

Tricksters in the Press

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Christopher Columbus as the first tourist, General Custer having his charge card taken away, Pierre Trudeau as a vampire, or George W. Bush as a Crusader; each of these images have been captured by Indigenous editorial cartoonists in Aboriginal newspapers and each conjures up a decolonizing, trickster discourse. All editorial cartoons offer readers clarity and humour, visually expressing a biased, but informed, point of view. However, a number of Indigenous editorial cartoonists, like many contemporary Indigenous artists generally, play the role of Trickster, continually challenging the status quo in both Indian country and mainstream Canadian and American presses.

For the purposes of this paper, I will focus on the trickster cartoons of Everett Soop. Because Soop was such a prolific artist, I will concentrate on his visual responses to the 1969 White Paper issue. The Trudeau government's controversial White Paper provided Soop with a seemingly endless source of commentary and he embraced the role of trickster as he satirized a number of political perspectives.

Soop worked for a small southern Alberta Aboriginal news outlet, the *Kainai News*, which went to press for the first time in 1968 on the cusp of the upcoming controversy. A local paper reliant on government funding, the *Kainai News* became a vital media source for southern Alberta's large Indigenous population including the Blood reserve and provided Soop with a platform to emerge as an integral figure in the Canadian field of editorial art.

A reliance on editorial cartoons as primary source materials raises questions among some scholars because these artists take liberties, and often overstate facts to make their points. By its nature, an editorial cartoon remains a distortion of reality.

Yet, even while cartoonists exaggerate and misrepresent realities of a given situation, this does not diminish their importance, instead, I content that it accentuates it because the cartoonists utilize signs in eliciting public response and in that way, closely reflect their audience. The popularity of the *Simpson's* by Matt Groening is an obvious example of the power of cartoon to tap into the *zeitgeist* of a nation. (Not that I'm suggesting Everett Sloop's editorial cartoons ever reached television or even a wide mainstream audience). Little scholarly work examines how Indigenous editorial cartoons employ historical referents, or rely on easily recognizable signs to swiftly convey messages to viewers. How Indigenous editorial cartoonists communicate audiences using culturally informed semiotic systems has not been undertaken either.

Literature surrounding the importance and analysis of editorial cartoons is, not surprisingly given the market, mostly focused on American media sources.¹ John Johnson's 1980 *Latin America In Caricature* and more recently Mark Anderson's 2000 *Pancho Villa, Revolution by Headlines*, mined the press for examples of racially charged editorial cartoons that depict Latin American stereotypes. With regard to Aboriginal editorial cartoonists working in the Aboriginal media, few critical sources exist.² Allan Ryan's 1999 *The Trickster Shift: Humour and*

¹ Thomas Milton Kemnitz, "The Cartoon as a Historical Source," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 4 (1) (Summer, 1973): 81-93; W.A. Coupe, "Observations on a Theory of Political Caricature," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 11 (1) (January, 1969); Bivins, Thomas H. The body politic: The Changing Face of Uncle Sam: Cartoonists' use of Proportion and Body type Conveys its own editorial Image. *Journalism Quarterly* 64 (Spring): 13-21. Edwards, Janis L., Winkler, Carol K. 1997. Representative form and the Visual Ideograph: The Iwo Jima image in Editorial Cartoons. *The Quarterly Journal of Speech* August 83 (3): 289-301. Winfield, Betty H., Yoon, Doyle. 2002. Historical images at a Glance: North Korea in American Editorial Cartoons. *Newspaper research Journal* 23 (4): 97-100.

² Jojola, Ted. 1993. Native American Cartoonist Mines Tragedy for Humour. *Albuquerque Journal*, 2 August, p. A7. Landon, Susan. 1991. Who is that Masked Man? *Albuquerque Journal*, 14 July, pp. F1-2. Negri, Sam. 1997. When Things Go Awry. Relax, Here comes Muttonman. *Arizona*

Irony in Contemporary Native Art includes the editorial cartoons of Bill Powless in his thesis on Trickster humour in Indigenous art and he is currently working on a project that addresses this issue in more detail.

