons in Africa or India to promote and protect their economic interests and cultural values, with force, if necessary.⁸

Canada's Indian Department during the career of Duncan Campbell Scott waged a comprehensive assault on the lands, resources and intricate life ways of Indigenous peoples. The new Dominion of Canada strove to develop and project an identity as a modern nation respectful of its English - French duality, but determinedly British, monarchist, white and male in its essential character.

The imperial legacies that informed Scott and Soustelle both depended on what Uday Singh Mehta has called "liberal strategies of exclusion."⁹ The British and French systems, as well as the Canadian system of internal colonialism, demanded that Natives, be they Arab, Berber, Indian, Métis or Inuit, be excluded from supposedly universal liberal norms of democratic inclusion. The ironies and contradictions in the policies that these 'best and brightest' men implemented are illuminated by examining in some detail the machinery of such exclusionary strategies in French Algeria and post-confederation Canada. Scott as a representative of a new dominion and Soustelle as representative of French republicanism were pledged to uphold what they saw as the ideals of western democracy. Yet both men violated those ideals in the pursuit of policies they deemed to be essential to the growth of a mitigated democracy in Canada and a severely limited form of representative government in French Algeria. At the very same time this apparent contradiction is less contradictory than it first appears. Mehta and other scholars argue

⁸ Keith D Smith, *Liberalism, Surveillance, and Resistance: Indigenous Communities in Western Canada* (Edmonton: AU Press, 2009), 8.

⁹ Uday Singh Mehta. "Liberal Strategies of Exclusion" in Frederic Cooper and Ann Stoler (eds.) *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 1997), 59-62; See also Mehta, *Liberalism and Empire: A Study in Nineteenth-Century British Liberal Thought* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).

that historic actors like Scott and Soustelle, rather than being exceptions from liberalism, acted in a manner thoroughly consistent with the intellectual bedrock of British and French liberalism.¹⁰ My purpose here is to draw from the careers of Scott and Soustelle as a means to highlight their nations fundamental inability to engage effectively with Indigenous peoples.

As nineteenth-century nation-states emerged, whether in concert with or in opposition to imperial powers, they simultaneously developed mitigated forms of democracy (women and those without property were more often than not excluded from the franchise) and barred specific groups from participating in aspects of political and economic practice.¹¹ Sets of conditions about matters including notions of property, the accumulation of individual wealth, the treatment of women and adherence to Christian faiths were employed to bar Indigenous peoples and others from full admittance to the circle of civilized men who could rightly expect democratic and human rights. Uday Singh Mehta observes that liberal appraisals of human capacity lead logically to a sort of ‘private members only’ club. The requisite conditions for membership preclude the very universality the ideology pretends to uphold:

... what is concealed behind the endorsement of these universal capacities are the specific cultural and psychological conditions woven in as preconditions for the actualization of these capacities. Liberal exclusion works by modulating the

¹⁰ See Ian Mackay, "The Liberal Order Framework: A Prospectus for a Reconnaissance of Canadian History." *Canadian Historical Review* 81, no. 4 (Dec. 2000), 627-8, 640, 644; Jennifer Pitts, "Empire and Democracy: Tocqueville and the Algeria Question", *The Journal of Political Philosophy*, Volume 8, Number 3, 2000, 295-318; See also Pitts, *A Turn To Empire: The Rise of Imperial Liberalism in Britain and France* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2005), 138-147, 204-18; Lucien Sève, « Trois réflexions sur le libéralisme, » *LE MONDE diplomatique*, Juin 2013 page 22 – In this review essay, Sève looks at three recent publications in French that look at liberalism in the light of precepts of universal human rights. Of these works, Domenico Losurdo's is most pertinent to this dissertation; Domenico Losurdo, *Contre-histoire du libéralisme*, traduit de l'italien par Bernard Chamayou (Paris: Découverte, 2013); Losurdo, *Liberalism: a counter history*, translated by Greg Elliott (London : Verso, 2011).

¹¹ See Mehta, "Liberal Strategies"; Pitts, *A Turn To Empire*, 9, 63, 235, 248; Tzvetan Todorov, *Nous Et Les Autres : La Réflexion Française Sur La Diversité Humaine* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1989), 262-79.

distance between the interstices of human capacities and the conditions for their political effectivity. It is the content between the interstices that settles boundaries between who is included and who is not.¹²

Liberal Exclusion in Canada

The tendency to exclude was apparent in the founding moments of the Canadian state. Conferences in 1864 Charlottetown and Quebec City led to the promulgation of the British North America Act (BNA Act) and limited Canadian independence from Great Britain in 1867. Conference delegations were made up exclusively of caucasian men who represented the political and economic elites of the various British colonies which would unite to form Canada. There were no representatives of the various Indigenous groups from those colonies. The division of powers in the federal system outlined in the BNA Act entrenched this exclusion in the very machinery of the new state. “Indians, and lands reserved for Indians” became a federal responsibility.¹³ Public lands and the timber resources were placed under provincial jurisdiction at the time of confederation; as Canada expanded westward and new provinces were created, legal precedent and political talks confirmed that oil, gas and mineral resources within provinces were under provincial control as well.¹⁴ As the signatories of Treaty 9, and as many other Indigenous peoples who signed Treaties with the Canadian government, learned in the course of

¹² Mehta, “Liberal Strategies,” 61. For a useful specific example in the northern Canadian context of the 1970s in the midst of and gas exploration see Mel Watkins and University League for Social Reform. *Dene Nation, The Colony Within* (Toronto; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1977)

¹³ Sec. 91.42 The Constitution Act, Canada. Webservice: http://laws.justice.gc.ca/en/const/3.html#anchorbo-ga:s_91-gb:s_91 (accessed May 2010).

¹⁴ Sections 92.5 and 92a The Constitution Act, Canada. Webservice: http://laws.justice.gc.ca/en/const/3.html#anchorbo-ga:s_91-gb:s_91 (accessed May 2010)

Such arrangements are part of the bedrock of Canada’s constitutional existence. After a century of national life, Canadians attempted to revise the British North America Act on several occasions. Finally in 1982 was the BNA Act was repatriated. Despite the inclusion of new recognition for “existing aboriginal and treaty rights”, the crucial provincial-federal jurisdictional divide over resources was maintained. Such a division of powers was constitutionally entrenched in 1982 when the BNA Act became The Constitution Act.

twentieth century, this division of powers placed rural-based Indigenous peoples whose economic lives depended on harvesting natural resources in a tenuous economic and constitutional position. As Robin Jarvis Brownlie and other scholars have shown, provincial management of natural resources outside the strict boundaries of the federal lands “reserved” for Indigenous peoples under the numbered Treaties undermined economies based on fishing, hunting, trapping and sustainable forestry practices.¹⁵ In the ‘liberal strategy of exclusion’ developed in Canada, the Indigenous wards of the federal state often became targets of jealous provincial jurisdiction over natural resources.

In July 1905 when Duncan Campbell Scott and the Treaty 9 Commission arrived at Osnaburgh at the headwaters of the Albany River these matters were central to what became a protracted debate over treaty terms. In his *Scribner’s* account, Scott described the scene that welcomed him and the Treaty Commission at two o’clock in the afternoon on July 11th, 1905,

But even the dogs of Osnaburgh gave no sound. The Indians stood in line outside the palisades, the old blind chief, Missabay, with his son and a few of the chief men in the centre, the young fellows on the outskirts, and women by themselves, separated as they are always. A solemn hand-shaking ensued; never once did the stoicism of the race betray any interest in the preparations as we pitched our tents and displayed a camp equipage simple enough, but to them of the highest novelty; and all our negotiations were conducted under like conditions – intense alertness and curiosity with no outward manifestation of the slightest interest.¹⁶

¹⁵ Robin Brownlie, *A Fatherly Eye: Indian Agents, Government Power, and Aboriginal Resistance in Ontario, 1918-1939* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 86, 156; Mari Heinrichs & Dianne Hiebert with the People of Mishkeegogamang, *Mishkeegogamang: The Land, The People & The Purpose* (Kelowna, British Columbia: Rosetta Projects, 2003), 91-2, 119. See also Harris, *Native Space* and Paul Tennant, *Aboriginal Peoples and Politics: The Indian Land Question in British Columbia, 1849-1989* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1990) for a discussion of these issue regarding British Columbia and

¹⁶ Duncan Campbell Scott, “The Last Of The Indian Treaties,” *Scribner’s Magazine*, Vol X.L. - 62, 1906, 577.

To the surprise of the Treaty Commissioners the “stoicism of the race” contained some skepticism of the treaty terms which had been agreed upon in advance by the federal government in Ottawa and the province of Ontario. The blind Chief Missabay stated that his people were prepared to accept the promised benefits of education and economic development provided that the Treaty would allow tribal members to hunt, fish, trap and gather wild rice in traditional territories, activities which were among the economic and cultural mainstays for the people of Osnaburgh. As the official Treaty report under the signature of the Commissioners recounts,

Missabay, the recognized chief of the band, then spoke, expressing the fears of the Indians that, if they signed the treaty, they would be compelled to reside upon the reserve to be set apart from them, and would be deprived of the fishing and hunting privileges which they now enjoy.

On being informed that their fears in regard to both these matters were groundless, as their present manner of making their livelihood would in no way be interfered with, the Indians talked the matter over among themselves, and then asked to be given to the following day to prepare their reply.¹⁷

Both the official Treaty report as well as Scott’s account in *Scribner’s* magazine state that after a night’s deliberation, Missabay and his council declared that given they were satisfied traditional activities would continue and they agreed to sign the treaty. Scholars continue to question the mutual understanding that was achieved in such negotiations and in the case of Treaty 9 whether the Commissioners simply lied about the true intent of the terms.¹⁸ Scott’s journalistic account of the proceedings at Osnaburgh lends credence to

¹⁷ Government of Canada, *The James Bay Treaty – Treaty No. 9* LAC RG10 Vol. 3033, 235, 225

¹⁸ See J.R. Miller, *Compact, Contract, Covenant: Aboriginal Treaty Making in Canada* (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 207-11; John Flood, “The Duplicity of D.C. Scott and the James Bay Treaty” *Black Moss* Sec. Series, No. 2 (Fall 1976), 50-63; John S. Long, *Treaty no. 9 Making the Agreement to Share the Land in Far Northern Ontario in 1905*. (Montreal & Kingston, London, Ithaca: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2010), 3-9, 85; CBC Radio *Ideas*, “George MacMartin’s Big Canoe Trip,” first broadcast December 19, 2011. Radio documentary written and presented by Christopher Moore, produced by Sarah Wolch about Treaty 9 promises as recorded in diary of MacMartin, Treaty 9 Commissioner for Ontario. National English language radio service of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Toronto broadcast centre.

the view that the Indigenous peoples along the Albany River were assured of the economic rights under the Treaty,

“Well for all this,” replied Missabay, “we will have to give up our hunting and live on the land you give us, and how can we live without hunting?” So they were assured that they were not expected to give up their hunting-grounds, that they might hunt and fish throughout all the country just as they had done in the past, but they were to be good subjects of the King, their great father, whose messengers we were. That was satisfying, and we always thought that the idea of a reserve became pleasant to them when they learned that so far as that piece of land was concerned they were the masters of the white man, could say to him “You have no right here; take your traps, pull down your shanty and begone.”¹⁹

The procedure at Osnaburgh sheds light on the peculiar give and take of Canadian Indian policy in the early post-confederation period. The Treaty 9 process was consistent with the provisions of the Royal Proclamation of 1763. The proclamation set out in some detail the means by which the new Indian allies of the Crown should be treated. The Proclamation dictated that Indians “should not be molested or disturbed in the Possession of such Parts of Our Dominions and Territories as, not having been ceded to or purchased by Us, are reserved to them. or any of them, as their Hunting Grounds...” The Proclamation also stated explicitly the formal process by which Indian title could be surrendered,

And whereas great Frauds and Abuses have been committed in purchasing Lands of the Indians, to the great Prejudice of our Interests. and to the great Dissatisfaction of the said Indians: In order, therefore, to prevent such Irregularities for the future, and to the end that the Indians may be convinced of our Justice and determined Resolution to remove all reasonable Cause of Discontent, We do. with the Advice of our Privy Council strictly enjoin and require. that no private Person do presume to make any purchase from the said Indians of any Lands reserved to the said Indians, within those parts of our Colonies where, We have thought proper to allow Settlement: but that. if at any Time any of the Said Indians should be inclined to dispose of the said Lands, the same shall be Purchased only for Us, in our Name, at some public Meeting or

<http://www.cbc.ca/ideas/episodes/2011/12/19/george-macmartins-big-canoe-trip/> (accessed December 20, 2011).

¹⁹ Scott, “*Treaties*,” 578.

Assembly of the said Indians, to be held for that Purpose by the Governor or Commander in Chief of our Colony respectively within which they shall lie:²⁰

Proceeding in a manner outlined in the Royal Proclamation, Scott and his fellow commissioners were the selected representatives of the Crown ‘in the right of Canada’ during the Treaty 9 Commission. The Commission held public meetings at each of the villages where formal Treaty signings took place. The Commissioners’ conspicuous display of the British flag, the RCMP officers in full uniform and the holding of feasts of tea, bannock sweetened with raisins, and bacon provided by the Treaty Commission in the Osnaburgh palisade symbolized the venerable eighteenth-century pledge. In these ways, the Treaty 9 signing marked an inclusion of a kind for the people of Osnaburgh. They were formally accepted in the Canadian federal constitutional system with the status of wards of the federal government in Ottawa. Their eventual ‘civilization’ and ability to participate fully in the Canadian democracy (such as it was) depended on the successful outcome of their tutelage.

With the imposition of the reserve system, the development of residential schools and crackdowns on Indigenous spirituality and political organization, Canada evolved a labyrinth of inherently contradictory strategies to, on the one hand, marginalize Indians, and, on the other, aggressively ‘civilize’ them. Canadian historian Ian Mackay dissected these moves in an influential article which he developed further in a book on liberal order in Canada inspired by his original essay.²¹ Mackay encourages his peers to examine

²⁰ Royal Proclamation, October 7, 1763. Webservice: <http://www.johnco.com/native/pro1763.html> (accessed May 2012).

²¹ McKay, "Canada as a Long Liberal Revolution: On Writing the History of Actually Existing Canadian Liberalisms," in Jean-Francois Constant and Michel Ducharme, eds *Liberalism and Hegemony: Debating the Canadian Liberal Revolution* (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 347-352 .

Canada's liberal traditions in new ways that would, among other things, demand a re-examination of Canadian "Indian" policy,

It would mean a re-evaluation of Ottawa's handling of the "Indian question" as not just a series of misunderstandings premised on a distanced misreading of Native societies, but rather as a fulfillment of liberal norms, which required the subordination of alternatives. Canadian imperialism in the High Arctic and in the West was not incidentally related to the Canadian values articulated by the 'Ottawa men' of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. From Joseph Howe and John A. Macdonald down to the 1940s, there was a consistency of approach to Amerindian issues which invites theorization within a liberal-order research program. It was perhaps in the residential school system that the full utopianism of a vanguard liberalism came to the fore, for within these Christian/liberal manufactories of individuals, pre-eminent laboratories of liberalism, First Nations children were 'forced to be free', in the very particular liberal sense of 'free,' even at the cost of their lives.²²

Their status would also be defined by their exclusion from voting in federal elections – a prohibition that Canada maintained for Indian people residing on reserves until 1960 with the passage of the Bill of Rights by the government of John Diefenbaker.²³ This potent 'exclusion' had immediate political consequences as Canada added territory and granted provincial status to its western territories. For example, when Manitoba initially became a small province in 1870, the majority of the population was Aboriginal, either Métis or Indian.²⁴ Indians living on reserves were denied the right to vote and the Canadian state imposed itself on Aboriginals as late nineteenth-century Winnipeg enjoyed an unprecedented real estate boom and the rich agricultural lands of southern Manitoba were flooded with settlers.²⁵ Similarly, approximately 70% of the population of British

²² McKay, "Liberal Order Framework."

²³ Dickason, *Canada's First Nations*, 400.

²⁴ J. Arthur Lower, *Western Canada: An Outline History* (Vancouver and Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre, 1983), 96-7.

²⁵ W.L. Morton, *Manitoba: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967), 117; Gerald Friesen, *River Road: essays on Manitoba and Prairie History* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1996), 58-64.

Columbia was Indigenous at the moment the province joined Canada in 1871.²⁶ As Indian wards of the federal Canadian state, these people had no voting rights. In addition, provincial governments denied Indians in British Columbia the sort of public meetings and Treaty negotiations that the Royal Proclamation guaranteed. With the exception of a few treaties on Vancouver Island negotiated by colonial governor James Douglas prior to Confederation, the federal and provincial governments negotiated no treaties until well into the twentieth century in British Columbia. The situation prevailed until the Nisga'a of the spectacular, resource rich Nass Valley in north-western British Columbia began tripartite talks with the provincial government in Victoria and its federal counterpart in Ottawa in the 1990s.²⁷

In Canada, the transition from colony to nation meant a hardening of Indian policy. In this regard, Canada must be seen in the international context of nation-state formation in the nineteenth century. As national borders replaced the mutable boundaries between spheres of imperial influence, nascent nation-states asserted their own system of land entitlement and resource management. The result for a fledgling Canada and elsewhere in the Americas, as Jeremy Adelman and Stephen Aron demonstrated in a pivotal borderlands essay, meant a loss of prestige and power for Indian groups which had been influential military allies, guides and had provided invaluable expertise on nutrition, weather and other matters in pre-industrial colonial conditions for French, Spanish and English dominions.²⁸

²⁶ Jean Barman, *The West Beyond the West: A History of British Columbia*. 3rd ed. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007, 156.

²⁷ Barman, *West Beyond*, 339.

²⁸ Jeremy Adelman and Stephen Aron, "From Borderlands to Borders: Empires, Nation-States, and the Peoples in between in North American History," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 104, No. 3 (Jun., 1999) 817-23.

Liberal Exclusions in French Algeria: Republican Universalism versus Settler Colonialism

In the autumn of 1954, François Mitterrand, then France's Minister of the Interior, turned to his opposition in the National Assembly to name the Gaullist deputy and respected academic Jacques Soustelle Governor General of Algeria. After a fractious political process that would see one government fall, due in no small part to right-wing opposition to that nomination (the historic ironies are endless in this particular dossier), Soustelle was named again by a centrist coalition that succeeded the government of Pierre Mendès-France in which Mitterrand had served. Finally in January 1955, Soustelle climbed aboard an aircraft bound for Algiers.²⁹ Before landing he donned a fine suit and was then greeted at the airport outside the colonial capital by a group of French Algerian politicians. At that very moment, Soustelle stepped into a role in which he assumed executive responsibility for a cluster of liberal policies that formed a labyrinth of "strategies of exclusion". France had conquered Algeria in 1830. Every French government from that time on were convinced the economic opportunities and France's *mission civilisatrice* demanded that France remain.

It is very difficult to overstate the magnitude of the Algerian question to French identity politics, culture and intellectual life during the 132 years of French rule there. Raymond Aron, Pierre Bourdieu, Albert Camus, Franz Fanon, Jules Ferry, Gustave Flaubert, André Gide, Guy de Maupassant, Auguste Renoir, Camille Saint-Saens, Jean-Paul Sartre and Alexis de Tocqueville are some of the internationally prominent French

²⁹ Alistair Horne, *A Savage War of Peace: Algeria 1954-1962* (New York: New York Review of Books, 2006 – originally published 1977), 105-9; Bernard Ullmann, *Jacques Soustelle – Le Mal aimé* (Paris: Plon, 1995), 190-5.

cultural and political figures whose careers and thinking were significantly shaped by the Algeria.³⁰

The stakes were very high indeed when Jacques Soustelle was named to the governorship of Algeria. Earlier in 1954, the French were defeated by Vietnamese revolutionaries in French Indo China. In November, an unanticipated armed revolt erupted in l'Algérie française. France's post World War II standing in the world was suddenly at risk. Although the situation across the Mediterranean was troublesome, no one seemed aware that the final chapter in France's history as ruler of Algeria was approaching a calamitous, bloody end. François Mitterand, future Président de la République, turned to Soustelle at a pivotal moment. It was a shock nomination in which political foes suggested they could set aside their differences for the greater national good and to enhance the nation's standing in the world. There was bipartisan hope that Soustelle's understanding of the Mexican Indigenous cultures could be applied to enhance understanding between Algerian Moslems and European settlers.³¹

This dissertation cannot offer a comprehensive history of the process of French decolonization following World War II. At this time, however, it is essential to convey the broad outlines of the situation in which Soustelle was thrust.³² On November 2, 1954, just weeks prior to Mitterand's surprising announcement, France had suffered a shocking and humiliating wake up call in Algeria. On "le Tout Saint", All Saints' Day, Algerian

³⁰ Philippe Baudorre and Centre d'études et de recherches sur François Mauriac. *La Plume Dans La Plaine: Les Écrivains Journalistes Et La Guerre d'Algérie*. Sémaphores. Pessac: Presses universitaires de Bordeaux, 2003; James D. Le Sueur, *Uncivil War : Intellectuals and Identity Politics during the Decolonization of Algeria* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001) Le Sueur, "Decolonizing French Universalism': Reconsidering the impact of the Algerian War on French intellectuals," in *The 'Decolonization Reader*. New York ; London: Routledge, 2003; Pascal Ory et Jean-François Sirinelli. *Les Intellectuels En France, De l'Affaire Dreyfus à Nos Jours* (Paris: A. Colin, 1986).

³¹ Horne, *Savage War*, 105-7.

³² Two of the best general histories on the Algerian-French war are: Yves Courrière, *La Guerre d'Algérie* (Paris: Fayard, 2001); Horne, *Savage War*.

rebels mounted a multi-pronged attack on French settlers, military and police installations in many parts of Algeria. A mysterious organization known as le Front de Libération National (FLN) claimed credit. Suddenly what French generals and politicians had hitherto described as merely a few out-of-touch ‘bandits’ lurking in the mountains representing no one appeared as a threat with which to be reckoned.³³

The timing of the attack was calculated for maximum psychological effect. “Le Tout Saint” came hard on the heels of a greater humiliation for France: Dien Bien Phu. In the spring of 1954, on the other side of the world in French Indochina, the post Second World War era of de-colonization began in earnest for the French when Vietnamese nationalist forces under the political leadership of Ho Chi Minh and the military stewardship of the brilliant General Vo Nguyen Giap, who had both been trained at the finest French educational institutions, destroyed a French military base at Dien Bien Phu. It was a French defeat that echoed around the world – a well-trained, peasant army of small, brown-skinned men defeated a European army in a fixed battle with big guns.³⁴ Historians of French foreign policy identify the battle for Dien Bien Phu as a key moment for the decolonization process that would accelerate in the coming decades.³⁵

By the autumn of 1954, the social democratic French Prime Minister Pierre Mendès-France made the fateful decision to make peace with the Vietnamese

³³ Horne, *Savage War*, 83-104.

³⁴ For a look back at Dien Bien Phu see *The Ghosts of War*, Michael Maclear, director, Memory Films 2004. Maclear, a Canadian, was the English-speaking world’s preeminent broadcast journalist on the wars in Viet Nam for 30 years. *The Ghosts of War* is his essay-like documentary film reflecting on imperialism, war and lessons unlearned.

³⁵ Horne, *Savage War*, 67-8, 99, 168-9; Alain-Gérard Slama, *La Guerre d'Algérie: Histoire d'Une Déchirure* (Paris: Gallimard, 1996), 46; Denise Bouche, *Histoire De La Colonisation Francaise, Tome Second, Flux Et Reflux (1815-1962)* (Paris: Fayard, 1991), 430, 434, 447-9.

nationalists.³⁶ Viet Nam was divided between a communist north controlled by Ho Chi Minh's government and a wobbly pro-western south. Thus, the stage for American involvement in defending south Viet Nam was set and the imperial wheel took a different turn. In France, the loss of Indochina led to political recrimination and national soul searching. The military and political right bemoaned Mendès-France's position. The left generally approved of Mendès-France and saw in him the prospects of a post-imperial, humanistic, de-colonizing republicanism. Much of the respectable media, leading intellectuals and politicians of the centre and the left hoped France's withdrawal from 'l'Indochine' would make France a moral leader in the west's approach to nations that would have to emerge from the enduring colonialisms and mandates of the mid-twentieth century.³⁷ To that hope was appended a firm belief: Algeria would remain French. After all, it was not a colony, it was part of France.³⁸

In terms of French administration, Algeria was in fact actually not a colony. It was an extension of France divided into large *départements* around the principal cities of Alger, Constantine and Oran in its northern littoral zones and an expansive, exotic Saharan territory to the south. That is why it fell to the Minister of the Interior, the future President François Mitterrand, to name Soustelle governor general. Algeria came under the interior ministry's brief, not the ministry of colonies. While governments based in Paris had declared Algeria part of France, it was clear that Paris and local politicians of European descent were in political control that made Algeria a colony in fact, if not in name. Full political rights were available only those of European background,

³⁶ Bouche, *Colonisation Française*, 430, 434, 447-9; Horne, *Savage War*, 78-9, 89, 98-9, 166, 268, 376, 434; Girardet, *L'Idée coloniale*, 343-7.

³⁷ Girardet, *L'Idée coloniale*, 367-402.

³⁸ Lustick, *State-Building Failures*, 72-6; Horne, *Savage War*, 99-100.

approximately 10% of the population.³⁹ This settler population had grown to about two million people by 1955 – they were largely of French, Spanish, Italian and Maltese descent. Despite the intentions of the leftist Popular Front government of Léon Blum prior to World War II, as well as vague commitments made by General Charles de Gaulle following liberation, the French had not made good on promises to gradually extend the franchise on an equal basis to the overwhelming majority of Algerians of Moslem descent.⁴⁰ A small number of highly educated Algerian Moslems could vote in French elections; most were limited to voting in a second college of Moslem members that had limited impact on government policies.⁴¹

After the humiliation of Dien Bien Phu, the French government was further resolved to hold on to Algeria.⁴² Prior to 1955, no political formation or visible rebel group in Algeria clamoured for independence. After the bloodletting of “le Tout Saint”, the government immediately made clear that Algeria would never be abandoned. Soustelle was brought in to hasten long promised reforms. Indeed, the loss of Indochina only steeled a very broad consensus among the French to hold on to Algeria at all costs. France had faced the humiliation of Nazi occupation. With liberation came the realization that “old Europe” had been supplanted in global influence by the United States and the Soviet Union. As the French imperial historian Raoul Girardet points out, Dien Bien Phu was compared to another French defeat - this one of eighteenth-century in Canada,

Durant plusieurs générations, les jeunes Français avaient appris, sur les bancs de l'école publique, à considérer comme l'un des pires épisodes du « malheureux

³⁹ Horne, *Savage War*, 36-7, 41, 346; Slama, *Déchirure*, 22-9.

⁴⁰ Charles-Robert Ageron, *Histoire De l'Algérie Contemporaine* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1979), 94-8; Bernard Droz et Évelyne Lever. *Histoire De La Guerre d'Algérie (1954-1962)* (Paris: Seuil, 1982), 33-6; Slama, *Déchirure*, 28-9; Horne, *Savage War*, 36-7, 41.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Horne, *Savage War*, 67-8, 175-6.

règne de Louis XV » la signature du « honteux traité » de Paris, qui avait livré aux anglais le Canada et l'Inde. En fait devant la désagrégation de l'Union française, c'est tout le système des valeurs élaboré par le civisme républicain et considéré, jusqu'aux lendemains de la seconde guerre mondiale comme constituant le fondement même de la conscience nationale qui est apparu aux yeux de beaucoup, comme brusquement et totalement remis en cause. Et c'est aussi dans la fidélité à ce système de valeurs que beaucoup ont trouvé la justification passionnée de leur attitude.⁴³

Initially criticism of Soustelle's unexpected appointment came from the political right in Paris and the hard-line settler faction in Algeria itself. As the prospect was debated by the press and politicians in Paris, some hard-line settlers in Algiers went so far as to suggest that Soustelle was an Arabic Jew coming to dispossess the European population.⁴⁴ More moderate opponents merely worried whether Soustelle, the academic who specialized in Mexican Indians, would be serious about political and economic reforms to which most previous Governors General had paid lip service.⁴⁵ Indeed in his short and eventful tenure as Governor General in 1955-6, Soustelle would undertake a broad range of ill-fated reforms. In the late fall of 1955, speculation about his plans for Algeria was front-page news. After consulting with his wartime mentor de Gaulle by telephone, Soustelle agreed to take the job even though it was proffered by an anti-Gaullist government.⁴⁶

The Algerian whirlwind that Jacques Soustelle entered in 1955 dominated his career for the next decade; it transformed and tarnished his standing among French intellectuals. However, the ideas that he advanced as Governor General in 1955-56 were

⁴³ Girardet, *L'Idée coloniale*, 340.

⁴⁴ Horne, *Savage War*, 105-7 ; Ullmann, *mal aimé*, 186-90.

⁴⁵ Horne, *Savage War*, 105-7.

⁴⁶ Ullmann, 1995; Jacques Soustelle, "Souvenirs, Apocryphes en forme de dialogue avec George Suffer" c. 1986. (unpublished manuscript provided to the author by Bernard Ullmann); Odile Rudelle, Archives de l'Université Sciences-Po Fondation national des sciences politiques service des archives d'histoire contemporain – Témoignages sur la guerre d'Algérie recueillis par Mme Odile Rudelle - M. Jacques Soustelle 19 février 1979.

consistent with the ideology held by France's intellectual elite since the late nineteenth-century. Algeria was the centrepiece of France's self-styled *mission civilisatrice*, a vast laboratory for the dreams of economic development, agricultural progress and social experimentation that was designed to enhance national stature as France's influence spread in Africa and beyond. In times of national self-doubt, such as the transition from the Bourbon Restoration to the proto-liberal democracy of the July Monarchy that immediately followed the 1830 conquest of an Algeria under Ottoman influence, or as in 1954-56 on the heels of stinging defeat in Indochina, the French military historian Jacques Frémeaux has observed that l'Algérie Française served as a medium of national affirmation,

... le discours sur la nécessité de l'Algérie pour la grandeur de la France revient comme un appel des formules utilisées au moment de la conquête.

Faut-il s'étonner de cette convergence ? En 1956 comme en 1830, le sentiment du danger de dégradation des positions internationales de la France est très présent... Ainsi, des régimes séparés par plus d'un siècle, et par l'abîme des idées et des événements, se trouvent d'accord pour penser que, « on ne renonce pas à l'Algérie ! Ce n'est pas ni honorable, ni possible! »⁴⁷

Soustelle's allegiance to l'Algérie française was thoroughly consistent with a long tradition of French liberalism rooted in governmental secularism, religious freedom, the sanctity of private property and public education. Soustelle's imperial *formation* can be linked to the liberalism of the nineteenth-century philosopher and politician Alexis de Tocqueville. Tocqueville, renowned for his works on the United States and his revisionist views of the French revolution, spent much of his career as a thinker and man of action concerned with Algeria. Tocqueville was an unrepentant advocate of the French conquest and occupation of Algeria that began in 1830. Further, despite his critique of American

⁴⁷ Jacques Frémeaux, *France Et l'Algérie En Guerre 1830-1870, 1954-1962*. (Paris: CFHM, Commission française d'histoire militaire Institut de Stratégie Comparée Economica, 2002), 48-49.

treatment of its Indigenous population, Tocqueville's views on how best to deal with Algerian Indigenous peoples were often brutal.⁴⁸

Alexis de Tocqueville visited Algeria twice. He led a parliamentary board of inquiry into settlement there. He wrote widely on the matter of French expansion in Algeria as both an active politician and political theorist. In correspondence with his friend, the British liberal political theorist John Stuart Mill, Tocqueville promoted the French presence in Algeria and expressed admiration of what he perceived as British success in India.⁴⁹ Like his friend and peer J.S. Mills, who tolerated violations of human rights in India that he would otherwise deem universal for *civilized* male human beings, Tocqueville was often unsparing in his militancy towards any Indigenous intransigence to France's *mission civilisatrice* in Algeria,

... j'ai souvent entendu en France des hommes que je respecte, mais que je n'approuve pas, trouver mauvais qu'on brûlât les moissons, qu'on vidât les silos et enfin qu'on s'emparât des hommes sans armes, des femmes et des enfants. Ce sont là, suivant moi, des nécessités fâcheuses, mais auxquelles tout peuple qui vaudra faire la guerre aux Arabes sera obligé de se soumettre.⁵⁰

Tocqueville shared a common French misconception. There were very few "Arabs" among the native population of Algeria. Most of the non-European population descended from various Berber tribes that inhabited the coastal regions and mountains of the Aurès and Kabylia regions. Romans, Islamic armies from the Persian Gulf and Ottomans had mixed with the local population for centuries upon century prior to the French conquest of 1830. By that point, most of that population was Islamic, but more often than not

⁴⁸ See Jennifer Pitts, "Empire and Democracy: Tocqueville and the Algeria Question" *The Journal of Political Philosophy* (Vol. 8, Number 3, 2000), 299,301; Pitts, *A Turn to Empire: The Rise of Imperial Liberalism in Britain and France* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2005), 204-26.

⁴⁹ Pitts, "Tocqueville and the Algeria Question," 295-318; Pitts, *A Turn to Empire*, 2-6, 209, 222-4, 230, 233, 237; Tzvetan Todorov, *Nous et les autres – La réflexion française sur la diversité humaine* (Paris : Editions du Seuil, 1989), 262-79; Mehta, "Liberal Strategies", 75-7.

⁵⁰ Alexis de Tocqueville, "Travail sur L'Algérie 1841," in *Tocqueville sur l'Algérie, Présentation par Seloua Luste Boulbina*, (Paris: Flammarion, 2003), 112.

distinctly non-Arab. In fact, in the mountainous regions that would prove to be breeding grounds for young men taking up arms against the French by 1956, many people spoke languages other than Arabic and many practised local religions.⁵¹ Similarly, the Canadian Indian Department in which Duncan Campbell Scott served often arrogated the right to manage the affairs of Indigenous groups of whose specific history the Department was ignorant.

In tactical matters, Tocqueville espoused a two-pronged approach to ‘civilizing’ Algerians,

Il y a deux moyens, d’amener chez les Arabes le schisme dont nous devons profiter :

On peut gagner quelques-uns des principaux par des promesses ou des largesses.

On peut dégoûter et lasser les tribus par la guerre.

Je n’hésite pas à dire que ces deux moyens peuvent et doivent être employés simultanément et que le moment d’y renoncer n’est pas venu.⁵²

Thus Tocqueville transparently advocated a dual of strategy of reform and repression of dissent that was applied from time to time by many subsequent French liberals in Algeria, including Soustelle.

Within a few months of his arrival, with l’Algérie française veering toward a full out civil war, Soustelle vigorously embraced an approach similar to that Tocqueville espoused 120 years earlier. Soustelle demanded more troops and advocated ramping up the military campaign against the FLN. Simultaneously, Soustelle engaged in soft, personal style diplomacy. Soustelle began regularly meeting local political and religious leaders in the urban slums and remote villages of Algeria as soon as he arrived in Algiers.

⁵¹ Germaine Tillion, « L’Algérie en 1956, » in *L’Afrique bascule vers l’avenir* (Paris: Editions Tirésias – Michel Reynaud, 1999), 67-74. Originally published in pamphlet form Tillion, *L’Algérie En 1957* (Paris: Association nationale des anciennes déportées et internées de la résistance, 1957) MqB.

⁵² Tocqueville, “Travail sur L’Algérie 1841”, 74.

To his dying day, Soustelle would argue that it was in such meetings he was hearing there the real voice of Algeria which, according to him, was overwhelmed by FLN firepower and terror.⁵³ In 1973, he bitterly denounced the ‘benefits’ of decolonization for Algeria in an “open letter to the victims of decolonization”,

L’Algérie ayant été « décolonisée » je désire savoir si l’Algérien « moyen », l’homme de la rue à la ville, le fellah dans le bled, a gagné en bien-être, en dignité, en liberté, en culture, en sécurité depuis qu’il a été soustrait au joug du colonialisme.⁵⁴

As in many facets of his Algerian tenure, Soustelle’s consultative approach, whatever its inspiration, was contradicted by other aspects of French policy. Soustelle also oversaw the establishment of euphemistically named *camps d’hébergement* designed to separate those Algerians advocating revolt from the general population.⁵⁵ Of course, in other situations intellectuals such as Soustelle would call such installations concentration camps. Chapter 6 returns to the question of these maps more extensively.

Like Tocqueville, Soustelle imagined Algeria as a place to re-assert French prestige and restore tarnished national dignity. Tocqueville viewed French Algerian colonialism as an antidote to national political decadence. He was unsure whether post-revolutionary France could ever build the sustainable liberal, democratic institutions that he believed were rooted in British and American political culture. Intellectual historian Jennifer Pitts argues that Tocqueville saw the agricultural and eventual industrial development and human settlement of Algeria as the sort of grand project that could

⁵³ BNF Mitterand *De côté de chez Fred* Feature interview in two parts with Jacques Soustelle, broadcast on French national télévision, 1989. In audio-visual subject headings for Jacques Soustelle and/or journalist Frédéric Mitterand

⁵⁴ Jacques Soustelle. *Lettre ouverte aux victimes de la décolonisation* (Paris: Éditions Albin Michel, 1973), 123.

⁵⁵ AOM 11CAB/38 Instructions April 4, 1955; minutes of meeting “TRES SECRET,” État Major Mixte June 29, 1955.

unify the French and help reclaim national prestige after decades of post-revolutionary chaos and political intrigue,

To build a cohesive, stable, and liberal domestic political order after the collapse of the ancient régime, revolutionary upheaval, and continuing political turmoil was Tocqueville's appointed task as a political thinker and actor. The notion of a proud French presence in Algeria, a vibrant and glorious new America filled with prosperous farms and engaged settler-civilians, played an important if too often overlooked part in Tocqueville's nation-building project.⁵⁶

Tzvetan Todorov argues that for liberal theorists such as Tocqueville the conquest of Algeria was a logical necessity born out of economic and strategic interests,

La politique n'est pas la morale: c'est la leçon qu'on peut tirer de la juxtapositions des divers écrits de Tocqueville. La morale doit être universelle; la politique ne saurait l'être.⁵⁷

Unlike Pitts and Mehta, Todorov believes that Tocqueville's recommended path of action in Algeria contradicts his philosophy. Pitts and Mehta would agree that Tocqueville was never sincerely universalist, and that his political ideology depends on a hierarchy in which full democratic and human rights are reserved for a self appointed group of 'civilized' men.⁵⁸ Conversely, Todorov posits that Tocqueville's politics trumped his universalist liberal theory on the ground in Algeria. Simply put, in his writings about America and the French Revolution, Tocqueville was a universal humanist; as a political animal concerned with French prestige over Algeria, he was a nationalist. In the 1830s, France was in a state of protracted political upheaval since the Revolution; Tocqueville imagined Algeria as an antidote to quell what he regarded as France's predilection for

⁵⁶ Pitts, "Tocqueville and the Algeria Question", 316. See also Olivier Le Cour Grandmaison, *Coloniser Exterminer Sur la guerre de l'État colonial* (Paris: Fayard, 2005), 7-11.

⁵⁷ Todorov, *Nous et les autres*, 279

⁵⁸ Pitts, "Tocqueville and the Algeria Question," 303-4, 314-7; Pitts, *Turn to Empire*, 9, 248; Mehta, "Liberal Strategies", 67-8, 75-8.

political disunity through national focus on the great task of settling and civilizing Algeria.⁵⁹

In the 1950s, France was adjusting clumsily to a changed world. Having suffered an ignominious defeat at the hands of German Nazis in 1940, France was liberated as a crippled middle power at best, finding itself bracketed by two superpowers – an expanding Soviet bloc to the east and a triumphant America across the Atlantic. In the immediate aftermath of World War II, intellectuals, including Jacques Soustelle, were virtually unanimous in regarding France’s continuing presence in Algeria as an essential means to recover national pride. To many people of Soustelle’s ilk, losing Algeria, particularly following the defeat at Dien Bien Phu in Indochina, was unthinkable.⁶⁰ These impulses were similar to those concerning Algeria in Tocqueville’s day. As we have seen above, following the collapse of Bonapartism in the early nineteenth century and subsequent political convulsions, Algeria offered the prospect of renewal to many French thinkers across a broad political spectrum. Historians such as Jennifer Pitts assert that the policies of nineteenth-century French Algeria are fundamental to an understanding of French liberal intellectualism. For Tocqueville and other nineteenth-century liberals, Algeria was a proving ground for the French nation, just as it was for those of Soustelle’s generation. As Pitts explains,

This rather desperate grasp at imperialism at a crucial moment of nation-building left its mark not only on the French nation – whose subsequent century and more of colonial rule and fight against decolonization would be more violent than Britain’s – but on French liberalism as well. The dominant stand of liberalism that was forged during this period was to be exclusionary and nationalist; and it would sit uneasily with the Revolution’s apparent legacy of universal human equality and liberty.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Pitts, “Tocqueville and the Algeria Question,” 308-9, 311.

⁶⁰ Girardet, *L’Idée coloniale*, 343-7.

⁶¹ Pitts, *Turn to Empire*, 300

Until the outbreak of war in Algeria in the mid 1950s French liberals were overwhelmingly unified in the belief that France could advance the democratic values of its Revolution and colonize at the same time. As the historian of French intellectualism James Le Sueur has argued, this surprising unity stemmed from the belief that French ideals enshrined in the Declaration of the Rights of Man could and should be exported,

...one idea in which many French intellectuals continued to believe explicitly or implicitly was *French* universalism. The notion of French universalism also formed the bedrock of French colonial policy, especially in Algeria. It was this universalism (a product of the French Revolution and the Enlightenment), ironically, that, according to historians, allowed many intellectuals to waver uncomfortably on the Algerian question because French colonialism in Algeria simultaneously contradicted and affirmed universalist intentions and ideas.⁶²

This enthusiasm for the universal application of Revolutionary ideals was seized upon by stern, more conservative coalition of advocates of expansionism abroad often referred to as “le parti coloniale”, a broad grouping of academics, business people, journalists, politicians and others, who forced the issue to build a consensus that splintered following Dien Bien Phu and the outbreak of war in Algeria. The high stakes of this sudden fracture in a consensus around colonialism has been ably described by Le Sueur,

For over a hundred years French colonial theorists had applied enormous pressure on the national community to affirm the civilizing mission and to ensure that colonialism and universalism would be the measure of French national eminence. This, of course, would have grave consequences during the era of decolonization.⁶³

Arguments over decolonization would end friendships, sully careers and engage virtually the entire cast of French intellectuals of the 1950s – Raymond Aron, Simone de Beauvoir and Jean-Paul Sartre were among the prominent intellectuals that rallied to the FLN

⁶² Le Sueur, “Decolonizing,” 105.

