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Native geography: aboriginal territory, environmental perception

Efforts at ascertaining indigenous knowledge of home environments, their perception and utility – e.g., full geographic awareness of surroundings -- abound. A sample of the literature is included here. Concern for the protection of tribal cultural resources has vigorous supporters and that protection forms an important part of current legislation and management that involves the participation of tribes. Some of the literature below deals with the general themes; a few studies were selected as examples of specific cases. Keep in mind that some of the subject matter here overlaps with discussion and sources in 3 (land cessions, etc.) and 6 (land claims).

Indians, Ecology and Environment:


Native Cartography and Interpretations:

There is an increasing body of literature evaluating Native American maps, and researchers interested in their utility in terms of native territoriality and land tenure should review the maps and their analyses in order to understand the limitations these maps represent. I list a limited number of sources for such purposes. Most native maps portray drainages, regions and areas of hunting, fishing, etc., and rarely reveal territoriality as understood by Euro-American peoples. Native maps did not, for example, play any significant or pivotal role in the reconstruction of aboriginal territory in the claims cases (see section 6).

James Ronda (1984) reproduced a Nez Perce map of the Middle Columbia River (May 1806). This and other maps were prepared by Indians for Lewis and Clark, in the field, during their expedition to and from the Pacific Northwest. It provides “a sketch of the principal water courses West of the Rocky Mountains...” Such maps drawn by Native Americans, despite degrees of accuracy, suggest the limitations in their use for determining aboriginal territoriality.


Fig. 1.1 Aboriginal Territory. Researchers can arrive at original tribal territory by various means, although no one way necessarily produces a definitive area acceptable to the tribe, various governments, local citizens, or scholarly research. For example, original title lands submitted as part of land claims may now be adjudicated for countless tribes and thus appear to be the correct aboriginal territory. However, numerous tribes reject the bounds of these judicially established areas by the Indian Claims Commission. Tribal informants from contact times to the present may also help render an aboriginal area that is contested by adjacent tribes, governments, local citizens, etc. Ethnographic reconstruction has often been considered definitive; however, even Alfred
Kroeber, an anthropologist at the University of California, Berkeley and a leading interpreter of tribal territoriality, contended that the bounds on his own maps really reflected broad culture areas, linguistic zones, and the like, not political territory. The Shoshone sample reflects the thorough research of Omer Stewart, who utilized nearly a hundred sources, for which the sample only represents a fragment of the research sources. Source: Omer Stewart (1985). (See section 6 on land claims.) Map used by permission of the University of New Mexico Press.

FIG.1.2 Some maps reflect the differences in interpretation of original territory and the greater reliance on ethnographic or cultural data, mainly languages, culture elements, etc., rather than political territoriality. These examples are based upon Kroeber’s Culture Area map (1939) Source: Sutton, Indian Land Tenure (1975). The composite idea is borrowed from U. S. Congress, House, 1953. (See section 4). Keep in mind that Kroeber did not perceive his culture area boundaries as equivalent to political territoriality. See my discussion in Sutton (2002). Also note that the Kroeberian areas, even if they appear to correspond at times to adjudicated claims areas, were not perceived as legal entities when first designed in the 1930s. Map copyrighted by Imre Sutton.