Trickster Identity

The Trickster remains a ubiquitous force in Aboriginal literature, art, and culture. Trickster stories abound throughout First Nations of the Americas, handed down from generation to generation. The coyote, the fox, and the spider have entered popular culture as trickster figures which shock and communicate serious lessons in humorous and often bawdy ways.

Contemporary Indigenous artists and writers also rely on the trickster as a teaching tool. Anishnabe visual artist Carl Beam sees the Trickster as a “critical link between subversive practice, aesthetic production, spiritual truth, and cultural wisdom.”³ (Ryan, 1999: 3). Cree playwright Tomson Highway describes the role of the trickster in this way:

In the same sense that Jesus Christ stands at the very, very centre of Christian mythology, we have a character in our mythological universe...who stands at the very centre of that university, and that character is the trickster...Without the spiritual health of that figure I think Indian people are completely screwed.”⁴

Highways, July, pp. 32-35. Ahenakew, Willard. 1974. *Cartoons of Indian Politics and Indian Humour*. Saskatoon:

Willard Ahenakew. Anthony, Leon. 1994. Simmer and Shake. *Aboriginal Voices* 1(4): 13-14. Giago, Tim, Jr. 1990. My Laughter. Illustrations by Marty G. Two Bulls. *Native Peoples Magazine* 3 (3): 52-56. Greer, Sandy. 1998. Stereotypes, Native Art, and Art. *ArtViews* (March-April-May): 18-23.

³ Allan Ryan, *The Trickster Shift: Humour and Irony in Contemporary Native Art*, Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999: 3.

⁴ Tomson Highway. *Tomson Highway: Native Voice*. Interview by Phyllis Wilson. Thompson MB: Native Communications, 1988: 3.

American Anishnabe literary theorist Gerald Vizenor identifies a comic spirit as the defining characteristic of contemporary Native literature and has coined the term ‘trickster discourse’⁵ explaining that the “trickster is a comic discourse, a collection of utterances in oral tradition.”⁶ Central to Vizenor’s notion of the Trickster is the aspect of it as a *doing* not just as a *being*. Everett Soop, like other Aboriginal cartoonists, embraces the Trickster spirit because his work radically disrupts social and cultural values.

Paiute-Shoshone editorial cartoonist and Pow Wow emcee Steve “Raising” Kane agrees humour in Indian country has social value. As is the case in many First Nations cultures, he says, “In my tribe, the Northern Paiute, comedy or teasing is done socially to control someone. If someone is out of line, that person [is kidded to convey] that he’s doing wrong, and that realization gives value to the teasing. The one doing the teasing is not trying to be better than the person being teased but is trying to make a point!”⁷ Kane also views comedy as healing, a necessary way to cope with colonialist policies.

Navajo cartoonist Vincent Craig’s figure Muttonman has become the superhero of Navajo consciousness. He argues that although the cartoon is not a “traditional” Indian art form, Craig has adapted it successfully to reflect his trickster sensibility. Craig’s main character Muttonman, once a lonely Navajo shepherd transformed into Muttonman when he ate mutton contaminated by a nuclear accident in New Mexico, serves to poke fun at stereotypes, and provides social criticism using such figures as Christopher Columbus or the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

⁵ Gerald Vizenor, ed. *Narrative Chance: Post-Modern Discourse on Native American Literatures*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1989: 9.

⁶ Vizenor, 191.

⁷ Tim Giago, Jr. “My Laughter” *Native Peoples Magazine* 3(3): p. 52.

Curators organized selections of Craig's work into an art exhibition at University of New Mexico Art Museum in 1992 entitled *Muttonman Discovers Columbus*.⁸

Lakota editorial cartoonist Marty Grant Two Bulls draws cartoons published in *Indian Country Today*.⁹ His contemporary commentary takes on mainstream political figures such as George W. Bush, recent controversy surrounding Ward Churchill, and continually comments on colonialism and stereotypes in his ongoing themes about Custer, Columbus, and Hollywood Indians. Two Bull's recent January, 2005 depiction of US president George W. Bush as a Medieval Christian crusader (Fig. 1) illustrates his use of popular cultural signs to convey his opinion of George W. Like most of the editorial cartoonist working in *Indian Country*, the topics of the cartoons are not limited to Indigenous issues.