⁶³ Ibid, 106.

cause.⁶⁴ As the war in Algeria grew bloodier and more frightening and as newspapers such as le Monde and magazines like L'Express and Combat began to reveal the brutality of French military actions, many intellectuals shifted towards the FLN which was suddenly deemed by many elements of the social democratic left as the valid spearhead of decolonization. This shift represented a fundamental rupture of a consensus that had largely prevailed for 125 years. From a belief that revolutionary ideals and colonization could co-exist, the general trend of French intellectualism after 1955 was to insist on decolonization and the empowerment of independence movements in Algeria and elsewhere that were often in conflict with French settler populations and the military. As Le Sueur has observed, this placed Jacques Soustelle at the centre of a virulent debate with grave personal consequences for many,

While French and Algerian intellectuals rethought the question of national and personal identity, tried to comprehend the loss of *French* universalism, and attempted to understand the national significance of the demise of French power overseas, the French-Algerian war also presented them with a unique opportunity to re-assert intellectual legitimacy... Violence, identity and the question of intellectual legitimacy, ..., forced intellectuals during the war to make a choice: either situate their privileged status as intellectuals within the new France, the post-colonial France, or attach their status as intellectuals to an empire in peril. Very few intellectuals (Jacques Soustelle is among the important exceptions) opted for the latter.⁶⁵

Soustelle was certainly among the most important exceptions, but he was not alone.

Soustelle's assessment, at least until approximately 1958, was actually not entirely removed from that of Albert Camus who never reconciled himself to Algerian independence.⁶⁶ Soustelle was also backed by his mentor and one-time doctoral

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Albert Camus, *Actuelles III Chroniques Algériennes 1939-1958* (Paris: Gallimard, 1958), 11-25.

supervisor Paul Rivet who opposed Algerian independence until his death.⁶⁷ Further, the highly respected Germane Tillion served in Soustelle's cabinet. She only grudgingly accepted the inevitability of Algerian independence near the war's end.

Jacques Soustelle carried the baggage of venerable French policies and ideology with him to Algiers in January 1955. Similarly, Duncan Campbell Scott was not a rogue exponent of a vicious, mean-spirited policy of his own device. Scott was a loyal civil servant carefully implementing policies which sprang from profound British imperial roots - the intellectual foundation of policies Duncan Campbell Scott was expected to implement as Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs. Certain foundational works illustrate the ideological sources and intellectual underpinning of Scott's thinking about Indigenous people in Canada.

Imperial Humanism versus Aggressive Civilization

In 1837 Herman Merivale was named professor of political economy at Oxford University. Over the next five years, Merivale delivered a series of lectures on Britain's colonial possessions. A number of leading historians on Aboriginal-settler relations in Canada identify Merivale's lectures as critical underpinnings to the Native policy that Canada would inherit in 1867.⁶⁸ Merivale was a proponent of civilization, the term used for a cluster of educational and missionary policies that would ideally, after a considerable passage of time, lead Indigenous people to enjoy full responsibilities as British subjects. He rejected the widely held belief that Natives in places like Canada were simply doomed to extinction. He challenged Britain's leaders to make the effort

⁶⁷ Christine Laurière, *Paul Rivet Le Savant Et Le Politique* (Paris: Publications Scientifiques du Muséum national d'Histoire naturelle, 2008), 617-8.

⁶⁸ Dickason, *Canada's First Nations*, 248, 264-5; Harris, *Making Native Space*, 6-9, 13-4; McNab, "Merivale and the Native Question," 365-9.

and spend the money to protect Indigenous populations and to ease their passage to civilized status. Merivale argued that foresight and proper colonial management of the native question could obviate widespread wrongs,

The history of the European settlements in America, Africa and Australia, presents everywhere the same general features – a wide and sweeping destruction of native races by the uncontrolled violence of individuals, if not of colonial authorities, followed by tardy attempts to repair the acknowledged crime.⁶⁹

Merivale visited Canada on one occasion. Although he was a champion of civilization, Merivale was also a proponent of the removal of Natives from the path of settler colonization. His writings reveal the tension between removal and civilization that bedevilled Canadian Indian policy for the century following the publication of his lectures in 1861. He envisioned a moving reserve system at the edge of a transitory frontier that would allow Indigenous people to both gradually adjust to European progress and preserve those of their ways of life that would still be of use in a modern nation. Merivale believed that very virtues he saw among the Indigenous peoples of Canada would make them difficult subjects for such a programme,

The North American Indians are well known to us by description; the favourite study alike of philosophy and romance for these two centuries, their character fixed in our minds as almost the type of that of men in a savage condition; yet they have many peculiar features. They seem possessed of higher moral elevation than any other uncivilized race of mankind, with less natural readiness and ingenuity than some but greater depth and force of character; more native generosity of spirit, and manliness of disposition; more of the religious element; and yet, on the other hand, if not with less capacity for improvement, certainly less readiness to receive it; a more thorough wildness of temperament; less curiosity; inferior excitability; greater reluctance to associate with civilized men; a more ungovernable impatience of control. And their primitive condition of hunters, and aversion from every other, greatly increases the difficulty of including them in the arrangements of regular community.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ Merivale, *Lectures*, 490.

⁷⁰ *Ibid*, 493.

In Merivale's assessment it was not merely the "primitive condition" of Aboriginal people in British North America that would slow the pace of civilisation. Merivale often took a dim view of the activities of colonial authorities responsible for Indigenous affairs. He was very sceptical of the conduct of those in Upper Canada (now Ontario) who were more determined to promote settlement and clearing of land than protecting Aboriginal interests.⁷¹ That approach reached its apogee in 1835-6 under the administration of Governor Frances Bond Head who recommended the mass migration of Indians in the Great Lakes region of Upper Canada to Manitoulin Island.⁷² That policy was ultimately rejected by the Colonial Office in London. Bond Head's policy is seen by some scholars as a failed attempt at a 'homelands' policy utilized by British colonists in the Queen Adelaide Province area of the Cape Colony which would become known as Ciskei under an apartheid regime in South Africa twentieth century.⁷³ As Merivale compared colonial administrations in New Zealand, the Cape, Australia and British North America, he found particularly worrisome conditions in the latter where Bond Head's legacy and other wrong-footed tactics had complicated matters,

In Canada, there is a considerable and expensive department, with superintendents, secretaries, and interpreters; but the mismanagement of the affairs of that colony, as regards the natives, seems to have rendered them of little service, except to superintend the mischievous practice of the annual delivery of presents.⁷⁴

In the view of Merivale, who would become Under Secretary of State for Colonies in 1847, it was Britain's imperial moral responsibility to safeguard aboriginal interests in places like Canada where colonial governments were primarily interested in rapid

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Milloy, "Era," 177-92; Titley, *Narrow Vision*, 3.

⁷³ Milloy, "Era," 192-5.

⁷⁴ Merivale, *Lectures*, 494.

settlement, the expansion of frontiers and the development of natural resources. Following the conquest of New France, Britain established the office of the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs for Quebec and Acadia; which would become the Indian Department after 1867.⁷⁵ Merivale believed that the department was tainted by a familiar colonial problem: settler governments tended to run rough-shod over the intent of the Royal Proclamation of 1763 which codified King George III's policy effort to achieve harmony between settlers and Indian peoples. Humanistic imperial measures were defeated by when local settler interests expressed through proto-democratic political systems and under the influence of land developers and railway promoters. As Merivale saw the situation,

When men superior in intelligence and in power are brought into contact with their feebler brethren, when they are turned loose among them without the possibility of a complete, efficient, and above all, a disinterested control, to expect that will not grossly abuse their power, is to imagine that the evil principle of human nature will be rendered harmless by diminishing restraints and an extended sphere of action.⁷⁶

Herman Merivale articulated a humanist strain of British imperial theory. In the tradition of Adam Smith, who was profoundly sceptical of imperialism, Merivale believed that British colonial policy created conditions of abuse; in a discussion of Smith's cautionary imperial analysis, Merivale claimed, "he (Smith) can only be shown to have been wrong where he hesitated to push his own views far enough..."⁷⁷ That is not to suggest that Merivale was opposed to settler colonialism. On the contrary, he believed that the highest Christian ideals must be brought to bear in colonial settings to gradually "amalgamate" Indigenous peoples into the colonial population,

⁷⁵ Titley, *Narrow Vision*, 1-9; Milloy, "Era," 324-32.

⁷⁶ Merivale, *Lectures*, 26-27.

⁷⁷ *Ibid*, 73-74.

we must view, in the occupation of their country by the Whites, not the necessary cause of their destruction, but the only possible means of rescuing them from it. We are not then their predestined murderers, but called to assume the station of their preservers. If we neglect the call, we do so in defiance of the express and intelligible indications afforded us by Providence.⁷⁸

Pitted against men of “superior intelligence”, Indigenous populations had to be protected and nurtured to a point of “amalgamation... the only possible Euthanasia of savage communities.”⁷⁹ Merivale grandly prescribed a process in which Canadian Natives could be protected in the short-to-medium term on lands reserved for them at the edge of settlement. He suggested that such reserves could be moved along with the frontier until economic opportunity, inter-marriage and the migration of some fitting individuals to settled areas would achieve the ultimate goal of Merivale’s sought after “amalgamation”.⁸⁰ In general terms, these would remain planks of Canada’s Indian policy for the first century of its national existence. “Amalgamation” would appear to amount to a complete, but gradual, assimilation. Post-Confederation Canada opted for a different ideology: a ramped up variant of administration of Indigenous peoples known as ‘aggressive civilisation’, a draconian set of policies developed in the United States during the administration of President Ulysses S. Grant, the famed civil war military leader and renowned ‘Indian fighter’.⁸¹ One the principal Canadian proponents of aggressive civilisation was Nicholas Flood Davin – its primary bureaucratic advocate in the critical period of 1913 to 1932 was Duncan Campbell Scott.

Davin was a journalist and politician who had emigrated from Ireland to Canada in 1872. He was an active supporter of Prime Minister John A. Macdonald. In 1879,

⁷⁸ Ibid, 549.

⁷⁹ Ibid, 511-512.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Titley, *Narrow Vision*, 76-7.

Macdonald sent Davin on a one-man fact finding mission to the United States to investigate the “industrial schools” which the administration of President Ulysses S. Grant had established as part of its aggressive civilisation programme. As the American west “closed” in 1869, the Grant administration tackled the matter of education for newly ‘conquered’ tribes with ideological fervour. Davin reported,

The experience of the United States is the same as our own as far as the adult Indian is concerned. Little can be done with him. He can be taught to do a little at farming, and at stock-raising, and to dress in a more civilized manner, but that is all. The child again, who goes to a day school learns little, and what little he learns is soon forgotten, while his tastes are fashioned at home, and his inherited aversion to toil is in no way combated.⁸²

The desire of the American government to hasten the process of ‘aggressive civilisation’ resulted in the establishment of industrial schools in the American west as well as in places like New Carlisle, Pennsylvania where Indian children from the west were subjected to particularly rigorous tutelage. Nicholas Flood Davin arrived at a few fundamental convictions as a result of his tour. He agreed with the educational pioneers of American Indian education that separating children from their parents was crucial. Day schools should be supplanted by industrial boarding schools “because the influence of the wigwam was stronger than the influence of the school.”⁸³ Davin was particularly impressed by his meetings at the Indian Department in Washington with representatives of schools in the American west where Indigenous peoples who had been removed from the south-east were achieving success. As Davin understood things, the “civilized” members of the Creek, Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw and Seminole nations whose

⁸² Nicholas Flood Davin, “Report on Industrial Schools for Indians and Half-Breeds” submitted to the government of Canada, Ottawa, March 14, 1879. LAC, Microfilm reel C-1518.

⁸³ *Ibid*, 1.

children were benefiting from industrial schooling in the “Indian Territory” of present-day Oklahoma, made an effective case,

All the members of the civilized tribes declared their belief that the chief thing to in dealing with the less civilized or wholly barbarous tribes, was to separate the children from the parents. As I have said, the Indian Department in Washington, have not much hope in regard to the adult Indians. But sanguine anticipations are cherished respecting the children. The five nations are themselves a proof there’s a certain degree of civilization within the reach of the red man while illustrating his deficiencies.⁸⁴

Davin was also convinced that Christian religion and its churches had vital, continuing roles to play in Indian education. As a liberal he saw a place for various Christian denominations in the effort, but the essentials are clear,

The importance of denominational schools at the outset for Indians must be obvious... A civilized sceptic, breathing though he does, an atmosphere charged with Christian ideas, and getting strength unconsciously therefrom, is nevertheless, unless in the instance of rare intellectual vigour, apt to be a man without ethical backbone. But a savage sceptic would be open to civilizing influences and moral conduct only through the control of desires, which, in the midst of enlightenment, constantly break out into the worst features of barbarism.⁸⁵

Davin’s report proceeds from his American findings to an analysis of challenges confronting the government of Canada in the North-West. He had travelled to Winnipeg where he met with religious leaders concerned with Indian education. Davin conducted his research after the first uprising led by Métis Louis Riel in Red River in 1869-70. In that respect, there is a strategic aspect to Davin’s policy prescription. He regarded education as part of an overall Canadian imperative to settle and pacify the west,

Among the Indians there is some discontent, but as a rule it amounts to no more than the chronic querulousness of the Indian character, and his uneasiness about food at this time of year will unfortunately leave no trace in his improvident mind when spring opens and fish are plentiful. The exceptions are furnished by one or two chiefs whose bands are starving, that is in the Indian sense of the word,

⁸⁴ Ibid, 7.

⁸⁵ Ibid, 14-15.

without a certain prospect of food in the future... No race of men can be suddenly turned from one set of pursuits to another set of a wholly different nature without great attendant distress. But, suddenly, to make men long accustomed to a wild unsettled life, with its freedom from restraint, its excitement and charm, take to the colourless monotony of daily toil, the reward of which is prospective, is impossible.⁸⁶

Davin expressed concern that Canada had unwisely raised expectations in its early prairie Indian treaties. While he regarded education for Indigenous people as a “sacred duty”, he felt the government was unwise in making specific treaty promises in this regard. Having done so, the government was inviting, according to Davin, a surfeit of Indian participation in the process,

It might have been easily realized, (it is at least thinkable), that one of the results would be to make the Chiefs believe they had some right to a voice regarding the character and management of the schools, as well as regarding an initiatory step of their establishment.⁸⁷

The Davin Report on Industrial Schools was a blueprint for the exclusion of Canadian Indian parents from the development of educational programs and schools for their own children. It was submitted in 1879, the same year that Duncan Campbell Scott was hired by the Indian Department. Canadian historians such as John S. Milloy and James R. Miller have emphasized the ideological and tactical weight of Davin’s report in the development of the Department’s educational policy.⁸⁸ Indeed, Davin recommended the opening of industrial schools, which came to be known in the twentieth century as Indian residential schools. His advice regarding the involvement of the Christian

⁸⁶ Ibid, 9.

⁸⁷ Ibid, 11.

⁸⁸ J. R. Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 101-3; John Sheridan Milloy, *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879-1986* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1999), xiv-xv, 7-8, 31-32; Maggie Siggins, *Bitter Embrace: White Society's Assault on the Woodland Cree* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 2005), 145-7.

churches was implemented: Anglicans, Catholics and Methodists were prominently involved in the running of schools.⁸⁹

By 1909, Duncan Campbell Scott was the senior civil servant in charge of Indian education. In 1913, Scott was promoted to the position of Deputy Superintendant General of Indian Affairs.⁹⁰ Throughout his career, Scott championed Indian education as a means to achieve the rapid assimilation of Indian children. As we shall see, by the 1920s Scott personally argued to members of parliament that the Department needed enhanced powers to force Indian parents to send their children to such schools.⁹¹ Throughout the residential school system, policies such as the suppression of Indigenous languages and spirituality and the systemic demeaning of Indian parenthood, which were hallmarks of the ideology of American “aggressive civilization” as observed by Nicholas Flood Davin, were adopted and honed on the Canadian prairies under the supervision of Duncan Campbell Scott.⁹²

It is possible to consider the ideology that drove Canadian Indian policy in the immediate post-confederation period on a spectrum. At one end, there existed a humanist, civilizing approach, as expressed in the writings of Herman Merivale. This approach was imbued with Christian obligation and underscored by an admiring, very imperfect, yet relatively positive, appreciation of Indigenous ways of life. At the other end of the spectrum resided a sterner settler ideology more contemptuous of Indigenous culture and further complicated by the belief that aboriginal people were doomed to die off or be entirely absorbed by an exponentially expanding settler civilization. Colonial

⁸⁹ Milloy, *National Crime*, 31-2; Titley, *Narrow Vision*, 76-7.

⁹⁰ Titley, *Narrow Vision*, 94-109.

⁹¹ Duncan Campbell Scott briefing notes regarding compulsory education for appearance at Parliamentary Committee, 1920. LAC/BAC RG10 Vol 6810, file 470-2-3 Pt.7.

⁹² Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision*; Milloy, *National Crime*, 33, 70, 102-3; Titley, *Narrow Vision*, 76-93.

governors such as Francis Bond Head and post-confederation senior administrators of Indian policy such as Duncan Campbell Scott were principal exponents of such a point of view.⁹³

Jacques Soustelle and the Burden of Empire

The central argument among ‘civilizers’ in Canadian Indian policy in the crucial transitory hand-off from British colonial to federal Canadian rule was between advocates of an aggressive approach seeking to swiftly terminate Indian identity within the new nation by means of coercion and those that saw the reserve system and education as a means to facilitate a gradual Indian absorption or integration into Canadian life. Similarly French intellectual history in regards to imperialism can be usefully analyzed in contemplation of the spaces between a humanistic approach wary of betraying the ideals of republicanism stemming from the French Revolution and an activist, muscular liberal imperialism in the tradition of Alexis de Tocqueville. The tradition of *encyclopédistes* like Denis Diderot and the post revolutionary political philosopher Benjamin Constant established that the spirit of 1789 meant Republican France should be a non-imperial power.⁹⁴ This impulse was shredded by Napoleon’s armies and tattered further at the very end of the Bourbon restoration with the conquest of Algeria in 1830. The republican leaning July Monarchy established by Louis-Philippe immediately following the fall of the Bourbon restoration and the wresting of Algeria from Ottoman influence, did not abandon Algeria. This set the stage for continued control of Algeria for the next 130 years under all stripes of French governments whether liberal, quasi-fascist or Gaullist.

⁹³ Milloy, “Era,” 175-92; D. M. R. Bentley, “Shadows in the Soul: Racial Haunting in the Poetry of Duncan Campbell Scott.” *University of Toronto Quarterly* 75, no. Number 2, Spring 2006, 754-6.

⁹⁴ Pitts, “Tocqueville and the Algeria Question,” 295-8.

An intellectual *virage* from unrepentant settler colonialism in Algeria under metropolitan control occurred during Louis-Napoléon's régime in the Second Empire, 1852-1870. Louis-Napoléon spoke of an 'Arab Kingdom' in an idealized vision of Indigenous-Franco cooperation in Algeria.⁹⁵ Louis-Napoléon was prepared, in theory at least, to countenance Indigenous collective property and agricultural practices that flew in the face of liberal beliefs regarding private property. He was opposed by settler interests in Algeria and the policies were never activated in a meaningful way.⁹⁶

Leading scholars of l'Algérie française such as Charles-Robert Ageron, have observed that following the establishment of the Third Republic in 1870, a liberal consensus, built in part on the intellectual shoulders of men like Alexis de Tocqueville, emerged in which France's revolutionary, republican legacy demanded a *mission civilisatrice* as French political influence, military and economic interests extended into parts of Africa and Asia,

Aux incertitudes des régimes précédents concernant le destin de l'Algérie succéda sous la IIIe République une politique continue fermement appliquée, qui donne tout son sens à la période proprement coloniale de l'histoire de l'Algérie française. Par cette assimilation administrative et politique qui intégrait définitivement le pays au sein de la République une et indivisible, on entendait rejeter toute éventualité du retour en arrière, toute possibilité du « Royaume Arabe », de protectorat ou de comptoirs coloniaux.⁹⁷

Tocqueville's thinking and actions in Algeria foreshadow similar conundrums in the intellectual production and political actions among his ideological spawn such as

⁹⁵ Julien, Charles-André, *Histoire De l'Algérie Contemporaine: La Conquête Et Les Débuts De La Colonisation (1827-1871)* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1964), 425-6; Charles-Robert de Ageron, *Histoire de l'Algérie contemporaine Tome II : De l'insurrection de 1871 au déclenchement de la la guerre de libération 1954* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1979), 32-9; Herbert Ingram Priestley, *France Overseas: A Study of Modern Imperialism* (New York: Octagon Books, 1966 originally published 1938), 76-86; Bouche, *Colonisation Française*, 112-3.

⁹⁶ Lustick, *State-Building Failure*, 51-6.

⁹⁷ Ageron, *Histoire de l'Algérie*, 9.

Jacques Soustelle. As an authority on Mexican civilizations, Soustelle thought long and hard, and wrote extensively, about the development and eclipse of empires. Immediately prior to his departure for Algeria in the winter of 1955, Soustelle completed La Vie quotidienne des aztèques. In this work, Soustelle situated Aztec civilization in the context of the history of empires,

Sans doute il n'est pas inexacte d'interpréter l'histoire de Tenochtitlan depuis 1325 jusqu'à 1519 comme celle d'un état impérialiste qui poursuit sans répit son expansion par la conquête.⁹⁸

One of Soustelle's principal works, La Vie quotidienne des aztèques, is a dense, thickly researched, but eminently readable examination of what Soustelle unhesitatingly identified as one of humanity's greatest accomplishments, the short-lived (1325-1521) Aztec empire,

Mexico était la jeune capitale d'une société en pleine mutation, d'une civilisation en plein essor, d'un empire encore en formation. Les Aztèques n'avaient pas atteint leur zénith : c'est à peine si leur astre avait franchi les premiers degrés de sa course. Il ne faut jamais oublier que cette ville était détruite par l'étranger avant d'avoir atteint son deuxième centenaire, et qu'en réalité son ascension datait du temps d'Itzcoatl, moins d'un siècle avant l'invasion.⁹⁹

A subsequent chapter deals at length with Soustelle's specific application of Mexican revolutionary *indigenismo* in Algeria. Soustelle's understanding of imperial behaviour and *devoir* was influenced by his study of ancient Mexican civilizations. Soustelle's thinking about imperial systems was rooted intellectually in a classic liberal *formation* at one of Europe's elite universities and his own profound archaeological, ethnological, historical and linguistic study of Mexico. Crucial to his analysis of the Aztec ascendancy was that empire's ability to absorb and adapt to new cultures as the

⁹⁸ Jacques Soustelle, *La vie quotidienne des Aztèques à la veille de la conquête espagnole* (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1955), 128.

⁹⁹ Soustelle, *vie quotidienne*, 59.

Aztec empire extended its military and trade based power in Mesoamerica. To Soustelle's way of thinking, as an imperial power, the Aztecs absorbed and integrated, rather than annihilated, its enemies. As the Aztecs expanded their influence to the south and west of their capital Tenochtitlan (now Mexico City), short military campaigns were followed by the accommodation of networks of commerce and religion. Also, Aztec religion was mutable – each region under its influence proffered gods and religious customs that were incorporated into Aztec cosmology. In this regard, as far as Soustelle was concerned, the Aztecs were different than their European conquerors. In Soustelle's telling, the Aztecs' tendency to incorporate contributed tragically to their demise at the hands of the Spaniards,

Telle fut la base du grand malentendu qui opposa les Mexicains aux Espagnols : les uns, adorateurs de dieux multiples, et prêts à recevoir parmi les leurs ceux que les nouveaux venus apportaient; les autres, sectateurs d'une religion exclusive qui ne pouvait élever ses églises que sur les ruines des temples anciens.¹⁰⁰

Soustelle would not forget the wisdom of the albeit short-lived Aztec empire. On his arrival in Algeria as Governor General, Soustelle immediately spoke of his plan for Algeria as one of 'integration'. He demanded urgency in a comprehensive effort to integrate Algeria and its Moslem majority into French society and politics. Seemingly ignoring the scars of more than a century of well-documented settler brutality and the systemic abrogation of liberal universalism that had defined French rule for over a century, Soustelle argued that Moslems must soon join a single legislative body and that massive investments from *la métropole* in education, health and social services would lead to an integration of Arabs, Berbers and European Algerians. His *plan Soustelle* called for equal respect for Christian, Jewish and Moslem faiths. In his mind, integration

¹⁰⁰ Soustelle, *vie quotidienne*, 143.

did not mean assimilation.¹⁰¹ These ideas flowed logically from Soustelle's understanding of the world as an authority of both ancient and revolutionary Mexico. It may not be stretching the point to suggest that Soustelle regarded the Aztecs as mentors in nurturing his understanding of *intégration*.

As Governor General of Algeria, Soustelle hoped to convince a sceptical *pied noir* population that its future lay in a melding with a majority Moslem society.¹⁰² In the long run, Soustelle imagined a Euro-Arab population in which French Algerians of all faiths would fully participate in French republicanism.¹⁰³ But Soustelle arrived at a point where 125 years of French rule had left scorched earth rather than fertile ground for such an accommodation. He simply failed to adequately factor in the legacy of French brutality in Algeria. In this regard, Soustelle revealed a naïve streak that perhaps betrayed his primarily academic, theoretical background. He arrived in Algeria at the very moment the FLN had revealed itself an implacable foe of French rule *tout court*. As he soon discovered, his responsibilities as Governor General grew more militaristic in nature with every passing week of his doomed administration.

In early 1956, Jacques Soustelle left Algeria as Governor General following yet another change of government in Paris. He wrote immediately of his experience in a memoir entitled *Aimée et souffrante Algérie*.¹⁰⁴ Over the next three years, Soustelle was in and out of government, but always actively pursued a vision of integration to save France's great national project in Algeria. In 1958, he was one of a handful of political

¹⁰¹ Ibid; Jacques Soustelle, "Souvenirs, Apocryphes en forme de dialogue avec George Suffert" unpublished manuscript provided to the author by Bernard Ullmann.

¹⁰² Horne, *Savage War*, 108; Stephen Tyre, "From Algérie Française to France Musulmane: Jacques Soustelle and the Myths and Realities of 'Integration', 1955–1962." *French History* 20, no. 3 (09, 2006): 276-296.

¹⁰³ Rudelle, « Témoignages Soustelle, » 282-4.

¹⁰⁴ Jacques Soustelle, *Aimée et souffrante Algérie* (Paris: Plon, 1956).

and military operatives who brought General Charles de Gaulle out of retirement to resume leadership of France in what was effectively a bloodless coup d'état.¹⁰⁵ Soustelle believed that had received a personal guarantee from de Gaulle that he would win the war and then save l'Algérie française through social and political reforms. Soustelle's hopes were dashed two years later when de Gaulle fired him and then announced to the nation that he would abandon Algeria.¹⁰⁶

Jacques Soustelle viewed the abandonment of l'Algérie française as a fundamental failure of imperial will. In *Aimée et souffrante Algérie* and in a quick succession of more polemical works in the 1960s, Soustelle insisted on the moral obligation of France to all Algerians and on what he regarded as the basic rectitude of la mission civilisatrice.¹⁰⁷ In these works, Soustelle often reached back in history to compare what he considered de Gaulle's abandonment of l'Algérie française with ignominious moments in French imperial history, including the fall of New France after the defeat of General Montcalm on the Plains of Abraham outside the citadel of Quebec City in 1759,

Quand la monarchie déjà chancelante dut abandonner ce qu'on appelait les quelques arpents de neige » du Canada – expression qui rappelle « cette Algérie si cher » - encore nos armées avaient-elles subi trop de revers pour pouvoir poursuivre une guerre aussi lointaine... Pour abandonner l'Algérie, il a fallu déployer dix fois plus d'efforts que pour la sauver ; il a fallu, obstinément, *vouloir la défaite*. Le Pouvoir a fabriqué de toutes pièces le Dien-Bien-Phu diplomatique d'Evian, « bâti » lui-même la F.L.N. comme seul interlocuteur valable et comme gouvernement de l'Algérie.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ Ullmann, *mal aimé*, 235-40; Slama, *déchirure*, 94-106; Horne, *Savage War*, 281, 368-70.

¹⁰⁶ Ullmann, *mal aimé*, 295-8.

¹⁰⁷ Jacques Soustelle, *L'Espérance trahie, 1958-1961* (Paris: Editions de l'Alma, 1962); Jacques Soustelle, *Sur une nouvelle route* (Paris: Éditions du Fuseau, 1964); Jacques Soustelle, *La Page n'est pas tournée* (Paris: La Table ronde, 1965).

¹⁰⁸ Soustelle, *nouvelle route*, 33-35.

Soustelle also drew on his understanding of Mexican empires to caution the West about the risk of decay and regression in the twentieth century as he furthered his scholarly output about Mexico under extreme personal circumstances. As he travelled clandestinely between Italy, Belgium, Switzerland and perhaps, the United States, during his self-exile from France between 1962 and 1968, Soustelle composed one of his greatest works as a Mexican specialist. Between the highly polemical rages of the pen aimed at de Gaulle, Soustelle worked on Les quatre soleils, the book that Soustelle's biographer, political journalist Bernard Ullmann considered his masterpiece.¹⁰⁹ Les quatre soleils is a contemplation of the meaning of the rise and fall of civilizations which employs Aztec and Mayan civilizations as templates in a consideration that draws on many thinkers including Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, Herbert Spencer, Arnold J. Toynbee and Soustelle's contemporary Arthur Kroeber.¹¹⁰ Interweaving his recollections of touring Otomi and Mayan Lacandon territories in the 1930s with an interdisciplinary analysis of a broad sweep of human civilizations around the globe, Soustelle wondered about the meaning of the decline of Mayan civilization. As a linguist and ethnographer, he, like other Lacandon specialists, was convinced that the 'primitive' twentieth-century forest dwellers of southern Mexican *selva* (rain forest) were the descendants of the very Maya who had created an elaborate, monumental civilization in Mesoamerica. Soustelle posed the question: what had happened?

Si les Lacandons nous apparaissent, pour l'essentiel, comme des Maya, lointains petits-neveux de ceux dont le cerveau et la main nous ont laissé en témoignage de leurs temps d'incomparables merveilles, alors une conclusion s'impose : *il ne sont pas des primitifs, mais des décadents*. Vestiges d'une humanité qui, fut capable, pendant sept siècles, de s'élever très haut au-dessus d'elle-même, ils sont

¹⁰⁹ Ullmann, *mal aimé*, 359.

¹¹⁰ Jacques Soustelle, *Les quatre soleils* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1967), 79; See A. L. Kroeber, *A Roster of Civilizations and Culture* (Chicago: Aldine Pub. Co., 1962).

retombés au plus bas. Leur histoire nous présente un cas exemplaire de ces processus de régression dont nos esprits se tiennent pas assez compte, obsédés qu'ils sont par le mythe du progrès uniforme et continu. Et j'incline à croire que beaucoup de prétendus « primitifs », loin de représenter les débuts tâtonnants du notre espèce, figés par quel miracle ? – dans un passé immobile et toujours semblable à lui-même, sont les témoins d'une histoire qui les a entraînés tout au long d'une courbe déclinante, les épaves d'un naufrage lointain.¹¹¹

Soustelle writing 'on the lam' in safe houses and public libraries in Brussels and Rome may have conflated his despair over the loss of l'Algérie française and his deeply felt liberal aspirations for *la mission civilisatrice* with a belief that de Gaulle's shocking decision to leave Algeria signified the decay of French civilization.¹¹²

Like Alexis de Tocqueville, Soustelle was always a French nationalist. Even in a highly sophisticated and cultured *oeuvre* such as Les quatre soleils, one detects the influence of Soustelle's brooding about what he perceived to be France's defeat in Algeria through Soustelle's insistence on the impermanence and decadence that lurks in every human civilization. In the nuclear age, Soustelle reminded his readers of Mayan and Aztec predictions of civilizations ending in cataclysms of fire. In ancient Mexican cosmology stories of 'the four suns' are constant reminders of human fragility in the face of mercurial and sometimes disdainful gods.¹¹³ Soustelle did not believe that western civilization of the twentieth century was more likely than any other to survive. He believed that empires had to impose their rule, establish normative relations with their satellites, and resist aggression from barbarous forces to prevent decay. In this regard, he believed that he identified the fatal flaw of Aztec civilization: the very willingness to absorb and accommodate its neighbours helped make the Aztecs quick victims of a

¹¹¹ Soustelle, *quatre soleils*, 103-4.

¹¹² Ullmann, *mal aimé*, 359-363.

¹¹³ Jacques Soustelle, *La pensée cosmologique des anciens mexicains (Représentation du monde et de l'espace)* (Paris : Hermann & Cie, 1940), 10; Soustelle, *quatre soleils*, 120-22.

Spanish civilization that was forged on conquest and cultural annihilation following the *reconquista* that almost immediately preceded the conquest of Mexico.¹¹⁴

Jacques Soustelle was imbued with a sense of imperial obligation. Like many French intellectuals of his generation, Soustelle believed that France possessed both the authority and the duty to lead by example in the developing world. As far as Soustelle was concerned, this necessary tutelage was disrupted in Algeria by the FLN at the expense of both the Moslem majority and the multi-denominational European minority. For Soustelle the most infuriating aspect of this alleged failure was the complicity of most of his peers – the intellectual leaders of metropolitan France.¹¹⁵ He perceived a massive *trahison de clercs* – a betrayal that in Soustelle’s view led logically to the victimization of Algerian minorities and the subjugation of its majority in a terrorist, semi-theocratic state led by an anti-democratic post-colonial elite. As he fumed and plotted, away from France in the years following the Evian Accords between France and an independent Algeria, Soustelle polished his magisterial work on the history of civilization and the meaning of empire. Within Les quatre soleils runs a thread of doom and decay appropriate to the age of nuclear brinkmanship during which Jacques Soustelle, the frustrated and thwarted authority on Mexico and l’Algérie française, erstwhile right-hand man of le General de Gaulle, and classically formed liberal imperialist, wrote,

Nous le savons maintenant : tout soleil est condamné à s’être éteint. Une civilisation peut succomber sous l’assaut des barbares – les jaguars du premier univers ; elle peut sombrer dans l’impuissance et la futilité – les hommes sont transformés en singes ; ou bien s’effondrer sous les coups des forces naturelles –

¹¹⁴ Soustelle, *vie quotidienne*, 143.

¹¹⁵ Jacques Soustelle, *Le drame algérien et la décadence française Réponse à Raymond Aron* (Paris : Plon – Tribune Libre 6, 1957), 2, 29-31, 37.

déluge, tremblement de terre ; ou enfin explorer dans ultime conflagration – la pluie de feu qui n'est plus, à notre époque, une simple image légendaire. Le mythe mexicain, expression d'une sagesse antique, rejoint l'inquiétude d'aujourd'hui.¹¹⁶

Duncan Campbell Scott and the British connection

Duncan Campbell Scott was a principal exponent of an Indian policy that rested on British foundations. The policy was aimed at swiftly civilizing Indians while sheltering them from the ills of rapid industrialization by keeping them on reserves throughout a hazily defined transitory phase. When Scott became Superintendent General of Indian Affairs in 1913, he made several efforts to hasten the civilization process by proposing changes to the Indian Act that would further restrict political and religious freedoms and by toughening educational policies based on the suppression of Indian languages and the separation of children from their parents.¹¹⁷

In the dawning of the twentieth century, on January 21, 1901 Queen Victoria died. Her son was crowned King Edward VII. Victoria's grandson George was named Duke of Cornwall. Following three months of official mourning for the Queen, the newly minted Duke was sent out on a grand tour of the empire. By the autumn of 1901, the Duke and Duchess were on an extensive Canadian tour travelling largely on the Grand Trunk Railway. Readers of The Montreal Star received a colourful commemorative insert in September 1901 that featured photographs of His and Her Highness, the royal coat of arms, the British flag, maple leaves and a poem by Duncan Campbell Scott,

¹¹⁶ Soustelle, *quatre soleils*, 12.

¹¹⁷ Titley, *Narrow Vision*, 75-109.

CANADA
TO THE DUKE AND DUCHESS OF CORNWALL AND YORK
REPRESENTING KING EDWARD VII

ON THEIR VISIT TO THE CANADIAN PEOPLE, SEPT. 1901.

I

With myriad voices mingled and upcaught,
 In two tongues married in a single thought,
 One hope, one fealty, one purpose and one heart,
 All hail ! We shout with our free flag outrolled:
 The rising sun hears welcome ! As she sets
 Welcome, and welcome ! from the dripping nets
 Of Nova Scotia, to the verge of the chart,
 Where the grim Yukon thaws her stones to gold.

II

The Ophir climbs the shoulder of the world,
 Leaving the sultry seas with isles empearled,
 Where India smoulders in the torrid light,
 Australia and her welded destinies ;
 She crashes through the crests on Cartier's track,
 Where bold Lasalle dreamed of the Western Seas,
 And Wolfe victorious lion-crowned the height.

III

Now in the freedom thou and mine make free,
 Thy joyous people shout aloud to thee,
 One hope, one fealty, one purpose and one heart :
 In thee we presage of the hour.
 Old England federate of her utmost isles,
 One from the lone lodge where the trapper piles
 His beaver skins, to where in nervous power,
 London lies triumphing in her trampled mart.¹¹⁸

However clumsy the poem may appear to twenty-first-century readers, there is no question that Scott, ever the loyal Canadian civil servant, knew well how to express a vision of a global empire on which the sun never set and how to poetically evoke Canada's special place within that universe for popular purposes. From the poetic nod to the founding peoples of "two tongues"; to the regional acknowledgements of the maritimes and the far north west; to the evocation of far off Australia and India; to the naming of great explorers and of the heroic, yet doomed, Wolfe; and finally to the exaltation of the very nordicity and wildness that distinguishes an iconic Canada, Scott

¹¹⁸ Queen's University Archives. Lorne Pierce Archives. Coll 2000.1 Box 80 Folder: DC Scott poems. Poem originally published in *The Montreal Star*, September, 1901.

played on the imperial sentimentality that was no doubt vibrant for many readers of The Star.

The commission by The Montreal Star was fitting given the poet's stature. By 1901, Scott was 39 years old and already a twenty-year veteran of the Canadian civil service. His day job in the Indian Department may have helped lend him sufficient *gravitas* in the eyes of The Star's publishers for this particular job. While the poem groaningly lacks the subtleties and refinement of his best work, there is no reason to believe it represents anything other than an honest reflection of Scott's own commitment to empire. As his essay about the Treaty 9 negotiations, "The Last of the Indian Treaties," demonstrated, Scott unabashedly prescribed British monarchism and parliamentary tradition as a basis for the development of Canadian nationhood, and as the civilized standard Canada's "Indians" could perhaps meet in the distant future.

His 1901 paean to the monarchy was not unique in Scott's oeuvre. In 1911, Scott penned the extremely patriotic "Fragment Of An Ode To Canada" as a weapons race over naval armaments between European imperial powers and the aftermath of Moroccan crises were leading Great Britain and its allies toward war,

And Thou, O Power, that 'stablishest the Nation,
 Give wisdom in the midst of our elation;
 Who are so free that we forget we are—
 That freedom brings the deepest obligation:
 Grant us this presage for a guiding star,
 To lead the van of Peace, not with a craven spirit,
 But with the consciousness that we inherit
 What built the Empire out of blood and fire,
 And can smite, too, in passion and with ire.

When all the flags of the Furies are unfurled,
 When Truth and Justice, wildered and unknit,
 Shall turn for help to this young, radiant land,

We shall be quick to see and understand:
What shall we answer in that stricken hour?¹¹⁹

Unlike Jacques Soustelle who undertook his *service militaire* in the 1930s and then served in diplomatic, propaganda and intelligence gathering capacities in the inherently dangerous *France Libre* movement, Duncan Campbell Scott was not a soldier. However, as a loyal Canadian, he poetically proclaimed and urged his fellow citizens to stand on guard for Canada in the event the “Furies” extant in the world demanded protection of the nation and empire. Scott used poetry to express these sentiments in the build up to, and throughout, two world wars.

Thirty-eight years after he composed “Fragment Of An Ode To Canada,” Scott was again called on to herald a royal visit. The occasion, just prior to World War II, was extraordinary. While members of the Royal family had been coming to Canada with some regularity since 1867, King George VI was the first reigning British monarch to set foot in Canada. Archival radio broadcasts reveal the patriotic fervor of large crowds (and the unbridled enthusiasm of their public broadcasting service) that gathered to greet the King upon his arrival in Quebec City and a week later on his tour of Manitoba in May 1939.¹²⁰ In June, the royal couple departed from Halifax. Scott, by then a dignified icon of Canadian letters in retirement in Ottawa, was commissioned to write a poem (excerpted in part below) that was read by an actor as part of a live radio broadcast on June 15, 1939,

“A Farewell To Their Majesties”
Master of life whose Power is never sleeping
In the dark void or in the hearts of men,

¹¹⁹ Duncan Campbell Scott, *Collected Poems*, (Toronto: Macmillan, 1926), 11.

¹²⁰ CBC Radio archives <http://archives.cbc.ca/society/monarchy/clips/13518/>
<http://archives.cbc.ca/society/monarchy/topics/2367/>
Clips from Canadian Broadcasting Corporation’s radio broadcasts of Royal tour arrival in Quebec City on May 17, 1939 and on tour in Winnipeg May 24, 1939. (Accessed July 2012).

Hold them our King and Queen, safe in Thy keeping
And bring them to their western Realm again.

And for their Canada be watchful ever,
Grant us this boon, if there be one alone,
To do their part in high and pure endeavour
To build a peaceful Empire round the Throne.¹²¹

As a public intellectual in a young nation, Scott also viewed the British connection as a means to distinguish Canada from its southern neighbour. Late in his life he reflected, in a letter to a critic and editor, on how fundamentally different relationships with the British empire contributed to cultural differences between Canada and the United States,

If colonialism is the right word for our deadness, well and good; it requires a definition? ... The States had defeated Colonialism and their literature came from a spring of fresh independent feeling. Our foundations are not built on rebellion and a frontier period of political experiment but on acceptance of tradition and a determination to perpetuate it.¹²²

Conclusion

Duncan Campbell Scott and Jacques Soustelle were intellectual exponents of the imperial systems of Britain and France respectively. As a bureaucrat in the Canadian Indian Department, Scott upheld and refined policies that his new nation had inherited from England. That inheritance was part of a global network of Native policies at play in related, but regionally specific ways, in Australia, the Cape Colony, Canada, India and New Zealand. As an artist, Scott's poetry and prose was also imbued with loyalty to the perceived ideals of the British empire. Jacques Soustelle was a lifelong adherent to the

¹²¹ LAC-BAC LMS-0204, Folder 30 "A Farewell To Their Majesties" was commissioned from Scott at the request of CBC General Manager Gladstone Murray in a letter dated May 5, 1939. The poem was read on air by "Mr. Willis", almost certainly then CBC producer/announcer J. Frank Willis.