The Scoop on Soop

Everett Soop¹⁰ fits the description of a Trickster through his often ironic and satirical politically charged editorial cartoons published in both Indigenous and mainstream newspapers. Like the other noted cartoonists, Soop engages in a form of entertainment as well as education, conforming to Vizenor's notion of the Trickster as "a doing, not an essence, not a museum being, not an aesthetic presence."¹¹ His

⁸ An exhibition such as this gives added credibility to the artistic value of editorial cartoons. Traugott, Joseph. 1992. *Muttonman Discovers Columbus. An exhibition of cartoons by Navajo artist Vincent Craig*. Exhibition catalogue. Albuquerque: Jonson Gallery and University of New Mexico.

⁹ For more information on Two Bulls see: Marty Grant Two Bulls. *Ptebloka: Tails from the Buffalo*. Vermillion, SD: Dakota Books/University of South Dakota Press and the Institute of American Indian Studies, 1991.

¹⁰ Publications concerning Soop include: Greer, Sandy. 1998. Stereotypes, Native Art, and Art. *ArtViews* (March-April-May): 18-23. Red Crow, Jackie. 1987. The Two Sides of Everett Soop. *Windspeaker* (Edmonton), 25 December, p. 8; Soop, E. 1990. *I See My Tribe is Still Behind Me*. Calgary: Glenbow Museum; Soop, E. 1979. *Soop Take a Bow*. Standoff AB: Indian News Media Society.

¹¹ Gerald Vizenor, 1989, 13; reprinted in *Trickster Shift*, p. 5.

work is at heart serious play, as he frames the arbitrariness of social and political issues. And, of course, the decolonizing and empowering positioning of his images best characterize their construction.

Everett Soop, born on the Blood Reserve in southern Alberta July 7, 1943, and a member of the Blackfoot First Nation, passed away in 2001. He credits his satirical and outspoken grandmother Enimaki with inspiring him to become a critic also. She related traditional stories about Napi, the Blackfoot Trickster. He says she taught him, “to be proud of being an Indian by being able to laugh at myself.”¹² Soop entered St. Paul’s Anglican Residential School as it was being phased out and attended high school in an integrated school in nearby Cardston, AB. His tenure at residential school would later be a source for commentary about Aboriginal-White relations.

Diagnosed with Muscular Dystrophy at age sixteen, Soop spent most of his life in a wheelchair. Yet, after graduation Soop went on to the Alberta College of Art in 1964 to study drawing and non-representational oil painting. He added a journalism course at Mount Royal College and a two-year art program at University of Lethbridge to his studies. Caught up in an ongoing controversy of what an Indian artist should paint, he preferred abstract art to feathers and beads, Soop returned to his reserve in 1968 just as the Indian News Media was establishing the *Kainai News*. He soon provided both cartoons and literary contributions to the paper. Unlike most newspapers, which carry one or two editorial cartoons per edition, the *Kainai News* would often print as many as four or five of Soop’s cartoon in its monthly issue. The cartoons can be categorized into national political topics, local band politics, social issues, and stinging observations on pop culture stereotypes.

¹² Everett Soop, *I See My Tribe is Still Behind Me!* Calgary, AB: Glenbow Museum, 1990: 8.

Soop's first editorial cartoon appeared in the sixth issue of the paper on July 15, 1968, entitled "Me and My Shadow" (Fig. 2) and captured a puzzled Indian whose shadow was cast in the shape of a RCMP officer.

The cartoon comments on how the police shadow Indians at pow-wows and other gatherings. For Soop, however, there were no sacred cows; his cartoons targeted federal politicians, the RCMP, local tribal council members, avaricious businessmen, and all aspects of Aboriginal culture, including the Sun Dance. Soop explained to a Calgary Herald reporter, "I don't want to flatter the Indians—I want to annoy them. I can do things a non-Indian can't. I think of myself as a part of them. I don't exclude myself with I pass comment on them."¹³ One of the interesting aspects of Soop's work is his willingness to satirically engage all topics. In 1976, Soop added a regular column "Gitskenip" meaning "you know" to his offerings. Like his cartoons, the columns were embraced by readers and reprinted in Indian journals across Canada. Soop earned a lifetime achievement award by the Native American Journalists Association in 1999 for his insightful cartoons.