¹²² LAC-BAC E.K. Brown correspondence MG30 D61 Vol. 3, letter from DC Scott to Brown 19-23 November, 1943.

ideology of France's *mission civilisatrice*. In the tradition of French liberal imperialists such as Alexis de Tocqueville and Jules Ferry, Soustelle stubbornly held to the view that France had rights and responsibilities for tutelage in the 'developing' world even in a decolonizing modern world following World War II.

5. Arts and Science

Introduction

The chapter is about the intricate and foundational roles that Duncan Campbell Scott and Jacques Soustelle played within a network of literature, social science, journalism, photography and broadcasting during their careers. These activities mirror their ideological concerns and underscore their importance as prominent, even foundational, participants in their cultures. Scott was involved in the creation of a national literature; he identified emerging Canadian talent in the visual arts; he was active in both music and theatre in Ottawa; late in life he contributed regularly to the radio service of Canada's national broadcasting network. Soustelle was one of a handful of academics who engineered a fundamental shift in French social sciences as archaeology and anthropology accommodated a more socially active and present-day concern with Indigenous societies in the field of ethnology. Soustelle was not intellectually active as an ethnologist only. He contributed to newspapers and magazines throughout his adult life. Beginning with his first experiences in Mexico, he unceasingly penned journalistic articles and launched publications to advance his political views. As a graduate student he contributed to leftist French weeklies; in the Second World War he ran a propagandistic news agency for France Libre, the anti-Nazi resistance movement, out of Mexico City; as a frustrated politician, he ran a bi-monthly anti-Gaullist magazine that tried to maintain French Algeria. In the later part of his life, he contributed articles about Mexico, the Middle East and southern Africa to French newspapers.

Scott emerged nationally from his civil service cocoon in Ottawa first as a cultural columnist with The Globe newspaper in 1892-3.¹ He was already well known among literary circles in Canada, and to a lesser extent to the general reading public, as a poet and writer of short stories from about 1890. Soustelle first came to prominence as a prodigiously brilliant student² and chronicler of all things Mexican in the French press, at le Musée de l'Homme and in his first highly journalistic book Mexique terre indienne in the 1930s. Unlike Scott, Soustelle's career flourished at the beginning of the age of electronic media and he was to survive through the first 30 years of television. As a French politician and as Governor General of Algeria, Soustelle made frequent, calculated use of radio; he produced a 33rpm vinyl recording of political speeches charting what he viewed as the betrayal of authentic Gaullism by de Gaulle himself over the Algerian question; he acted as curator of a UNESCO sponsored vinyl LP collection of modern renditions of ancient Mexican music; and worked as a narrator, producer and writer for television documentaries about his cherished Mexico.³

It is easy to see Scott and Soustelle primarily as public intellectuals and political actors. However, both Duncan Campbell Scott and Jacques Soustelle were also artists. In addition to his foundational role in the emergence of a national Canadian literary movement, Scott was also an accomplished musician, a knowledgeable champion of

¹ Wilfred Campbell, Archibald Lampman, and Duncan Campbell Scott. *At the Mermaid Inn: Wilfred Campbell, Archibald Lampman, Duncan Campbell Scott in the Globe 1892-93* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979)

² Ullmann, *mal aimé*, 16-17.

³ Laboratoire de l'Éthnomusicologie, Musée de l'Homme, Paris; Jacques Soustelle "Profil du Gaullisme" *Hommes et Faits du XXe siècle* (Paris: SERP, 1970); Marcel Boudo, dir. "La Splendeur du Mexique Ancien" Part 1 les Azteques; Part 2 Les Guerriers du Soleil (Paris and Mexico City: France 3 Regions - Marseille and Televisa, Mexico: 1978)

Digital copies available for screening at Inathèque, BNF Mitterrand. Soustelle is credited as a producer and appears on screen as narrator. The documentary was re-broadcast on French television within weeks of Soustelle's death on September 24, 1990.

Canadian painting and, certainly on the Treaty 9 Commission 1905-6, a photographer with an ethnological eye. Scott travelled throughout northern Ontario in the summers of 1905 and 1906 with a Brownie camera. In photographs of Scott, that camera is sometimes seen hanging around his neck.⁴ Like Scott, Soustelle too, was a more than competent photographer; his photos from the 1930s illustrate two of his most convincing works on Mexico.⁵ Each sometimes included their own photographs to illustrate articles, books and reports. The choice of subjects, framing and means of publication reflect each man's intellectual concerns and political aims, as well as their aesthetics. For example, Soustelle's inclusion of photos of the victims of FLN torture in his memoir of serving as Governor General of Algeria was designed to shock.⁶ While Soustelle will long be remembered for his voluminous writings in the social sciences, journalism and for his political tracts on the Algerian question and Gaullism, he also produced an edition on Indigenous Mexican art⁷ and contributed essays to artistic collections of prominent photographers about Mexican archeology and anthropology.⁸

As Scott was involved with the emergence of a literary movement in Canada, Soustelle was a key player in a process in which French ethnology and archaeology emerged from its transparently imperialist roots and evolved generally into an empathetic, interactive and participatory model.⁹ This chapter begins by looking at the

⁴ Stan Dragland, *Floating Voice: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Literature of Treaty 9*, (Concord, ON: Anansi, 1994). The cover of Dragland's book features a photograph of Scott with his camera at a portage along the Treaty 9 route.

⁵ *Mexique terre indienne* and *Les quatre soleils* both feature Soustelle's ethnographic field photography from his first trips to Mexico.

⁶ Jacques Soustelle, *Aimée Et Souffrante Algérie* (Paris: Plon, 1956)

⁷ Jacques Soustelle, *L'Art Du Mexique Ancien* (Paris: Arthaud, 1966)

⁸ Verger, Pierre; Introduction et notes de Jacques Soustelle, *MEXIQUE* (Paris: Paul Hartmann, 1955)

⁹ Edison, Paul N. "Conquest Unrequited: French Expeditionary Science in Mexico, 1864-1867." *French Historical Studies* 26, no. 3 (2003): 459-495; Christine Lauriere, *Paul Rivet Le Savant Et Le Politique* (Paris: Publications Scientifiques du Muséum national d'Histoire naturelle, 2008)

academic context from which Jacques Soustelle emerged and the social scientific tradition he helped to transform.

Jacques Soustelle, French Ethnologist

Soustelle was part of a French scientific tradition concerning Mexico that began in the mid-nineteenth century. Photographers and amateur ethnologists such as Désiré Charnay and Augustus and Alice de Plongeon documented peoples and archaeological sites in central Mexico, the Yucatán and Chiapas from 1857 until the early part of the twentieth century. These adventurers had carefully studied the itineraries of the Prussian naturalist Alexander van Humboldt and the French missionary and proto-ethnologist l'Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg who had preceded them.¹⁰ In an unpublished memoir, Jacques Soustelle recalled his childhood fascination with adventure books and accounts of North American Indians in the novels of James Fenimore Cooper.¹¹ As a student prodigy with an interest in Mexico, Soustelle would certainly have been aware of Humboldt's accounts before he set foot in Mexico in 1932.

As discussed in chapter 3, scholars who have looked carefully at the transformative nature of travel on the lives of intellectuals have often focused on how the exotic allure of Mexico with its clash and convergence of European imperial and Mesoamerican cultures, its dramatic landscape, its astounding archaeological sites and its array of Indigenous societies inspired the curiosity and imaginations of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century travelers, explorers, amateur artefact collectors, military personnel

¹⁰ Lawrence Gustave Desmond, *Yucatán through Her Eyes : Alice Dixon Le Plongeon, Writer & Expeditionary Photographer* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2009), 23-26.

¹¹ Jacques Soustelle, *Mémoires, apocryphes sous la forme d'une dialogue avec Georges Suffert* Unpublished manuscript provided to the author by Bernard Ullmann, 4.

and missionaries.¹² The young Jacques Soustelle followed that path. He was 19 years old when he first arrived in Veracruz. His experiences between 1932 and 1936 inexorably influenced the rest of his life as an authority about Mexico, as a political activist and as an author.

Modern French social scientific involvement in Mexico began in earnest with the French Intervention of 1862-1867 and the establishment of the doomed Mexican Empire of Maximilian. Half a century earlier, the famous Egyptian campaign of Napoleon Bonaparte had established a marker for a new French imperialism. Paul N. Edison has observed that the Egyptian campaign became “an influential model for state directed scientific conquest” that French governments employed in both Mexico and Algeria. Bonaparte ultimately failed militarily in Egypt, but his foray succeeded as a scientific and ethnographic enterprise. Adopting that social scientific methodology, Napoleon III, Bonaparte’s nephew, commanded his appointed Mexican emperor Maximilian to undertake a thorough agricultural, archaeological, botanical, ethnological, geographic and geologic survey of what Napoleon III vaunted as his new Mesoamerican empire.¹³

In Mexico, Napoleon III’s scientific commission was an attempt to underscore both his own self-styled imperial stature and to enlist the support of Mexican intellectuals who wished to project their interpretation of a Mexican classical past of Aztec and Mayan empires that, in their minds, resembled those of Greece and Rome. This perspective has

¹² Robert D. Aguirre, *Informal Empire : Mexico and Central America in Victorian Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005); Christine Barthe (sous la direction de), *le Yucatán est ailleurs Expéditions photographiques Désiré Charnay (1857-1886)* (Paris: Musée du quai Branly, Actes Sud, 2007); Lawrence Gustave Desmond, *Yucatán through Her Eyes : Alice Dixon Le Plongeon, Writer & Expeditionary Photographer* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2009); Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation. 2nd ed.* (London & New York: Routledge, 2008); Alfred H. Siemens, *Between the Summit and the Sea : Central Veracruz in the Nineteenth Century* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1990); Sebastián Van Doesburg, *Teobert Maler: Vistas de Oaxaca, 1874-1876* (Hamburg: Museum fur Volkerkunde, 2004).

¹³ Edison, “Conquest Unrequited,” 463.

long been shared by an array of Mexican anthropologists, archaeologists and social engineers that have served Liberal, Interventionist, Porfirian, Revolutionary, PRIista and post-PRIista Mexican administrations. The quest for modernity and the desire to establish a positive image for Mexico abroad by linking it to a glorious classical Indigenous past, is a point of connection between nineteenth-century liberals of *la Reforma Juarista*, the *científicos*, a clutch of economists and sociologists who advised the dictator Porfirio Díaz, and the *indegenista* social engineers of the twentieth century's first great revolution which erupted in 1910 in Mexico.¹⁴ Each group believed that the exploration and cataloguing of Mexico's archaeological treasures in partnership with foreign partners would contribute to Mexico's international prestige. Most critically of all, in a consideration of Soustelle, each group believed fervently that the Indigenous descendants of that storied past in order to build a modern Mexican nation.¹⁵

If one takes into account the proto-ethnology of Spanish missionaries of the sixteenth century such as Bernardino de Sahagún and Toribio de Benevente Motolonia, foreign social scientists like Jacques Soustelle were playing roles in an exchange that had been ongoing since the colonial period, long before the stirrings of Mexican independence from imperial Spain. This modernizing impulse that encompassed

¹⁴ See Claudio Lomnitz-Adler, *Deep Mexico, Silent Mexico: An Anthropology of Nationalism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001) 150-7.

¹⁵ Alexander S. Dawson, *Indian and Nation in Revolutionary Mexico* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2004), 1-29; Dawson, "From Models for the Nation to Model Citizens," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 30.2 (1998): 279-308; Mary K. Vaughan and Stephen E. Lewis, "Introduction," in *The Eagle and the Virgin: Nation and Cultural Revolution in Mexico, 1920-1940* Vaughan and Lewis eds, (Durham N.C.: Duke University Press, 2006), 1-2, 4-5; Vaughan, "Nationalizing the Countryside: Schools and Rural Communities in the 1930s," in Vaughan and Lewis eds., *Eagle and the Virgin*, 173-4; Claudio Lomnitz, "Final Reflections: What Was Mexico's Cultural Revolution?," in Vaughan and Lewis eds., *Eagle and the Virgin*, 342-3; Lomnitz, *Deep Mexico*, 241-257; Lomnitz, "Bordering on Anthropology: Dialectics of a National Tradition," in *Deep Mexico, Silent Mexico: An Anthropology of Nationalism* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2011), 228-62; Adrian A. Bantjes, "Saints, Sinners, and State Formation: Local Religion and Cultural Revolution in Mexico," in Vaughan and Lewis eds., *Eagle and the Virgin*, 141.

archaeology and policies toward the Indigenous peoples of Mexico served its purpose in forging links with established scientific communities in Europe and the United States and in asserting the national identity of a *raza cósmica* as the basis of a modern mestizo nation.¹⁶

Although the nature of the quest that Soustelle and his wife Georgette undertook in the 1930s had its innovative aspects, he was walking in the footsteps of an established French tradition. He arrived in Mexico at a critical stage of evolution for the French social sciences. Paul Rivet, Soustelle's doctoral supervisor and eventual patron as director of le Musée de l'Homme, began his archaeological career with excavations in Peru and Ecuador.¹⁷ Although Rivet enjoyed international respect for most of his career as an advocate for a humanist, accessible ethnology and as a socialist champion of human rights and resistance to Nazism, he began his career in the field as a collector of artefacts that could be sent to French museums. The field conduct of the early European archaeologists and anthropologists in the Americas raises ethical concerns for their twenty-first-century counterparts. Rivet and his ilk routinely plundered Indigenous gravesites in search of skulls and artefacts. In the tradition of founding French anthropologist Paul Broca, Rivet was initially concerned with craniology and linguistics. Broca insisted on the value of cranology as a means to analyze the differences between peoples of the world and their respective evolutionary status.¹⁸ In Ecuador and Peru, prior

¹⁶ The literature on the relationship between the social sciences and Mexican national identity is extensive, contested and fascinating. Some of the most useful and provocative works: Roger Bartra, *La Jaula de la Melancolía* (México: Debolsillo, 2005) first published in Spanish 1987; Guillermo Bonfil Batalla, *México Profundo: Una Civilización Negada* (México, D.F.: Secretaría de Educación Pública : CIESAS, 1987); Claudio Lomnitz-Adler, *Deep Mexico, Silent Mexico: An Anthropology of Nationalism*. (London: University of Minnesota Press, 2001); Lomnitz, *Exits from the Labyrinth: Culture and Ideology in the Mexican National Space* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).

¹⁷ Laurière, *Paul Rivet*, 25-155.

¹⁸ Laurière, *Paul Rivet*, 91.

to World War I, Rivet was eager to exhume and collect the skulls and bones of Indigenous people in burial sites. As recently as 2008, the remaining collections at the then foundering Musée de l'Homme in Paris prominently featured a massive display of skulls from around the world collected in significant part by Rivet's generation as they explored those regions of the world that appeared to be remote and exotic to European sensibilities of the early modern era.

As Rivet's biographer Christine Laurière has noted, at no time at this stage of his career, or later in fact, did Rivet deplore the activities of the *guaqueros*, the grave robbers who were often employed by early archaeologists in their explorations. For Laurière the contradiction between Rivet's preliminary activities in Ecuador and Peru with his critical role in the emergence of a more popular and widely accessible French ethnology by the 1930s, built on liberal conceptions of human rights and the presumption of equality between peoples that lay at the heart of the mission to create Le Musée de l'Homme, is acute,

Cela lui est possible parce qu'il ne considère pas l'humanité des Colorados de la même façon que l'humanité blanche, européenne. Ces Indiens ne sont plus les sujets de leur histoire, ils ne choisissent plus leur destinée, ils sont devenus des représentants de l'humanité à un stade primitif ;¹⁹

There may be continuities between the traditions of the early French anthropologists with their predilection for collecting artifacts of 'doomed' peoples before time ran out and the attitudes that Soustelle carried with him to Algeria. Clearly in 1955-56, Soustelle believed that he and a cadre of French social scientists, including Germaine Tillion, possessed a formula to assist in building a bridge between Indigenous groups in Algeria and the modern world.

¹⁹ C. Laurière, "Paul Rivet (1876-1958), Le Savant et Le Politique" (PhD dissertation, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris, 2006), 133

What appears to be a cavalier approach to the dignity of living Indigenous peoples, which Laurière condemns, places Rivet in a French and pan-European tradition that went relatively unexamined until after World War I. The relatively few opponents who were heard among western academics and journalists were swimming against the tide of a new sort of imperialism embedded in a quasi-science of race and a fundamentally pessimistic outlook on the prospects for Indigenes in an industrializing world. Many researchers, including Rivet, believed they were engaged in a “salvage” operation to preserve the traces of “doomed” races for emerging nations and all of humanity; in this light, their behaviour can be seen, at best, as a misguided humanism, at worst as imperialism benefitting from academic peer review.²⁰ As one of Soustelle’s ethnological peers argued, this emphasis on salvaging what one might find in doomed cultures depended in part on a belief that Indigenous cultures were somehow “*figée*,” that is to say frozen or stuck in time.²¹ Further, writing shortly after World War II, Michel Leiris argued that ethnology remained bound up in imperialism even in a post-colonial or “decolonizing” world; ethnologists, after all, no matter what their particular political views, derived their funding from governments and museums in Europe that maintained colonizing relationships with countries in the developing world. Further, the national academies and museums of Europe, Leiris maintained, which could afford to send researchers to the developing world had enriched themselves and built their reputations and collections during an earlier age of plunder. Historians of anthropology

²⁰ Gruber, Jacob, “Ethnographic Salvage and the Shaping of Anthropology,” *American Anthropologist* 72, no. 6 (Dec., 1970), 1289-99.

²¹ Michel Leiris, “L’ethnologue devant le colonialisme” in *Brisées* (Paris: Mercure de France, 1966), 190-193. This essay was originally delivered as a paper at an Association of Scientific Workers congress in Stockholm on March 7, 1950.

have observed and commented extensively on the tensions between collecting, research and Indigenous rights.²²

In the twentieth century, activism and concerns about Native rights affected the behaviour of social scientists in the field; in some cases, social scientists from the developed world often made common cause with their subjects. This tendency has its germinating stage in the French milieu of archaeology, anthropology and ethnology began with Paul Rivet, Marcel Mauss and Lucien Lévy-Bruhl and the creation of l'Institut d'Ethnologie at the University of Paris in 1926, where seventeen-year-old Jacques Soustelle began to study in 1929.²³ Some of these scholars were active in anti-fascist movements in France; their politics were generally left-of-centre. In the 1930s, they and their students sought to align their domestic politics with their scientific endeavours and concerns. Late in his own life, Soustelle paid homage to his mentor Rivet in a Peruvian journal, as he recounted the shift the new ethnology institute represented for French letters in the late 1920s and 1930s,

This institute provided instruction that would now be deemed “interdisciplinary”: ethnography, physical anthropology, linguistics, pre-history, were all combined and rigorously associated there. This was precisely affirmed in the surprising mastery of Paul Rivet, his extraordinary lucidity and pedagogical talent. Paul

²² Christopher Bracken, *The Potlatch Papers: A Colonial Case History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997); Regna Darnell, *And Along Came Boas : Continuity and Revolution in Americanist Anthropology* (Philadelphia, Penn: J. Benjamins, 1998); Regna Darnell and Julia D. Harrison, *Historicizing Canadian Anthropology*. (Vancouver: U.B.C. Press, 2006); Michelle A. Hamilton, *Collections and Objections: Aboriginal Material Culture in Southern Ontario, 1791-1914*. McGill-Queen's Native and Northern Series. Vol. 63. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010; Laurière, *Paul Rivet*, 172-4; Carole Reynaud Paligot, *La République Raciale: Paradigme Racial Et Idéologie Républicaine, 1860-1930* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 2006).

²³ Laurière, *Paul Rivet*, 211-286.; Pascal Ory and Jean-François Sirinelli, *Les Intellectuels En France, De l’Affaire Dreyfus à Nos Jours* (Paris: A. Colin, 1986); Jean-François Sirinelli, *Génération Intellectuelle : Khâgneux Et Normaliens Dans l’Entre-Deux-Guerres* (Paris: Fayard, 1988) 53; 104; 488-

89; Carole Reynaud Paligot, *La République raciale: Paradigme racial et idéologie républicaine (1860-1930)* (Paris : Presses Universitaires de France, 2006), 305-10.

Rivet, a medical doctor by training, converted into an ethnographer and ‘on the ground’ archaeologist in Ecuador and became a man of synthesis.²⁴

The new institute represented a significant parting of ways with salvage anthropology. Salvage anthropology rested in part on notions of imperial supremacy and in the falsely benevolent belief that the remnants and memory of supposedly doomed peoples would be preserved best in European museums on display to the public with the rarest, most precious exhibits worried over by privileged academics and their students. In 1990 intellectual historian Jacob W. Gruber examined the assumptions that many of these earlier social scientists shared,

The sense of salvage with its concern with loss and extinction, stressed the disorganization in a social system at the expense of the sense of community; it stressed the pathology of cultural loss in the absence of any real experience with the normally operating small community.²⁵

In 1992 Mary Louise Pratt furthered our understanding of the ‘imperial gaze’ in archaeology, anthropology, ethnology and travel writing. Her analysis (and condemnation) still raises fundamental questions for social scientists at work in impoverished parts of world with rich Indigenous pasts. She raises fundamentally important issues about the conduct and belief of the academic tradition which was beginning to change as a student like Jacques Soustelle set out on the formative Mexican expeditions of his ethnological career. Pratt asserts,

²⁴ English translation by author. Original in Spanish: Este Instituto daba una enseñanza que se calificaría ahora de “pluridisciplinaria”: etnografía, antropología física, lingüística, prehistoria, se combinaban y se asociaban allí estrechamente. Pues era en eso precisamente que se afirmaban la sorprendente maestría de Paul Rivet, su extraordinaria lucidez y su talento pedagógico. Ahora bien, Paul Rivet, médico de formación, convertido en etnógrafo y arqueólogo “en el terreno” en Ecuador, ha resultado ser el hombre de la síntesis. Jacques Soustelle. “Paul Rivet, sabio y ciudadano” *Cielo Abierto* (Lima: Volumen X, No.29, Lima, Perú. Julio-Setiembre 1984), 3.

²⁵ Gruber, “Ethnographic Salvage,” 1297.

The European imagination produces archaeological subjects by splitting contemporary non-European peoples off from their pre-colonial, and even their colonial, pasts. To revive Indigenous history and culture as archaeology is to revive them *as dead*. The gesture simultaneously rescues them from European forgetfulness and reassigns them to a departed age.²⁶

Soustelle believed that he had largely parted company with an earlier European and French social scientific tradition which objectified Indigenous peoples. When Jacques Soustelle arrived for the first time in Mexico in 1932, he set out to find living communities. His ethnographic and linguistic studies of the Otomi and Lacandon peoples were rooted in a fascination with the continuity of indigenous cultures in the modern world.²⁷ As an anti-fascist activist and admiring student of Rivet who was an active supporter of the Popular Front, the young Soustelle's ethnological works and journalism from Mexico repeatedly insisted on the living presence of Indigenous peoples in Mexico and the urgent necessity of government to assist them in integrating into modern Mexico with their identities and languages intact.²⁸

Despite Soustelle's emphasis on living cultures, he also made a huge collection of artifacts that he and Georgette Soustelle brought back to France from their early trips. The Soustelles gathered hundreds of objects such as masks, ceramic bowls, looms, bows, arrows, statues, musical instruments, toys and a fabulous feathered headdress from an Otomi confradía.²⁹

²⁶ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London & New York: Routledge, 2008 2nd edition. Originally published 1992), 132..

²⁷ Soustelle, *Mexique terre indienne* (Paris:Plon, 1936), 34-54, 124-153.

²⁸ Soustelle, *terre indienne*, 153, 264; Laurière, *Paul Rivet*, 369.

²⁹ MqB, objets - fonds Soustelle 71.1933.71; 71.1936.

These materials are not on public display. Digital photographs of each are available to scholars in a research library; throughout 2008, archivists there were unclear under what circumstances these objects might actually seen by researchers or how long it might take to obtain access.

Jacques Soustelle formed a career at the cusp of a transition between an imperial social science and a scholarly approach that attempted to accommodate new concerns of a de-colonizing world and a growing recognition that the Indigenous peoples of the less industrialized world, however complicated and messy their transition to modernity might be, were worthy of respect and understanding. In the 1930s as a doctoral student in Mexico and in the 1950s, as a colonial mandarin in Algeria (as we shall see in the next chapter), Soustelle pinned himself uncomfortably between an atavistic sense of imperial superiority and an ethnology imbued with a profoundly humanist acceptance and fascination with Indigenous peoples residing in the living world. Soustelle's eternal dilemma is captured in his first book when he recounts meeting a grieving Lacandon woman whose child was murdered. Soustelle was empathetic to her lot, but determined to obtain a loom to bring back to Paris,

J'ai encore présent à la mémoire le visage ravage, rongé par le chagrin, de la vieille femme. Je dus discuter avec elle assez longtemps pour acquérir un splendide métier à tisser qu'elle possédait, chargé d'une belle jupe à des raies violettes, jaunes et blanches, inachevée, sans doute depuis la catastrophe. Du seuil de la case où elle demeurait accroupie à longueur de journée, elle levait sur moi ses yeux rouges; sa voix était un soufflé. Tout en elle montrait une lassitude écrasante, l'hébétude où est plongé un être après le coup le plus rude qu'il puisse supporter sans mourir. La journaliste parisienne qui me demandait un jour à Mexico: "Mais enfin, Monsieur, vos Indiens, est-ce qu'ils pensent?" aurait dû voir cette femme; elle se serait rendu compte qu'au moins ils sont capables de souffrir.³⁰

Jacques Soustelle began his career at the forefront of a movement toward a humanist, participatory and democratic ethnography and yet as his collecting habits in Mexico attest, he did not entirely transcend earlier traditions. As with his political activities following World War II, Soustelle, the social scientist, incarnated in stark relief the contradictions of his day.

³⁰ Soustelle, *terre indienne*, 216.

Duncan Campbell Scott and The Foundations of Canadian Culture

Duncan Campbell Scott is a foundational figure in Canadian literature. Scott was at the vanguard of a new national literature, that while steadfastly British in orientation, also sought to carve out an identity that would be distinct from contemporary British and American works. As a poet, Scott and his friend and associate Archibald Lampman, a civil servant with the Canadian post office, are among the very first writers in Canada to articulate an appreciation and wonder about the Canadian natural world, particularly the rugged boreal zone that they could see across the Ottawa River from their office buildings. When Scott died a contemporary critic wrote the following appreciation in a popular cultural magazine,

Is it too much to suggest that in these quietly powerful poems, seldom brilliant but always competent in style and solid in substance, we catch an authentic glimpse of the Canadian spirit at its finest?³¹

Canada's new capital was not far removed from its recent past as a swampy, lumber town from which it had been wrested by the government of Queen Victoria when she selected it as the new nation's capital. Its location along the Ontario-Quebec border made it a convenient solution to the squabbling of ambitious English-and-French-speaking colonial politicians from candidate cities such as Toronto, Kingston and Montreal. With both significant English-and-French-speaking populations, the capital grew along the Ottawa River and Rideau Canal. Ottawa featured magnificent parliamentary buildings built on a

³¹ Desmond Pacey, "The Poetry of Duncan Campbell Scott," in S.L. Dragland, edited and introduction by, *Duncan Campbell Scott: A Book of Criticism* (Ottawa: The Tecumseh Press, 1974), 102. First published in *The Canadian Forum*, XXVIII, 1948-9, 107-.

vague promise of nationhood which rose on a bluff looking out over the rapids of the Ottawa River and beyond to the alluring Gatineau Hills of Quebec.³² It was an inspiring setting for young poets. As a boy at his father's Ottawa parsonage and again later as an adult with a home on Lisgar Avenue and an office next to Parliament, Duncan Campbell Scott could walk up Metcalfe Street to the Hill. Scott loved Ottawa; although he occasionally expressed frustration with his civil service career, he managed to find solace in the cultural life Ottawa could support and was forever comforted by the city's natural setting, as he indicated in an essay from the 1920s,

In 1883 the population was about 30,000 and the place had the appearance and the social life of a large town. There was not a great necessity for a street car system, although a single line existed, and the country was almost part of the town. All that is changed now, but the spirit of the city, the almost breathing personality that pervades certain places, is unchangeable. The variety of the landscape, the vigour of the rivers, and the comradeship the city has through them with the wild country of their sources, and then the vision of the city itself seen from all quarters of the environs as something exalted, an ideal as an inspiration, these remain; the wilderness is a little pushed back, more remote, but the beauty of the situation can never be destroyed.³³

Some of Scott's peers felt he was out of place. The British poet Rupert Brooke visited in 1913:

The only poet in Canada was very nice to me in Ottawa – Duncan Campbell Scott, aetat. 50, married, an authority on Indians. Poor devil he's so lonely and dried there: no one to talk to. They had a child – daughter- who died in 1908 or so. And it knocked them out. Canada's a bloody place for a sensitive – in a way 2nd rate – real, slight poet like that to live all his life. Nobody cares if he writes or doesn't. He took me out to a Club in the country near, and we drank whisky and

³² See Sandra Gwyn, *The Private Capital: Ambition and Love in the Age of MacDonald and Laurier* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1984), 293-5.

³³ Duncan Campbell Scott, *Duncan Campbell Scott: Addresses, Essays and Reviews* edited by Leslie Ritchie with an introduction by Stan Dragland (London, ON: Canadian Poetry Press, 2000), Vol 2, 332. The editor reports that she found this previously unpublished essay at the Queen's University archive in the Lorne Pierce Collection. It is a more ample version of other Scott essays on Lampman including the introduction to the Lampman collection *Lyrics of Earth, Sonnets and Ballads, 1925*.

soda and he said ‘Well, here’s to your youth!’ and drank its health and I nearly burst into tears.³⁴

Scott’s poetic isolation was increased when he lost his friend Archibald Lampman in 1899, who died of heart disease when he was only thirty-eight. Scott, who had been encouraged to write poetry by Lampman, spent the rest of his life preserving the artistic legacy of his friend in supervising the publication of collections of Lampman’s works and through essays, speeches and memorials. Scott turned his attention to Lampman’s legacy at the very height of his responsibilities for the Indian department. He described the effort of publishing a Lampman collection as a “labor of love.”³⁵ The two met in 1884, the year after Lampman had begun working as a clerk in the Post Office. They formed a friendship that was based on a love of verse and an interest in hiking and canoeing in the wilds. In the essay cited above, Scott recalled first meeting Lampman and their forays into the forests and waterways of the Gatineau Hills,

Archibald’s room had a window that looked to the west, a sunset window with a view of the old tower of the Parliament House and within sound of the bell told the hours. During the next summer, as we were both fond of the fields and woods, we began those walking tours and canoe trips which took us near and far over the country. Much of what was seen and experienced went into his lines, and I might even now localize and identify the references, the point of view, the itinerary.³⁶

Canadian literature scholars generally agree that Lampman and Scott together represent a watershed in the emergence of a national English language literature. Perhaps because of the vicinity of the boreal forest to Ottawa, their mutual affinity for canoeing and tramping in the woods, Lampman and Scott evoke a landscape that is distinctly non-European. Northrop Frye was fascinated by Scott and declared that Scott was, “...one of

³⁴ Letter from Rupert Brooke to Wilfred Gibson July, 1913 cited in Sandra Martin and Roger Hall, *Rupert Brooke in Canada* (Toronto: PMA Books, 1978), 19-20, also similar letter from Brooke to his mother, 45; see also Gwyn, *Private Capital*, 465.

³⁵ Duncan Campbell Scott letter to Lorne Pierce, July 15, 1925. QUA, Lorne Pierce archives.

³⁶ Scott, *Addresses, Essays and Reviews*, Vol 2, 334.

the ancestral voices of the Canadian imagination.”³⁷ In a number of essays, Frye returned to Scott. He saw Scott as an expression of a Canadian type, deeply moved by and equally terrified of the natural world. Frye appreciated the extent to which Scott internalized the two realities in which he lived – as a rising civil servant in the post-colonial Canadian administration and the artist who sought refuge and inspiration in the woods. Like John Masfield in his eulogy of Scott at St Martin’s in the Fields in January 1948, Frye made specific mention of *The Forsaken*, Scott’s morbid work about a starving Indian left abandoned by her tribe; Frye juxtaposed that poem with another, *On The Death Of Claude Debussy*, one of several Scott poems with specific mention to composers,

Whatever one thinks of the total merit of Scott’s very uneven output, he achieved the type of imaginative balance that is characteristic of so much of the best of Canadian culture down to the present generation, . . . On one side he had the world of urbane and civilized values, on the other, the Quebec forest with its Indians and lonely trappers. He could write a poem on Debussy and a poem on a squaw feeding her child with her own flesh; he was at once primitive and pre-Raphaelite, a recluse of the study and a recluse of the forest. Not since Anglo-Saxon times it seems to me has there been the same uneasy conflict between elemental bleakness and the hectic flush of a late and weary civilization that there has been in Canadian poetry and painting of the period from Confederation to the depression. It had to go as the country became more urbanized, and we may regret its passing only if nothing new comes along to replace it.³⁸

As an aging poet, Scott was vaguely aware of the bright new commentator on the Canadian scene of literary criticism. During World War II, Scott was sufficiently intrigued by the new contributor to The Canadian Forum to make inquiries to a critic friend,

Do you get The Forum? If so you will have read the article in the Dec. No on Canadian Poetry. If not I will send you one; let me have your comments sometime. I suppose Northrop Frye is a nom de plume; if so who is he?³⁹

³⁷ Northrop Frye, “Letters in Canada” originally published in *University of Toronto Quarterly*, 1951, re-published in *The Bush Garden: Essays on the Canadian Imagination* (Toronto: Anansi, 1971), 245.

³⁸ Frye, *Bush Garden*, 9.

³⁹ DC Scott to EK Brown Jan. 1944 EK Brown correspondence LAC-BAC Mg 30 D61 Vol. 3

In 1944 Scott was unaware of Fryre, the then emerging maven of Canadian letters. Scott, however, would become a continuing subject for Northrop Frye in his contemplation of the meaning and context of Canadian poetry and prose.⁴⁰

In his poetic career no experience in Scott's lifetime rivaled the Treaty 9 expeditions of 1905-6 which were ostensibly about the important business of quieting Indian title to large swaths of northern Ontario. These trips separated Scott from the other early Canadian poets and gave Scott exposure to the north and to Indian communities which was infinitely more profound than the experience he had shared with Lampman in the Gatineau. Like some of the earlier European ethnographers in Mesoamerica, Scott the poet interpreted Indian peoples through a prism of conviction that Indian people were doomed. Some of the aspects of the culture he witnessed survive in his poetry such as *The Forsaken* and *The Height of Land*, powerful works that speak directly to Scott's northern voyages. When one surveys the expanse of Scott's poetry, it is clear that his travels in the north and his familiarity with British literature and the music and architecture of European capitals from holiday trips to France, Italy and Spain inspired his poetry.

The Indian Department bureaucrat indeed put the Treaty expeditions of 1905-6 to the service of his poetry. Perhaps buoyed by the success of the 1905 expedition in difficult areas such as the remote Albany River flowing north to James Bay, in 1906 Scott invited his friend Pelham Edgar, principal of Victoria University in Toronto, to act as the expedition's secretary. The 1906 voyage would remain close to rail lines around Longlac; in the Chapleau District north of Sudbury; touch upon the shores of Lake Superior near

⁴⁰ Northrop Frye, review of *The Book of Canadian Poetry* by A.J.M. Smith, *The Canadian Forum*, December 1943; Frye, *Bush Garden*, 245.

the present-day mining town of Marathon and Pukaskwa National Park close to the mouth of the Pic, Pukaskwa and White Rivers on the Superior shore; and visit the beautiful Lady Evelyn River en route to Lake Temagami and the Teme Augama Anishinabe village at Bear Island before returning to Ottawa by train via Temiscaming, Québec. In the villages of Biscotasing and Chapleau, the expedition was also joined by the painter Edmund Morris. Morris made sketches that were the basis of some of the portraits of Indian leaders that grace the halls of the Royal Ontario Museum to the present day and after his death became the subject of what Edgar considered Scott's greatest poem *Lines In memory of Edmund Morris*.⁴¹ In a memoir of his own career, Pelham Edgar relied on his personal Treaty 9 journal and "home letters" to reconstruct his 1906 experience with Scott in a chapter entitled "Travelling with a Poet". The excerpt below is from a journal entry of June 1, 1906, written in the vicinity of Temagami,

When we are near the shore the birds are very vocal and Duncan knows them well... We have the *Oxford Book Of Poetry* always handy, and when I paddle Duncan often reads. Then I take a wild respite, and make myself comfortable with a pull at a pipe and a short peep at a book. A hard life is it not?... Duncan caught a poem as we were going through Island Lake and is still reeling it in. I have not seen it yet. This morning he read two splendid stories to me that he has written lately.⁴²

Scott was working on the romantic poem *Spring on Mattagami*, a work modeled on the work of British poet George Meredith. Scott wrote about its inspiration in a letter to E.K. Brown, a Canadian literary critic,

⁴¹ Pelham Edgar. "Travelling With A Poet" chap. 5 in *Along My Path* (Toronto: Ryerson, 1952) 60. See also Edgar, "Duncan Campbell Scott." *Dalhousie Review* 7, (April, 1927). This article is taken from Edgar's speech about Scott at the time Scott was awarded the Lorne Pierce gold medal for 1927 by The Royal Society of Canada. Edgar, "Twelve Hundred Miles by Canoe among the Indians in Northern Waters," *Canada: An Illustrated Weekly Journal for all Interested in the Dominion*, November 24 and December 22, 1906; January 5 & 19, February 2 & 16; March 16, 1907.

⁴² Pelham Edgar. "Travelling With A Poet" chap. 5 in *Along My Path* (Toronto: Ryerson, 1952), 60.

A note on Spring on Mattagami: The provenance of this piece was my having taken a copy of the Oxford book with me on that Indian trip; Pelham and I sitting side by side in our thirty foot canoe had been reading 'Love in a Valley'. I said to myself (or out loud) I will write a love poem in the same form in these surroundings; I did not think to rival it and I added the technical problem by using an additional rhyme; and so I did it in three days. I think and hope the passion is sincere but you will have to count the lady as imaginary, the lady of the city and the garden and the Lido; the Venice stanza was written last as I felt some change in colour would be a relief and add to the drama.⁴³

Brown collaborated with Scott on a Lampman collection and edited a collection of Scott's poetry a few years after Scott's death.⁴⁴ As a Canadian academic often teaching in the United States, Brown was an interlocutor and champion of what he considered the best Canadian writing. The elder Scott became a friend and mentor to Brown who admired Scott's treatment of northern themes. When he reflected on Scott's contribution to Canadian letters a few years after the poet's death, Brown opined that Scott's poetic output was directly inspired by journeys that the Indian Department underwrote, particularly the Treaty 9 expedition,

The journey of 1905 was to be echoed and re-echoed through much of Scott's admirable poetry. For the finest, strongest, the deepest outcome, he had to wait ten years. It was in November 1915 that he wrote "The Height of Land" in which he has worked out with every resource of his art the illumination that comes to a person of imaginative insight in the heart of the north.⁴⁵

The Height of Land is a lengthy, elaborate reflection on the artist in the material world. Its natural setting is the land that rises from the shore of Lake Superior. At the height of land, waters part, some flowing north to James Bay and, on the southern slopes, down to Lake Superior. Scott and the Treaty 9 team ascended the Pic River back to the rail line

⁴³ Duncan Campbell Scott. Letter to EK Brown, November 12, 1943. EK Brown correspondence LAC-BAC Mg 30 D61 Vol. 3.

⁴⁴ Duncan Campbell Scott, *Selected Poems of Duncan Campbell Scott with a Memoir by E.K. Brown* (Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1951); Scott, E. K. Brown, and Robert L. McDougall, *The Poet and the Critic: A Literary Correspondence between D.C. Scott and E.K. Brown* (Ottawa; Don Mills, Ont.: Carleton University Press; Distributed by Oxford University Press Canada, 1983)

⁴⁵ EK Brown, *Winnipeg Free Press* June 24, 1950 EK Brown correspondence LAC-BAC Mg 30 D61 Vol. 3.

after visiting the Indian community at Heron Bay. The Superior country held a fascination for Scott; his short story *Spirit River* is about an isolated community of settlers and Métis on its shores. *The Height of Land* relies directly on the poet's experience in the summer of 1906,

Now the Indian guides are dead asleep;
There is no sound unless the soul can hear
The gathering of the waters in their sources.

The poet celebrates the spectacular hilled country on the north shore of Lake Superior, evokes the spirit of a shaman he calls Potàn the Wise and describes a campsite surrounded by wild roses. As the contemplation of the spiritual and material worlds continues, Scott makes one of the few direct poetic references to a tension between a love of the natural world and the duties of life in modern, industrialized society,

Upon one hand
The lonely north enlaced with lakes and streams,
And the enormous targe of Hudson Bay,
Glimmering all night
In the cold arctic light;
On the other hand
The crowded southern land
With all the welter of the lives of men.⁴⁶

“The Height of Land” had an evident impact on Canadian letters. Many of Scott's literary critics dwell upon it and some of the poets who emerged after him found its explicit depiction of the boreal Canadian landscape and its concomitant depiction of the lot of the artist in Canada, a source of inspiration.⁴⁷ One of those poets was E.K. Pratt, a professor

⁴⁶ Scott, “The Height of Land,” in *Duncan Campbell Scott: Selected Poetry*, Edited by Glenn Clever (Ottawa: The Tecumseh Press, 1971), 52-5.

⁴⁷ Stan Dragland. *Floating Voice : Duncan Campbell Scott and the Literature of Treaty 9* (Concord, Ont.: Anansi, 1994), 229-253; Gordon Johnston. *Duncan Campbell Scott and His Works*. (Downsview, ON, ECW Press, 1983), 32.

of English at the University of Toronto.⁴⁸ Twenty years younger than Scott, and once a student of Pelham Edgar, Pratt reached out to the established poet as his own career was beginning,

I am taking the liberty of sending you a little message of appreciation, although unknown to you personally. I had the pleasure last week of spending an evening at the home of Dr. Edgar, an esteemed friend of yours and no less beloved of mine. In the course of the evening by the fire he read some selections from “Lundy’s Lane”, particularly that magnificent “The Height of Land”. I had known the poem for a considerable time, but its growing beauty was so vividly impressed upon me as he read that I asked him if you would not think it presumptuous of me to write you and express my appreciation directly...

I should dearly love to submit a few of my poems under separate cover for your examination. I wanted to send some last year, but could not summon sufficient courage. Dr. Edgar, however, gave me new faith. Most of the verse springs out of the sea-craving life of Newfoundland, my native home.