The issue of the White Paper in 1969 served as an early muse for the artist, sparking his imagination with a seemingly endless supply of editorial cartoons. It is these images that I believe best capture the essence of his trickster humour.

White Paper 1969

The story of the White Paper began with a 1967 promise of consultation that would, according to Arthur Laing, an unpopular Minister of Indian affairs who predated Jean Chrétien, "provide for the emancipation of Canada's reserve

¹³ Reprinted in Soop, *I See My Tribe*, p. 12.

Indians.”¹⁴ A booklet distributed to every reserve in the country called *Choosing a Path* asked thirty-four questions about the course the government should adopt regarding the future of Indian policy. In June 1968 Pierre Trudeau was elected Prime Minister with a majority government and replaced Laing with Chrétien as Minister of Indian Affairs. The consultation process continued. Yet, as early as September 1968,

Chrétien told an Indian-Eskimo Association audience:

It is possible that the Indian people will decide that there should not be an Indian Act at all. They might decide they do not want special legislation.

There would then be required some transitional legislation which would transfer federal responsibility for the land to the Bands and individuals. On completion of the process, the Act would pass out of existence.¹⁵

This speech foreshadowed the content of the White Paper Chrétien delivered to the House of Commons in June 1969.

Sadly, *Choosing a Path* quickly became labeled “Down the Garden Path” in Indian country as Alberta’s Harold Cardinal and British Columbia’s George Manuel, prominent members of the then fledgling National Indian Brotherhood,¹⁶ suspected the questionnaire disguised a hidden DIA agenda that had already been decided.¹⁷ In September 1968 Chrétien announced a major restructuring of DIA without any discussion with Indian organizations as Manuel and Cardinal openly attacked the paternalism of the DIA.

¹⁴ Peter McFarlane, *Brotherhood to Nationhood: George Manuel and the Making of the Modern Indian Movement*. Toronto: Between the Lines, 1993: 102.

¹⁵ An address by the Hon. Jean Chretien to the Indian-Eskimo Association, 20 Sept. 1968, p. 7. Reprinted in McFarlane, 108.

¹⁶ The National Indian Brotherhood eventually became the Assembly of First Nations an organization that represents all Treaty Indians in Canada. Peter McFarlane’s *From Brotherhood to Nationhood: George Manuel and the Making of the Modern Indian Movement* charts the evolution of this organization.

¹⁷ McFarlane, 103.

The release of the White Paper in June 1969 promised a new direction in Canadian-First Nations relations. However, among First Nations, the document caused a furor and the NIB issued a press release stating the result of the White Paper would be “the destruction of a nation of people by legislation and cultural genocide.”¹⁸ In it, Trudeau rejected the idea of Aboriginal rights and argued for a limited time to honour the treaties. Neither Chrétien, not Trudeau calculated on how the White Paper would mobilize and unite First Nations across Canada like never before.

Alberta quickly became the battleground to fight the White Paper with the province’s First Nations leaders responding to the controversy with the aptly named Red Paper. Though most of the document read as a clause by clause refutation of the White Paper, it also stated that the government was offering Indian people a future “with no land and consequently the future generation would be condemned to the despair and ugly spectre of urban poverty in ghettos.”¹⁹ Soon after the Alberta Chiefs released the Red Paper, the NIB adopted it as its official national position.

Alberta two vocal opponents of the DIA and the White Paper, both Harold Cardinal and Everett Soop. While Cardinal penned the monograph *Unjust Society*²⁰ as part of his response to the affair, Soop visually expressed his disgust for it also on the pages of the *Kainai News*. In some issues, the *Kainai News* printed both Soop’s cartoons as well as monthly excerpts of Cardinal’s *The Unjust Society (The Tragedy of Canada’s Indians)* in early 1970. The final paragraph of Cardinal’s chapter thirteen reads:

¹⁸ McFarlane, 109.

¹⁹ McFarlane, 116.

²⁰ Harold Cardinal’s *The Unjust Society (The Tragedy of Canada’s Indians)* Edmonton: Hurtig Press, 1969. Chapter 13.