And could you once in a while send me a poem of your own – a new one? I should indeed be proud.

Sincerely yours,

E.J. Pratt⁴⁹

At the height of his career, Scott’s influence in the Canadian artistic community was not confined to literature. An active member of the Royal Society of Canada, Scott served as its President in 1922. That same year he made a Presidential Address entitled “Poetry and Progress”. Scott reviewed Canadian achievements in the humanities and social sciences and proffered a report card on Canada approximately fifty years following Confederation. In this speech, as in some of his correspondence with E.K. Brown, Scott defended the poetic tradition which influenced him as a young man. In his own work, he was a practitioner of a classic British tradition and did not venture into the modernism that emerged in Britain and in the United States by the 1920s. In his keynote speech, however, Scott issued a challenge to younger writers in Canada to experiment and seek out newer forms,

⁴⁸ Frye, *Bush Garden*. 181-197.

⁴⁹ E. J. Pratt, letter to Duncan Campbell Scott, January 18, 1918. LAC-BAC, LMS-0204, Box 12

It is the mission of new theories in the arts, and particularly of new theories that come to us illustrated by practice, to force us to re-examine the grounds of our preferences, and to retest our accepted dogmas. Sometimes the preferences are found to be prejudices and the dogmas hollow formulae. There is even a negative use in ugliness that throws into relief upon a dark and inchoate background the shining lines and melting curves of true beauty. The latest mission of revolt has been performed inadequately, but it has served to show us that our poetic utterance was becoming formalized. We require more rage of our poets. We should like them to put to the proof that saying of William Blake: "The tigers of wrath are wiser than the horses of instruction."⁵⁰

As an artist and spokesperson for Canada's learned society, Scott called for change, renovation and challenge within the arts, even in the realm of poetry. Scott wanted poets to behave as bold revolutionaries, precisely as he hoped Indians would not. As a senior mandarin during this period, Scott was championing a ramping up of Canada's assimilation policy through residential schools and a crackdown on Aboriginal spiritual practices and political organization.⁵¹

Beyond literature, in his "Poetry and Progress" Presidential address to the Royal Society, Scott noted the beginnings of the national archives of Canada and the establishment of an ethnological institute in Ottawa. He also commended the development of the profession of history in Canada with the establishment of professional faculties of history at universities and the emergence of a more "scientific treatment" of the discipline,

The former story-telling function of History and the endless reweaving of that tissue of tradition which surrounded and obscured the life of a people has given place to a higher conception of duty of the Historian and the obligation to accept no statement without the support of documentary evidence. The exploration and study of archives and the collation of original contemporaneous documents are

⁵⁰ Scott, "Poetry and Progress", 315. Also in Stan Dragland, *Duncan Campbell Scott: A Book of Criticism* (Ottawa, The Tecumseh Press 1974), 23. From William Blake's "Proverbs of Hell," in Blake's "The Marriage of Heaven and Hell," *The Poems of William Blake* edited by W.B. Yeats (London, Boston, Melbourne and Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1983 – originally published 1905).

⁵¹ E. Brian Tittley, *A Narrow Vision: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986), 110-34, 173-78.

now held to be essential, and the partisan historian fortified with bigotry and blind to all evidence uncongenial to his preconceptions is an extinct being.⁵²

Perhaps Duncan Campbell Scott was correct in his assessment that the writing of Canadian history was steadily improving after Confederation. He eventually became the focus of that enhanced scrutiny. As the Native rights movement gained momentum in Canada in the last half of the twentieth-century, a number of fine Canadian historians including Robin Jarvis Brownlie, Sarah Carter, Olive Dickason, James R. Miller, John S. Milloy, Adele Perry and E. Brian Titley began to look at Scott and the function of the Indian Department in disturbing new ways.⁵³ Scott himself had played his own role in the development of a Canadian historiography; in 1910, he produced a biography of colonial governor John Graves Simcoe as part of a series of biographical works that he co-edited.⁵⁴ The Simcoe biography was regarded as one of the best works in the series and while readable strikes the twenty-first-century reader as an example of the “story-telling function of History and the endless reweaving of tradition” in that its portrait of Simcoe is almost hagiographical.

The sheer breadth of Scott’s “uneven” output, to use Frye’s adjective phrase about his poetry, is remarkable. The poetry veers from excellence to craven sentimentality.

Scott’s “Indian poems” are perplexing in the tension between their poetic value and in the

⁵² Scott, “Poetry and Progress” 301-302.

⁵³ Robin Brownlie, *A Fatherly Eye: Indian Agents, Government Power, and Aboriginal Resistance in Ontario, 1918-1939* (Don Mills, Ont. ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2003); Sarah Carter, *Lost Harvests* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990); Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations : A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times* (Toronto: McLelland & Stewart, 1992); Miller, J. R. *Compact, Contract, Covenant : Aboriginal Treaty-Making in Canada*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009); Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens : A History of Indian-White Relations in Canada*. 3rd ed. (Toronto ; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 2000); Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision : A History of Native Residential Schools* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996); John Sheridan Milloy, *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879-1986* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1999); Adele Perry, *On the Edge of Empire : Gender, Race, and the Making of British Columbia, 1849-1871* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001); Titley, *Narrow Vision*.

⁵⁴ Duncan Campbell Scott and Matilda Ridout Edgar, *John Graves Simcoe. The Makers of Canada Series. Vol. 4.* (London ; Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1926).

frequently racist, but sometimes sublime, human values they express. Scott was trapped as an artist between his great ability to reflect truths and the hateful, imperial values of racial superiority and rank paternalism that were the foundation of the civil service career at which he proved so adept. For theorist and poet Dennis Lee, it is a matter of finding the scholarly means to disentangle artists such as Scott from their imperially skewed perceptions of subjects who are also “victims”,

The colonial writer does not have words of his own. Is it not possible that he projects his own condition of voicelessness into whatever he creates? That he articulates his own powerlessness in the face of alien words, by seeking out fresh tales of victims?⁵⁵

Scott was not only a poet; he produced collections of short stories; for a time, he was a newspaper columnist with The Globe; he was an active musician who met his first wife, the violinist Belle Botsford, when he was asked to accompany her on the piano at an Ottawa recital; he was active in theatre both as a director of Ottawa’s Little Theatre and as a playwright with works produced in Ottawa and at Hart House at the University of Toronto.⁵⁶ His association with the University of Toronto, which awarded Scott an Honourary Doctorate in Literature in 1922, included a reading by Scott during a centenary commemoration for the British poet John Keats in 1921 and readings of Scott poetry featuring both Scott and an actor organized by Pelham Edgar at Victoria College

⁵⁵ Dennis Lee, "Cadence, Country, Silence: Writing in Colonial Space." *Boundary 2* 3, no. 1, A Canadian Issue (Autumn, 1974), 162-3, as cited in Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back*, 142.

⁵⁶ LAC-BAC, LMS-0204, Box 10, Folder 5. This folder contains Botsford ephemera. Belle Botsford was from Boston. She studied violin in Paris for 5 years; Sandra Gwyn, *The Private Capital: Ambition and Love in the Age of MacDonald and Laurier* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1984), 447-470. Scott’s one act play “Pierre” was produced at Hart House Theatre in the 1920-21 season; his “Joy! Joy! Joy!” was performed by the same company in 1925-6. Thomas Fisher rare Book Library – Hart House Archives. A78-0023 Box 002 1928 Hart House Theatre.

in 1925.⁵⁷ In 1927, Scott combined his civil service connections with his musical sensibilities when he collaborated with the folklorist Marius Barbeau and the composer Ernest MacMillan on the English transcription of three Nisga'a songs from the Nass Valley that had originally been recorded by Barbeau.⁵⁸ At the time MacMillan was both principal of the Royal Conservatory of Music and head of the faculty of Music at the University of Toronto.⁵⁹

When Northrop Frye reflected on the emergence of Canadian letters, he argued that Canada's unique position as a former colony of Great Britain which soon after came under American cultural and economic dominance created, "a frostbite at the roots of the Canadian imagination".⁶⁰ Perhaps Scott's overall output is a singular manifestation of such a "frostbite". Scott emerged in a literary and political environment at a time when Canadian nationalists felt an existential threat to the developing country's survival against the odds of geography and American Manifest Destiny. At the same time, such Canadians felt a deep attachment to Great Britain. As Frye argued, these conditions created a conceptual "garrison". A Canadian artist/mandarin such as Scott, a poet at the centre of Frye's stinging analysis of Canada's intellectual lot, was an archetypical resident within such a "garrison",

⁵⁷ Titley, *A Narrow Vision*, 28; program Hart House Theatre, University of Toronto, June 23, 1921. Lorne Pierce archives COLL 200.1 Box 80 File DCS poems QUA. Scott read "Ode for the Keats Centenary,"; "Bard of The Northland Stirrs Hearers With Poems," *The Globe*, April 23, 1925, City News Section; D.M.R. Bentley "Shadows in the Soul: Racial Haunting in the Poetry of Duncan Campbell Scott". *University of Toronto Quarterly*, Volume 75, Number 2, Spring 2006., "Shadows in the Soul", 760; Stan Dragland. *Floating Voice: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Literature of Treaty 9* (Toronto: Anansi, 1994), 89, 161.

⁵⁸ Marius Barbeau, English version by Duncan Campbell Scott, transcribed and arranged by Ernest MacMillan. *Three Songs of the West Coast: Recorded from singers of the Nass River Tribes, Canada* (London: The Frederick Harris Co., 1927) Edward Johnson Music Library, University of Toronto.

⁵⁹ Ernest Macmillan in *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/articles/sir-ernest-macmillan> Accessed May 2012.

⁶⁰ Northrop Frye, review of *The Book of Canadian Poetry* by A.J.M. Smith, *The Canadian Forum*, December 1943.

Small and isolated communities surrounded with a physical or psychological “frontier”, separated from one another and from their American and British cultural sources: communities that provide all that their members have in the way of distinctively human values, and that are compelled to feel a great respect for law and order that holds them together, yet confronted with a huge, unthinking, menacing and formidable physical setting – such communities are bound to develop what we may provisionally call a garrison mentality...

A garrison is a closely knit and beleaguered society, and its moral and social values are unquestionable. In a perilous enterprise one does not discuss causes or motives: one is either a fighter or a deserter.⁶¹

In poetry, fictional prose, journalism and music, Duncan Campbell Scott was a foundational figure in Canadian culture. Esteemed by his contemporaries, he articulated an artistic vision for the new nation state. As a bureaucrat, he also exemplified the values and priorities that were prevalent in Canada during his lifetime.

⁶¹ Frye, *Bush Garden*, 225-6.

Jacques Soustelle and the *vulgarisation* of French Ethnology

Whereas Duncan Campbell Scott was a person of modest origins who rose to serve Canadian political elites and frequent the country's artistic establishment. Jacques Soustelle, born of the working class, was at the forefront of a move to popularize French ethnology in the 1930s. Having begun his graduate studies as a prodigy from Lyon in philosophy, Soustelle quickly developed a passion for the hands-on, field ethnology championed by Paul Rivet. As a student of Rivet's, Soustelle was among a small group of ethnological neophytes who moved away from the 'arm chair' efforts of a Marcel Mauss and others professors associated with l'École normale supérieure in developing a participant-observer model of ethnology that was given a home at l'Institut de l'Ethnologie where Soustelle studied.

As French archaeology and anthropology spun off a new ethnographic form, Rivet and his students promulgated a set of ideas that encouraged acceptance and observation of Indigenous societies co-existing, however uneasily, with the modern industrialized world. Soustelle enunciated his new faith in his first book Mexique terre indienne,

Considérer les Indiens comme constituent des nationalités, leur reconnaître des droits culturels et linguistiques, leur donner l'espagnol comme langue de relations, mais leur garantir le respect des leurs (j'ajouterai même: leur apprendre à écrire), bref, respecter la substance des sociétés indigènes pour qu'elles entrent de plain-pied dans l'unité du Mexique, avec leurs particularités, leurs fierté, bannières déployés, en pleine conscience d'elles-mêmes. Car c'est tous ensemble, comme l'histoire de leurs races et de leurs terres les a formés, tous ensemble et tous entiers, sans renier aucun d'entre eux ni rien en eux-mêmes, que ceux d'en bas sortiront de leur humiliation et gagneront leur place au soleil. Rien ne doit être perdu des richesses de civilisation dont ils sont porteurs. Elles sont, ces richesses, comme des pierres précieuses formées dans les profondeurs noirs, qui n'ont même pas conscience de les contenir; la tâche d'aujourd'hui est de les découvrir et les

dégager, afin qu'elles soient vues de tous. Ainsi le passage dans le monde des générations oubliées n'aura pas été tout à fait vain.⁶²

At a time when the Popular Front, a left-of-centre coalition, gained political power in France, Paul Rivet and Jacques Soustelle were directors of le Musée de l'Homme which opened its doors in the Trocadero Palace in 1938.⁶³

This popularizing effort, or *vulgarisation* as it was called *en français*, developed in a threatening European political context. Rivet and his young associates, such as Soustelle, were alarmed by the growing strength of Nazism in Germany, of Italian fascism under Mussolini and the assault by Franco against Spanish republicanism. In 1934, Soustelle, under his own name rather than the pseudonym Jean Duriez, wrote a highly polemical article raising the spectre of fascism gaining a foothold in France.⁶⁴ His alarm appeared prophetic in light of the easy alliance in the name of the family and traditional French values that Général Pétain would strike with Hitler's government in 1940,

Le grand art de fascisme (et ce par quoi il diffère de n'importe quel régime d'autorité), c'est de faire passer les opprimés du côté des oppresseurs. À la répression physique s'ajoute la pression morale, l'hypocrite et menteuse déclamation qui retourne contre leur propre classe des travailleurs aveuglés.⁶⁵

Soustelle's impolitic assertions about the dangers of a blinded working class, of the social toxicity provoked when the oppressed find common cause with their oppressors, foreshadowed his analysis of the rise of the Front national de libération (FLN) in Algeria twenty years later. As with his embrace of the pedagogy of the rural education campaigns

⁶² Soustelle, *terre indienne*, 153.

⁶³ Nicole Racine, "Jacques Soustelle" in *Jean Maître, Dictionnaire Biographique Du Mouvement Ouvrier Français – Quatrième partie 1914-1939 de la Première à la Seconde Guerre Mondiale, Tome 41 Rova à Szy* (Paris: Les Éditions Ouvrières, 1992), 391; Laurière, *Paul Rivet*, 385-427.

⁶⁴ Jacques Soustelle, "Répétition générale du fascisme : a ceux qui disent « le fascisme n'est pas possible en France »", *Spartacus*, December 7, 1934, 7.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

of *indigenismo* in Mexico, Soustelle stubbornly applied his anti-fascism of the 1930s Europe to the Algerian conflict. Significantly, in his staggeringly energetic efforts to launch le Musée de l'Homme at the side of his mentor Rivet, Soustelle fancied himself a servant of the popular classes, determined to open a previously rarefied world of academic exoticism to everyday French people. Similarly years later, Soustelle saw himself as an advocate for the popular masses of Algeria in the teeth of the armed appeals of the FLN.

The promulgators of le Musée de l'Homme were determined to find means to popularize the dissemination of information about the 'forgotten' societies in the colonized world. Soustelle proudly explained how the new museum would bring ordinary French people and their families into contact with a rich ethnographic vision of the past and present. He appeared on radio and contributed articles about the mission of the new museum in the popular press.⁶⁶ Soustelle's desire to open wide the doors of the new museum was influenced by political concerns. He saw museums and public culture as essential, effective means of public education in perilous times. In an interview with a Parisian magazine published in 1938 published to coincide with the opening of le Musée, Soustelle emphasized the universal qualities of human achievement that ethnological museums exposed while warning of the lethal racial theories which were very popular among German scholars,

Je vous parlerai du point de vue de l'ethnographie, en ce qui concerne les théories sur les races humaines mises en vogue dans certains pays par des « autorités » qui ne pas savantes. Nous, ethnologues, nous voyons qu'il n'y a pas de race qui n'ait contribué au patrimoine commune de la civilisation par des inventions souvent capitales. Aussi bien, si on fait l'inventaire du « matériel » de

⁶⁶ Nicole Racine, "Soustelle, Jacques", 391; Laurière. *Paul Rivet; Correspondance Havas*, January 28, 1936. "*Lettres Du Mexique*," Featuring an unattributed report on Soustelle's research in Mexico, including several quotes from Soustelle. MNHN, clippings file.

la civilisation européenne, n'y trouve des apports extrêmement importants de populations de toutes origines et notamment d'Asie Mineure, ou sémitiques, tel le christianisme. D'autre part, le monopole de la haute civilisation n'appartient nullement à l'Europe. Cet été, j'étais à Copenhague, à un congrès international de savants. On n'y pouvait voir personne, sauf les allemands, qui prît au sérieux le racisme, et pas même eux quand on les prenait à part.⁶⁷

Efforts of popular education by the leading lights of le Musée de l'Homme were not restricted to the print media. Even before the Musée opened its doors, both Jacques and Georgette Soustelle, as well as their colleague Germaine Tillion, made radio broadcasts about their journeys and scientific findings in Mexico and Algeria. The scripts reveal the presenters' efforts to popularize their scientific work; Germaine Tillion, for example, dedicated one program to the simple re-telling of a Berber fable she had translated; Georgette and Jacques Soustelle collaborated on one program about Mexico when they engage in a dialogue about a festival they had witnessed in Otomi territory of north central Mexico.⁶⁸ Some of Jacques Soustelle's Mexican lectures are preserved in the digital audio division of the Bibliothèque Nationale – Mitterrand. While Soustelle spoke in every day language for his radio public, he did not entirely shed his professorial skin. His perorations are punctuated by the sharp sound of chalk striking slate as Soustelle would emphasize and repeat a point while writing a key word on a blackboard for the benefit of a live audience.⁶⁹ In his embrace of radio, perhaps Soustelle had been

⁶⁷ Jacques Soustelle interview in *L'Oeuvre sur Louis Le Grand* November 20, 1938. "1/4 d'heure avec un jeune – Jacques Soustelle sous-directeur du Musée de l'Homme" by Georges Schneeberger. MNHN 2 AM 1B11a

⁶⁸ Jacques Soustelle, Radio Conférence 85 « Une fête dans un village indien du Mexique » December 20, 1937. MqB Document (15058) id Dossier 1611 DA000312; Radio Conférence 50 « A travers les montagnes du Mexique » June 23, 1936. Document (15058) id Dossier 1604 DA000316; « Chez les Indiens Lacandons » June 2, 1935, Document (15027) Dossier 1604 DA000319; Germaine Tillion, Radio Conférence 77 « Un Conte Chaouïa », July 19, 1937. MNHN 2am 1 C9 a

⁶⁹ Jacques Soustelle, Radio Conférence 85 « Une fête dans un village indien du Mexique » December 20, 1937. MqB Document (15058) id Dossier 1611 DA000312

influenced by popular education radio of revolutionary Mexico that was prevalent in the 1930s and served to promote nationalism, the folk arts and tourism.⁷⁰

As a student of Paul Rivet and as a principal actor in the creation of Le Musée de l'Homme Jacques Soustelle was at the leading edge of a fundamental shift in French social sciences. Part of the new impulse reflected a pronounced commitment to social justice, to the recognition of Indigenous peoples as something other than doomed artefacts of ancient days, and to the wish to open a diverse world of civilizations to ordinary citizens through public education and access to institutions such as Le Musée. Michel Leiris, one of the Soustelles' colleagues expressed the new thinking in MASSES, one of the left-leaning journals to which Soustelle contributed from Mexico. Leiris proclaimed his understanding of the social and political commitment of the emerging ethnography,

Considérant toutes chose comme liés, n'étudiant jamais un élément d'une société envisagé isolément, mais l'examinant au contraire en fonction de tous les autres, observant les mœurs, les coutumes les langues, non comme des choses figées, comme des curiosités seulement intéressantes par leur exotisme ou leur archaïsme, mais comme des choses vivantes qu'il s'agit de saisir dans leur mouvement, dans leur actualité, l'ethnographie apparaît une science éminemment dialectique.⁷¹

In this spirit, Soustelle himself would continue a conversation about the practical application of ethnographical study as a lever to redeem and elevate oppressed peoples in his relationship with Germaine Tillion. Soustelle relied on fellow ethnologist Tillion's expertise of Indigenous Algerians as the bulwark of a short-lived, extremely ambitious

; Radio Conference 50 « A travers les montagnes du Mexique » June 23, 1936. Document (15058) id Dossier 1604 DA000316 ; « Chez les Indiens Lacandons » June 2, 1935, Document (15027) Dossier 1604 DA000319.

⁷⁰ See Joy E. Hayes. "National Imaginings On the Air: Radio in Mexico, 1920-1940" *The Eagle and the Virgin: Nation and Cultural Revolution in Mexico, 1920-1940*. Ed. Mary Kay Vaughn and Stephen E. Lewis (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), 243-258.

⁷¹ Michel Leiris, "La Jeune Ethnographie," *SPARTACUS*, No.3, March 1933, 10.

and ultimately doomed social reform program built on Soustelle's perception of Mexican *indigenista* principles in 1955-6. These efforts which will be amply described in the following chapter belie the reductive perception of Soustelle as a 'fascist' sympathizer, a fellow traveller with l'Organisation de l'armée secrète (OAS) which became a widely shared misperception following his infamous falling out with de Gaulle over Algerian independence. For the remainder of his life Soustelle adamantly maintained that, as Governor General of Algeria, he attempted to invoke sound, scientific methods that had been formed by his experiences and observations in Mexico as a young ethnologist.⁷²

It was the Mexican connection that fuelled Soustelle's meteoric rise in the French academy prior to the Second World War. Further, it was a fascination with Mexico and Latin America that soldered the relationship with Paul Rivet as doctoral supervisor and intellectual mentor. As war clouds gathered in Europe, the Musée de l'Homme traded on the strengths of its leadership, specifically the *americanistas* who founded it: Rivet and his academic prodigy Soustelle.

Rivet believed that the ongoing discovery and display of Mesoamerican cultures would help popularize interest in ethnology and bring new audiences to the Musée. Rivet and Soustelle vaunted the richness of Mexico in the mainstream press. Soustelle trumpeted the significance of discoveries at Monte Alban in the state of Oaxaca that were uncovered in part by Mexican archaeologist Alfonso Caso, who would remain a critical Mexican scientific contact for the French researchers,⁷³

⁷² Jacques Soustelle, « *Souvenirs, apocryphes dans la forme d'une conversation avec Georges Suffert*, » Unpublished memoir provided to the author by Bernard Ullmann, 1988 ; Odile Rudelle, *Témoignages sur la Guerre d'Algérie*, Fondation nationale des services politiques, Service des archives d'Histoire contemporain, Archives de Université Science-Po, Paris. Interview with Jacques Soustelle. February 19, 1979.

⁷³ Jacques Soustelle correspondence with Alfonso Caso 1938-40. May 23, 1939: Soustelle enlists Caso's assistance on behalf of French doctoral candidate Roger Labrousse; January 1, 1940: Soustelle writes of

I believe that Mexico possesses the richest ethnological treasures in the world. After viewing the excavations being made at Ohaca (sic) near Montalban I must say I believe the discoveries made there can be compared with the finding of Tutankaman's tomb.⁷⁴

Rivet and Soustelle emphasized Mesoamerica in the heady days surrounding the opening of the new museum. A press release from the division run by Georgette Soustelle invited reporters to preview of a major exhibition in 1939,

Département d'Amérique communique de presse Musée de l'Homme
 INAUGURATION DE LA NOUVELLE SALLE D'AMERIQUE
 -PRÉSENTATION À LA PRESSE

Le moulage d'une grande stèle de Copan annonce le monde maya et mexicain. Céramique, masques, statues, révèlent la civilisation raffinée de ces peuples...

L'ouverture au public de cette riche section constitue une nouvelle étape dans la réorganisation totale du musée d'ethnographie devenue, en 1938, le Musée de l'Homme.⁷⁵

The exhibition of 1939 included a *soirée Mexicaine* featuring music and dance attended by Mexican diplomats.⁷⁶ This event dovetailed with contemporary Mexican campaigns to project its rich folklore to Europe and the United States. Such campaigns began under the modernizing dictatorship of Porfirio Diaz and were continued enthusiastically by post-revolutionary governments.⁷⁷

Emphasizing the importance of Latin America also fit with Rivet's and the Soustelles' patriotism and sense of France's place in the world. If the French academy,

ending scientific exchanges because of the war while declaring that the Musée will remain open. MNHN Archives Musée l'Homme Dossier Mexico (I) 2 AM 1K65e

⁷⁴ Paul Rivet as quoted in Peter C. Rhodes, United Press wire service, November 4, 1938, dateline: Paris. MNHN 2 AM 1K66a MEXCO (11)

⁷⁵ Press release inviting media to an information session to be held on January 18, 1939. MNHN 2 AM 1 11.

⁷⁶ Correspondence concerning *soirée mexicaine*. Soustelle to Gilberto Bosques, Consul General of Mexico. February 25, 1939. MNHN Archives Musée l'Homme Dossier Mexico (I) 2 AM 1K65e

⁷⁷ See Alex Saragoza, "The Selling of Mexico: Tourism and the State, 1929-1960," in *Fragments of a Golden Age: The Politics of Culture in Mexico Since 1940* edited by Gilbert Joseph, Anne Rubenstein & Eric Zolov with a forward by Elena Poniatowska (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), 91-115.

and by extension, the French public, could shift its gaze to the Latin countries of the Americas, it would decrease the cultural dominance of the United States in the French imagination. It also opened a window on part of the world where American influence often had a negative connotation because of aggressive American foreign policies in much of Latin America.⁷⁸ In 1938, Soustelle wrote a magazine article inviting academics and even tourists to consider the richness of Latin America as an alternative, and perhaps antidote, to Washington's heavy influence,

Nous vivons en un temps où un Etat américaine domine l'économie mondiale et même certaines formes de sentir ; son cinéma envahit nos villes, comme ses crises affolent nos bourses... On sait aussi qu'en dehors des Etats-Unis, le continent découvert et colonisé depuis quatre siècles porte de vastes cités saxonnes ou Latines : Québec, Mexico, La Havane, Rio, Buenos-Aires... Que reste-t-il donc à découvrir en Amérique?

...Au Mexique, au Pérou, dans toutes les Andes, dans les villages que l'on atteint sans peine par le rail ou la route, ou tout au plus à dos de mulet, vivent des Indiens à qui l'on a accordé le plus souvent qu'une attention distraite, comme à des choses trop habituelles. Or, jamais leur langage n'a fait l'objet d'une étude sérieuse, jamais on n'a recherché, derrière le mince écran du christianisme imposé, leurs véritables croyances, jamais on n'a entrepris une analyse approfondies de leurs caractères ethniques grâce aux méthodes les plus récentes de l'anthropologie. Le champ des recherches possibles est donc immense. Et il faut faire vite, car les populations perdent leur langages, oublient leurs traditions, disparaissent par le jeu des métissages.⁷⁹

Jacques Soustelle made a foundational contribution to modern Europe's comprehension and appreciation of Indigenous cultures in the Americas. The work is distinguished by the breadth of his curiosity and the elegance of his writing.⁸⁰

Ultimately, as a social scientist Soustelle had a foot in a world of collections driven by imperial ambition and another in an emerging, more popular, accessible,

⁷⁸ Jacques Soustelle. "Amérique inconnue", *SCIENCE*, May 193, .3-4. MNHN 2 AM 1B11a

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ For an assessment of Soustelle's contribution see the papers presented and published in 1995 in his honour. Jacqueline de Durand, Forest, Georges Baudot, and Jacques Soustelle. *Mille Ans De Civilisations mésoaméricaines : Des Mayas Aux Aztèques : Mélanges En l'Honneur De Jacques Soustelle* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1995).

diffusionniste (to use Christine Laurière's formulation) form of ethnology.⁸¹ He worked indefatigably to open a new museum to broader audiences. The new museum boasted its ability to stage exhibitions of material that Soustelle and his nineteenth-century scientific predecessors has wrested from Mesoamerica from an assumed position of European cultural superiority. In his political journalism from the 1930s, Soustelle celebrated the capacity of contemporary Indigenous peoples, who crafted a syncretic faith from indigenous and Christian roots of their own invention. He celebrated the capacity of indigenous Mexican cultures to adapt new technologies in domains such as agriculture and music. On the other hand, as his 1938 article in SCIENCE demonstrated, he also rued the process of *mestizaje* through which supposedly purely indigenous characteristics were subsumed in new regional and national identities.

Duncan Campbell Scott and Jacques Soustelle: The Artists As Mature Men

The final stages of the careers and public lives of Duncan Campbell Scott and Jacques Soustelle bear little resemblance. Scott faded elegantly from the scene into a respectful, fruitful retirement which lasted fifteen years; Soustelle never retired. He remained vitally active in France, Mexico and elsewhere until the end of his days. Scott retired in 1932. As a newly re-married man in his sixties, Scott settled into a life of writing, editing, playing and listening to music and receiving visitors from the world of letters and the visual arts at his handsome home on Lisgar Street in Ottawa until his death in December 1947.

Duncan Campbell Scott was saved from a solitary retirement by romance late in his life. Belle Botsford, Scott's first wife, died in 1929.⁸² The couple had lost their only

⁸¹ Laurière, *Paul Rivet* . 211-278.

⁸² Titley, *Narrow Vision*, 28-9.

child Elizabeth, when she died in 1907 of a fever while attending a Parisian convent school.⁸³ As a mature artist contemplating retirement from the civil service, Scott met a second muse who would come to mean as much to him as the young Archibald Lampman had meant when the two emerged as beacons of Canadian poetry. Elise Aylen was a young poet from a well-to-do French Canadian Ottawa family. In 1929, she was twenty-seven years old, the recently widowed Scott was sixty-seven. Aylen had approached the venerable Scott with samples of her poetry. Scott was soon smitten. He soon began to write amorous letters to her as he travelled the country on Department business,

Friday morning and what a glorious day – the sun pouring down the Bow Valley – the mountains like great crystals brilliant with snow & flawed with dark ridges and circles of trees... How I wish you cld see it all with your clear eyes & your sensitivness to beauty – I have seen the Rockies and the Selkirks many times but never in March & I have an added interest this time something makes me look at them thro' a lens that gives a new aspect a fresh meaning would that I cld get it into words & say them -⁸⁴

Scott wrote the forward to Aylen's Roses of Shadow, a collection of her poems. In that short essay, Scott expressed his dismay about much of modern poetry and, as he had done in his Presidential Address to The Royal Society of 1922, insisted that attentiveness to tradition was the only true means to advancement in the arts,

You cannot dispense with art in poetry, and art is a hard mistress, but she is liberal with rewards. Much of the ugliness of current free verse arises from the lack of practice in the older forms and if my advice were to be sought, I should advise poets to invent even more difficult forms within which to exercise their powers of invention. Mastery is to be gained through severe discipline rather than through easy liberty.⁸⁵

⁸³ Ibid, 29.

⁸⁴ Duncan Campbell Scott, letter to Elise Aylen CPR train March 6, 1929. LAC-BAC LMS-0204

⁸⁵ Duncan Campbell Scott forward to *Roses of Shadow*, Elise Aylen (London: Macmillan at St. Martin's House, 1930), iv

The introduction to Ayles's collection reveals an important element of Scott's assessment of poetry. He was not anti-modern, but believed newer poetry should be rooted in classical forms. Here, as in his essay to the Royal Society, *Poetry and Progress*, Scott argued for a demanding intellectual standard for development of the arts in Canada.

The determination evinced in his office life began to diminish, at least privately, as his relationship with Ayles blossomed. In their correspondence, the ageing Scott gave vent to some frustration with his civil service career. As he travelled the country by train on Department business in 1930, the love-struck sexagenarian Scott expressed frustration with his efforts to balance the demands of the Department with his artistic pursuits. As he headed west in the late autumn of 1930, Scott wrote a long letter to Ayles from Winnipeg and Regina. In this epistle, Scott wrote about the tensions between his artistic bent and his civil service job after meeting some ambitious prairie entrepreneurs, but steadied himself with more characteristic resolve,

This business life would kill me, the men I meet all splendid fellows bent on making money seem so far away from me, I can only tolerate the Dept at home by forgetting it and living that other life, ineffective enough I suppose but more natural. I have had time to read your two dear letters they made me very homesick and dissatisfied wch was not the effect you intended. The written words are sometimes as perverse & contrary as the spoken; not that the letters did not [illegible word] of you in every line, they did, but they made me weary of myself & what I am and what I ought to be. However this is a weakness that must be overcome.⁸⁶

Scott and Ayles were married in 1932, the year of Scott's retirement. They travelled extensively in Europe and throughout North America; and they settled into a highly cultured life in Ottawa. Scott made almost no further mention of his Indian

⁸⁶ Duncan Campbell Scott, letter to Elise Ayles, posted at Regina November 16, 1930. LAC-BAC, LMS-0204, Box 1, Folder 4.

Department career. The house on Lisgar Street became a salon of sorts for writers, painters and musicians.⁸⁷

Aylen continued to write poetry, historical novels and, most remarkably, a play based on D.H. Lawrence's novel The Plumed Serpent.⁸⁸ Lawrence's work concerns the love affair between a British tourist and a charismatic Indigenous leader who leads a revolt rooted in aboriginal Mexican spirituality. The Plumed Serpent depicts the twentieth-century Indigenous Mexican equivalent of political and religious practices which were illegal under The Indian Act for aboriginals in Canada during Scott's tenure at the Department. The origins and inspiration of Aylen's unpublished manuscript for a play that was never produced, are murky. There is no record of a meeting or any correspondence between Aylen and Lawrence; and Lawrence died in 1930 before Aylen and Scott married.⁸⁹ In 1939, Scott and Aylen travelled together to the American west. Lawrence had lived at a ranch near Taos, New Mexico for part of the 1920s while he made several extended trips to Mexico.⁹⁰ Aylen's adaptation of Lawrence's novel, although not precisely dated, was written while she was married to Scott and living on Lisgar Street.

The fifteen years that Scott and Aylen had shared following his retirement were busy with dedication to writing, the arts in general and travel throughout Canada, the United States and Europe. Scott assumed the role of elder statesman of Canadian arts and letters. As World War II ground to a close in Europe, Scott wrote to E.K. Brown, with

⁸⁷ Gwyn, ; Titley, *Narrow Vision*, 28.

⁸⁸ Elise Aylen, *The Plumed Serpent, A Play in Three Acts. From the Novel by D.H. Lawrence*, LAC-BAC, LMS-0204, Box 7, Folder 8. The manuscript is undated, but the cover address is "Mrs. A.E. Scott, 108 Lisgar St." Aylen lived in the house from her marriage to Scott in 1932 until his death in 1947.

⁸⁹ Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.

<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/view/article/34435> (accessed June 2013).

⁹⁰ A very useful "Biographical Note" including a timeline of Scott's life and times appears in - Scott, *Selected Poetry*, v-viii.

whom he had collaborated on a Lampman collection, about Lawren Harris, a member of the Group of Seven, who had just passed by Lisgar Avenue,

Lawren Harris was here yesterday just for a day, came in about half past four, had a cup of tea, smoked two cigarettes, cleaned his picture which needed it badly, had an animated talk, went into my bedroom at half after five, slept soundly for three quarters of an hour and then was off to dinner and a meeting and the night train to Toronto. Here is a man I admire greatly.⁹¹

Harris was but one of the painters who visited the Scott-Aylen home and whose work was hung there.

Scott was one of the first Canadian establishment figures to embrace the work of Emily Carr. Emily Carr had initially faced rejection for her effort to bring the sensibilities of impressionist painting she had studied in Paris to West Coast Indigenous villages, and the rain forests and seascapes of the north-west.⁹² She had been ridiculed in stern Victoria, British Columbia, and initially rejected by the National Gallery in Ottawa. Finally in 1927, Carr gained acceptance at age 56 when her canvasses were included in a ground-breaking National Gallery of Canada exhibition, *West Coast Art: Native and Modern*. In 1941, she sent two of her paintings to the Scott's for their wedding anniversary, "and also as a tribute to the beauty & pleasure Dr. Scott has given to Canada through his poems."⁹³ The canvasses were eventually donated by Elise Aylen to The National Gallery of Canada. In her correspondence with Scott, Carr expressed admiration for his poems and wrote of her struggle in writing stories on Indian themes.⁹⁴

⁹¹ Duncan Campbell Scott, letter to E.K. Brown, May 10-12, 1944. LAC-BAC, E.K. Brown correspondence MG30 D61 Vol. 3

⁹² Michael Ostroff, director, *Winds of Heaven: Emily Carr, Carvers and The Spirits of The Forest* (documentary film) (Toronto, Cine Metu in Co-production with White Pine Pictures, 2010)

⁹³ Emily Carr letter to Duncan Campbell Scott and Elise Aylen, March 22, 1941. LAC-BAC, LMS-0204, Box 10, Folder 31

⁹⁴ Emily Carr, letters to Duncan Campbell Scott July 2 and August 24, 1941. LAC-BAC, LMS-0204, Box 10, Folder 31

The warm relationship between Carr and Scott has been overlooked in the scholarship about them as individuals. As a painter, Carr is generally regarded as an artist who synthesized Aboriginal themes in a respectful and haunting manner. Klee Wyck, Carr's 1941 book based on her observations of Indigenous communities in British Columbia, won the Governor General's Award for non-fiction in 1942.⁹⁵ Carr is today generally respected as an artist who had great sympathies with Aboriginal peoples, while Scott is often a vilified character because of his association with Canadian Indian policy. His friend Emily Carr, who regarded him as an inspiration, has not met a similar fate.

Scott also befriended the great Québécois landscape artist Clarence Gagnon whose paintings Scott collected. The choice is fitting because Gagnon's pastoral work set in Québec mirrored the society that Scott described in his French Canadian stories, which were among Scott's first published work.⁹⁶ Prior to joining the Canadian public service, the adolescent Scott had attended Stanstead College in the Eastern Townships of Quebec and had childhood associations with Quebec rural parishes that his father visited for his clerical work.

In 1919, Scott came to Gagnon's assistance in researching "native pigments" Gagnon was considering using in his paintings.⁹⁷ In 1921, Scott helped Gagnon determine the origins of a tomahawk that Gagnon had found in the Quebec bush. In each case, Scott referred the matter to the Anthropological Branch of the Geological Survey of Canada. In the case of the tomahawk, Scott reported back to Gagnon that folklorist

⁹⁵ The Canadian Encyclopedia <http://thecanadianencyclopedia.com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/articles/emily-carr> (accessed June 2013).

⁹⁶ Duncan Campbell Scott, *In the Village of Viger and Other Stories*. New Canadian Library ; no. 92. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1973. Original publication (Boston: Copeland and Day, 1896)

⁹⁷ Duncan Campbell Scott letter to Clarence Gagnon, February 8, 1919 and August 2, 1921. LAC-BAC, LMS-0204, Box 11

Marius Barbeau had examined the tomahawk but could not provide a conclusive answer about its history.⁹⁸ A few days later, Scott sought a return favour in eliciting information from Gagnon about accommodation in Paris, a city where Gagnon often lived,

We have not been in Paris since 1907. Can you give me a few addresses for small hotels or pensions with reasonable rates? Don't imagine that we want anything extravagant because we don't, something on the left bank, comfortable and reasonable.⁹⁹

Scott wrote six years later to Gagnon in Paris to congratulate the artist on his inclusion in a major exhibition which put Canadian artists on an equal footing with the best French art could offer in the 1920s.¹⁰⁰ Scott's keen interest in the world of visual art is further confirmed by a letter from Gagnon in 1931 commenting in detail on the effect the Depression was having on the prices of paintings.¹⁰¹

Despite their geographic differences, Carr was painting the north-west and Gagnon was representing Laurentian landscapes, there is a common factor in their work: both focused on landscape. Indian people, generally viewed either as mythologized figures from the past or contemporaries of Scott in the process of acculturation, often figured in Scott's Indian poems; they were not present in the paintings he collected. Despite her fascination with Native peoples, Carr's British Columbian work is primarily of the natural world without people. Gagnon's villages and snow-covered vistas from Quebec are similarly depopulated. Another of Scott's painter friends, Lawren Harris, like other Group of Seven members, often depicted regions of Ontario, such as the north shore of Lake Superior and Algonquin Park which are inhabited by Algonquian peoples who

⁹⁸ Duncan Campbell Scott letter to Clarence Gagnon, August 2, 1921. LAC-BAC, LMS-0204, Box 11

⁹⁹ Duncan Campbell Scott letter to Clarence Gagnon, August 6, 1921. LAC-BAC, LMS-0204, Box 11

¹⁰⁰ Duncan Campbell Scott letter to Clarence Gagnon, December 1, 1927. LAC-BAC, LMS-0204, Box 11

¹⁰¹ Clarence Gagnon letter to Duncan Campbell Scott, June 6, 1931. LAC-BAC, LMS-0204, Box 11

never appear in the paintings. Perhaps selection of such paintings for his home reflected Scott's own apparent lack of interest in Indigenous peoples following his retirement.

As we have seen earlier, Scott lived through the beginning of the electronic communication. He was frequently involved with radio broadcasts in the early days of the CBC. He contributed scripts and poetry to the fledgling national broadcaster. He was also the subject of a feature commemorating his seventy-eighth birthday in 1944.¹⁰² Scott was also involved in the early days of Canadian documentary filmmaking when the National Film Board of Canada emerged as a producer of film propaganda during World War II. During the World War I, Scott had written poems mourning a Canadian pilot and another for the mothers of deceased Canadian soldiers.¹⁰³ When World War II reached its end, the elderly Scott was invited to contribute a poem to the National Film Board as part of the narration for the production "A Salute To Victory". National Film Commissioner John Grierson wrote to acknowledge Scott's contribution, "We have been honoured in this association with a creative talent of which Canada has long had reason to be proud."¹⁰⁴ Grierson sent flowers along with his note. Scott acknowledged their receipt with gratitude.¹⁰⁵

Finally, Scott made a posthumous CBC appearance on air on January 16, 1948 as part of a "National School Broadcast on Canadian Poets". Scott had been recorded in late

¹⁰² Emily Carr listened to the broadcast in Victoria, British Columbia. Emily Carr, letters to Duncan Campbell Scott, June 23, 1944. LAC-BAC, LMS-0204, Box 10, Folder 31

¹⁰³ Scott, "To A Canadian Aviator Who Died for His Country in France"; "To the Canadian Mothers, 1914-1918" both poems appear Scott, *Selected Poems of Duncan Campbell Scott with a Memoir by E.K. Brown* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1951), 169-71.

¹⁰⁴ John Grierson, Government Film Commissioner, letter to Duncan Campbell Scott, May 10, 1945, LAC-BAC, LMS-0204, Box 11, Folder 37

¹⁰⁵ Duncan Campbell Scott letter to John Grierson, May 15, 1945. LAC-BAC, LMS – 0204, Box 11, Folder 37.

1947 prior to his death that December. He was introduced to CBC listeners with the following script,

In an old house in a quiet corner of Ottawa there lived, until within a few days of last Christmas, a man who was the last member of a group of four celebrated Canadian poets of a past generation. Duncan Campbell Scott, tall, grave-faced gentle-voiced – more like a Bishop than a Poet. A man of affairs who had yet found time to dream. A man rich in the experience of life, whose passing takes much from Canadian poetry; a Poet whose going will be mourned by all lovers of verse.

Two careers were his – that of Poet and high office in the Department of Indian Affairs. His work took him into the wild north country, made him familiar with its woodland and sky, rivers and streams – and above all, its Red Man.¹⁰⁶

Scott is heard briefly in the broadcast. It is the only recording of his voice extant. A frail, aged, thin-voiced poet reads a few lines billed as “a message for the children of Canada”.

Scott ended his brief performance with the following couplet,

If you be in search of Beauty,
Go where Beauty dwells.¹⁰⁷

Elise Aylen sold the house on Lisgar Street and left Canada forever within a year

of Scott’s death. Eventually she would settle at an ashram in India where she died in

1972.¹⁰⁸ In the weeks following Scott’s death, the grieving Aylen wrote to the family

friend and Scott’s co-editor of Lampman poetry, E.K. Brown,

Dear Edward,

Thank you and Peggy so much for your kind word of sympathy. I am sorry to have been so long in answering. I have written about fifty letters already, but all more or less formal ones. Somehow that seemed easier to me than the more

¹⁰⁶ Letter from R.S. Lambert, Supervisor of Educational Broadcasts, CBC to Mrs. Duncan Campbell Scott (Elise Aylen), December 31, 1947. Lambert sent Aylen a copy of the script as a courtesy prior to broadcast. LAC-BAC Correspondence CBC May 5 1939 – February 11, 1948.

- Recording of the National Schools Broadcast, January 16, 1948. LAC-BAC, V1 2000-02-0009 (ISN 108498) CD 8065 (1)

¹⁰⁷ Letter from R.S. Lambert, Supervisor of Educational Broadcasts, CBC to Mrs. Duncan Campbell Scott (Elise Aylen), December 31, 1947. Lambert sent Aylen a copy of the script as a courtesy prior to broadcast. LAC-BAC Correspondence CBC May 5 1939 – February 11, 1948.

¹⁰⁸ Some of Aylen’s works and ephemera about her life are stored in LAC-BAC, LMS-0204, Box 7, Folder 8; Box 9, Folders 5 and 8. The bulk of the correspondence between Aylen and Scott is in Box 1 in the same fonds.

personal ones. To write those who are our friends, and were close to us, costs one more. I still feel half dazed and wholly exhausted, and the dreadful pain and pity of his illness is still in possession of my mind. I wake up at night calling for the nurse, before I can realize the way things are. And when I look about the house and do not see him, I feel like a swimmer in deep water – I keep trying to find something solid to stand on and there seems to be nothing beneath me but an infinite depth. Perhaps it is as well that it is necessary for me to rent the house at once. I am already packing up and will leave as soon as I can find a tenant.¹⁰⁹

Jacques Soustelle returned to France in 1968 from self-exile after his falling out with de Gaulle. Following the student revolt in France of May 1968, Soustelle took advantage of a general amnesty offered by the de Gaulle government to return. While he had been pursued and carefully monitored by French intelligence because he was suspected of plotting against de Gaulle, Soustelle was not apprehended, and even briefly returned clandestinely to France, during his seven years abroad.¹¹⁰ Upon his 1968 return, he resumed a very active public life engaged with academic, political and publishing activities, his reputation tarnished by his impolitic opposition to Algerian independence which had been achieved in the Evian Accords of 1962.¹¹¹

In the last decades of his life, respect for Soustelle's writing and his broad *connaissance* of Mexico had a mitigating effect on the almost overwhelmingly negative assessment of his role in Algerian-French conflict. The fascination with Mexico that had inspired the graduate student prodigy endured. Les quatre soleils, his meditation on ethnological practice and the rise and fall of civilizations as seen through the prism of Mexico, was greeted with critical enthusiasm by academics and journalists.¹¹² Soustelle

¹⁰⁹ Elise Aylen, letter to E.K. Brown, January 12, 1948. LAC-BAC, E.K. Brown correspondence, MG 30 D61 Vol 3, Folder: Scott, Elise Aylen.

¹¹⁰ Bernard Ullmann, *Jacques Soustelle – Le Mal aimé* (Paris: Plon, 1995), 319-48.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 363-89.

¹¹² Jacques Soustelle, *Les quatre soleils : L'itinéraire intellectuel de Jacques Soustelle, ethnographe du Mexique terre indienne* (Paris: Plon, 1967). Positive reviews included Charles Melchior-Bonnet, *Historia*,

had written most of it in various libraries and apartments in Italy, Switzerland and Belgium during his self-imposed exile just prior to returning to France. The book's publication served as a reminder of Soustelle's preeminent status among European *savants* whatever his role in the Algerian-French conflict had been. The clarity and broad appeal of his writing style made Soustelle a sought after authority on subjects concerning the Mexican past. He worked as a writer and presenter on documentary films about Mexico made for national French television audiences. His on-air style was quite effective, even energetic, as he strode through jungles in Chiapas, ascended the steps of ruined temples, or performed long, elegantly written stand-ups in the exhibit rooms of the National Museum of Anthropology in Mexico City.¹¹³ With the election of centre-right president Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, Soustelle was given the task of reviewing France's system of post-secondary education in the social sciences.¹¹⁴ He proffered a ringing argument for funding of French research in disciplines including archaeology, anthropology and ethnology. As he and Paul Rivet had asserted in the 1930s with their writings and the establishment of le Musée de l'homme, Soustelle continued to believe that a lively milieu of French academic programs and public institutions dedicated to the social sciences should be national priorities. Re-established as a professor at l'Université de Paris, Soustelle supervised numerous doctoral candidates after his 1968 return.¹¹⁵

February, 1968 ; Lucien Guissard, "Les Quatre Soleils : un voyage philosophique", *La Croix*, October 22, 1967 ; L.L., "Un livre essentiel," *La Cité*, November 22-23 1969.

¹¹³ Soustelle, producer and commentary and Marcel Boudo, director, *La Splendeur Du Mexique Ancien - Les Azteques (3 Parties)*, (Paris and Mexico City: France 3 and Televisa, 1978); Other TV productions featuring Soustelle include *Chilam Balam*, commentary by Jacques Soustelle (Paris: France 2, 1981; *Les Mayas* (3 parts), commentary by Jacques Soustelle (Paris: TF1, 1976).

¹¹⁴ Jacques Soustelle, *Rapport Sur La Recherche Française En Archéologie Et Anthropologie* (Paris: La Documentation française, 1975).

¹¹⁵ Ullmann, *mal aimé*, 390-4.

Although his standing as a Latin American expert was re-affirmed, Soustelle remained a political undesirable. He never escaped from the dark shadow of his thinking and actions about the Algerian question. Assumptions of his association with l'Organisation armée secrète (OAS) were reliably established in 1995 with the publication of Bernard Ullmann's biography.¹¹⁶ Ullmann proved that Soustelle had participated in planning an assassination attempt against Charles de Gaulle. He also established that there were no direct links between Soustelle and OAS acts of violence against civilians. As if the Algerian matter was insufficient to sully his name, Soustelle further complicated his reputation by taking unfashionable stands in defense of Israel and the South African government in the dying days of apartheid. As with l'Algérie française, Soustelle was adamant in his defense of Israel and South Africa. Soustelle believed that a Zionist government could only reach an accommodation with Palestinian moderates and that the final administrations of apartheid-era South Africa would achieve a democratic accommodation with the African National Congress only when and if the ANC and its allies abandoned all violent activities.¹¹⁷ Soustelle's qualified redemption in the eyes of the French élite was complete in 1984 when he was named to l'Académie française despite the opposition of loyal Gaullists and the left.¹¹⁸ Soustelle died in 1990 at 68 years of age.¹¹⁹

Conclusion

In the twenty-first century, Duncan Campbell Scott's poetry still provides a means to understand late and post-Victorian conceptions of Indigenoussness that were prevalent

¹¹⁶ Ibid,

¹¹⁷ Jacques Soustelle, "Ou veut-on venir à Pretoria?" *Le Monde*, December 3, 1977; Jacques Soustelle, *La Longue Marche d'Israel*, (Paris : Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1968) ; Ullmann, *mal aimé*, 363-7.

¹¹⁸ Ullmann, *mal aimé*, 400-4.

¹¹⁹ Ibid, 408-9.

among the elite of an emerging Canadian nation-state. Scott's profound interest in visual art, his involvement with the theatre both at Ottawa's Little Theatre and at Hart House in Toronto as well as ongoing musical interests were perhaps not uncommon for a deeply cultured senior civil servant. In Scott's case, these pursuits, which bespeak an appreciation of a broad swath of the humanities, must be juxtaposed with his Indian Department activities which in the 1920s were an expression of Canadian coercive assimilation at its apogee, with Scott acting as its most powerful administrator and spokesperson.

Jacques Soustelle's ethnological *oeuvre* enjoys a higher reputation in its field today than Scott's poems and poetry do in Canadian letters.¹²⁰ Broadly speaking, Soustelle's social scientific work, and his reputation, survive due to his central role in the reformation of French ethnology in the 1930s and because his Mexican works remain eminently readable and accessible to a broad audience located largely in Europe and North America.

¹²⁰ See Durand-Forest, Baudot and Soustelle, *Mille ans de civilisation Mésoaméricaine*.

6. Politics

Introduction

Aujourd'hui la partie est jouée ; l'humanité est nationale; le laïc a gagné. Mais son triomphe passe tout ce qu'il pouvait croire. Le clerc n'est pas seulement vaincu, il est assimilé. L'homme de science, l'artiste, le philosophe sont attachés à leur nation autant que le laboureur ou le marchand;...¹

- Julien Benda -

In 1927, Julien Benda skewered the spirit of his intellectual times in a slim, but ground-breaking, work published in Paris, *La Trahison des clercs* (The Betrayal of The Intellectuals, or The Great Betrayal.)² Benda produced his work in the aftermath of the horrors of World War I. He predicted that nationalism, fuelled, in his view, by a *trahison* of artists, scientists, clergy and educators – the thinking class that Benda held accountable for popular attitudes – would inevitably lead to another global conflict. The rise of fascism and the outbreak of World War II gave Benda's masterwork the patina of prophecy.

Benda wrote at a time when Duncan Campbell Scott was at the height of his powers in the Canadian Indian Department and when Jacques Soustelle was beginning his meteoric rise in French academic life. Benda believed that in the modern era the primary legacy of both Greek philosophy and of the enlightenment – independent and challenging free thinking - had been bent to the service of the nation. In this chapter I shall explore how Scott and Soustelle were each instruments of national policies and of an idealized conception of the state that trumped ethical concerns. In their duty both Scott

¹ Julien Benda, *La Trahison des clercs* (Paris: Les Cahiers Verts, 1927), 222

² Benda, *The Treason of the Intellectuals*, translated by Richard Aldington (New York: W. Morrison, 1928 also New York: Norton, 1969); Benda, *The Great Betrayal* (London: G. Routledge & Sons Ltd., 1928).

and Soustelle sometimes betrayed ideals that were the supposed foundation of the nations they were called to serve.

Scott's '*trahison*' was to repress what he otherwise considered universal principles of liberal political development and human rights to departmental policy. As a literary artist, Scott espoused widely held views of intellectual progress and the liberal political development his young country.³ As a '*clerc*' Scott employed his intellect, ambition and skill to a 'narrow vision' (to borrow E. Brian Titley's turn of phrase) of Canadian Indian administration that vitiated human rights.⁴ Scott determined that Indian policy would help forge a national identity. That identity was constructed in a narrow British tradition despite the presence of Aboriginal peoples and the arrival of many non-British immigrant communities, languages and cultures in the new nation of Canada.

France's anguish over the Algerian question consumed Jacques Soustelle's energies for more than a decade; his role in the Algerian-French conflict continues to define him significantly in the twenty-first century. The drama of Algerian independence and the bitter struggle among the French over Algeria became personal in the battle between Charles de Gaulle and his one-time acolyte and political *dauphin*, Soustelle. In the era following World War II as a global process of de-colonization began, Soustelle was placed on the frontlines of that struggle when named Governor General of Algeria in early 1955. Soustelle was prepared for Algeria both as an ethnographer and as a *résistant* who had served de Gaulle and the Free France movement in Mexico, London and Algeria

³ The theme of progress is an undercurrent in much of Scott's poetic and prose work. He enunciated his own view on the subject most clearly in an address to the Royal Society of Canada in 1922. Duncan Campbell Scott, "Poetry and Progress" in Scott, Leslie Ritchie, ed. introduction by Stan Dragland *Addresses, Essays, and Reviews Vol 1* (London, Ont.: Canadian Poetry Press, 2000). Also re-published in Dragland, *Duncan Campbell Scott: A Book of Criticism* (Ottawa: The Tecumseh Press, 1974, 7-30.

⁴ E. Brian Titley, *A Narrow Vision: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1986)

during World War II. As an intellectual, Soustelle's appointment represented a last ditch attempt by France to lever Soustelle's academic background and specialized knowledge of Indigenous peoples to drive an ambitious but belated set of reforms.⁵ Ultimately, as his short tenure as Governor General wound down, Soustelle chose to defend French militarization of the conflict and to oversee the implementation of repressive measures. Under extreme circumstances, testing the strength of democratic institutions in Republican France, Soustelle was fired from de Gaulle's cabinet and then embarked on a campaign in exile to reverse the course of history over Algerian independence.⁶

Overview of Scott and Soustelle

In his lifetime, Duncan Campbell Scott incarnated pervasive, profoundly mixed, often contradictory and confused beliefs over the question of aboriginal peoples in Canada. Scott's role in the drama encompassed direct responsibility for the establishment and management of residential schools; for the suppression of Indigenous expressions of spirituality; and for the Canadian government's hostile response to early twentieth-century efforts by Indigenous peoples to engage in political mobilization and to organize themselves over fundamental legal questions concerning title to 'Indian' lands in Canada. Scott played a principal role in all of these matters.⁷ At the time of writing, Canada's complicity in the deaths of thousands of aboriginal children under its care in residential

⁵ Jacques Soustelle, *Aimée et souffrante Algérie* (Paris: Plon, 1956), 5-7; Alistair Horne, *A Savage War of Peace: Algeria, 1954-1962* (New York: Viking Press, 1978), 105-7; Todd Shepard, "How Ethnographic Research in 1930s Mexico Shaped French Efforts to Fight Algerian Nationalism in 1955." Paper delivered at UNESCO conference, Cambridge, April 6-7, 2009: 2-8.

⁶ Horne, *Savage War*, 341, 473; Bernard Ullmann, *Jacques Soustelle le mal aimé* (Paris: Plon, 1995), 292-8.

⁷ See for example John Sheridan Milloy, *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879-1986* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1999), 70, 87-8, 94-5, 109, 149-50; Titley, *Narrow Vision*, 48-51, 90-93, 142-61 Katherine Pettipas, *Severing the Ties that Bind: Government Repression of Indigenous Religious Ceremonies on the Prairies* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1994), 123-4, 146-7, 164-5.

schools during the period Scott served the Indian Department at the highest level is under investigation by a Truth and Reconciliation Commission.⁸

As a senior civil servant who worked for both Conservative and Liberal governments, Scott's actions are representative of a consensus about Indian policy shared by Canadian elites. Historian Ian McKay has characterized Scott as one of the "organic intellectuals" at the core of Canada's early twentieth-century civilizing thrust into the Canadian west and north.⁹ McKay correctly positions Scott, whom he describes as "the brilliant *fin-de-siècle* poet-administrator", as a critical figure among Canadian cultural and political figures who merit reconsideration in aid of a *reconnaissance* of Canadian history.¹⁰ McKay's instructive work on the Canadian liberal order framework challenges Canadian historians to look beyond the "inevitability and goodness" of Canada and to ponder alternative overarching models of Canadian history,

..this stance means taking *much more seriously* than is conventionally the case the Canadian liberals themselves – as coherent and rigorous proponents of a continent-wide transformation of society, inheritors of a great intellectual tradition which they then articulated to the vast heterogeneous terrain they sought to understand and to transform.¹¹

In McKay's rejection of Canadian "inevitability and goodness," he correctly targets the centrality of Indian policy as a defining manifestation of the project of Canadian nationhood in the critical period from the inception of the process that led to confederation and the conclusion of World War II, roughly 1850 to 1945,

⁸ Website for Truth and Reconciliation Canada <http://www.trc.ca/websites/trcinstitution/index.php?p=3> First accessed January 2012; Bill Curry and Karen Howlatt, "Natives Died in Doves as Ottawa Ignored Warnings." *The Globe and Mail*, April 24, 2007, First section.

⁹ Ian McKay, "The Liberal Order Framework: A Prospectus for a Reconnaissance of Canadian History." *Canadian Historical Review* 81, no. 4 (Dec. 2000): 617-51; McKay, "Canada as a Long Liberal Revolution" in *Liberalism and Hegemony: Debating the Canadian Liberal Revolution*, Jean-François Constant and Michel Ducharme (Toronto-Buffalo-London: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 347-452.

¹⁰ I McKay, "Long Liberal Revolution," 381.

¹¹ McKay, "Long Liberal Revolution," 353.

That the country was (and in some respects still is) a ‘white settlers’ dominion’, whose predominant political, legal and religious systems were imposed on its indigenous inhabitants, is an underlying assumption of the liberal order framework.¹²

Duncan Campbell Scott’s role in Canadian Indian policy gives proof to McKay’s assertion about Canadian liberals, “The burden of responsibility for the most glaring offences against “Liberal democracy” must be born by liberals themselves.”¹³

In the emerging Canadian state the relationship between a newly dominant national governing cohort dominated by non-Aboriginals and the Aboriginal groups residing in the wake and at the margins of a rapidly developing settler society was foundational and defining. Scott spent his bureaucratic career at the heart of the machinery of Canadian Indian policy during this crucial period. His legacy, and that of the explicitly assimilatory era of Canadian Indian policy, remain a matter of fundamental importance for Canadian historians and political theorists.¹⁴

Jacques Soustelle’s involvement in the Franco-Algerian drama coincided with the post-World War II ascendancy of existential philosophy. In his intellectual combat over the future of French Algeria Soustelle was engaged directly and rhetorically with two leaders of French existentialism, the novelist-playwright-essayist Albert Camus and the philosopher-novelist-playwright-political activist Jean-Paul Sartre.

Albert Camus was an Algerian of European background. The Franco-Algerian conflict caused him great political and personal anguish. His opposition to Algerian

¹² McKay, “Long Liberal Revolution,” 361.

¹³ McKay, *Rebels, Reds, Radicals: Rethinking Canada's Left History* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2005), 89.

¹⁴ See as examples McKay, “Liberal Order,” 626-7, 640, 644; John Ralston Saul, *A Fair Country: Telling Truths about Canada* (Toronto: Viking, 2008); Dale Turner, “Liberalism’s Last Stand; Aboriginal Sovereignty and Minority Rights” in Curtis Cook and Juan David Lindau eds, *Aboriginal Rights and Self-Government : The Canadian and Mexican Experience in North American Perspective* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000), 51-68.

independence and his denunciation of terror tactics employed by both sides in the conflict made Camus an isolated figure among French intellectuals of the period.¹⁵ As we shall see, his isolation was shared, to some extent, by Jacques Soustelle, and to a considerable extent, by Soustelle's fellow ethnographer Germaine Tillion.

Jean-Paul Sartre stood on the other side of a bitter divide between French intellectuals.¹⁶ Sartre advocated Algerian independence and embraced violent revolution and even terror tactics of the Algerian National Liberation Front (FLN) as a legitimate response to the violence of more than 125 years of French colonial rule in Algeria.¹⁷ The high stakes debate over the Algerian conflict among French intellectuals, and the sometimes extreme responses of Soustelle in that drama, provide a case study of the comportment of intellectuals caught in pressurized political situations and military conflicts. Soustelle's role during the period he served as Governor General has been overshadowed to some extent by his notorious opposition to President de Gaulle's choice to surrender Algeria. In this chapter, my interests are focused on Soustelle's reform program as Governor General, which was inspired significantly by his experiences in Mexico, and by his response to increasingly violent resistance to French rule during his administration. I am fascinated by the widely shared observation that Soustelle's

¹⁵ See Albert Camus, *Actuelles III Chroniques Algériennes 1939-1958* (Paris: Gallimard, 1958) This is an essential compendium of Camus' journalism and political essays on the Algerian question.

¹⁶ See Raoul Girardet, *L'Idée Coloniale En France De 1871 à 1962* (Paris: La table ronde, 1972), 218-9; Roger Navarri, "Sartre et la névrose « algérienne, »" in Philippe Baudorre ed., *La Plume Dans La Plaie: Les Écrivains Journalistes Et La Guerre d'Algérie* (Bordeaux: Presses universitaires de Bordeaux, 2003), 137-48; Horne, *Savage War*, 237-8; See also James D. Le Sueur, "Decolonizing 'French Universalism' Reconsidering the impact of the Algerian War on French Intellectuals," in Le Sueur, ed. *The Decolonizing Reader* (London: Routledge, 2003), 103-117; Le Sueur, *Uncivil War: Intellectuals and Identity Politics during the Decolonization of Algeria* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001); Ronald Aronson, *Camus & Sartre: The Story of a Friendship and the Quarrel that Ended it* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

¹⁷ See Jean-Paul Sartre, *Situations V, Colonialisme et néo-colonialisme* (Paris: Gallimard, 1964) This collection includes a number of articles which outline Sartre's views on the Algerian question, perhaps most importantly his introduction to *Les Damnés de la terre*, the eponymous 1961 text of Frantz Fanon.

reformist zeal was squelched by the realities of war.¹⁸ To what extent did Soustelle, while Governor General, betray his own principals in defence of the French position in Algeria?

The Question of Politics

Duncan Campbell Scott's role in Canadian Indian policy also poses discomfoting questions for the intellectual historian. Was Scott personally culpable for Canadian Indian policy during a period through which most historical observers agree the Canadian state systematically violated the basic human rights of Aboriginal peoples in Canada? Unlike Soustelle, who was clearly exceptional in so many regards, the problem of Duncan Campbell Scott unsettles the historical curiosity in no small part because, as Hannah Arendt famously observed of Albert Eichmann, Scott, although he became a government mandarin and leading cultural figure, was in some respects, "terribly and terrifyingly normal."¹⁹ My intent is not to equate Canadian Indian policy with Nazism, but in Arendt's journalistic account of the Eichmann trial and her highly articulated (and vigorously contested) portrayal of Eichmann's "banality," she raised broader questions about individual responsibility and accountability of bureaucrats under the rule of wrong-minded government.²⁰ In that respect, Arendt's analysis is fundamental to a consideration of Scott, and others like him, the accomplished and, in some aspects of their lives, even laudable, executors of Canadian Indian policy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

This chapter looks at Scott and Soustelle at moments of political exigency. My approach is deliberately selective, focussing on specific incidents and related archival

¹⁸ Bernard Droz and Évelyne Lever, *Histoire De La Guerre d'Algérie (1954-1962)* (Paris: Seuil, 1982), 74-5; Alistair Horne, *A Savage War of Peace: Algeria, 1954-1962* (New York: Viking Press, 1978), 117.

¹⁹ Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem* (New York: Penguin Group, 1963), 276

²⁰ *Ibid*, 252

evidence. It highlights, compares, contrasts and juxtaposes certain episodes that reveal aspects of Scott's and Soustelle's behaviour under defining, conflicted political circumstances.

Canadian historiography about the Indian Department has developed greatly in the past 25 years.²¹ The chapter does not provide a general overview of Scott's complicity in a wide range of department policies, but to carefully observe his defence of specific initiatives he launched to enhance departmental control over Indian education and so-called enfranchisement, the policy by which Canadian Indians could surrender their aboriginal or treaty rights in order to gain full Canadian citizenship.²²

Many eminent historians and journalists have looked in great detail at the Franco-Algerian conflict in the period surrounding Soustelle's tenure as Governor General in 1955-6.²³ This chapter will not repeat that narrative. The chapter considers Soustelle's performance as Governor General in light of his training and experience as an ethnologist and veteran *résistant* with formative experiences in Mexico of the 1930s and 1940s. This *formation* made Soustelle an unparalleled representative of the French intellectual class thought suited to take on the governorship of a teetering Algeria. Soustelle's nomination by a French centre-left government to the role of Governor General in late 1954, seconded by his war-time commander de Gaulle, make him a classic case of a *clerc* leaping eagerly to the service of his nation in dubious circumstances to serve a poorly articulated cause.

²¹ See bibliography for works including those by Robin Jarvis Brownlie, Sarah Carter, Olive Patricia Dickason, J.R. Miller, John S. Milloy and E. Brian Titley.

²² Titley, *Narrow Vision*, 4, 9, 12, 13, 34, 44, 48-51, 90, 104-7, 114-16, 203.

²³ For respected and literate overviews of the Algerian conflict, see Charles-Robert Ageron, *Histoire De l'Algérie Contemporaine* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1979); Yves Courrière, *La Guerre d'Algérie* (Paris: Fayard, 2001); Bernard Droz et Évelyne Lever. *Histoire De La Guerre d'Algérie (1954-1962)* (Paris: Seuil, 1982); Horne, *Savage War*; Alain-Gérard Slama, *La Guerre d'Algérie: Histoire d'Une Déchirure* (Paris: Gallimard, 1996).

Duncan Campbell Scott: Tightening the Vise of Canadian Indian Policy

Duncan Campbell Scott's role in Indian Department business can be interpreted in many ways. Was Scott an artist simply too dulled by duty to sift through the implications of Departmental policy? It is a plausible explanation. Was he merely 'following orders' when it came to the grinding gears of the Canadian Indian policy mechanism? Or was he inspired by a keen ideological desire to see that the assimilation program could be made ever more effective?

E.K. Brown elicited perhaps the most direct comment that Scott ever offered about his work at the Indian Department,

Your remarks about the Indian poems are very good. I had for about twenty years oversight of their development and I was never unsympathetic to aboriginal ideals, but there was the law which I did not originate and which I never tried to amend in the direction of severity. One can hardly be sympathetic to the contemporary sun-dance or Potlatch when one knows that the original spirit has departed and they are largely the opportunities for debauchery by low white men.²⁴

Scott wrote the words above to Brown in 1941, some nine years after his retirement from the civil service and six years prior to his death. He was 71 years old. Scott was cooperating with Brown's efforts to compile his work for Canadian literary posterity. Brown, a Canadian academic, critic and friend of Scott admired many of the 'Indian' poems. In the letter, Scott expresses a widely held late Victorian conviction that, sadly, much of the best of the Native had vanished, and that a speedy, if sometimes rough transition to civilization was required; indeed, as Scott's letter suggests, in his mind even the best of Aboriginal practice and belief had been tarnished, so what was the point of preserving anything?

²⁴ Duncan Campbell Scott, letter to E.K. Brown July 2, 1941. In Duncan Campbell Scott, E. K. Brown, and Robert L. McDougall. *The Poet and the Critic: A Literary Correspondence between D.C. Scott and E.K. Brown* (Ottawa; Don Mills, Ont.: Carleton University Press; Distributed by Oxford University Press Canada, 1983),25-26.

Attitudes of resignation about the moral decline of Aboriginal tradition were indeed widely shared by elite Canadians of the day. The question of personal responsibility is where the debate surrounding Scott is less settled. In the letter, Scott claims, “there was the law which I did not originate and which I never tried to amend in the direction of severity.” This defence is not entirely tenable in light of the evidence. E. Brian Titley’s evidence of instances in which Scott, in his capacity as a senior civil servant, participated in making the Indian Act more stringent.²⁵ This chapter examines Scott’s actions in the areas of enfranchisement, Aboriginal spiritual practice, compulsory education, and the Indian Department’s response to First Nations’ political resistance.²⁶

Scott, both as a literary artist and as a functionary of the Canadian state, is perhaps the clearest and arguably the most prolific spokesperson for Canadian liberalism’s tortuous, often contradictory, efforts to deal with the ‘Indian question’. Such ideology fails the test of its own deluded logic. The massive project of social engineering directed at aboriginal peoples, that critical plank in the liberal order framework, was based on the twin principals of removal and integration. As cultural theorist and literary scholar Stan Dragland has asserted, these mutually exclusive aspirations do not dovetail in reality.²⁷

One can ascribe to Scott his share of responsibility and intention in the broad pattern of Canadian Indian policy in its most determined social engineering phase. Some

²⁵ Titley, *Narrow Vision*, 104-7, 114-16, 156-59. Titley interview in *Duncan Campbell Scott; The Poet and the Indians* - documentary film, James Cullingham, producer/director (Toronto: Tamarack Productions and The National Film Board of Canada Ontario Centre, 1995).

²⁶ J. R. Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996); John Sheridan Milloy, *A National Crime : The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879-1986* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1999); E. Brian Titley, *A Narrow Vision: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986).

²⁶ Stan Dragland interview in *The Poet and the Indians*, Cullingham, dir/prod.

²⁷ Ibid.

of his contemporaries took note of the artist's political bent. E.K. Brown proffered the following assessment,

He was not a party-minded man – he preferred the Conservatives to the Liberals mainly because they were sounder in all that had to do with the British connection – but in his own round of activity he had an acute political sense. He knew how to defend the interests of the department when it came into conflict with others, and his own interest within the department. His conception of the national duty to the Indians was simple and sound. It was the result not of close ethnological study, but of immense experience and imaginative understanding. The poet in him and the civil servant agreed in believing that the future of the Indians, if it were not to be in extinction or degradation, depended on their being brought more and more nearly to the status of the white population. Special safeguards were a temporary necessity; but meanwhile by education and encouragement the Indians were to cease being interesting exotic relics and practise trying to hold their own in a society which could not be bent in their direction. Sometimes Duncan Scott felt that he should stress the special safeguards, the peculiar status, but it was to the end of bringing Indians into the national society that he strove with that mixture of guile and idealism that is the mark of the highest sort of civil servant.²⁸

Brown presented Scott as a determined, individualistic, experienced civil servant of sufficient capacity to see that the pre-existing policies of the Department were honed and firmed up to make them more effective. Similarly, the literary critic L.P. Weiss saw at least a striving for intellectual consistency in the policies that Scott was charged to implement,

Like a significant number of his contemporaries in Canada, Scott accepted current Victorian concepts of history and change. Because he believed in the necessity and inevitability of change – what he and his fellow English Canadians called “progress” – he was able to view the death of Indian culture as beneficial to *individual* Indians.²⁹

²⁸E.K. Brown, “Duncan Campbell Scott: A Memoir”, in E.K. Brown, *Responses and Evaluations: Essays on Canada*, Edited by David Staines (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977), 127. Also in Scott, *Selected Poems of Duncan Campbell Scott*, Brown ed., (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1951), xxv-vi.

²⁹ L.P. Weiss, “D.C. Scott's View of History & The Indians”, *Canadian Literature* (Number 111, Winter 1986), 28.

Such opinions stand in stark contrast to others who have attributed to Scott personal culpability in a malevolent Canadian Indian policy.³⁰ My purpose here is to weigh these possibilities in an “effort of reconnaissance” as prescribed by McKay. I do not espouse a view that would make of Scott a singular exception to Canadian values. As McKay explains, Duncan Campbell Scott was a comprehensible and intellectually consistent product of Canadian liberalism that put pride of place in individual property rights, limited forms of democratic practice, westward expansion and the supremacy of arrogated white-male-English-speaking Canadian mores in the first half century of nationhood.

Scott and Bill 14

Our object is to continue until there is not a single Indian in Canada that has not been absorbed into the body politic, and there is no Indian question, and no Indian Department, that is the whole object of this Bill.³¹

While the proposed legislation is radical, it gives the department control, removes from the Indian parent the responsibility for the care and education of his child, and the best interests of the Indians are promoted and protected. The clauses may apply to every Indian child over the age of 7 and under the age of 15.³²

Duncan Campbell Scott wrote these words in support of a 1920 bill to amend The Indian Act which emanated from the Union government of then prime minister Arthur Meighen. It was ardently championed by Scott who appeared before a parliamentary committee in its defence. This was a critical juncture in the most coercive phase of Departmental policy and a defining moment in the tenure of Scott as Deputy

³⁰ Christopher Bracken, *The Potlatch Papers: A Post Colonial History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 218-224.

³¹ Duncan Campbell Scott, transcript of testimony before Special Parliamentary Committee on Proposed Changes to Indian Act, April 1920. LAC/BAC RG10 Vol 6810, file 470-2-3 Pt.7, 63.

³² Duncan Campbell Scott briefing notes regarding compulsory education for appearance at Parliamentary Committee, 1920. LAC/BAC RG10 Vol 6810, file 470-2-3 Pt.7

Superintendent General.³³ The specific provisions regarding the toughening of compulsory enfranchisement were subsequently repealed by a government led by Liberal William Lyon Mackenzie King.³⁴ Notwithstanding that change, a rare defeat for a policy specifically advocated by Scott, other draconian measures regarding compulsory attendance at Indian schools survived. The Department's obsession with enfranchisement endured until revisions of the Indian Act in 1951 and was further quieted by John Diefenbaker's Bill of Rights which finally granted voting privileges to Indians residing on reserves in 1961. Whatever the ultimate legislative fate of draconian Indian Department policy on matters such as enfranchisement and compulsory attendance at residential schools, Scott's advocacy for Bill 14 at the mid-point of his administrative stewardship of the Indian Department provides a clear window on his comportment as a pro-active, ideologically driven mandarin.

In Scott's own briefing notes in preparation for his various defences of the proposed changes to involuntary enfranchisement and education provisions in Bill 14, he correctly identified enfranchisement and compulsory school attendance as sources of potential controversy. Indian enfranchisement was a central intent of the liberal, "civilizing" Canadian policy. Enfranchisement in the Department's view meant that Indians could gain full Canadian citizenship rights in return for surrendering their status as Indians. At various times since confederation, enfranchisement was required of Indians in order to serve in the military, join certain professions or engage in some individual business practices.³⁵ The policy was applied haphazardly, but its underlying

³³ Titley, *Narrow Vision*, 104-117.

³⁴ *Ibid*, 118.

³⁵ John Leslie and Ron MacGuire, eds. *The Historical Development of The Indian Act* (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1978); *Indian Acts and Amendments* (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs

‘civilizing’ intent was clear. Scott’s brief on enfranchisement underscores the fundamental role he envisaged for a more stringent policy in meeting the Department’s primary aim of assimilation,

... we must come to the heart of the subject and provide legislation which will carry out the ultimate aims and objects of the policy which has governed the administration of this Department since Confederation. It is illogical to develop a policy, spend money on it, and achieve results without possessing ourselves of the power to make a final disposition of the individuals who have been civilized and to despatch them into the ordinary life of the country with the knowledge they have every chance to succeed.³⁶

In his appeal to the parliamentary committee set up to examine Bill 14, Scott revealed that the determination of the Canadian government to “enfranchise” Indians had met with overwhelming failure since confederation. An Indian Department memo for the committee reveal that only 102 Indians had volunteered for enfranchisement in the 53 years since Confederation.³⁷ Earlier changes to The Indian Act in 1918 had sped the process up, but insufficiently. The Departmental memo as well as well as Scott in his testimony declared that an additional 97 families totalling 258 individuals had applied for enfranchisement in the two years prior to the submission of Bill 14.³⁸ Still the rate of voluntary enfranchisement did not satisfy Scott. The 1920 amendments allowed the

Canada, 1981); Wendy Moss and Elaine Gardner-O’Toole, “Aboriginal People: History of Discriminatory Laws,” Ottawa, Library of Parliament: Law and Government Division, November 1987, Revised November 1991. See also John Leslie and Ron Maguire, eds., researched by Robert G. Moore, “The Historical Development of The Indian Act,” Treaties and Historical Research Centre, Research Branch, Corporate Policy, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Government of Canada, 2nd edition, 1978. 1st Edition 1975 written by Kahn-Tineta Miller and George Lerchs.

³⁶ Duncan Campbell Scott, notes on “Enfranchisement”, 3. These notes were prepared in early 1920 in anticipation of Parliamentary Committee hearings on proposed changes to The Indian Act. These notes are in a file with a letter from Scott written on April 14, 1920 to Member of Parliament E.B. Devlin,. Scott wrote, “I have the pleasure in inclosing herewith a copy of the notes I used when before the Committee on Bill 14 a short time ago, and which I send you. I shall be glad to have them returned, as I require them for reference.” LAC/BAC, RG10 Vol6810, file 470-2-3 Pt. 7. (also Microfiche reel C8533)

³⁷ “Statement showing number of Indians enfranchised under section 122A.,” Ottawa, January 9, 1920. LAC-BAC RG10 VOL 6810, file 470-2-3. (also Microfiche reel C8533)

³⁸ Ibid; Scott, “transcript of testimony.”

Minister to identify Indians for enfranchisement without an application from the individuals concerned,

...while the departure from the spirit of the existing Act is radical, it is in all respects desirable that we should have legislation enabling us to enfranchise Indians without the preliminary application from themselves and without the consent of the band.³⁹

It is quite possible that Scott had additional motivation in seeking provisions providing for mandatory enfranchisement. In a case concerning the Six Nations activist F.O. Loft, Scott attempted to enforce enfranchisement as a political weapon.⁴⁰ Loft was an Ontario civil servant who had served in the Canadian forces as a lieutenant during World War I. Following the war he engaged in an effort to create a national political organization for Indian peoples across Canada. In 1919, he issued an invitation to Indian bands across Canada to join his League of Indians for a fee of \$5,

We as Indians from one end of the Dominion to the other, are sadly strangers to each other; we have not learned what it is to co-operate and work for each other as we should; the pity of it is greater because our needs, our drawbacks, handicaps and troubles are all similar. It is for us to do something to get out of these sad conditions. The day is past when one band or a few bands can successfully – if at all – free themselves from the domination of officialdom and from being ever the prey and victims of unscrupulous means of depriving us of our lands and homes, and even deny us our rights we are entitled to as free men under the British flag.⁴¹

In response, Scott directed his arguments for enfranchisement against Loft specifically,

I am sending herewith a copy of a circular issued by an Indian of the Six Nations, F.O. Loft, who is earning his living outside the reserve. This may be a clever scheme to put him in funds, but it has the effect of disquieting the Indians and stirring up suspicion of the Department and the Government. Such a man should be enfranchised.⁴²

³⁹ Scott, "Enfranchisement", 2.

⁴⁰ Peter Kulchyski, "'A Considerable Unrest' F.O. Loft and the League of Indians," *Native Studies Review* 5 1&2, 1988, 95-117; Titley, 1986, 102-109.

⁴¹ F.O. Loft open letter of November 14, 1919, LAC-BAC RG10, Vol. 6810 File 470-2-3 Pt. 7.

⁴² Scott, "Enfranchisement", LAC-BAC RG10 VOL 6810, file 470-2-3

Ultimately, Loft successfully resisted efforts for his compulsory enfranchisement. Loft, a Canadian military veteran categorized enfranchisement as tantamount to his denationalization as a Mohawk.⁴³

Loft was one of several Six Nations activists who would attract Scott's ire following World War I until his retirement in 1932. Mohawk nationalists managed to take their claim for a "nation to nation" relationship with Canada to the League of Nations and to members of British parliament. In 1924, Scott enlisted the services of an Indian agent based in Brantford, Ontario to forcefully break up a traditional Iroquoian council with Royal Canadian Mounted Police officers to impose the elected band councillor system prescribed by the Indian Act.⁴⁴ With the introduction of Bill 14 in 1920 and with World War I concluded, Scott was determined to spearhead this comprehensive effort to ramp up provisions aimed at assimilation. People such as F.O. Loft stood in his way. Scott attacked Loft's service in the Canadian military,

He has some education, has a rather attractive personal appearance, but he is a shallow, talkative individual. He is one of the few Indians who are endeavouring to live off their brethren by organizing an Indian society, and collecting fees from them... I have proposed to him that he should be enfranchised, which, I think, accounts for this sudden activity on his part. What he ought to get is a good snub. He volunteered for the war and looked very well in a uniform, but he was cunning enough to avoid any active service, and I do not think his record in that regard is a very good one.⁴⁵

E. Brian Titley calls Scott petty in this instance. Loft was the same age as Scott. It is no wonder he did not engage in combat – he was 55 when he volunteered to serve. Loft was sent to France in a non-combat role.

⁴³ Ibid, 105. LAC/BAC Rg10, vol. 3211, file 527,781, Loft to Sir James Lougheed with memo by Scott attached, 9 February, 1921.

⁴⁴ Titley, *Narrow Vision*, 1,125-134.

⁴⁵ As cited in Titley, *Narrow Vision*, 105; Scott to Sir James Lougheed, 21 February, 1921 LAC-BAC Rg10, vol. 3211, file 527,781.

Scott's activities in defence of Bill 14 bear the hallmark of an effective and determined senior civil servant, belying any notion of a detached artist simply following orders. Scott elicited support for the Bill from likely supporters and he discouraged appearances by Indians who would be hostile to the measures. In the spring of 1920, there were 17 hearings in all. Despite Scott's efforts to stack the hearings in terms favourable to the Department, most Indians who appeared opposed the measures.⁴⁶

Scott's displeasure was evident in his own testimony,

Mr. Harold: A point has been brought up several times that the old method of enfranchisement was too hard, and that the new one is going to another extreme, and it has always appealed to me that if this were framed along lines so that the Indian had not to make the application, or take the initiative, and have it arranged so that he could automatically become a citizen, it would be better. Why do you approach it the way that you do instead of the other method?

Mr. Scott: Because if you understood the Indian mind you would know. Surely we have had enough illustrations of it here. These gentlemen are perfectly able to address the Committee -- far better than I am -- as far as the form goes. But those are the people who will never move.⁴⁷

Scott engaged in a lobbying and propaganda campaign to elicit support for the proposed amendments. He asked for letters to be written and attempted to limit the negative influence of too many Indians testifying. He sent identical telegrams to at least five heads of residential schools seeking expressions of support for the compulsory attendance provisions: "Would appreciate letter from you supporting our new measure now before Parliament of compulsory attendance at Indian Residential schools."⁴⁸ In a letter to Reverend T. Albert Moore, a Methodist Church leader, Scott argued for strengthening the

⁴⁶ Titley, *Narrow Vision*, 48-51.

⁴⁷ Transcript of committee proceedings, 57-58. LAC/BAC RG10, vol. 3211.