In spite of all government attempts to convince Indians to accept the white paper, their efforts will fail, because Indians understand that the path outlined by the Department of Indian Affairs, through its mouthpiece the Honourable Mr. John Chrétien, leads directly to cultural genocide. We will not walk this path.²¹

It is in this climate that Everett Soop and his Kanai News cartoons enter the picture.

Soop and the System

One of the interesting aspects surrounding Everett Soop and his cartoons remains his depiction of everyone involved in an issue, from Pierre Trudeau, Jean Chrétien, Indian Affairs, to Indian politicians like Harold Cardinal. Cardinal and the NIB no easier fool Soop, than Chrétien and the DIA. While his renderings appear biased, closer scrutiny reveals an equally scathing review of all parties involved.

This early January 1969 cartoon (Fig. 3) implicates Native 'consultants' in the Indian Act process. Wearing run down versions of Ottawa suits, the two Native consultants fall into accepting one anthropological designation over another while Jean Chrétien writes down their findings. While the men stand several steps above the Minister of Indian Affairs, they are descending a visual evolutionary scale, bringing them closer to assimilation and Chrétien's intended goal.

In February, Soop tackles the issue of White privilege in this cartoon (Fig. 4). The stereotypical brave, and the shocked African American man, stand up to their necks in the white stuff. The caption reinforces the pervasive force of whiteness and

²¹ Reprinted in Kanai News January 25, 1970 p. 18 "Canadian Indian's Reaction to 'White Paper': Legislative and Constitutional Treachery" Excerpts from Harold Cardinal's *The Unjust Society (The Tragedy of Canada's Indians)* Edmonton: Hurtig Press, 1969. Chapter 13.

white power in Canada as a foundation for the conception of the Trudeau government's White Paper. In keeping with Soop humour, even in a snow bank, his Hollywood Indian remains a bare-chested savage.

In March 1969, Soop targeted Indian Affairs in his biting cartoon (Fig. 5). Using the tree as a metaphor for the Canadian Government, Soop once again summons the work of the Hollywood Indian to convey his message. The stereotypical Indian works feverishly to lop off the branch known as the DIA, ironically standing on the very branch he is trying to destroy. With this subtle gesture Soop calls attention to the fact that while the NIB despises the DIA, they also do not want it's colonialist Indian Act abolished. Working just as feverishly, Jean Chrétien hammers away, attempting to keep the precarious branch intact. The Honourable Minister, in his Ottawa suit, wears cowboy boots to reflect the ongoing cowboy versus Indian mentality played out in mainstream politics. Unlike the Indian, who is bound to fall, if his destruction of the branch succeeds, The Minister hold tight to the tree of government to support and protect his efforts?

In April 1969, three months prior to the official unveiling of the White Paper, Soop captured the absurdity of the assimilationist policy embedded in Trudeau's *Just Society* (Fig. 6). Using a variety of stereotypes, Soop comments on the whole lot. Crammed into a traditional Aboriginal watercraft, a canoe, the good white liberal beckons the stereotypically stoic brave, in braids, and buckskin, with his requisite feather sticking up proudly standing on a white man's dock. Clearly, he shows no inclination to join the doomed voyage that is going 'up a creek without a paddle'. The welcoming Liberal, secure in his white, Anglo-Saxon sense of privilege, has no qualms about inviting the Aboriginal man to join other cultural stereotypes in his floating vessel of multiculturalism. The juxtapositions of the mainstream men in the

Native-designed canoe, with the Indian standing on the mainstream-designed dock overseeing the impending catastrophe, expresses Soop's Trickster discourse.

Another telling image included in the April edition of the *Kainai News* is this Soop cartoon that plays with pop culture stereotypes (Fig. 7). Soop once again twists his image to tell an intertextual narrative fraught with both decolonizing messages as well as commentary on assimilation. Here the Indians become the cowboys, taking the bull by the proverbial horns to wrestle him to the ground. The bull, however, is a cowboy with horns who looks eerily like the devil. This image cleverly evokes Hollywood Western signifiers as the two riders together illustrate both cowboy and Indian rolled into one—a common construction in southern Alberta. The character on the left, wears jeans, a plaid shirt, and a Stetson, sure signs of being a cowboy. The figure on the right, though, has not yet completed his transformation to cowboy. Long braids and a reservation hat serve as metonymic links to colonization and assimilationism—at least that is what Hollywood constructions lead us believe. Still, it is the Indian cowboy leaping from his horse to take action, attempting to preserve his reservation existence.