⁴⁸ Scott, Night Lettergram to Rev. JT. McNally, Bishop of Calgary April 1, 1920. Night Letter to Rev. R. Grandin, Oblate Fathers Provincial House, Edmonton, April 1, 1920. LAC-BAC RG10, Volume 6810, file 470-2-3) Pt. 7

powers of the department regarding both enfranchisement and compulsory attendance at residential or day schools,

You will note our proposals with regard to compulsory education. These clauses will enable us to send children to residential schools and to have control over them while there, which we have never had in the past.

The enfranchisement clauses will enable us to give the rights of citizenship to such Indians as are found to be competent without the consent of their respective bands, which at present is necessary, and which has been an obstacle to progress, and to give enfranchisement without a long and vexatious period of probation. It may interest you to know that while under the old Act, since Confederation up to a year ago, we had only succeeded in enfranchising one hundred and sixty Indians, under the amendment, which I recommended and which was passed in the session of 1918, we have already enfranchised nearly three hundred Indians.⁴⁹

Scott also sought appearances by Indians who might support the measure, offering to pay for their travel and accommodation.⁵⁰ Conversely, Scott responded negatively to an inquiry by committee chairperson W.A. Boys who had fielded complaints from some Indians about lack of notice prior to the hearings,

I hope that the Committee will not consider it necessary that notices should be sent, because if we send a notice to one band or tribe, it would go to all, and the result would be that the city would be flooded with Indians who would gladly take this opportunity of having a free trip to the capital. Their evidence should not really be needed because we know that those who would come would be opposed to the Bill or any government measure, unless they see some immediate profit, financial or otherwise, without any outlay on their part, and representations on this side will be fully aired by the Indians now here and the Counsel they have engaged...

In considering the Bill the Committee should, of course, give full weight to the Indian psychology.⁵¹

The transcript of Scott's testimony before the committee also reveals many of the ethical traps and ideological inconsistencies of the Department's civilizing mission. Bill

⁴⁹ Scott to Rev. T. Albert Moore, general secretary Evangelism and Social Service, The Methodist Church, March 10, 1920. LAC-BAC RG10, Volume 6810, file 470-2-3)

⁵⁰ Scott, letter to Chief Dan Whetung, Curve Lake, Ontario, April 1, 1920. LAC-BAC RG10, Volume 6810, file 470-2-3) Pt. 7

⁵¹ Scott, letter to M.P. W.A. Boys, April 3, 1920. Response to Boys' letter of April 1, 1920. LAC-BAC RG10, Volume 6810, file 470-2-3) Pt. 7

14 provided the government of Canada the right to enforce mandatory attendance at Indian day or residential schools even without parental consent. This provision contributed to the suffering many Indian students suffered in schools run on behalf of the Department by religious organizations.⁵² Scott himself was aware of the dangers inherent in the residential school system. In 1914, he had recognized as much in a submission he provided for an encyclopaedia,

It cannot be gainsaid that in the early days of school administration in the territories, while the problem was still a new one, the system was open to criticism. Insufficient care was exercised in the admission of children to the schools. The well-known predisposition of Indians to tuberculosis resulted in a very large percentage of deaths among the pupils. They were housed in buildings not carefully designed for school purposes, and these buildings became infected and dangerous to the inmates. It is quite within the mark to say that fifty per cent of the children who passed through these schools did not live to benefit from the education which they had received therein.⁵³

Six years later in his testimony to a parliamentary committee, Scott presented a staunch defence of the very system he described in such dire terms in 1914. In a memorandum on Indian education that Scott wrote in preparation for the hearings, he insisted on the government's right and Indian parents' obligations in regards to compulsory aspects of Indian education in Canada,

As an answer to an argument which might be raised against the invasion of the rights of the parents over the children, it should be pointed out that all Indians are wards of the Crown, and the western treaties all provide for education as part of the compensation for the cession of the Indian title. As this provision was inserted at the request of the Indians, and altogether in their interests, it follows that they have certain responsibilities, and must produce their children to be educated.⁵⁴

⁵² Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision*, 169-70; Milloy, *National Crime*, 70-1; Titley, *Narrow Vision*, 90-3.

⁵³ Duncan Campbell Scott "Indian Affairs 1867-1912" from *Canada and its Provinces* Vol. 5, Section 3, "Upper Canada." Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty, eds. (Toronto: Glasgow, Brook, 1914) Essay re-printed in Duncan Campbell Scott, *Addresses, Essays and Reviews* Edited by Leslie Ritchie, Introduction by Stan Dragland Vol. 1 (London, Canada: Canadian Poetry Press, 2000), 204-5.

⁵⁴ Duncan Campbell Scott briefing notes regarding compulsory education for appearance at Parliamentary Committee, 1920. LAC/BAC RG10 Vol 6810, file 470-2-3 Pt.7

Indian leaders considered access to quality education in treaty negotiations. Such leaders did not foresee the coercion and the widespread psychological, physical and sexual abuse that was part of the residential school experience for many Indian children. Indian parents did not intend to “produce their children” for such treatment. Further, in 1920, large parts of the Canadian west (most significantly almost the entirety of British Columbia) were not under treaty. Nevertheless, Scott, in enunciating Departmental policy, presumed that its educational policies must be enforced all the way to the Pacific Ocean.

In addition to the vocal opposition of some of the Indian leaders who appeared at the committee, Bill 14’s dual intent to accelerate enfranchisement while making attendance mandatory at Indian day and residential schools attracted attention in the media. In its editorial pages, The Globe of Toronto expressed the view that the enfranchisement measures were unfair to returning Aboriginal veterans (such as F.O. Loft) who had served Canada valiantly in the war,

Three thousand of them enlisted during the war, and the offer of the franchise might be taken as recognition of their services, but the bill appears to force this privilege upon them with consequences for which perhaps they are not yet prepared.⁵⁵

In its conclusion, the same editorial expressed an understanding of Bill 14’s ultimate intent and foreshadowed a national debate over Indian status that would reverberate for decades to come, “The present bill contemplates the extinction of the system of reserves, and it is doubtful whether the country or the Indians themselves are prepared for this

⁵⁵ “ENFRANCHISEMENT OF INDIANS” *The Globe*, Toronto, March 20, 1920. Editorial page. Press reports/letters to editor re. Indian Act Amendments LAC-BAC RG10 Vol. 6810 .

departure from traditional policy.” The Globe foreshadowed a debate that would reverberate for decades.⁵⁶

The discourse surrounding the issue in 1920 reflected the complicated challenges that Indian policy presented (and present still) to the overall thrust of the Canadian liberal project. The Ottawa Journal also lauded Indian veterans, but supported the measures because, “THE JOURNAL has long advocated the extension of the franchise to Indians who are able to read and write. We do not think that a man’s color is ever a good reason to think of him as an inferior being, regardless of other considerations.”⁵⁷ Newspaper readers also waded in. A letter in The Citizen of Ottawa characterized the measures regarding enfranchisement and compulsory attendance at residential schools as an assault of Canadian democratic values,

The educational feature of Bill 14 is as bad as the rest of it, as it provides for arrest and imprisonment of children in sectarian boarding schools, the only schools in existence on most of the western reserves. In a country which boasts of religious freedom, it will be time enough to enforce compulsory education when we have provided the reserve with non-sectarian national day schools.⁵⁸

The same letter raises the matter of sexual abuse in the schools,

Some of these schools are excellent and conducted by first class people, but all classes of girls necessarily attend them, the depraved and the good often occupying the same dormitory for years. In his capacity of justice of the peace in Alberta, the writer is frequently applied to by the authorities of Indian boarding schools in their efforts to check the practice of young men gaining access in the girls’ dormitories in the night time, and in one case of the sort, involving four

⁵⁶ For a discussion of reaction to related proposals by the government of Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau and Indian and Northern Affairs Minister Jean Chrétien in its 1969 White Paper proposal on Indian policy, see Sally M. Weaver, *Making Canadian Indian Policy: The Hidden Agenda 1968-70* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), 3-11; see also Harold Cardinal *The Unjust Society: The Tragedy of Canada’s Indians* (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1969); H.A. McCue *The Only Good Indian: Essays by Canadian Indians* (Toronto: New Press, 1972).

⁵⁷ “THE INDIAN AND THE VOTE”, *The Ottawa Journal*, March 23, 1920. Editorial page. Press reports/letters to editor re. Indian Act Amendments LAC-BAC RG10 Vol. 6810 .

⁵⁸ R.N. Wilson, letter to the editor, *The Citizen*, Ottawa June 25, 1920. Press reports/letters to editor re. Indian Act Amendments LAC-BAC RG10 Vol. 6810 .

young men, two of whom were affected with loathsome disease. Would Mr. Meighen compel his daughter to take such risks? He certainly would not. Then let him withdraw his infamous legislation. – R.N. WILSON, Macleod, Alberta⁵⁹

Most scholars who have specialized in Native education agree that Scott's goal both as director of education and then as Deputy Superintendent General was to reform the system by ridding it of risks of tuberculosis and tamping down what were then relatively infrequent stories of predatory sexual behaviour by school personnel. Scott wanted the system to function better while carefully managing costs. He was always concerned with the Department's reputation in regards to the education programme. There is no evidence that he challenged the fundamental assumptions on which the system rested.⁶⁰

Scott's preparatory notes and his testimony in defence of Bill 14 reveal tenacity, an occasional mean-spiritedness and a genuine conviction of the fundamental righteousness of the Department's cause. For example, Scott claimed he wanted more resources for the Department's education efforts: "The appropriations are determined by Parliament; if I had my own way I would immediately double the appropriation for Indian education."⁶¹ In sum, Scott wanted additional means to educate Indian children, even in a manner inconsistent with parental wishes if necessary, to accelerate the 'civilization' and eventual assimilation of an otherwise doomed race,

I want to get rid of the Indian problem. I do not think as a matter of fact, that this country ought to have to continuously protect a class of people who are able to stand alone. That is my whole point. I do not want to pass into the citizens' class people who are paupers. That is not the intention of the Bill. But after one hundred years, after being in close contact with civilization it is enervating to the individual or to a band to continue in that state of tutelage, when he or they are able to take their position as British citizens, or Canadian citizens, to support

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Titley, *Narrow Vision*, 75, 91-3; Milloy, *National Crime*, 70, 94-5, 181; Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision*, 140, 357.

⁶¹ Transcript of proceedings of special Parliamentary Committee, April 1920, 53-54. LAC-BAC RG10 VOL 6810, file 470-2-3. (also Microfiche reel C8533.)

themselves, and stand alone. That has been the whole purpose of Indian education and advancement from the earliest time.⁶²

Scott and the (mis)Use of Ethnography

Scott like Soustelle, enlisted ethnography in his defence of colonial policy. Scott's briefing notes on Bill 14 rely on a report commissioned by his Department by Marius Barbeau about the "proposed disestablishment" of the Lorette Wendat reserve near Quebec City,

Last summer Mr. C.M Barbeau, of the Anthropological Division, Geological Survey, carried out an investigation at Lorette at our request, and his report will be in my hands in a few days. Mr. Barbeau tells me that the result of his investigation shows that these Indians are ready for enfranchisement.⁶³

Barbeau's report reveals some of the achingly contradictory assumptions behind Canadian policies of assimilation and civilization for Indian peoples.⁶⁴ Barbeau describes the community as being very similar to other Canadian villages. His report proceeds to list a number of successful business activities in the community such as the manufacture of moccasins, snowshoes and other items that reflect Wendat identity. These economic pursuits tied to the twentieth-century market economy on the outskirts of Quebec City are cited as evidence of assimilation, rather than adaptation or, to use a phrase famously associated with Jacques Soustelle, integration.

Barbeau, in this particular ethnological assignment commissioned by the Indian Department, performed the same trick of liberal exclusion that underpins much of Scott's Indian poetry in which Indians are often portrayed as doomed vestiges of disappearing cultures. The Wendat manufactured by Barbeau for the Canadian Indian Department is

⁶² Ibid, 54-55.

⁶³ Scott, "Enfranchisement", 3.

⁶⁴ Marius Barbeau, "Lorette Reserve: A Report Concerning Its Proposed Disestablishment" for Indian Department – based on investigation conducted in August 1919. LAC/BAC RG10 Vol 6810, File 470

trapped, frozen, *figée* in the seventeenth century. Barbeau seems incapable of imagining a twentieth-century, French-speaking, self-described Wendat participating as such in the Canadian economy and polity. As with Scott in his fixations in regards to Bill 14, Barbeau, in this instance at least, argues that the loss of a person's identity as an Indian is the requisite price of joining Canada. Barbeau's ethnological efforts in Lorette suited Scott's purpose at the hearings to examine the proposed amendments to the Indian Act.

Scott and the Department had a complex relationship with the nascent disciplines of ethnography and anthropology in Canada. In his 1922 address to the Royal Society of Canada, Scott lauded the creation of the National Museum of Ethnology, Archaeology and Natural History.⁶⁵ As in the case concerning Lorette, Scott sometimes marshalled ethnological evidence to substantiate his convictions about doomed races. In other instances, social scientists opposed Departmental policy and Scott ran afoul of Canada's emerging social scientists.

Following a hardening of policy championed by Scott in 1918, Indian agents and prosecutors in British Columbia in 1920 achieved the first convictions for potlatching since 1897. Scott maintained that the persistence of the potlatch in British Columbia, as well as the sun dance on the prairies, vitiated the Department's civilizing efforts. However, the collective wisdom of Canadian social science did not follow the Departmental line on the potlatch. Edward Sapir, Franz Boas and others had contributed to a report from the anthropological division of the Department of Mines which contended that the potlatch was a positive manifestation of Native culture and that its

⁶⁵ Re-printed in Scott, *Scott Addresses*, 302. Speech delivered on May 17, 1922 to the Royal Society of Canada. Originally published *Royal Society of Canada Proceedings and Transactions*. 3rd Series, 16 (1922), xlvii-lxvii Also re-printed in S.L. Dragland, ed., *Duncan Campbell Scott: A Book of Criticism* (Ottawa: Tecumseh, 1974), 7-30.

maintenance would facilitate a positive transition for Aboriginals in British Columbia to modern Canada. Scott had this report suppressed.⁶⁶

Le Plan Soustelle

Many scholars have debated French liberalism, decolonization and the political application of the social sciences. Questions about Jacques Soustelle's role in the Algerian conflict have been part of that wider argument.⁶⁷ Soustelle's mission as Governor General and its aftermath contributed to the demise of the fourth republic and the return of Charles de Gaulle as president. Between 1955 and 1968, Soustelle would engage many of France's leading political and intellectual figures in a tempestuous debate over the future of French Algeria. Raymond Aron, Albert Camus, Franz Fanon and Jean Paul Sartre were among the luminaries of French intellectual life who took sides in a debate in which Soustelle was never far from centre stage.⁶⁸ From his installation as Governor General in early 1955 through the final demise of French rule in 1962 and in the bitter years of his self exile following the Evian Accords, Soustelle was a marker of French stubbornness in his singular defense of l'Algérie Française.

In her work on the colonial archive of Indonesia and the forms of knowledge that it stores in terms of both revelation and obfuscation, Ann Laura Stoler discusses the role

⁶⁶ Bracken, *Potlatch Papers*, 218-224; Douglas Cole and Ira Chaikin, *An Iron Hand upon the People: The Law Against the Potlatch on the Northwest Coast* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1990), 101.

⁶⁷ See Bernard Droz and Evelyne Lever, *Histoire de la guerre d'Algérie 1954-1962* (Paris: Seuil, 1982), 67-8; Stephen Tyre, "From Algérie Française to France Musulmane: Jacques Soustelle and the Myths and Realities of 'Integration', 1955-1962," *French History* 20, no. 3 (09, 2006): 276-296; Todd Shepherd, "How Ethnographic Research in 1930s Mexico Shaped French Efforts to Fight Algerian Nationalism in 1955." UNESCO lecture, Cambridge, April 6-7, 2009.

⁶⁸ See James D. Le Sueur, 'De-Colonizing French Universalism' Reconsidering the Impact of the Algerian War on French Intellectuals," in *The Decolonization Reader*, Le Sueur ed. (New York ; London: Routledge, 2003), 103-117; Le Sueur, *Uncivil War: Intellectuals and Identity Politics during the Decolonization of Algeria* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001); Raoul Girardet, *L'Idée Coloniale En France De 1871 a 1962* (Paris: La table ronde, 1972), 193-235.

of willful or culturally blind ignorance as part of the colonial experience. In simple terms, the colonizer who maintained loyalty to imperial power had to adopt a sort of ignorance about the world within the colony.⁶⁹ Some who refused to play ignorant simply left because of their incapacity to abide by the colonial conditions. Jacques Soustelle in his zeal to reform l'Algérie française in the name of integration seemed blind to the harsh legacy of 125 years of French rule. Soustelle also failed to identify the contradiction between his ramping up the corrosive power of French militarism while simultaneously seeking a rapid transition which would find French ruler and Algerian Muslim subaltern co-existing in harmony.

Soustelle arrived in Algeria as Governor General in 1955 intent on putting his knowledge of Indigenusness from Mexico to practical application, presenting a peculiar, perhaps unprecedented, instance in which a colonial regime turned to an intellectual bent on overcoming ignorance and on the production of new forms of knowledge to salvage and ultimately redeem colonial authority.⁷⁰ Stoler's admonition regarding the complexity of 'colonial lives' serves as a useful frame in considering Soustelle's simultaneously enlightened, contradictory, vicious and doomed vision of l'Algérie française.

Jacques Soustelle's obdurate refusal to accept France's abandonment of Algeria and his illicit efforts to bring down Charles de Gaulle following 1962 can obscure the nature of his efforts in Algeria as Governor General when the French government and the majority of its citizens could not have imagined an outcome of Algerian independence.

⁶⁹ Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 140, 247-8, 256, 278.

⁷⁰ Jacques Soustelle, *Aimée et souffrante Algérie*, (Paris: Plon, 1956), 2-7; Jacques Soustelle, Television interview "Lectures pour tous", French TV June 6, 1956. Soustelle described how his knowledge of Mexico informed his policies as Governor General of Algeria. INA

Reaction among French political elites and the military to the unexpected ‘Tout Saint’ (All Saints’ Day) FLN assault was all the more acute because this Algerian revolt took place during the same year that France had suffered a calamitous defeat at the hands of Vietnamese nationalists at Dien Bien Phu.⁷¹ The government of Pierre-Mendes France envisaged a two-pronged response: the crisis would be met by a powerful (in fact, disproportionate) military response and an overdue, comprehensive effort to reform French rule in Algeria.⁷²

Soustelle had gained some familiarity with Algeria during World War II. Soustelle was named intelligence chief for de Gaulle’s administration in Alger prior to liberation.⁷³ After quitting London, the Free French forces of de Gaulle had set up a provisional government in Alger awaiting the liberation of mainland France in 1944. As the date of the liberation of mainland France neared, Soustelle travelled extensively in Algeria enhancing his understanding of the country and whetting a curiosity which would be given full vent in 1955.⁷⁴

In the chaotic politics of the Fourth Republic, Mendes-France’s government was defeated in part because of opposition to the proposed installation of Soustelle whom the hard right, both in Paris and Alger, considered too left-wing.⁷⁵ Ultimately, in the aftermath of the debacle of ‘le Tout Saint’, France still turned to the social scientist with the background in Indigenous studies to help save Algeria. The subsequent government,

⁷¹ Horne, *Savage War*, 83-4.

⁷² *Ibid*, 98-9.

⁷³ Denis Rolland, “Jacques Soustelle, De l’Ethnologie à La Politique,” *Revue d’Histoire Moderne Et Contemporaine (1954-)* 43, no. 1, La vie politique en France, hommes et débats, 1930-1960 (Jan. - Mar., 1996), 137-150.

⁷⁴ Jacques Soustelle, « Souvenirs, apocryphes sous la Forme d’une dialogue avec Georges Suffert ,» 122-6; Ullmann, *mal aimé*, 88-93.

⁷⁵ Horne, *Savage War*, 105-8 ; Ullmann, *mal aimé*, 184-90.

of a centre-right tinge, stuck by Mitterand's nomination of Soustelle.⁷⁶ The stakes would be extremely high for Soustelle. France's unequivocal insistence on crushing a revolt while at the same time advancing reforms would test the mettle of the full-time ethnologist and part-time, until then, politician. In the February 1955 debate over his installation, Adelmadjid Ourabah, a leftist member of the national assembly from Constantine, Algeria reminded Soustelle of his academic roots when he demanded that Soustelle offer Moslem Algerians the same rights that Soustelle had championed for impoverished Mexicans in the 1930s.⁷⁷

Soustelle was eager to respond to Mitterand's challenge of delivering rapidly on a policy of integration. The Algeria that he had briefly seen during the war had deteriorated in the decade following the defeat of Nazi Germany. Leading French and Algerian advocates for a more humane governance of French Algeria made the scope of the challenge confronting Soustelle abundantly clear. Soustelle's association with two such intellectuals reveals the complexities of Soustelle's fractious passage through the politics of l'Algérie française: Germaine Tillion and Albert Camus. His relationships with Tillion and Camus complicate any attempt to place Soustelle as an isolated, contrarian advocate for French Algeria and opponent of Algerian independence in the late 1950s and early 1960s.

Just prior to World War II, Albert Camus had returned to his native land and delivered a devastating portrait of French colonialism in a series of articles originally published by the centre-left newspaper *Alger républicain*.⁷⁸ Camus was appalled to

⁷⁶ Horne, *Savage War*, 107; Ullmann, *mal aimé*, 190.

⁷⁷ As cited in Jacques Soustelle, *Aimée et souffrante Algérie* (Paris: Plon, 1956), 7.

⁷⁸ Albert Camus, *Actuelles, III Chroniques Algériennes 1939-1958* (Paris: Gallimard, 1958), 32-41. Camus' writings about Algeria were re-published in English in 2013. Camus, *Algerian Chronicles*, translated by

discover that rural peoples in the land of his birth had been driven further into poverty by the continued expansion of settler colonialism. Training his novelist's power of description on rural conditions in particular, Camus described the impact of deforestation caused by the French administration's depredation of oak forests to supply the wine industry with corks. Camus also described the desperate, environmentally disastrous attempts by hills people to keep winter cooking and heating fires burning by denuding their lands of trees required to prevent soil erosion. Camus reported that conditions were desperate, poverty was rampant and that it was only a matter of time before grievous social and political unrest would erupt. His *reportage* also pointed to the special challenge that faced would be reformers: the land could no longer support Algeria's indigenous population.⁷⁹

Just prior to Soustelle's nomination as Governor General, another leading French humanist returned to Algeria to survey conditions. Germaine Tillion, Soustelle's former colleague at le Musée de l'Homme and fellow résistante to the Nazi occupation of France, was engaged by Mitterand to report on conditions of the people who she had studied as another of Paul Rivet's doctoral students in the 1930s. Tillion had lived among Berber peoples in the Aurès mountains of Algeria. Immediately following the outbreak of war, she returned to France and joined the resistance. Denounced by a collaborating priest, she and other members of the resistance cell organized at le Musée de l'Homme were captured by the Nazi occupiers of Paris. Two of her male colleagues were

Arthur Goldhammer. Edited by Alice Kaplan (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2013). Review essays appeared in major English language publications. James Campbell "Betwixt and Between Camus was a son of Algeria – the 'kingdom of poverty' that nourished all he wrote," *The Wall Street Journal*, May 4, 2013, page C5; Susan Rubin Suleiman, "The Postcolonial – Albert Camus' writings on Algeria reveal both hope and dread," *The New York Times*, Sunday May 12, 2013, Book Review section, page 32).

⁷⁹ Camus, *Chroniques Algériennes*, 32-41.

summarily executed by the Germans. Tillion and her mother were sent to the concentration camp at Ravensbruck where her mother died. Tillion's almost complete doctoral thesis on Algeria was seized by the Gestapo, perhaps destroyed, and has never re-surfaced.⁸⁰

Following the war, Tillion resumed her activities as an ethnologist, educator and social reformer. For the rest of her active working life, Tillion championed the poor of Algeria and, based on her personal experience as a concentration camp survivor, became a highly esteemed advocate for political prisoners in many parts of the world, beginning with prisoners of the French military during the last phases of the Algerian conflict. Tillion was never an 'ivory tower' academic. In the late 1940s, she looked back on her career with an activist bent,

De mon cote je considérais les obligations de ma profession d'ethnologue comme comparable a celles des avocats, avec la différence qu'elle me contraignait a défendre une population au lieu d'une personne.⁸¹

During her mission to Algeria at the behest of François Mitterand in the autumn of 1954 and early 1955, Tillion, like Camus before her, was shocked by the further degradation that had occurred since her doctoral research in the mid-1930s, "Quand je les ai retrouvés, entre novembre 1954 et février 1955, j'ai été atterrée par le changement survenu chez eux en moins de quinze ans et que je ne puis exprimer que par ce mot : "clochardisation."⁸²

⁸⁰ Nelly Forget and Nancy Wood, "Notice biographique," in *Le Siècle de Germaine Tillion, sous la direction de Tzvetan Todorov*, (Paris: Éditions de Seuil, 2007), 16-7.

⁸¹ Germaine Tillion, *L'Afrique bascule vers l'avenir* (Paris: Editions Tirésias – Michel Reynaud, 1999), 18.

⁸² Germaine Tillion, *L'Afrique bascule vers l'avenir* (Paris : Éditions Tirésias : 1999), 76. This is a re-publication of some of Tillion's most important writings about Algeria. This citation and those that immediately follow were originally published in the form of the pamphlet entitled *L'Algérie en 1957* (Paris: Association Nationale Des Anciennes Déportés Et Internées De La Resistance, 1957).

Tillion famously coined the phrase *clochardisation* to describe the social and economic collapse she reported to Mitterand. *Clochard* means an extremely poor person, even a ‘bum’, or someone living on the streets. Travelling remote mountainous areas as Camus had done almost twenty years earlier, Tillion discovered that the Chaouii Berber tribes people already impoverished when she first lived among them in the 1930s had suffered a precipitous decline in living standards. Like Camus, Tillion reported that urbanization and the expansion of agricultural businesses had gone far beyond the limit of the land’s capacity to support family-based sustainable forms of agriculture that had been in operation for centuries. The degradation of the small land holdings was compounded by a population explosion due to the success of French-introduced vaccination campaigns.⁸³ On the one hand, people were living longer and families were increasing in size; on the other, local resources necessary for rural survival were diminishing while there was no accompanying expansion of opportunity for the young in major cities such as Algiers, Oran and Constantine.

Tillion would eventually publish her findings in a dire report entitled L’Algérie en 1957.⁸⁴ The work was published under the auspices of an organisation of resistance veterans. Tillion appealed to her colleagues, shocked as they were, like many in France, by the unexpected virulence of the Algerian revolt, to remember the sacrifice that thousands of soldiers from the Maghreb had made for France in the World Wars. She pleaded for reconciliation and argued for maintaining the ties between *la métropole* and l’Algérie française that would become an obsession for Jacques Soustelle. As a trained ethnologist, Tillion was sufficiently horrified by what she saw happening in Algeria in

⁸³ Tillion, *L’Afrique bascule*, 78.

⁸⁴ *Ibid*, 79.

1954-5 that she described the overall effect as a process of inexorably driving untold thousands of Algerians into poverty with no viable economic means of rescue,

L'accroissement numérique brutal de la population, contraire a son expérience millénaire, la diminution parallèle de ses ressources, l'effondrement de l'économie, le contact avec la supériorité décourageante des mécaniques étrangères, ont pour résultat de faire chavirer les civilisations archaïques qui subissent ces assauts. Tout, maintenant, s'effondre ou va s'effondrer : les arts, les techniques et toutes les ingénieuses coutumes qui permettaient a un groupe de vivre à peu près en paix.⁸⁵

The economic and social situation outlined so vividly and persuasively by Albert Camus and Germaine Tillion set the context for the reforms Soustelle promulgated when he began his tenure as Governor General. Further, Soustelle was charged with acting on a series of measures aimed at enhancing the democratic participation of Muslim Algerians in a political process that was dominated by colons, the Algerians of European origin often referred to as *pied noirs*.⁸⁶ Such reforms had their origins in the Popular Front socialist government in 1936. In the intervening 20 years nothing of substance had been achieved.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Ibid, 79-80.

⁸⁶ Horne, *Savage War* 30, 51-4.

⁸⁷ Ibid, 36-7; Ageron, *l'Algérie Contemporaine*, 90-1; Ian Lustick, *State-Building Failure in British Ireland & French Algeria* (Berkeley: iiS Institute of International Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 1985), 71.



Figure 20 Bousila (Bérardi), bidonville Algérois c. 1955 - Archives Assoc. G. Tillion (AGT)

The French yet again failed to move forward on significant reforms in 1947, when another reform policy was undermined by electoral fraud perpetrated by *pied noir* extremists. In his own preliminary notes upon his arrival as Governor General, Soustelle acknowledged that next to no progress had been made by 1955.⁸⁸ In February 1955, Soustelle immediately enlisted the active participation of his ethnologist colleague.

Rather than returning to France following her fact-finding mission, Tillion stayed in Algeria where she was invited by Soustelle to serve in his cabinet. Thus, the two ethnologists who had first met as students in inter-war Paris collaborated in the drama unfolding in Algeria in the 1950s. In Tillion's perception, the salvation of ordinary Algerians would demand a massive campaign of social engineering on the part of the French authorities,

⁸⁸ CAOM 11CAB/77 Soustelle March 21, 1955.

Une élévation rapide, générale et massive, a la fois du niveau de vie et de l'instruction, est une condition indispensable pour atteindre la mutation sociale qui peut seule sauver n'importe quelle population en cours de paupérisation.⁸⁹

In the early months of his administration with Tillion and other reform-minded ministers in his cabinet, Soustelle sought a major injection of French financing for education, health services and industrial training aimed at Algeria's Muslim majority. Soustelle's reform package also called for affirmative action in hiring Algerian Muslims in the civil service. Soustelle's plan called for universal public education in Arabic at all levels.⁹⁰

Soustelle also immediately undertook a series of unprecedented fact-finding missions in remote parts of Algeria. As Bernard Droz and Evelyn Lever have noted, Soustelle's first actions showed the traces of his ethnological training and experience in the field.⁹¹ Soustelle displayed extraordinary ambition in those early months. Soustelle's *largesse* as Governor General included regular audiences with Muslim religious leaders and his attendance at events where foodstuffs were distributed to the needy.⁹²

In a memoir of his experience as Governor General, produced within months of his return to France, Soustelle emphasized that his Mexican experience was at the forefront of his attempted understanding of the Algerian situation,

⁸⁹ Tillion, *L'Afrique bascule*, 94.

⁹⁰ CAOM 11CAB/78 « Réformes » Annotated list of reforms with hand-written marginalia by Soustelle. June 6, 1955. List includes training of Moslem civil servants; land reform; creation of rural social centres; plans for improved irrigation of Arab lands. On August 8, 1955 Soustelle received a MISE AU POINT, or update, on the state of his hurried reforms. The central points touch upon recruitment of Moslems for the civil service; school instruction in Arabic; and ensuring that Moslem faith would be separate from the state.

⁹¹ Droz and Lever, *la guerre d'Algérie*, 67.

⁹² CAOM 11CAB/29 August 1, 1955 Office memo regarding "remise de denrées alimentaires" planned for an appearance by Soustelle in Tablat.

J'ai retrouvé en fait, en Algérie, les mêmes problèmes qu'au Mexique; bien souvent, en voyant les gourbis de terre sèche et de chaume, entourés de haies de nopals, je me serais cru chez les Otomis du haut-plateau de l'Anahuac. On s'est aperçu là-bas, après avoir morcelé les *latifundia* par la réforme agraire, qu'il restait encore tout à faire, car la terre à elle seule ne nourrit personne.⁹³

In a television appearance that coincided with that publication, Soustelle further argued the Mexican connection,

J'ai vu les choses un peu en ethnologue. C'est certain quand j'ai créé les SAS (sections administratives spéciales) je m'inspiré d'une chose très précise qui étaient les missions culturelles mexicaines qui étaient planté dans les villages mexicaines...⁹⁴

The possibility of using Mexico as some sort of model for reform in North Africa had surfaced even prior to Soustelle's arrival. His mentor Paul Rivet, whose knowledge of *indigenismo* in post-revolutionary Mexico must have been influenced considerably by the observations of his then graduate student Jacques Soustelle, drew the link as early as 1936 in a Parisian leftist publication,

Au cours d'un récent voyage en Afrique du Nord, j'ai été frappé par l'étrange parallélisme qui existe au point de vue social et économique entre ce pays et un certain nombre de républiques du centre et du sud de l'Amérique. La révolution mexicaine qui a été si calomnié, n'a été en réalité qu'un immense effort pour concilier les intérêts des descendants des « conquistadores » et des Indiens asservis. Ce fut essentiellement une révolution agraire comme celle que nous avons réalisée au moment de la révolution, comme celle que tant de pays d'Europe centrale ont amorcée depuis la guerre. Écoles rurales : Bref, l'enseignement s'adapte étroitement au milieu et il est avant tout d'ordre technique et hygiénique ; l'enseignement de la lecture, de l'écriture ne sont pas le but unique, ni même l'essentiel. Ce qui importe, c'est de créer dans les milieux indigènes des possibilités de développement matériel, d'améliorer leur niveau de vie et de faire ainsi apprécier les bienfaits de la civilisation.⁹⁵

⁹³ Soustelle, *Aimée et souffrante*, 59.

⁹⁴ Jacques Soustelle interviewed on "Lectures pour tous" by Pierre Desgroupes about Soustelle's book *Aimée et souffrante Algérie*, December 19, 1956, Inathèque, BNF – Mitterand, Paris.

⁹⁵ Paul Rivet. "Nous ne pourrions conserver l'Afrique du Nord que si nous y faisons une grande réforme agraire; ce que l'exemple du Mexique nous enseigne," Paris: *L'oeuvre*, 8 Mai, 1937, 1-2. Thanks to Rivet biographer Christine Laurière for directing me to this article.

Recent scholarship has explored the connection between the Mexican example and Soustelle's efforts in Algeria.⁹⁶ Central to such research is a consideration of Soustelle's (and Mitterand's) vaunted 'integration'. In the minds of its champions, 'integration' represented a switch from assimilation, or an association based on a hierarchy of colonizer on top and a local, largely Muslim, majority below. What was clearly borrowed from the Mexican example in Soustelle's understanding was an ambitious attempt at social engineering to rapidly elevate a local, Indigenous population which could then, as the theory had it, participate as equals, with some cultural and linguistic traits intact, but with identities transformed, in a modern nation-state. Soustelle's perception of the Mexican experience was idealized. Perhaps the passage of twenty years since his preliminary field research in Mexico had dulled his memory and encouraged a somewhat naïve, selective view. Historians of the Mexican Revolution largely concur that the cluster of policies surrounding *indigenismo* were contested, inconsistent and imperfect.⁹⁷ In his preliminary work on Mexico published in 1936, Soustelle identified both the goal and the means by which such a transition might be effected through *indigenismo*,

Enfin ceux des Indiens qui sont déjà en marche, par l'agrarisme et par la diffusion de l'éducation, vers une autre destine que celles de leurs pères, de leurs aïeux et de cent générations dont l'incessant labeur est resté cache derrière le brillant décor du Mexique colonial, républicain et porfiriste. J'ai déjà rendu hommage plusieurs fois, dans ces souvenirs, aux maîtres ruraux. Je les tiens pour le vrai ferment du Mexique d'aujourd'hui eux dont la peine et quelquefois le sang fondent peu à peu un peuple nouveau avec sept millions de paysans à peau brune opprimés et méprisés. Qu'on feuillette les rapports des missions culturelles et des écoles

⁹⁶ Todd Shepard, "How Ethnographic Research in 1930s Mexico shaped French efforts to fight Algerian nationalism in 1955" (paper delivered at UNESCO History Conference, Cambridge, UK, April 6-7, 2009); Stephen Tyre, "From Algérie française to France Musulmane: Jacques Soustelle and the Myths and Realities of 'Integration', 1955-1962," *French History*(2006) 20(3): 276-296.

⁹⁷ Mary Kay Vaughan and Stephen E. Lewis, "Introduction – Utopia and Cultural Revolution," in *The Eagle and the Virgin: Nation and Cultural Revolution in Mexico, 1920-1940* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 9-12.

rurales publiées par le Secrétariat de l'Éducation; on y verra les marches épuisantes à travers les montagnes, l'hostilité des caciques et des prêtres, les rebuffades et les mauvais traitements.⁹⁸

With fellow ethnologist Tillion serving in his cabinet, Soustelle's journeys in the first months of his mandate reinforced his view that cultural missions, similar to what he had witnessed in Mexico in the 1930s, would be the catalyst of a massive educational and industrial training campaign. Members of the civil service remarked that wherever he travelled across the country, Soustelle would insist on examining local schools. He also reflected on the potential of marrying primary education with vocational training centres and workshops.⁹⁹ *Le plan Soustelle* called for the creation of *centres sociaux*, modeled on the cultural missions of Mexico, that would offer a cluster of educational, cultural and health services to assist both urban and rural populations to transition to an industrial economy. Cultural missions would also serve in a campaign against illiteracy and serve as adult education centres.¹⁰⁰ In their idealized form the centres were to be focal points of education, social work, health care and industrial training. It seems that Soustelle, Tillion and their eager reformist technicians felt their efforts could efface the bitter legacy of 125 years of French depredation of local populations in a matter of a few years.

Tillion was convinced that Soustelle's goals were correct, but she disagreed with Soustelle that social conditions in Algeria were necessarily similar to those of Mexico.¹⁰¹ Tillion did not believe that rural Algeria could possibly support the country's burgeoning population. She felt, therefore, that while Mexican *indigenismo* might well have a focus on rural peoples, the Soustelle administration should concentrate its efforts on training

⁹⁸ Jacques Soustelle, *Mexique terre indienne* (Paris: Plon, 1936), 150.

⁹⁹ CAOM 11CAB/77 « Education nationale » memo between members of Soustelle's office Eydoux to Juillet March 15, 1955.

¹⁰⁰ CAOM 11CAB/77 minutes of meeting March 7, 1955.

¹⁰¹ Germaine Tillion, *À la recherche du vrai et du juste*, (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2011), 249.

the surging youthful population with practical skills to work in French dominated industries.¹⁰² While Soustelle derived his inspiration from rural outposts which reminded him of Mexico, Tillion did not rely only on her first-hand knowledge of rural Algeria garnered in the 1930s. Her growing awareness of the urban slums around Alger, Constantine and Oran led her to believe that the emphasis of social reform should be urban, aimed at developing literacy, hygiene and technical skills so that young Algerians could make a transition to an industrialized economy.¹⁰³ Tillion was aware of campaigns already underway in other parts of French Africa in which rural peoples were being integrated to larger industrial centres of the French colonial world.¹⁰⁴

A government report on the establishment of “le Service des centres sociaux” described the program through the lens of social reform, literacy and various education initiatives at the local level without reference to the gathering storm of war in which the initiatives were launched,

Dans le principe, de qui s’agit-il? Tout d’abord, de créer une institution assez humble pour qu’elle soit de niveau avec la collectivité la moins évoluée et d’insérer cette institution dans la collectivité au point qu’elle en fasse partie intégrante.¹⁰⁵

While in Soustelle’s cabinet, Tillion engaged in an analysis of the education of young Algerians. She established that just 230,000 out of 1.1 million Muslim boys were receiving proper primary education; and that only 85,000 of 1 million school-age Muslim girls were receiving anything approaching adequate elementary education. Conversely,

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Tillion, *La traversée du mal*, 99-102; Tillion, *L’Afrique bascule*, 72-4.

¹⁰⁴ UNESCO Etudes et documents d’éducation Sept 1954 No IX « Expérience françaises d’éducation de base en Afrique Noire » 1955 No XV « Etudes et documents d’éducation de base » par H.W. Howes. From Nelly Forget’s Centre Germaine Tillion archive.

¹⁰⁵ AFGT « le service des centres sociaux » Direction Générale de l’Education Nationale en Algérie (Algiers: Baconnier Frères, 1957)

according to Tillion's analysis, 14 of 15 children of European origin, regardless of gender, had the benefit of a good education.¹⁰⁶ Tillion's briefing notes for her colleagues painted a grim picture of the challenge that the zealous reformers faced,

Mesure provisoires d'urgence Il n'est pas question de renoncer à faire l'effort nécessaire de pour donner à l'Algérie une scolarisation primaire normale, mais, en attendant d'y être parvenu, nous nous trouvons actuellement devant un état de fait : quatre garçons musulmans sur cinq qui ne pourront pas gagner leur vie; quinze garçons musulmans sur seize dont l'équilibre familial est compris d'avance. Ce sont les responsabilités que nous avons vis-à-vis de ces enfants qui doivent actuellement primer toutes les autres considérations. En un mot nous devons viser d'abord à une scolarisation totale et ensuite à une scolarisation totalement alignée sur celle de la métropole. C'est seulement par une politiques de masses (et non plu de prototypes) que nous pouvons sauver l'Algérie.¹⁰⁷

One effect of the reform proposals to "save Algeria" was the arrival of idealistic teachers, public health personnel, social workers and industrial trainers to staff the education system and the vaunted *centres sociaux*. As the conflict between France and Algerian rebels intensified in the late 1950s, these people became targets for le Front de Libération National.¹⁰⁸

The escalating military conflict led to a political rupture between Soustelle and Tillion. Soustelle's instructions from Paris were clear: defeat the rebellion through an intensification of the military effort and win 'hearts and minds' by finally acting on a series of long-promised reforms to better integrate Algeria with mainland France. For example, on the same day a state of urgency was declared by the government which

¹⁰⁶ CAOM 11CAB/77 Germaine Tillion note « la Scolarisation des enfants de 6 à 14 ans » March 1955

¹⁰⁷ *ibid*

¹⁰⁸ CAOM 11CAB/29 November 22, 1955 notes from education department to provide background for a Soustelle speech about the Centres Sociaux. These notes make reference to both the problem of recruiting qualified teachers from France and in providing adequate security for teachers in the countryside.

directly undercut ‘universal’ principals of French liberty, the government re-affirmed the broad outlines of its reform package, le plan Soustelle,

Dans cette œuvre de reprise en mains des populations qui nécessit  une atmosph re de confiance, une attention particuli re sera apport e au d veloppement de l’action scolaire et sociale, des services m dicaux et a l’ouverture de chantiers de travaux d’utilit  publique permettant de lutter contre le ch mage, la mis re et le sous emploi.¹⁰⁹

The pervasive double-think of the French elite in its response to the developing crisis seeps through Soustelle’s writings even in the early reformist stage of his governorship. In notes he prepared for a speech, Soustelle revealed fervently held convictions that appear to be at cross purposes – social reform and military force could somehow, together, quell the rebellion,

Pour le combattre il faut – et je m’y suis  nergiquement employ  – une action r pressive qui prene parfois la forme op rationnelle de caract re militaire ; mais il faut aussi penser les plaies si douloureuses, les cicatriser et recrer les conditions d’une vigueur morale et mati rielle n cessaires a la renaissance de la vie la ou elle est si cruellement meurtrie.¹¹⁰

Tillion saw the contradiction in these policies. While she respected Soustelle’s sincerity in his struggle with the entrenched anti-Muslim attitudes of his European subjects, she was convinced that the enhanced militarization in the early months of Soustelle’s administration would only drive more and more Indigenous Algerians into the arms of the FLN. In May 1955, she quit Soustelle’s cabinet.¹¹¹ She did, however, continue her civil service responsibilities for development of les centres sociaux.

¹⁰⁹ CAOM 11CAB/38 “Instructions” April 30, 1955 regarding application of the state of urgency.

¹¹⁰ CAOM 11CAB/29 preparatory notes for Soustelle speech, delivered in August 1955 just prior to the FLN attacks on civilians around Philippeville of August 20, 1955.

¹¹¹ Horne, *Savage War*, 114-117.

Half a century following these events, it is clear that Jacques Soustelle's ambitious reform plans were undermined and contradicted by the expanded military effort. At the time, few French leaders understood the appeal of the FLN to rank and file Algerians. In 1955 only a small number of intellectuals in metropolitan France were rallying to the cause of Algerian independence. Soustelle was nominated by the centre left and served centrist French governments which embraced both the mooted reforms and a tougher military response. France's embrace of a military assault and extraordinary civil powers for the military in Algeria came under leftist rule following Soustelle's departure.¹¹²

In the spring of 1955, on Soustelle's watch, France declared a 'state of urgency' in Algeria. The designation was carefully chosen to grant the government extraordinary powers of detention without explicitly declaring martial law. With the state of urgency and creation of *centres d'hébergement* (detention centres), Soustelle determinedly adopted policies which vitiated the 'universal' rights of freedom which he claimed were France's legacy to Algerians and the world. With the invocation of a state of urgency, the Governor General authorized the detention without trial for those community activists, intellectuals and nationalists deemed capable of rallying ordinary Algerians to the cause of independence.¹¹³

Soustelle was directly responsible for the creation of *centres d'hébergement*, detention camps which were established to remove anti-French subversive elements from the general population. Soustelle's distinctive handwritten notes on draft documents relating to the centres sometimes demanded a tightening of the regulatory system. For

¹¹² Ibid, 147-64

¹¹³ CAOM 11CAB/38 July 7, 1955 draft of "Instructions" with marginalia and approval signature of Soustelle.

example, in a draft version of general instructions on the functioning of the centres, an article which would have permitted an administrative review by lawyers of detainees on individual cases was crossed out by Soustelle with instructions to omit the provision from the final version.¹¹⁴

The administrative conception and shadowy legal standing were part of a pre-approved plan devised by Soustelle and vetted by the Minister of the Interior in Paris the month prior to the implementation of the state of urgency.¹¹⁵ Muslim opponents protested the camps legality as soon as they were established. Some civil servant expressed similar legal concerns. The Soustelle administration's legal department responded with a brief that justified the creation of the camps.¹¹⁶ The centres were set up through a deliberate legal manoeuvre. A combination of euphemistic language and a skilful deployment of existing law provided a front of respectability for the creation of 'centres d'hébergement' that were, in fact, concentration camps. In the battle for hearts and minds among French Algerians, in France and in the court of world opinion, the government of France carefully crafted a narrative about the 'centres' that sought to obviate any association with Nazi prisoner of war or death camps. In his official announcement about the state of urgency, Soustelle reminded prefects that the law would prohibit creation of internment camps while telegraphing just how the extraordinary powers of the state of urgency would allow for the same thing, but described differently,

L'Etat d'urgence est un instrument temporaire pour faire cesser toute forme de trouble et apaiser l'inquiétude des esprits. Il doit contribuer à la mission de pacification, entendu au sens large du mot, et préparer des lendemains sans amertume.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ CAOM 11CAB/41 telegram marked SECRET VERY URGENT from Minister of Interior Bourges-Maunory to Soustelle March 16, 1955.

¹¹⁶ CAOM 11CAB/41 legal note from M. Passeron, directeur de législation May 21, 1955

J'entend que les restrictions de liberté, autorisées par la loi, soient limitées aux justes nécessités et qu'elles ne revêtent jamais un caractère de sanction collective.

En aucun cas, comme souligne la texte de la loi, ne devront être créés des camps d'internement. Les individus assignés à résidence pourront logés par tous moyens (habitations en dur disponibles, baraquements, tentes, etc...) à proximité de chantiers de travail...¹¹⁷

In the final paragraph above, Soustelle engaged in double speak. In one phrase, detention centres are proscribed, in the next Soustelle envisages assigning individuals under house arrest to various types of structures in the proximity of work camps. This legalese allowed for the creation of centres d'hébergement under a law established to requisition labour dating from 1938. It gave Soustelle's administration power to place suspects under house arrest or to remove them to a centre d'hébergement to prevent their contact with the general population. At this juncture, with departure of Tillion and other champions of the reformist approach over a hardening military stance, it would appear that Soustelle was persuaded by the hardliners who believed that the suspects rounded up in violation of 'universal' Republican legal norms deserved a stern hand. One of the advocates for the camps, Henri-Paul Eydoux, proposed dispensing with any presumption of innocence, "Il faut être extrêmement sévère avec les suspects qui sont pour la plupart des combattants camouflés."¹¹⁸

The centres required continual monitoring by Soustelle's administration. An inspector general by the name of Monsieur Ciosi assessed conditions in the camps and alerted the government as to their dubious legality. Ciosi did not advocate closing the centres; he viewed them as a useful tool in preventing "contamination" of the general population by renegade thinkers. He argued that given their dubious legal standing it was

¹¹⁷ CAOM 11CAB/41 letter from Soustelle to prefects explaining state of urgency April 8, 1955.

¹¹⁸ CAOM 11CAB/38 memo from Eydoux to Soustelle December 2, 1955

all the more necessary to see that they were well run. He often reported abuse, as in the following warning regarding the behaviour of French camp guards,

...il signale des brutalités excessives, des vols, des viols. Leur attitude, délibérément hostile, sans ménagement et sans nuance, sans souci de respecter les moeurs des autochtones, se traduit chez ceux-ci par une animosité qui, a travers eux, atteint la cause française.¹¹⁹

Ciosi drew his colleagues' attention to the delicacy and potential political embarrassment surrounding the loop hole the government had utilized to allow for internment without resorting to martial law and an outright suspension of French republican legal norms,

La loi nous interdi (sic) de donner aux « localités » ou sont assignes a résidence les individus que nous considérons comme dangereux ou suspects, l'allure de camp d'internement.

L'absence de barbelés ne peut faire illusion et il serait assez puéril de vouloir jouer sur les mots. Nous sommes donc en infraction avec la loi.¹²⁰

Ciosi's reports from June 1955 bespeak the moral decay of the French administration as the conflict intensified and the fundamental republican virtues espoused by the reformist Governor General were abandoned. Ciosi described a detention network of scarce provisions, overcrowded conditions, poor medical treatment and even of a scourge of scorpions; he wrote about the random dumping of ordinary Algerians guilty of nothing more than circulating without their identity papers and he exposed the waste caused by exorbitant prices paid to contractors who constructed the centres.¹²¹

By November 1955, some six months following the official debut of the centres, an administrative review requested by Soustelle raised questions about their efficacy in the battle for loyalty to the French cause such measures were designed to buttress. The

¹¹⁹ CAOM 11CAB/38 undated note from Inspector General of Administration, M. Ciosi.

¹²⁰ CAOM 11CAB/41 Inspector General Ciosi report June 6, 1955

¹²¹ CAOM 11CAB/38 Minutes of meeting June 29, 1955. Reports on discussion about criticisms contained in a report from Inspector General Ciosi

report suggested that the emergent leaders in each camp be removed to a specific camp so as to quell their influence over other inmates. Such a move, the author of the document argued, would allow for the moral re-education of those remaining in order to bring them back to the French cause by means of propaganda, meetings and film screenings in French and Arabic.¹²²

Torture by French military officials began in the camps as early as 1955. These abuses were not as widespread at this stage as they were surrounding the events of the ‘Battle of Algiers’ in 1958. The moderate journalist Henri Alleg was first arrested under Soustelle’s command.¹²³ In 1958, Alleg would produce *La Question*, a literary classic about his harrowing experience. Alleg’s work, a sensation which produced line-ups outside its Parisian publisher’s offices before it was banned, marked a turning point in shifting French opinion against the war.¹²⁴ In the latter stages of Soustelle’s governorship, signs emerged that the camps’ reputation had crossed the Mediterranean and was undermining French credibility in the effort to maintain l’Algérie française. A group of North African émigrés wrote to Soustelle from Lyon, illustrating that pockets of sympathy for independence existed in metropolitan France already. The letter respectfully called for a solution similar to Tunisia – a devolution to national independence, but denounced Soustelle for his internship policies, “Votre nom restera lié à l’installation des “centres d’hébergement” qui sont en réalité des camps de concentration.”¹²⁵

¹²² CAOM 11CAB/41 memo from director Service Central des Centres d’Hébergement November 16, 1955

¹²³ CAOM 11CAB/38 July 8, 1955 Cabinet Soustelle to Minister of Interior Abel Thomas.

¹²⁴ See Benjamin Stora, *La gangrène et l’oubli - La mémoire de la guerre d’Algérie* (Paris : La Découverte/Poche, 1998 – originally published 1991), 56-57.

¹²⁵ CAOM 11CAB/29 Open letter from Mouvement de Libération du Peuple November 19, 1955

News of the camps served to rally international support for the FLN and turn the tide of opinion among French leftists against France's military campaign to squash the rebellion. A few years following Soutelle's tenure as Governor General, Germaine Tillion participated in an international effort to investigate conditions and possible human rights abuses in camps that debuted during her former colleague's watch. Tillion drew on her experience as a Nazi concentration camp survivor to advocate for all prisoners on both sides of the conflict.¹²⁶ In 1957 she even undertook a dangerous mission to meet FLN leaders in hopes of averting attacks on civilians and promote a ceasefire. Tillion insisted on the universal application of human rights that she understood as the legacy of the French revolution and the emergence of democratic forms of government.¹²⁷ She steadfastly adhered to universal values of liberty and human dignity. In an interview conducted in 2000, Tillion maintained that she was unaware of any torture being conducted by French forces during the period she served under Soustelle, but acknowledged understanding in hindsight that such activities were underway in 1955.¹²⁸ Under pressure of a widespread insurrection and acting in accordance with directions from Paris, Jacques Soustelle abandoned the fundamental principals of human rights that were the supposed touchstones of *la mission civilisatrice* in Algeria.

Hearts and Minds

Jacques Soustelle relied on his wartime experience in Mexico serving General Charles de Gaulle in the battle for public opinion through the press.¹²⁹ He wrote a quarterly overview of the status of the reform program, identifying difficulties in

¹²⁶ Germaine Tillion, *À la recherche du vrai et du juste à propos rompus avec le siècle* Textes réunis et présentés par Tzveta Todorov (Paris: Seuil: 2001), 187-192.

¹²⁷ Ibid; Forget and Wood, "Notice biographique," 25; Horne, *Savage Peace*, 214-7.

¹²⁸ Germaine Tillion, « Entretien avec Jean Lacouture » in *La Traversée du mal* (Paris: Aréa, 2000), 104.

¹²⁹ Denis Rolland, *Vichy et la France libre au Mexique: guerre, culture et propagande pendant la deuxième guerre mondiale* (Paris : l'Harmattan, 1990), 74-85.

controlling the message delivered by the press at home and in the Arab world as a major area of concern.¹³⁰ By late fall 1955, the written summary of a meeting regarding “Propagande et contre propagande” expressed the Soustelle administration’s frustration with controlling the press without resorting to “une censure véritable”. Nevertheless, the Soustelle administration did engage in the suppression of opposition newspapers.¹³¹ In the summary, Soustelle planned to meet with newspaper editors to encourage a more “attitude raisonnable” on their part. The summary states that the most practical method of obtaining favourable press would be to submit prepared articles to the press for publication.¹³² Soustelle practiced this method in Mexico City during World War II with the creation of an ersatz press agency to disseminate pro-Free French and anti-Nazi articles in the Mexican and Latin American press.¹³³

Soustelle also relied on his knowledge of and keen interest in cinema as part of the propaganda effort.¹³⁴ Soustelle, the movie buff and wartime propaganda master, established La Service de Diffusion cinématographique on February 15, 1955 under the direct command of his own office. Its administrator accepted that his team would serve more than a technical function. In a report to the Governor General’s office a Monsieur Murati wrote about the “varied and delicate tasks” his team would be asked to undertake and their key role in “information and propaganda in the Moslem milieu”. Murati was

¹³⁰ CAOM 11CAB/78 « Reformes » June 20, 1955 Bilan de L’Activité du cabinet

¹³¹ CAOM 11CAB/46 *Le Libertaire* July 14, 1955 page one articles about seizure of copies of paper in Alger. This edition also includes an article about launching a campaign in defense of political opponents sentenced to death in Algeria.

¹³² CAOM 11CAB/38 Summary of meeting held on November 3, 1955.

¹³³ Rolland, *Vichy et la France libre*, 74-5; CEMCA Centre d’études mexicaines et centreaméricaines, Centre de documentation, Ministère des affaires extérieures de France, Ciudad de México. This archive contains all copies of *Le Journal français de Mexique*.

¹³⁴ As a graduate student Soustelle reviewed films for leftist newspapers, evincing, for example, a particular admiration for the ‘bad guy’ Paul Muni in his portrayal of a rough Mexican-American character in the film *Bordertown* Soustelle’s review emphasizes the anti-Mexican racism which Muni’s character faced. Jacques Soustelle, “En regardant les Écrans,” *Spartacus*, February 28, 1935. Muni also portrayed Mexican political hero Benito Juarez in the film *Juarez*.

pleased that the service would fulfil such a function, but hoped the “agents” would get a civil service upgrade with their expanded tasks in order, “servir la cause française et l’éducation des masses en Algérie.”¹³⁵ Documentary films were used in the re-education effort of suspected FLN sympathizers in les centres d’hébergement. By the autumn of 1955, following startling setbacks in the war effort, a Centre d’Action Psychologique was created to train officers in their approach to the Moslem community by screening documentary films in training sessions.¹³⁶

Following the departure of Tillion and other moderates from Soustelle’s cabinet and inner circle of advisors, signs of deepening trouble spread throughout Algeria. By July an official working for Soustelle’s cabinet predicted a defection of seemingly loyal *interlocuteurs valables* in the Muslim community.¹³⁷ Even the Boy Scouts were for independence, as a letter to Soustelle from the head of the Muslim Scout association declared,

... le jeune musulman a toujours souffert de l’équivoque du fait algérien. La personnalité de ce pays n’a jamais été définie d’une manière satisfaisante. Une telle équivoque est à l’origine d’une discrimination systématique qui hypothèque lourdement l’avenir de chaque musulman algérien.¹³⁸

In an effort to explain his policies and rally morale, Soustelle made a number of radio broadcasts to the people of Algeria. With the experience he had garnered by delivering radio lectures about Mexico from Le Musée de l’homme in an effort to popularize ethnography in the 1930s, Soustelle employed his oratorical skills in the

¹³⁵ CAOM 11CAB/101 February 24, 1955 memorandum from Murati to Governor General’s office

¹³⁶ CAOM 11CAB/101 compte rendu conf. Stagiaires du CENTRE D’ACTION PSYCHOLOGIQUE November 3, 1955

¹³⁷ CAOM 11CAB/8 unsigned note of July 9, 1955 to Governor General Jacques Soustelle

¹³⁸ CAOM 11CAB/7 “Affaires Musulmanes” July 7, 1955 letter to Soustelle from T. Tedjini, general commissioner, Boy Scouts Musulmans de l’Algérie

propaganda campaign over the future of Algeria. The language deployed in these radio scripts is official, almost regal in its tone, perhaps befitting the representative of an imperial power intent on diminishing the threat posed by the rising flames throughout Algeria. In mid-August 1955 in one such broadcast, Soustelle lay claim to progress in the struggle for loyalty to his aims in Algeria,

Pour qui a connu l'AURES farouche et hostile de l'hiver dernier, et qui voit aujourd'hui les partisans Chaouïa le fusil en main veiller eux-mêmes à l'achèvement des moissons et défendre leurs mechtas contre les terroristes, il est évident qu'un profond changement est en train de s'espérer. La population de ces montagnes voit dans les postes lointain du bled, l'officier et le médecin se pencher fraternellement sur ces misères; elle voit monter les murs de nos bordj, progresser les pistes, culer l'eau. Le blé et l'orge rentrent pacifiquement aux villages et les paysans prennent part à leur propre défense. La confiance revient.¹³⁹

In a bad situation spiralling toward outright disaster, Soustelle struck an oddly romantic tone invoking the heroic efforts of military and medical personnel in pacifying rural areas and strengthening loyalties to the French cause. In his radio speech of August 19, 1955 Soustelle praised the efforts of the newly formed rural police. Soustelle frequently praised Muslim police and rural forces loyal to the French cause. In full rhetorical drive, he would attempt to forge links between North African soldiers who had served France in both world wars and Muslim detachments serving in the battle against the FLN. Soustelle argued that all such loyalists were fighting for France against terrorism.¹⁴⁰

In addition to his romantic evocation of heroic loyalties in the countryside, Soustelle's script for the broadcast of August 19, 1955 also demonstrated his awareness of Tillion's message about Algeria's economic future. He stated that his tour enabled him to witness the sort of changes that must occur in an industrialized, modern Algeria such

¹³⁹ CAOM 11CAB/29 Declaration of Governor General Jacques Soustelle Radio Algérie August 19, 1955.

¹⁴⁰ CAOM 11CAB/29 text of Soustelle speech of August 17, 1955.

as the development of a major iron deposit in development at Ouenza. Soustelle claimed that such progress would be the “salvation” of Algeria.

Soustelle delivered that broadcast on the eve of disaster. In districts surrounding the northern city of Philippeville, FLN militants attacked civilians of European origin and their Moslem allies. Over 100 died at the hands of the FLN, including some women and children. In the aftermath, most accounts agree that the French military and vigilante groups killed more than 1,000 in reprisal.¹⁴¹ Many historians regard August 20, 1955 as the end of any hopes for success of *le plan Soustelle*. Soustelle frantically attempted to squelch vigilante campaigns, as the text of a telegram to Paris demonstrates,

Les évènements du 20 Août dans Nord-Constantinois font l’objet de relations déformées ou inexactes et d’interprétations tendancieuses – STOP.
De violentes campagnes s’annoncent notamment de la part de certains élus – STOP.¹⁴²

Soustelle understood that the FLN had calculated that a disproportionate, even lawless, French response would ultimately serve the cause of independence,

Il me revient de tout part ce matin que dans la région de Philippeville des éléments civils européens armés pourchassent indistinctement tous les musulmans. Les résultats sont la dispersion de la population, l’arrêt complet de la vie économique, la fuite des fallahs dans les maquis et l’anarchie totale. Cela doit cesser immédiatement. Je dis immédiatement... Seule les militaires et les forces de l’ordre ont qualité de repousser les attaques e poursuivre les assaillants selon les directives données par moi-même les 20 et 21 août. Ce qui précède constitue un ordre formel que vous voudrez bien porter sans délai à la connaissance de tous les intéressés.¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ See Alain-Gérard Slama, *La guerre d’Algérie – Histoire d’une déchirure* (Paris : Gallimard, 1996), 53-54.

¹⁴² CAOM 11CAB/78 teletype from Jacques Soustelle to MINISTERE INTERIEUR – Cabinet – Paris August 27, 1955

¹⁴³ Jacques Soustelle, telegram Number 1486 to Prefect of Constantine August 25, 1955. From the papers of Henri-Paul Eydoux, cited in D. Balvet, "Jacques Soustelle Et l’Algérie Française: Gaullisme Et Antigaulisme." (PhD diss., Université Charles de Gaulle, Lille 3 2003), 201.

The situation demanded a governor with front-line political and military experience. During World War II Soustelle was primarily concerned with information, intelligence gathering and propaganda as he served the resistance in Mexico City, London and, finally, Alger (Algiers). He had never been directly involved in armed combat. The crisis of late August 1955 overwhelmed his reform plans. Soustelle argued his case in the metropolitan press where he insisted that he was a force for the quelling of vigilante reprisals and the restoration of republican values in Algeria. In a letter to Le Monde, Soustelle denied French forces were engaged in brutality and complained that the paper was giving vent to excessively negative accounts of French policies.¹⁴⁴ Soustelle was simultaneously relaying complaints to the prefect of Constantine about the sacking of Moslem businesses by *piéd noirs* and adding to the contingent of police officers under his direct command because he was convinced that some officials were turning a blind eye to, or even assisting, in the murderous vigilante campaigns.¹⁴⁵

The horrendous spasm of violence surrounding August 1955 signaled further deterioration in the political situation. Soustelle's reform plans would be rejected by a group of Muslim moderates, the very *interlocuteurs* on which such plans depended. To Soustelle's dismay, a group of loyalist legislators defected; the "Committee of 61" declared that the policy of integration had been made irrelevant by the course of events and that the French had not been serious about it in any event. Some Muslim moderates asserted that *intégration* was insufficient and demanded that immediate steps be taken to

¹⁴⁴ CAOM 11CAB/8 Soustelle letter in *Le Monde* September 7, 1955.

¹⁴⁵ CAOM 11CAB/14 Cabinet Militaire folder. November 1955, complaint regarding sacking of Moslem businesses forwarded by Soustelle to Constantine prefecture; CAOM 11CAB/14 SECRET telegram to prefects of major cities September 20, 1955.

create a federal relationship between Algeria and metropolitan France.¹⁴⁶ Federalism, the wobbly but enduring bridge over differences in the Canadian polity, was a far off destination in Soustelle's thinking of 1955. Twenty years later, Soustelle would argue that federalism would have, could have and should have been the logical outcome of a gradual process of integration.¹⁴⁷ However, his thinking as Governor General, and the policies of the metropolitan government he represented, echoed the sense of cultural and political superiority inherent in the liberal traditions of *la mission civilisatrice*. By the autumn of 1955, such thinking was a dangerous anachronism that cost would be reformers like Soustelle the support of hitherto loyal Muslim supporters in Algeria. Most notably, Ferhat Abbas, leader of a moderate political party whose nephew had been murdered by the FLN in the violence of August 20, 1955, resigned his legislative seat and rejected *le plan Soustelle*. Notes regarding Abbas' resignation and his public disavowal of Soustelle's proposed reforms taken at a meeting between Abbas and members of the French cabinet in the fall of 1955 reveal the utter abandonment of Soustelle's reform package by the very political figures it was designed to mollify and integrate,

Vous, français, vous attendez toujours qu'il soit trop tard pour agir.... Le fossé qui est en train de se creuser entre musulmans et français sera tel qu'il sera impossible de le combler... nous ne sommes pas chez nous en Algérie.
Je ne demande pas qu'il y ait immédiatement une République Algérienne.... mais il faut provoquer immédiatement, par les réformes hardies, un choc psychologique tel, que les musulmans puissent croire que quelque chose est enfin change en Algérie.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁶ CAOM 11CAB/8. SECRET note sent on to Minister of the Interior September 3, 1955 about moderate leaders such as Cheik Kerreoiné calling for immediate federal status rather than "progressive integration" favoured by Soustelle.

¹⁴⁷ Jacques Soustelle and Odile Rudelle, Jacques Soustelle Interviews, February 19 and April 23 1979. Paris: Université SciencesPo. Fondation nationale des sciences politiques - Service des archives d'Histoire contemporaine, 8.

¹⁴⁸ CAOM 11CAB/7 report on Ferhat Abbas' meeting with French Ministers in Paris October 30, 1955. Marked SECRET.

Dr. Mohammed Benjelloul, who had been promoting peaceful reform of Algeria's status since before World War II, turned his back on the French in his leadership of the fatal 'Committee of 61.' To counteract the widening, public desertion of reputable and recognizable loyalists, Soustelle's cabinet prepared documents of allegiance for the imprimatur of local leaders from the Muslim community.¹⁴⁹

An increasingly exasperated Soustelle took his case to the metropolitan press and undertook a rhetorical combat with Le Monde defending his course of action following the events of August 20 and decrying the betrayal of erstwhile allies such as Abbas and Benjelloul.¹⁵⁰ An exchange of private letters with the editor-in-chief of Le Monde is especially revelatory. Soustelle complained about the lack of support his policies were receiving in the paper and the sympathies he felt the paper was expressing for Mohammed Benjelloul in his abandonment of *intégration*. In his riposte to Soustelle, editor Hubert Beuve-Méry argued that censorship and the suppression of legitimate news by Soustelle's administration was serving neither France's cause in Algeria nor democracy,

Cette recherche de la vérité est toujours une entreprise difficile et, dans certaines situations la publications peut poser, elle aussi, des problèmes délicats. Mais en ce qui concerne l'Algérie notamment, nos rédacteurs et nos chefs de service sont amenés à se plaindre trop souvent des difficultés supplémentaires qu'ils rencontrent dans le sens de la politique gouvernementale... Quand il s'agit non d'échauffourées ou de combats mais de textes en provenance d'Alger, ces retards ou ces silences paraissent encore plus inadmissibles.. La motion que les 61 ont adoptée à Alger le 14 Décembre contre la politique « d'intégration » pouvait être rédigée en termes excessifs ou injustes. Elle émanait en tout cas de représentants du peuple algérien. Le 15 Décembre au soir elle n'avait pas encore été transmise aux journaux de la métropole.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁹ CAOM 11CAB/8 statement of support for government and policy of integration from municipal leaders of Tizi-Reniff. Most signed with fingerprints.

¹⁵⁰ CAOM 11CAB/8 Soustelle, *Le Monde* letter, September 7, 1955.

¹⁵¹ CAOM 11CAB/46 December 17, 1955 letter from Hubert Beuve-Méry, director *Le Monde* to Jacques Soustelle.

By late autumn 1955, Jacques Soustelle's ambitious plans had collapsed. He had been transformed in the course of a year into the beleaguered chief of an increasingly desperate military regime. The assassination of Ferhat Abbas' nephew was but one of a series of FLN targeted assaults on anyone suspected of collaborating with the French. The vigilantism of French civilians and municipal officials in the aftermath of *le 20 Août* spiraled into a pattern of reprisals that would end in the murderous campaigns of the Organisation Armée Secrète (OAS) in Algeria and in France itself. Late in 1955, Soustelle was relaying intercepted death threats directed against Moslem leaders from a 'Comité Révolutionnaire des Patriotes Français d'Algérie' - such militant settler organizations comprised of settlers and hard-line members of the French military - were harbingers of the OAS. These "death sentences" were handed out to Moslem professionals stating that they would be killed within eight days of the death of any French (European) citizen in their town or district.¹⁵² In December 1955, Soustelle sent a secret cable to Paris reminding his political masters that his request for 60,000 additional troops in October had been met by a contingent one tenth that size. In the same cable, Soustelle named fifteen Moslem officials with ties to the French administration who had been assassinated in less than two months that autumn.¹⁵³

What became of the reformer? Some speculate that Soustelle's reformist agenda was overwhelmed by military requirements and that the departure of the likes of Germaine Tillion from his cabinet and administrative entourage was a reaction to the metamorphosis of Soustelle's reformist zeal into the posture of a war governor. Some

¹⁵² CAOM 11CAB/8 November 2, 1955 ARRET DE MORT with marginalia from Soustelle telling a deputy that the information had been handed over to police.

¹⁵³ CAOM 11CAB/38 telegram from Soustelle to Minister of Interior, December 19, 1955.

observers have argued that Soustelle's conversion into a man of the sword was soldered firmly by the personal trauma he experienced with the civilian casualties of the FLN attacks of August 1955.¹⁵⁴ It is a thesis that Jacques Soustelle would reject for the remainder of his days and first fulminated against in an anti de Gaulle screed that Soustelle produced early in his self exile from France in 1962,

... je saisis cette occasion répéter une dernière fois que ma propre position sur le problème algérien, contrairement à tant de déformations et de calomnies répandues, était et demeure fondamentalement rationnelle et en concordance avec la réalité historique, ethnique, religieuse, économique, de l'Algérie. Il est devenu courant de raconter que j'aurais trouvé à Aïn-Abid a El-Alia mon chemin de Damas, et que la vue des pauvres corps mutilés de femmes et d'enfants le 20 août 1955, m'aurait fait abandonner une politique « libérale »... Une fois encore, je proteste contre ces mensonges. C'est ça, raison, fondée sur la connaissance, qui m'a dicté mes opinions et ma conduite.¹⁵⁵

Other witnesses to Soustelle's final days as Governor General disagree with that self assessment. On January 22, 1956, the great Algerian-French writer Albert Camus held a public forum in support of a 'civil truce' in Algeria. Greeted by death threats from the French colonial right, Camus gathered a cross section of intellectuals and public figures from all Algerian communities to join him in a call for both sides to stop killing civilians. It was to be Albert Camus' last public appearance on the issue in Algeria in his lifetime. Germaine Tillion attended the meeting,

La guerre algéro-française devint cependant vite féroce mais au tout début de 1956 (exactement le 22 janvier à 17 heures, selon mon agenda) je me suis cependant trouvée dans la salle dite « du Progrès » où Albert Camus plaidait passionnément pour la trêve civile ; Ferhat Abbas le rejoignait sur l'estrade, et le service d'ordre fut assuré par des étudiants musulmans dont beaucoup étaient peut-être inscrits au FLN. Dans la rue, on entendait des voix français criant « a mort Camus »...¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁴ Horne, *Savage War*, 117, 120-4; Droz and Lever, *Guerre de l'Algérie*, 74.

¹⁵⁵ Jacques Soustelle, *L'Espérance Trahie* (Paris: Editions de l'Alma, 1962), 255.

¹⁵⁶ Tillion, *L'Afrique bascule*, 60.

After the brave, but largely futile, meeting Camus met with Governor General Jacques Soustelle. Neither of the principals left a detailed account of this encounter, but Camus' close friend Emmanuel Roblès, who was with Camus in Algeria at the time, later described it in a memoir,

Le mardi après nombre d'entrevues et de démarches, notre comité se réunit au complet dans un salon du Cercle. Camus nous rend compte de ses entrevues, et surtout, de sa conversation avec Soustelle. Celui-ci s'est déclaré intéressé de notre action, mais la notion de l'innocence est à préciser. Et puis, il y a les « demi-pensionnaires », travailleurs le jour, combattants la nuit.¹⁵⁷

Significantly, Camus and Soustelle appeared to have had some common ground despite Soustelle's suspicion that some of Camus' Muslim allies might have been more sympathetic to the FLN than Camus presumed.

Camus and Soustelle disagreed about whether Soustelle became a hard line militarist in Algeria in response to FLN terrorism. In a letter to his friend Andre Rosfelder, written after his return from Algeria in pursuit of the civil truce, Camus expressed great frustration with Soustelle who had just stepped down as Governor General, suggesting that Soustelle's turn of mind signified a devastating lost opportunity for the sort of federalism that Camus imagined as a way out of the conflict. Camus hoped for a quick political integration which could lead inevitably, he thought, to a federal arrangement between France and Algeria. Camus thought Soustelle arrived with the right idea but stalled in response to the military situation,

Après réflexion je n'ai aucune confiance (en Soustelle). Vous pouvez faire état auprès de vos amis de ce que je vous dis. Qu'ils essaient seulement de comprendre qu'un homme comme moi, qui n'a jamais connu le découragement, et qui a horreur de toute complaisance, ne vous écrit ceci sans raison. Je suis déchiré, voilà la vérité.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁷ Emmanuel Roblès, *Les rives du fleuve bleu* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1990) 232.

¹⁵⁸ Albert Camus letter to André Rosfelder, February 26, 1956. As cited in Olivier Todd, *Albert Camus – une vie* (Paris: Gallimard, 1996) 634-5.

Camus was not the only great French intellectual “torn” by Algeria. In the years following his departure as Governor General Soustelle’s convictions about Algeria would lead him, for a time, toward anti-democratic, even murderous opposition to Algerian independence. After de Gaulle’s abrupt about face on keeping Algeria, Jacques Soustelle, the product of liberal, democratic, republican values, insisted that his plan could have saved the day if only he had been given sufficient time and the French had held their nerve.¹⁵⁹ Soustelle defied overwhelming evidence that the majority of French citizens, exhausted by eight years of warfare, approved independence: the public ratified de Gaulle’s plan in a national referendum in April 1962. We don’t know if FLN terrorism turned Soustelle the reformer into a hardened advocate of a military solution. His biographer Bernard Ullmann shows that the betrayal that Soustelle felt at the hands of his former *chef* and father figure Charles de Gaulle over the abandonment of Algérie française launched Soustelle along a dark path of association with outlaws in plotting an assassination attempt on de Gaulle in 1961.¹⁶⁰ With that association and with Soustelle’s refusal to accept the democratically expressed view of the French majority about the outcome of the Algerian conflict, Jacques Soustelle, an intellectual descendant of *les lumières* would, at least temporarily, refute and tarnish the values he claimed to uphold as both a political figure and social scientist.

In leaving Algeria in February 1956 with his term as Governor General complete, Soustelle was accompanied to his ship by a crowd of thousands of *pied-noirs* who belatedly saw in Soustelle their figure of possible collective redemption. Newsreel

¹⁵⁹ Soustelle and Rudelle, Soustelle Interviews, February 19 and April 23 1979. Paris: Université SciencesPo. Fondation nationale des sciences politiques - Service des archives d’Histoire contemporaine, 8-9; 28-40.

¹⁶⁰ Ullmann, *mal aimé*, 332-9.

footage and photojournalism reveal an extraordinary scene in a simultaneous outpouring of admiration and some sort of collective regret about what Soustelle's departure represented.¹⁶¹ Scant months later, Jacques Soustelle emotionally recounted the moment in his instant memoir of his governorship. He foreshadowed his increasingly irrational response to subsequent events in Algérie française in a prosaic conflation of patriotism tied to Alger's place in the saga of French imperialism, its critical role in World War II as de Gaulle's final base before liberation and Soustelle's own hardening political convictions,

Bien des souvenirs d'une époque où l'on mourait beaucoup où la lutte signifiait quelque chose, me remontaient au coeur. Alger! Notre capitale dans la phase décisive de notre histoire récente! Qui pourrait consentir à y voir flotter aucun autre drapeau que le nôtre?¹⁶²

Conclusion

Scott and Soustelle were unlikely candidates for the leading roles each would play in modern Canadian and French history. Scott, the son of a Protestant minister, seemingly more given to a love of nature, poetry and music than politics, became a central, galvanizing force of Canadian Indian policy for more than a quarter century. Soustelle, a working class prodigy from south-western France who was selected by age seventeen for a brilliant academic future, became a *dauphin* and then a scourge of France's most significant military and political leader of the twentieth century. Each life bears witness to the ideas expressed by Julien Benda in 1927 who declared that in an age of 'the betrayal of the intellectuals' the needs of the nation-state would trump ethics.

¹⁶¹ Fonds "Terrorisme et répression," and "Lettre à la postérité," scrapbooks of clippings by French Algerian Gilbert Perez c. 1955-1962. See for example clippings from *L'Echo d'Alger*, February 2 & 3, 1956, Centre de documentation Camus, Cité du Livre, Aix-en-Provence; CORPUS Algérie-décolonisation, Inatheque, Bibliothèque nationale de France Mitterand, Paris.

¹⁶² Jacques Soustelle, *Aimée et souffrante Algérie* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1956), 2.

7. Conclusion: Past is Present

Epilogue



Figure 21 Parliament Hill at dawn, from Victoria Island Ottawa, June 11, 2008 (photo by James Cullingham)

Ottawa, June 11, 2008

A crowd gathered outside the House of Commons in Ottawa, Canada. A giant video screen on a flat-bed trailer hitched to a pick-up truck was in position for an overflow crowd of curious onlookers that gathered waiting to hear Prime Minister Stephen Harper speak to Parliament. Inside the Parliament building, Indigenous elders, some accompanied by their grandchildren, filed into an upper lobby that leads to the public gallery overlooking the House floor. Prime Minister Stephen Harper had decided that he would apologize to the Indigenous people of Canada on behalf of all Canadians for the abuses and injustices of the residential school system.

As Harper rose to offer Canada's apology, in the gallery where I stood, Native elders, their children and grandchildren looked down upon the Prime Minister. An elderly

woman stood at her seat looking directly at Harper while clutching an eagle feather in her fist. A young man in the same gallery section caressed a skin drum. On the floor of the House of Commons, members of parliament and the leaders of Aboriginal organizations turned their attention to the Prime Minister as he rose.¹ When Harper acknowledged the presence of Aboriginal elders in the gallery all of Parliament erupted in loud applause. In his preamble, Harper gave direct thanks to the leader of the New Democratic Party Jack Layton for influencing his thinking about the issue. In his sober address delivered in a strong, clear voice, Harper said in part,

The government recognizes that the absence of an apology has been an impediment to healing and reconciliation. Therefore, on behalf of the government and all Canadians, I stand before you, in this chamber so central to our life as a country, to apologize to the aboriginal peoples for Canada's role in the residential school system. To the approximately 80,000 living former students, and all family members and communities, the government now recognizes that it was wrong to forcibly remove children from their homes and we apologize for having done this. We now recognize that it was wrong to separate children from rich and vibrant cultures and traditions, that it created a void in many lives and communities, and we apologize for having done this... We now recognize that, far too often, these institutions gave rise to abuse or neglect and were inadequately controlled, and we apologize for failing to protect you...²

The Prime Minister thereby apologized for one of the principal policies that Duncan Campbell Scott had willingly and dutifully implemented as a senior civil servant for the government of Canada.

At dawn on the morning of the apology, Aboriginal spiritual leaders, elders, residential school survivors and their supporters had gathered on Victoria Island in the

¹ Leaders of Aboriginal organizations were granted unprecedented access to the floor of the House of Commons for the occasion by agreement of all parties in the House.

² Prime Minister Stephen Harper, "Residential Schools Apology", transcript printed in *The National Post*, June 12, 2008 page A25. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-ryC74bbrEE> Accessed September 2009.

Ottawa River below Parliament Hill for a sunrise ceremony seeking serenity and national reconciliation.



Figure 22 Sunrise ceremony, Victoria Island, Ottawa, June 11, 2008. (photo by James Cullingham)

Paris, June 18, 2010

Solemn commemorations marked the seventieth anniversary of the 1940 “appel” that Charles de Gaulle transmitted from London letting *les français* and the world know that he had decided to lead the resistance to the Nazi occupation of France. Across the Atlantic Ocean, a military attaché to the French ambassador responded to that “appel”. Twenty-eight-year-old Jacques Soustelle sent word from the Mexican capital that he would to serve de Gaulle. Soustelle joined Paul Rivet, Germaine Tillion, and others associated with le Musée de l’Homme in joining the resistance.

At the city hall of Paris, a huge photo of de Gaulle during World War II framed against hundreds of smaller photos of those who had served the resistance towered over the square. Media was replete with anniversary coverage of de Gaulle's BBC broadcast announcing the creation of the *France libre* movement.³



Figure 23 Charles de Gaulle portrait Hotel de Ville, Paris June 2010 (photo by James Cullingham)

³ « De Gaulle crève l'écran – Radio, télévision, livres BD, iTunes... La commémoration du 18 Juin relance les produits éditoriaux sur le Général, » *LE FIGARO*, 18 juin, 2010, pages 32 et 38; « Comme en 40 – Soixante-dix ans après l'appel du 18 Juin, 'Libération' refait les actualités du jour. Où grande et petite histoires se répendent., » *Libération*, 18 juin, 2010, supplément 'SPÉCIAL 18 JUIN'.

The anniversary capped a resurgence in French fascination with de Gaulle that coincided with the neo-Gaullist presidency of Nicolas Sarkozy. In 2008, Sarkozy himself inaugurated *l'Historial Charles-de-Gaulle*, a new multi-media digital museum at les Invalides defense establishment in the centre of Paris.⁴ The digital video displays in the museum often feature Jacques Soustelle, most notably by de Gaulle's side in Algeria when the general visited following his return to power in 1958. At that time, de Gaulle vowed to maintain l'Algérie française. Within two years, de Gaulle had changed his mind on Algeria and fired a disobedient Soustelle from his cabinet.⁵ By 1962, with the dawning of an independent Algeria, Soustelle was an outlaw conspiring with de Gaulle's would be assassins. That part of the de Gaulle – Soustelle saga is not included in the displays at *l'Historial Charles-de-Gaulle*.

The consideration of the lives and times and works of Duncan Campbell Scott and Jacques Soustelle does not afford simple answers. Each man was complicated and, at times, contradictory. Scott's lesser-known literary work displays his complex views of Indigenusness. Despite the self-assurance about Indian policy Scott expressed before parliamentary committees and in his departmental correspondence, a careful reading of some of his literary output and personal correspondence reveals a more ambivalent, even psychologically troubled perspective about his role. Jacques Soustelle is part of an ongoing conversation among historians and political scientists about the decline of French imperial power in the modern era.

⁴ Grégoire Allix, « MUSÉES - Nicolas Sarkozy inaugure cet Historial multimédia ce vendredi Aux Invalides, un 'monument audiovisuel' est dédié à De Gaulle, » *Le Monde*, 23 février, 2008. Section Culture&vous, Page 23.

⁵ Bernard Ullmann, *Jacques Soustelle le mal aimé* (Paris: Plon, 1995), 297-8; Ian Lustick, *Unsettled States, Disputed Lands: Britain and Ireland, France and Algeria, Israel and the West Bank-Gaza* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1993), 286; Alistair Horne, *A Savage War of Peace: Algeria 1954-1962* (New York New York Review of Books, 2006 Originally published 1977), 366, 374.

Soustelle was not merely a hard-line defender of the French presence in Algeria. In steadfastly conceiving and attempting to implement the reform package that became known as *le plan Soustelle*, he demonstrated remarkable energy, imagination and courage. At the same time, Soustelle seemed to suffer from a blindness to the dark legacy of French rule, and a willingness to draw on the dark arts learned during his war-time experience as a resistance organizer to steer his administration to violations of the very norms of “civilization” Soustelle claimed to defend.

Self-Repudiation and Shame in the Writings of Duncan Campbell Scott

It is understandable that many literary critics who have considered Duncan Campbell Scott focus primarily on his poetry. Poetry forms the bulk of his fictional creative output and the Indian poems present a complex shaft for exploration and interpretation given Scott’s civil service duties and the historical (and current) tension in Canada over Aboriginal rights and the entire dynamic of Aboriginal-settler relations. As Stan Dragland, Northrop Frye and Ian McKay have pointed out, Scott’s Indian poems often express a settler society’s horror, fear and miscomprehension of Aboriginal people in Canada.⁶ In addition, the poems generally share the certitude of Scott’s civil service prose as to the ultimate fate of the savage Indian, destined to be relegated to the memory (and poetry) of a dynamic, technologically superior Canadian master race.

One of Scott’s short stories, his unpublished novel and a deeply felt letter to his second wife reveal, perhaps, a conflicted and layered, approach to the Indian question in

⁶ Stan Dragland, *Floating Voice: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Literature of Treaty 9* (Concord, ON: Anansi, 1994), 155-173; Northrop Frye, *The Bush Garden; Essays on the Canadian Imagination* (Toronto: Anansi, 1971), 149, 219; Ian Mackay, “Canada as a Long Liberal Revolution” in *Liberalism and Hegemony: Debating the Canadian Liberal Revolution*, Jean-François Constant and Michel Ducharme (Toronto-Buffalo-London: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 353, 381.

Canada. These instances reflect some recognition that Canadian progress during Scott's lifetime inflicted grievous harm on aboriginal peoples and even suggestions that Canadian society itself might be poorer because of the attempted erasure of Aboriginal mores and ways of life.

Any self-examination that Scott undertook did not stem from religious ethics or sense of formal Christian charity. His work required that he liaise with Christian denominations in the running of residential schools, but Scott did so as a matter of public policy rather than personal religious conviction. Although he was a parson's son, Scott was not active in any form of organized religion in his adult life. Scott told the critic E.K. Brown that institutional Christianity was part of his past,

I have left the religion of my youth behind me, so have all the other Methodists in the country, but I have not gone into the United Church, but into the wilderness, and I do not feel at all lost in it.⁷

It is clear that Scott did have faith in intellectual progress. As he argued in his "Poetry and Progress" address to the Royal Society of Canada in 1920, Scott imagined that in his idealized Canada, a nation borrowing from British tradition with an important French speaking minority, and therefore differentiated from the American republic, would advance in arts and science in a maturing, distinct national identity. His belief in progress was underscored in the essay by a dovetailing of scientific method with poetic expression,

The mental process by which a poet develops the germ of his poem and perfects it is analogous to the process by which a mathematician develops his problem from

⁷ Personal communication between Duncan Campbell Scott and E.K. Brown as cited in E.K. Brown, "Duncan Campbell Scott: A Memoir," in *Responses and Evaluations: Essays on Canada*, edited by David Staines (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, 1977), 130-131; also in Duncan Campbell Scott, *Selected Poems of Duncan Campbell Scott* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1951), xxviii.

vagueness to a complete demonstration, or to the mental process whereby the shadow of the truth apprehended by the biologist becomes proven fact.⁸

Having aligned himself, the poet, with the progressive aims of science, Scott then argued that the art of poetry in a modernizing Canada could achieve an artistic expression that could fuse national material and spiritual growth. Scott argued that an accomplished poet possesses a power akin to divine creation,

This spirit endeavours to interpret the world in new terms of beauty, to find unique symbols, images and analogies for the varied forms of life. It absorbs science and philosophy, and anticipates social progress in terms of ideality. It is rare, but it is ever present, for what is it but the flickering and pulsation of the force that created the world?⁹

Paradoxically for an author who claimed a rational, scientific basis for his poetic process, phantoms, ghosts and nightmare states figure often in his poetry. The sort of contradiction between the simultaneous politics of removal/exclusion/repression and assimilation into ‘civilization’ that riddled Canadian Indian policy also bedeviled Scott’s poetics. His poetic themes are rarely scientific or materialistic. Scott’s poetry often dealt with spirituality, dream states and psychic horror. As noted in Chapter 3, among the Indian poems, “Powassan’s Drum” depicts the nightmarish state provoked by an intellectual incapacity to comprehend forms of Native spirituality.

Yet at other moments in Scott’s oeuvre, the sense of alienation in a natural world inhabited and defined by the presence of Aboriginal peoples is suffused by a degree of comfort. In Scott’s Untitled Novel, ca. 1905, the hero Robin Garrabant, the illegitimate son of a prosperous logger, has achieved business and political success as a member of

⁸ Duncan Campbell Scott, “Poetry and Progress” in *The Circle of Affection* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1947), 124.

⁹ *Ibid*, 137.

the Canadian parliament. With the death of a young woman that he had loved, Garrabant takes leave of his parliamentary duties for a week to seek solace in the Gatineau Hills,

Two days later he had pitched his tents on the shores of Lake Achigan, nine miles east of Maniwaki. He was literally in the wilderness, the lumbermen had cut and carried off the best pine, but there was no settlement near him, not even a squatter's cabin, for many miles.¹⁰

The rivers and lakes of the Gatineau were the sites for the canoe trips that Scott took with his friend the poet Archibald Lampman. The unpublished novel reveals Scott's familiarity with the region,

In a few hours he grew to be but an item in this tranquil life, the loons fished and startled the heights with their ecstatic laughter, the wild geese played before their nests in the cool of early night, the beaver worked confidently at his dams, the deer came down with the dew to drink of the cool water and stamped upon the hard sand, the lake, like a giant mirror, took every change of sky, every alteration in colour of rock and wood, and he, taking up his part in this wild life, paddled, swam, fished, and walked for hours through the old roads that were paths of sleep and oblivion so deep were they covered with moss. One morning he stood in the midst of an Indian camp; long ago they had cured venison there and the rude cedar cleavers, the smoke-frames and rolls of birch-bark were still upon the ground. Here were the relics of savage life, and it came to him curiously as a fact illustrated simultaneously by a thousand incidents from his past life that he, like these people, had been successful where he accepted and used natural opportunities.¹¹

On this occasion Scott's hero self-identified with an Aboriginal past. There were no living Aboriginal people present at the fictional campsite. Scott's depiction of Garrabant at an abandoned Indian campsite evokes an Indigenoussness that provided inspiration, comfort and guidance to those alive in a settler present. Scott, the novelist, summoned images of a vanishing race as inspirational while at the same time engaging in

¹⁰ Duncan Campbell Scott, *Untitled Novel*, ca. 1905 (Moonbeam, ON; Penumbra Press/Coach House Press, 1979), 297.

¹¹ *Ibid*, 298.

his ‘day job’ of ridding Aboriginal peoples from the body politic of a progressing Canadian nation.

If the Untitled Novel hints at some familiarity with the surroundings and ways of life of aboriginal peoples, it offers no clues as to Scott’s feelings about his particular responsibility in the settler-aboriginal dynamic of his day and civil service career. It is in a short story where one can detect the closest thing to an expression of regret, remorse and even self-abnegation over the matter in Scott’s fictional work. “Expiation” was first published in 1923 in Scott’s collection The Witching of Elspie: A Book of Stories.¹² In this short tale set in 1808, a Scottish trader named Forbes Macrimmon is engaged by the Hudson’s Bay Company at Missanabie Post. At that time, the Hudson’s Bay Company was pitted in competition with “the French company”, the North West Company, with its headquarters in Montreal.

Missanabie Post is located in area that Scott knew well having traveled extensively in the James Bay regions of Ontario in 1905 and 1906 on the Treaty 9 expedition. The main Indian character in the story, Daniel Wascowin, takes his name from the cook who accompanied Scott and his fellow Treaty 9 commissioners in the summer of 1905. The real Daniel Wascowin was also subject of one of Scott’s photographic portraits taken that summer, shot in profile seated by the hull of an overturned birch bark freighter canoe.¹³

In “Expiation,” the ‘great hunter’ Daniel Wascowin is Macrimmon’s servant and his ally and principal asset in the contest with the usurping French trader, Pierre Loudet,

¹² Duncan Campbell Scott, *The Witching of Elspie: A Book of Stories* (New York: Doran, 1923), 101-11; also *Selected Stories of Duncan Campbell Scott, Edited and with an Introduction by Glenn Clever* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press: Ottawa, 1987), 103-110.

¹³ Stan Dragland, *Floating Voice: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Literature of Treaty 9* (Concord, ON: House of Anansi, 1994), 140.

His chief hope lay in his servant Daniel Wascowin. Daniel was almost a pure Indian, but there was a little white blood in him. He was a great hunter, who always took thrice as many skins as any one else, and his prowess gave him a position of control over the other Indians.¹⁴

Macrimmon's short-lived advantage over Loudet is due to Daniel Wascowin's expertise and loyalty. The partnership between Macrimmon and Wascowin is tested one evening when Macrimmon drinks "deep in the French company's rum" in the company of Loudet. In a drunken state Macrimmon catches sight of an HBC copper bottomed pail in Loudet's quarters. Such items were precious trading goods coveted by the best Indian fur trappers. Macrimmon in an angry hung-over state then accuses Daniel Wascowin of trading with the enemy. In a macabre turn, Macrimmon fires a pistol shot on each side of Wascowin's head to teach him a painful lesson. The scarred and deafened Wascowin leaves Missanabie Post. Deprived, by his own angry actions, of Daniel Wascowin's guidance and his influence over Indian traders, Macrimmon's trade declines. 'His' Indians defect to the French and Macrimmon is demoted, shamefully, by the company.

Three springs later, following his disgrace, Macrimmon hears that a weakened Daniel Wascowin and his wife have returned from their trapping grounds. Pathetically, the wife can only proffer three mink skins of very little value because her husband is ill and incapable of hunting successfully because he is deaf due to the damage wrought by Macrimmon's angry outburst. Macrimmon goes to find his old friend,

Daniel had crawled out of his canoe, and lay at the landing-place, unable to move. There was just a spark of spirit left in the body of bone and skin. He tried to smile as Macrimmon bent over him. On his forehead he saw the mark he had put there – the two crescents made by the hot pistol-barrels, blackened by powder as if tattooed. Yielding up at that moment everything of self there was in him, Macrimmon lifted the Indian in his arms, carried him to the house, and put him in his own bed...

¹⁴ Scott, *Selected Stories*, 104.

In the morning light the two men could only look helplessly into each other's eyes; and in a little while two of the eyes were darkened.¹⁵

Following Daniel Wascowin's death, the story concludes hauntingly, as it begins, with the specter of a grieving Macrimmon wandering alone in the community wearing the three tanned mink pelts, "like a fillet bound upon his brow." Scott writes that the meager skins dangling bizarrely from Macrimmon's head, "seemed to him symbols of the grievous wrong."¹⁶

In "Expiation," Scott created a character in a position of power over Indians who greatly regrets a wrong he has committed. The story is almost singular in Scott's fictional work for its representation of a friendship between a white man and an Indian. Macrimmon comes to the tragic, guilt-ridden realization that he has unjustly brutalized and mortally wounded his only ally and friend in the deep Canadian bush. This fictional relationship stands in stark contrast to the civil servant who haughtily dismissed Aboriginal opponents of Canadian Indian policy.

There is another hint of self-examination about Indian policy in Scott's written work. It is found the letters written to the young Elise Ayles. Two years prior to his retirement from the civil service, Scott stayed at The Empress Hotel in Victoria in 1930 on departmental business. At that time, Scott and the department were vigorously attacking the "potlatch" in British Columbia and actively resisting Aboriginal claims to land in the province. In a page-long philosophical outburst attached to a short letter on Empress Hotel letterhead with a circle marked "my room" playfully scrawled on the letterhead's illustration of the hotel, Scott delivered a *cri de coeur* to the young woman he was courting in Ottawa,

¹⁵ Ibid, 109-110.

¹⁶ Ibid, 110.

The presence of the mystery of life & the universe is intense. It may become a solace. If the mystery were solved for an individual that life would have lost all flavour, if the solution became a possession of the race mankind would cease to exist – To search it out so eagerly & forcefully becomes a torment But without hope of knowing the secret of being, what joy to feel oneself in the flow & very essence of the mystery, content to have this unresolvable secret between oneself and the Master of Life This quiescence will result in greater in greater receptivity and The soul with further messages, hints, intuitions from the fresh center of all feeling that will surpass any knowledge that it could gain by searching for positive knowledge. Then why suffer dear Elise? I ask a question I cannot answer. For a mind and a heart like yours there should be an equipoise and an agreement but the lack of physical strength comes between them. I feel foolish in writing this as I am not bringing help with full hands. My philosophy after a life of drift is no consolation to one who is young & who wants sweetness and activity – I know now that that I have never fought against anything nor worked for anything but just accepted & drifted from point to point. I have dimly felt that if I worked & protested & resisted I should be wrecked – so maybe you will understand why with some gifts I have done so little – this confession will not help you and I seem to be treating you like a restless child – ‘Now be quiet Elise!’ & that sort of admonition – I think – that somehow & likely sooner than we think you will achieve a greater happiness – D.¹⁷

The then almost 70-year-old Scott made his confession of moral impotence to his 27-year-old girlfriend. Was he writing about his role in Canadian Indian policy? What is the source of such anguish in a man writing two years prior to his civil service retirement about his “life of drift” during which he “never fought against anything or worked for anything but just accepted” because “I have dimly felt that if I worked & protested & resisted I should be wrecked.”? He may have been trying to impress his young girlfriend or genuinely grieving over his career of attaching Indigenous peoples. The answer is unknowable. Yet, in both scenarios, he reveals a recognition that his actions were not honourable.

¹⁷ Duncan Campbell Scott, letter to Elise Aylen, Empress Hotel, Victoria, BC , November 23, 1930. LAC-BAC, LMS-0204, Box 1, Folder 4.

Jacques Soustelle and the Intellectual Tradition of the Franco-Algerian conflict

Notre conviction est faite. Oui, le déploiement de la force française est juste : pour protéger les uns et les autres contre la Terreur. Il faut que cette force juste aille jusqu'à la vraie victoire : la pacification des cœurs. Cette victoire ne sera pas celle du passé : c'est dans l'élan hardi de larges réformes économiques, sociales et politiques que se réalisera en Algérie une véritable communauté.¹⁸

- Jacques Soustelle -

Le terrorisme est aussi une erreur quant à ses conséquences. Son premier résultat, en effet, et de fermer la bouche aux Français libéraux de l'Algérie et par conséquent, de renforcer le parti de la réaction et de la répression. Ceux qui, sur les lieux - mêmes, pourraient faire entendre la voix de la raison (et le gouverneur général lui-même) se voient imposer silence au nom de l'instituteur assassiné, du médecin blessé, du passant égorgé et des écoles incendiées.¹⁹

- Albert Camus -

Les gens qui parlent d'abandon sont des imbéciles: il n'y a pas à abandonner ce que nous n'avons jamais possédé. Il s'agit, tout au contraire, de construire avec les Algériens des relations nouvelles entre une France libre et une Algérie libérée. Mais n'allons pas, surtout, nous laisser détourner de notre tâche par la mystification réformiste. Le néo-colonialiste est un niais qui croit qu'on peut aménager le système coloniale – ou un malin qui propose des réformes parce qu'il sait qu'elles sont inefficaces.²⁰

- Jean-Paul Sartre -

On aurait pu abrégé la guerre de plusieurs années, cela n'aurait rien changé quant au résultat : quand un pays évolue vers l'indépendance, c'est comme une avalanche, vous ne l'arrêtez pas. L'Algérie serait donc allée quand même jusqu'au fond du val de l'indépendance.²¹

- Germaine Tillion -

The debate over Algeria became a nasty family feud among intellectuals in *la métropole*. It was a feud that Jacques Soustelle waded into with conviction and, at times,

¹⁸ Jacques Soustelle, excerpted from his "papier" enclosed in letter to Paul Rivet. March 30, 1956, MNHN, 2 APIC SOUS

¹⁹ Albert Camus, "Terrorisme et répression," *L'Express*, 9 juillet, 1955, 4.

²⁰ Jean-Paul Sartre, *Situations V: Colonialisme et néo-colonialisme* (Paris: Gallimard, 1964) pp.47-48 Originally published in *Les Temps Modernes*, No. 123, mars-avril 1956. Intervention dans un Meeting "pour la paix en Algérie".

²¹ Germaine Tillion, *À la recherche du vrai et du juste: À propos rompus avec le siècle* (Paris: Seuil, 2001), 41.

venom. Following his return to France in 1956 at the end of his administration, Soustelle did not pause. He quickly published a memoir of his year-long sojourn as Governor-General.²² In *Aimée Et Souffrante Algérie* Soustelle argued for a maintenance of le plan Soustelle by a new leftist government. When he appeared on television after the book was published he drew explicit links between his impressions of the situation in Algeria with the expertise he had gained in the 1930s as a doctoral student in Mexico.²³ He argued passionately that *intégration* based on Mexican *indigenismo* would be vindicated.

Unlike Camus, who believed that Soustelle, himself, squandered France's last chance at redemption in Algeria, Germaine Tillion believed the point of no return was reached following Soustelle's departure. Tillion pointed to the decision by President Guy Mollet and Soustelle's successor Robert Lacoste, both socialists, to grant full police powers to the French military in Algeria. In her final years, Germaine Tillion still despaired over that decision which marked for her an irrevocable end to France's hopes of a « civil truce » and peace along the lines championed by Camus.²⁴

By 1956, erstwhile friends Camus and Jean-Paul Sartre had already famously parted company following a 1952 feud in print over the inhumane excesses of Soviet communism. Sartre clung to a belief that the inevitable correctness of Marxist thought meant the overarching socialist project must be defended regardless. Camus believed that terror itself was an inevitable result of rigid Marxist ideology. Camus also believed, as Soustelle did, that Moscow's allies in the decolonizing world like Algeria's FLN were

²² Jacques Soustelle, *Aimée Et Souffrante Algérie* (Paris: Plon, 1956).

²³ Jacques Soustelle interviewed on "Lectures pour tous" by Pierre Desgroupes about Soustelle's book *Aimée et souffrante Algérie*, December 19, 1956, Inathèque, BNF – Mitterand, Paris

²⁴ Germaine Tillion, *L'Afrique Bascule Vers l'Avenir* (Paris: Tirésias, 1999), 61.

terrorists rather than freedom fighters. At the height of the Cold War, Camus linked Algerian liberation movements to the threat of Soviet tyranny,

..averti depuis longtemps des réalités Algériennes, je ne puis non plus approuver une politique de démission qui abandonnerait le peuple arabe à une plus grande misère, arracherait de ses racines séculaires le peuple français de l'Algérie et favoriseraient seulement, sans profit pour personne, le nouvel impérialisme qui menace la liberté de la France et de l'Occident.²⁵

As an enthusiasm for decolonization and sympathy with the F.L.N. gained support among leftists like Sartre, Camus grew ever more uneasy,

Après tout, Gandhi a prouvé qu'on pouvait lutter pour son peuple, et vaincre, sans cesser un seul jour de rester estimable. Quelle que soit la cause que l'on défend, elle restera toujours déshonorée par le massacre d'une foule innocente où le tueur sait d'avance qu'il atteindra la femme et l'enfant.²⁶

Sartre lambasted "notre réaliste au coeur tendre" for ill-considered aspirations of reform in Algeria. Sartre was clearly taking aim at Camus, Soustelle and all other humanitarian liberals while not naming them,

Et pourtant il est impossible de commencer les transformations économiques parce que la misère et le désespoir des Algériens sont l'effet direct et nécessaire du colonialisme et qu'on ne les supprimer jamais tant que le colonialisme durera. C'est que savant tous les Algériens conscients. Et tous sont d'accord avec ce mot d'un Musulman; "Un pas en avant, deux pas en arrière. Voilà la réforme coloniale."²⁷

Sartre the urbane, privileged Parisian intellectual fancied that he made common cause with the oppressed of the colonized world. His anti-colonial writings are a screed against French intervention in Africa and Asia. He argued that effective partnerships between la métropole and Algeria could only be forged following liberation.²⁸ Unlike Camus, who

²⁵ Camus, *Actuelles III* "Avant-propos", 11.

²⁶ Camus, *Actuelles III* "Avant-propos", 17.

²⁷ Jean-Paul Sartre, *Situations V*, 40.

²⁸ Jean-Paul Sartre, *Situations V*, "Portrait du colonisé précédé du Portrait du colonisateur de Albert Memmi," 52 (Originally published in *Les Temps Modernes*, Nos 137-138, juillet - août 1957).

claimed he could never approve of violence against civilians by any party, Sartre came to embrace the violence of decolonization. Sartre and his companion Simone de Beauvoir ridiculed Camus' call for a civil truce because in their assessment French colonialism had been victimizing Algerian civilians for 126 years.²⁹

Sartre's anti-colonial writings have a scintilla of secular religion about them. For a contemporary reader, his confidence in liberation movements amounts to blind faith. To his credit, he does not shy from the devastation of Native economies and culture caused by the favouring of settler interests. In this regard, Sartre proved capable of exposing French colonial depredations and cruelty in Algeria with a clarity that Soustelle and Camus seemed incapable of doing.

The polemic between Albert Camus and Jean-Paul Sartre was echoed in a highly publicized sparring match between Jacques Soustelle and the philosopher Raymond Aron. Aron's 'abandonment' (to use Soustelle's phrase) of French Algeria, was particularly stinging to Soustelle. Aron, like Soustelle, was considered to be a man of the centre. It was one thing to have well known leftists such as Sartre and his partner Simone de Beauvoir embrace Frantz Fanon and the FLN, it was quite another for Soustelle to witness the unexpected defection of intellectuals of 'le juste milieu' such as Aron. In response to Aron's public declaration that he could no longer support the French government's policies in Algeria, Soustelle quickly published a denunciation of what he regarded as a suddenly fashionable "decadence" among French intellectuals in their retreat from democratic values and embrace of Marxist revolutionaries *outré mer*. With

²⁹ Sartre, *Situations V*, "Les Damnés de la terre", (originally published as introduction to eponymous text of Frantz Fanon, 1961), 176.

gathering fire and vitriol that would fuel Soustelle's declarations about Algeria well into the 1960s, he denounced Aron and his ilk for nothing less than treason,

J'imagine le mépris des chefs fellagha pour les Français qui les soutiennent, pour ces auxiliaires qui brandissent le stylo a Paris tandis que les guerriers tirent des coups de feu dans la montagne. Le conflit algérien est a 80% une guerre psychologique ou l'adversaire trouve son arsenal chez nous.³⁰

Soustelle was affronted by Aron's position on the 'heroism' of abandoning Algeria and allowing for independence. Throughout his defence of l'Algérie française, Soustelle frequently invoked his *résistant* anti-Nazi past as credible evidence of the constancy of his patriotism.³¹ Soustelle bridled at Aron's argument that he, Aron, came to support Algerian independence because that position was consistent with Republican values of the resistance. This sort of split between former French opponents of the German occupation over the Algerian question was widespread. The hard and courageous choice in the 1950s and 1960s, according to Soustelle, was in defending l'Algérie française. As far as Soustelle was concerned, Aron chose correctly in 1940 to oppose Hitler, but he was dead wrong in 1957 to support a proto-fascist FLN.

In his pamphlet, Aron expressly condemned policy of *intégration* claiming that Soustelle's reforms were too little, too late. In response, Soustelle undertook a vigorous defence of his policy³² and accused Aron and likeminded French intellectuals of the sort of blindness that led *les clercs* of the eighteenth century such as Voltaire to dismiss the importance of French possessions like *la Nouvelle France*,

³⁰ Jacques Soustelle, *Le drame algérien et la décadence française Réponse a Raymond Aron* (Paris : Plon – Tribune Libre 6, 1957), 2. Soustelle wrote this pamphlet in response to Aron's *la Tragédie algérienne* (Paris : Plon – Tribune Libre 2, 1957).

³¹ CAOM 11Cab/29 script of declaration by Soustelle on Radio Algérie August 19, 1955 En dépit des difficultés et des souffrances, malgré même les échecs temporaires, envers et contre tout, une ALGÉRIE nouvelle est en train de se faire.

³² Soustelle, *drame algérien*, 29.

On est stupéfait de la désinvolture avec laquelle notre nouveau Voltaire règle dédaigneusement le cas des « sables brûlants » comme son illustre prédécesseur sacrifiait les « arpents de neige » du Canada.³³

Twentieth-century energy politics and the Cold War were also deployed in arguments made by the respective camps. Soustelle insisted that France had to maintain its energy projects in cooperation with North African states in the Sahara as a fulcrum against dependence on either the United States or Arab countries with ties to the Soviet Union. This is classic Gaullist positioning of France *vis à vis* the Cold War super powers.³⁴ In due course, de Gaulle managed to protect French business interests in the southern Sahara through the Evian Accords. Before he was dismissed from de Gaulle's cabinet because of his recalcitrance over Algeria, Soustelle had once posed for the cover of European edition of Time magazine to vaunt the great energy future in France's African possessions.³⁵ Through invoking the need for energy independence and raising the scare over the FLN's ties to Nasser's Egypt and to Soviet ruled Moscow, Soustelle exemplified a certain kind of French nationalism, the kind Soustelle had once associated with Charles de Gaulle, that strove to maintain some French wiggle room between camps in the Cold War.

In his *riposte* to Aron, Soustelle also resolutely denied that Algeria had colonial status under French rule, it had he argued the status of "une symbiose...une création" that could, as the argument went, become integrated fully into France.³⁶ In this respect Soustelle's arguments resembled those of Camus, a thinker with whom Soustelle is

³³ Ibid, 31.

³⁴ CAOM 11CAB/1 October 28, 1955 letter from Soustelle's secretary confirming meeting for Soustelle with M. Martin Director de la compagnie dur Recherche et d'exploitation de Pétrole au Sahara

³⁵ Dominique Balvet, "Jacques Soustelle Et l'Algérie Française: Gaullisme Et Antigaullisme." Doctorat d'Histoire sous la direction de Jean-Francois Sirinelli, Université Charles de Gaulle Lille 3, 2003. Tome 3, 766. A photo of Soustelle appeared on the cover of *Time Magazine*, August 17, 1959.

³⁶ Soustelle, *drame algérien*, 37.

infrequently linked. In the preface to a collection of his political writings about Algeria, Camus clearly stated his preference for French-styled civilization over what he regarded as Soviet backed alternatives of dubious national liberation.³⁷ And with perhaps an admission of weary fatalism, Camus conceded defeat for his kind of humanism in face of a new logic of liberation that was tilted, as he sought, toward the Soviet empire,

Le temps des colonialismes est fini, il faut le savoir seulement et en tirer les conséquences. Et l'Occident qui, en dix ans, a donné l'autonomie à une douzaine de colonies mérite à cet égard plus de respect, et surtout, de patience que la Russie, que dans le même temps, a colonisé ou placé sous un protectorat implacable une douzaine de pays de grande et ancienne civilisation.³⁸

While Camus, Soustelle and Germaine Tillion agonized over difficult Algerian choices, Aron, Sartre and others on their side saw the Algerian conflict as an opportunity for France to place itself, however belatedly, on the right side of history by embracing Marxist de-colonizing movements throughout the world. There is an irony in that positioning of competing camps of French intellectuals illuminated by colonial historian and theorist Raoul Girardet,

En faisant face à la rébellion algérienne la France se trouve donc en première ligne du front de la guerre révolutionnaire. Elle ne se bat pas pour la seule sauvegarde de ses intérêts nationaux. Elle se bat pour le salut de l'Occident tout entier et pour la survie de toute une forme de civilisation. Ces prises de position se situent en fin de compte en un assez exact parallélisme avec les postulats soutenus simultanément par les écrivains et doctrinaires des Temps modernes. Pour ces derniers, les revendications des peuples coloniaux se trouvent confondues avec la cause de la Révolution mondiale. C'est en fonction d'une menace révolutionnaire globale que, de l'autre côté de la barricade, certains tendent essentiellement justifier leur volonté de résistance. Le rapprochement est assez curieux pour mériter, semble-t-il, d'être souligné.³⁹

³⁷ Camus, *Actuelles III* "Avant-propos", 11.

³⁸ *Ibid*, 23.

³⁹ Raoul Girardet, *L'Idee Coloniale En France De 1871 a 1962* (Paris: La table ronde, 1972), 343-4.

In his response to Aron, Soustelle stood by his former colleague in ethnology, the resistance and in the government of French Algeria, Germaine Tillion and deferred to her specialized knowledge. Soustelle credits her with explaining best how France had brought Algeria to the threshold of modernity and French Republican duty of working with Algerians to advance the process of education, urbanization and industrialization,

Mais venons-en aux deuxième problème : qu'est-ce que la France représente, économiquement, pour l'Algérie ? *Elle représente simplement la différence entre la vie et la mort.* Je voudrais que personne n'entreprene de raisonner sur ce problème sans avoir lu la brochure mince mais combien substantielle de Germaine Tillion (1). On y voit décrit avec une vérocité criante l'affreux processus de paupérisation, pire, de « clochardisation » comme dit Germaine Tillion, qui broie le peuple des fellahs. On y voit comment tout se métamorphose en cendres et en ruine entre les mains de ces malheureux arrachés par nous à leur monde archaïque et pas encore entrés dans le monde moderne. Tout le drame de l'Algérie est là. Que l'indépendance puisée y mettre un terme est un mensonge dérisoire ; le fellagha qui croit lutter pour voir « la fin de notre misère » ne sait pas qu'il est cyniquement trompé par la Ligue Arabe et des néo-féodaux avides de pouvoir ; il ne sait pas que son Etat arabe, si jamais il voyait le jour, le condamnerait à une misère vingt fois plus profonde.⁴⁰

Tillion had written her most enduring analysis of Algeria just after serving in Soustelle's cabinet. Her now famous description of “clochardisation” was a sobering reality check on Soustelle's idealized trumpeting of Mexican *indigenismo* and it underscored the humanitarian social obligation Tillion believed was at the centre of ethnology,

Croyez-moi, ce n'est pas une situation enviable. Comme me disait un vieux Kabyle : « Vous nous avez emmenés au milieu du gué, et nous y avez laissés. » ... Les autres – quatre à cinq d'êtres humains, tous appartenant à la majorité – ont progressivement perdu les biens matériels et les stabilités spirituelles des sociétés anciennes, sans avoir pu, faute d'instruction et de technicité, devenir des hommes modernes. Ils se trouvent à la charnière des deux mondes – au milieu du gué – hantés par le passé qu'ils connaissent un peu enfiévrés par l'avenir qu'ils ont palpé en migrant, mais les mains vides et le ventre creux, entre leurs fantômes et leurs fièvres.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Soustelle, *drame algérien*, 33-4.

⁴¹ Tillion, *l'Afrique bascule*, 73.

In concluding his response to Aron, Soustelle decried the fatalism of French elites and the collusion of a 'New Left' and a 'New Right' (represented, as Soustelle would have it, by the conservative Aron) over Algeria. Soustelle persisted in emphasizing hope and prospects for cooperation. Referencing his own social scientific background, Soustelle claimed to have met recently with Algerian and European colleagues about new archaeological work undertaken in the mountains of Algeria for the museum in Alger.⁴² Soustelle asserted that the real issue was decadence. Like his speculations about the collapse of Mayan civilizations while roaming the Lacondon rain forest in the 1930s, which, he argued, had occurred because Mayan elites distanced themselves from the concerns of normal people, Soustelle feared that Algeria was a symptom of a broader French malaise – a lack of will on the part of intellectuals in government, the civil service and the academy – *les clerics*, to use Julien Benda's term - to truly champion democracy in the face of competing ideologies.⁴³ In Soustelle's view, French intellectuals might take the fashionable position of abandoning Algeria, but in doing so they were quitting on ordinary Algerians be they Moslems, Jews, Christians or secular Europeans, and on France itself. In his polemical excesses, Soustelle argued that French civilisation itself was at stake. He harkened again to his academic past - even in Latin America French culture and language, he argued, continued to have influence as an alternative to American or Soviet power. France, Soustelle insisted, in deserting l'Algérie française would willingly turn its back on worthy achievements of *la mission civilisatrice* in northern Africa.⁴⁴

⁴² Ibid, 51-60.

⁴³ For Soustelle's argument about Mayan decadence see Jacques Soustelle, *Les quatre soleils*, (Paris: Plon, 1967), 103-4; 121.

⁴⁴ Soustelle, *drame algérien*, 1-6.

The chasm between French intellectuals over Algeria has fascinated many commentators. The spectacle of public argument between Camus and Sartre that began over Soviet-style communism and continued over French actions in Algeria has spawned numerous articles and monographs.⁴⁵ Historians of latter day French Algeria are often drawn to Camus' magisterially disturbing creation Meursault, the feckless, morose, seemingly unmotivated pied noir killer protagonist of *L'Étranger*.⁴⁶ Blinded by the sun Meursault guns down an unnamed Arab on a beach. It is a pointless, careless act of which Meursault is inexplicably proud. *L'Étranger* is a non-ideological, humane metaphor or prism into the complicated nature of relations between European and Indigenous Algerians.

A lesser-known work by Camus best encapsulates his tortured view of the conflict in his native land while situating his art in a frame that relates directly to Jacques Soustelle's failed mission as Governor General. *L'hôte* is the story of a pied noir French *instituteur*, an elementary school teacher, named Daru in an Algerian mountain school in an arid region not far from the Mediterranean coast.⁴⁷ The story recounts how Daru becomes fatally caught between factions in the Algerian-French conflict while trying to save an Algerian prisoner of the French police. The character Daru is precisely the sort of Franco-Algerian idealist that first rallied to the side of Jacques Soustelle and Germaine Tillion when they embarked on the creation of *centres sociaux*. The real-life equivalent to the murderous absurdity experienced by the fictional Daru is what rendered Camus

⁴⁵ James D. Le Sueur, "Decolonizing 'French Universalism' Reconsidering the impact of the Algerian War on French Intellectuals," in Le Sueur, ed. *The Decolonizing Reader* (London: Routledge, 2003), 103-117; Le Sueur, *Uncivil War: Intellectuals and Identity Politics during the Decolonization of Algeria* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001); Ronald Aronson, *Camus & Sartre: The Story of a Friendship and the Quarrel that Ended it* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

⁴⁶ Albert Camus, *L'Étranger*, (Paris, Gallimard, 1957) Originally published 1942; See Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994), 67, 160, 161, 174-176, 178, 179-180, 181, 184-185.

⁴⁷ Albert Camus, « L'hôte » in *L'exil et le royaume* (Paris, Gallimard, 1957), 79-99.

speechless about his native land in the final years of his life. Like Camus, and others of good faith such as Jacques Soustelle and Germaine Tillion, the character Daru attempted pathetically, in his way, to salvage French Republican honour and decency in Algeria.

Conclusion

To date, the current Algerian government has weathered the Arab spring which saw governments overthrown in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya. The government has remained in power since it emerged following a civil war between secularists and Islamists that ended in 2000. However, almost half a century after Algerian independence of 1962, legacies of the Algerian-French war burst into polemic flame on a regular basis on both sides of the Mediterranean. Since the 1990s, the question of torture committed by French troops has resurfaced regularly in academic research, the press and parliamentary debates.⁴⁸ The shoddy treatment of Algerian military veterans who helped liberate France from the Nazis was the subject of *Indigènes*, an internationally acclaimed feature film in 2006.⁴⁹ Such veterans would form the military core of the Algerian independence movement when their faith in France died in the decade following World War II.

In 2007-8, *Algérie, histoires à ne pas dire*, a documentary film that re-visited Algeria and dared to suggest, a) that not all Algerians were for independence in 1962; and b) that many Algerians of Islamic descent suffered after independence for their loyalties to France, attracted national media attention in France.⁵⁰ In February 2008, the film was screened each evening for two weeks in a cinema close to the Sorbonne campus of the University of Paris. Following many of the screenings director Jean-Pierre Lledo, film

⁴⁸ Raphaëlle Branche, *Torture et l'Armée Pendant La Guerre d'Algérie*. (Paris: Gallimard, 2001).

⁴⁹ Rachid Bouchareb, dir. *Indigènes* (Alger/Paris: Mars Distribution, 2006). English title *Days of Glory*

⁵⁰ Jean-Pierre Lledo, dir. *Algérie, histoires à ne pas dire* (Paris : Colifilms Distribution, 2007)

critics, historians and audience members participated in lively, sometimes fractious debate.⁵¹

In 2008, a novel by a second generation Algerian emigrant was both feted and decried for its description of the ‘ratonade’ of 1961 when berserk loyalists of l’Algérie Française drowned north Africans in the Seine in a day of lynching.⁵² Four years later in October 2012, French President François Hollande became the first French president to acknowledge the killings.⁵³ In an address to the Algerian parliament, Hollande recognized the suffering caused by “unjust and brutal” French colonial policies in the country.⁵⁴ Hollande stopped short of a formal apology. Hollande was no stranger to Algeria. As a graduate student, he did his professional internship at the French embassy in Alger.⁵⁵ His appearance in Algeria was one of the most carefully observed appearances of his still fledgling administration. Marine Le Pen, leader of The National Front, Hollande’s principal right-wing opponent, was quick to condemn his speech as a betrayal of French dignity and an invitation to increased immigration from Algeria.⁵⁶

In 2013 in Canada, places with names like Attawapiskat and Kesatchewan are staples of media and political discourse.⁵⁷ These troubled James Bay region communities

⁵¹ Florence Beaugé, « trois historiens face aux tabous algériens » *Le Monde* (Paris : 27 février, 2008), 4.

⁵² Hamid Aït-Taleb, *De grace* (Paris: Hachette, 2008).

⁵³ Maia de la Baume, “Hollande Uses Softer Tone on Delicate Visit to Algeria,” *The New York Times*, December 20, 2012. www.nytimes.com Accessed December 12, 2012 5:39 AM.

⁵⁴ Le Point.fr, « À Alger, Hollande reconnaît les souffrances de la colonisation, » Publié le 20/12/2012 à 17:03 – Modifié le 20/12/2012 à 17 :58; Harvey Morris, “Being French Means Never Having to Say...,” *International Herald Tribune*, December 20, 2012. <http://rendezvous.blogs.nytimes.com> Accessed December 29, 2012 5:42 AM. IHT Rendezvous cancelled June 28, 2013.

⁵⁵ Vincent Jauvert, « Hollande l’Algérien, » *Le nouvel Observateur*, Du 13 au 19 décembre 2012, Section Monde, 40-2.

⁵⁶ Willy Legrand, « Discours de François Hollande à Alger : la France triplement condamnée,» www.nationspresse.info, 20 décembre 2012 @ 12 :20 Accessed December 29, 2012.

⁵⁷ See Barrie McKenna, OTTAWA, “FIRST NATIONS Attawapiskat gets help with housing,” *The Globe And Mail*, December 12, 2011, page A7; Gloria Galloway, “ABORIGINAL AFFAIRS First nations unite to support Attawapiskat Chiefs from across Canada blast government for sending third party to troubled community,” *The Globe And Mail*, December 7, 2011, Page A5; David Ljunngren, “Natives have been

in northern Ontario sit in the James Bay area where Duncan Campbell Scott first introduced Treaty 9 in the summers of 1905 and 1906. The hunger strike of Attawapiskat Chief Theresa Spence in the shadow of Parliament Hill, rail blockades, pipeline construction delays and the international *Idle No More* Aboriginal rights movement have been prominent matters on the Canadian national agenda over the past months.

As the twenty-first century entered its second decade, Duncan Campbell Scott remains inextricably bound up in one of Canada's most punishing dramas. Scott's role continues to be the subject of media attention.⁵⁸ In late 2013, Montreal poet and journalist Mark Abley produced an inventive book about Scott that features conversations between Abley and Scott's ghost. The two argue about Scott's legacy at the Canadian Indian department while sometimes finding common ground about poetry, painting and Canadian culture.⁵⁹ Questions remain that should and will receive attention. Recent scholarship and journalism in Canada continues to examine Scott's particular legacy, the coercive, sometimes violent, application of Canadian settlement across the west, and raise new levels of concern about a Department with a culture of routine coercion and detachment from moral considerations in its relationship with Aboriginal peoples.⁶⁰ These

betrayed, leader says," *REUTERS*, December 6, 2011, 4:05pm; Alanis Obomsawin, dir., *The People of the Kattawapiskat River* (Montréal: National Film Board of Canada, 2012).

⁵⁸ Bernie M. Farber, "The Troubling Legacy of Duncan Campbell Scott," *The Ottawa Citizen*, August 28, 2013, Op-Ed Section. Accessed on-line August 29, 2013. <http://www.ottawacitizen.com/opinion/op-ed/troubling+legacy+Duncan+Campbell+Scott/8844210/story.html>

⁵⁹ Mark Abley, *Conversations with a Dead Man – The Legacy of Duncan Campbell Scott* (McGill University Press, Montréal, 2013) Abley and Scott's ghost discuss the author's 1995 film about Scott on pages 142-3. James Cullingham, dir/prod *Duncan Campbell Scott: The Poet and The Indians* (Toronto: Tamarack Productions and The National Film Board of Canada – Ontario Centre, 1995) Distribution VTape, Toronto.

⁶⁰ Candace Savage, *A Geography of Blood: Unearthing Memory from a Prairie Landscape* (Vancouver: Greystone Books and David Suzuki Foundation, 2012); James Daschuk, *Clearing the Plains: Disease, Politics of Starvation and the Loss of Aboriginal Life* (Regina: University of Regina Press, 2013); Ian Mosby, "Administering Colonial Science: Nutrition Research and Human Biomedical Experimentation in Aboriginal Communities and Residential Schools, 1942–1952," *Histoire Sociale/Social History* Volume 46, Number 91 (2013):145-172.

works broaden knowledge and understanding of the government department where Duncan Campbell Scott worked for half a century and the policies he helped implement.

In France, Jacques Soustelle remains an important figure in historical and political considerations of l'Algérie française and the development of the social sciences.⁶¹ Under presidents François Hollande and Nicolas Sarkozy, the French government, military and business have repeatedly asserted French influence in north Africa. These developments might suggest that Jacques Soustelle's vision of cooperation and even of federal arrangements between France, Algeria and the former French colonies in Africa was not purely fanciful.

Scott and Soustelle were juxtaposed in this dissertation in order to better understand the history and ideology of policies directed at Indigenous populations in Canada and in l'Algérie française. During their lifetimes, both Duncan Campbell Scott and Jacques Soustelle first emerged as exemplary cultural and political fixtures of liberal, ruling establishments. They then became prisms for the examination of darker national histories. As contemporary nation states like Canada and France struggle to re-define relationships with domestic Indigenous groups or the descendants of former colonial possessions, the observation of Scott and Soustelle will continue to reveal much about liberalism's enduring incapacity in relation to Indigenousness in the modern world.

⁶¹ Of the French scholarship, see for example Christine Laurière *Paul Rivet le savant et le politique* (Paris: Muséum national d'Histoire naturelle, 2008); Olivier Le Cour Grandmaison, *Coloniser exterminer: Sur la guerre et l'État colonial* (Paris: Fayard, 2005); Raphaëlle Branche, *La guerre de l'Algérie: une histoire apaisée?* (Paris: Seuil, 2005).

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