Soop compares three Prime Ministers and their dealings with Indians in another April 1969 cartoon (Fig. 8). Placing Prime Ministers John Diefenbaker, Lester Pearson, and Pierre Trudeau in separate cells; Soop's caricatures and text speak forcefully about the lack of action and the treatment of Indians during each leader's administration. On the far left, Dief is portrayed as a menacing monster, while Pearson is cast as an ineffectual, distant, and effeminate liberal. Trudeau, with his hideous looks and hip fashion sense, narcissistically postures before a hand mirror, concerned with little but himself. The text, "The Indian problem...will be dealt with...Immediately!!" seems unlikely given recent political history.

The following month in *Kainai News*, Soop added another layer of analysis to his discourse on paternalism, assimilation and colonization. This cartoon (Fig. 9) recalls the painful legacy of Church-run residential schools and the Trudeau's effort to put on a positive spin on the DIA's efforts to take control of education. Soop is not easily fooled. Using black and white to starkly contrast apparent differences between the government and the Church, Soop seems, on first glance, to communicate that Trudeau is the good guy. However, visually, these two figures remain fused. Trading the bible for the brief case (both objects black), the eyeless clergy man, blinded by his religious zeal, is replaced by the slick liberal who has his eyes wide open.

In September 1969, the artist once again turns his attention to the Honourable Minister of Indian Affairs (Fig. 10). This cartoon displays Soop's complete disgust for Chrétien and his notion of Indian Affairs. Titled, "Indian Affairs and Northern Development" this image presents a bleak view of Chrétien's motives. Below the *Indian Affairs* caption stands a forlorn and pregnant Indian woman, watching the Minister leave her for his ideal, posed below the caption of Northern Development. She has been screwed by the DIA, left abandoned by unfulfilled promises, carrying the burden of those political actions. The shapely and scantily clad white woman who Soop draws with repulsively exaggerated mannish features is the man's true fantasy. A lecherous Chrétien runs covetously toward her.

Relentless in his scorn for Trudeau's notion of the just society, Soop includes a caricature in profile of the Prime Minister in the October 15, 1969 issue of the newspaper (Fig. 11). Once again the cartoonist plays with imagery and text. "Of course, I've heard of Indians," is balanced by a large question mark in place of an ear. This questioning of Trudeau's understanding of Native issues related most directly to the release of the White Paper. However, it also alludes to his

appointment of Chrétien as his Minister of Indian Affairs. During the election campaign in 1968, a voter in British Columbia asked Chrétien about Trudeau's Indian policies. The future Minister of Indian Affairs replied, "I don't know a damn thing about it."²² Though the audience chuckled, three weeks later Trudeau curiously appointed him head of this federal department. Clearly, Soop has questions about Trudeau's knowledge of Indigenous concerns.

In December 1969, Soop paid tribute to the Albertan Cardinal's successful efforts to thwart Chrétien and Trudeau's White Paper (Fig. 12). The artist presents the Indian leader as a warrior, valiantly riding into battle, to fight Trudeau, Indian Affairs, and the dreaded White Paper. The text compares the NIB leader to Cochise.

The famous Apache leader Cochise hit the warpath in 1862 to avenge the senseless deaths of six relatives and avoid erroneous charges of cattle theft after working for several years as a woodcutter for a stagecoach line. He and his large band of followers resisted capture for almost ten years before they surrendered and were placed on the Chiricahua Reservation.

However, judging by the visual rendering of the Alberta Chief, we must question Soop's textual allusion to Cochise. This cartoon hardly conjures up images of a noble Apache warrior. Cardinal looks more like Porky Pig than Cochise, with his turned up nose, his piggy ears and his fat, stubby body. Little about the editorial cartoon instills greatness. This is typical of Soop's Trickster humour. The text tells one tale, the visual rendering yet another.

Cardinal's attire is worthy of note. Soop dresses the leader in stereotypical Indian politician garb, the kind of clothes we see AFN leader wearing to political events. A fringed, Cree-design beaded vest and moccasins, and business-like

²² McFarlane, 102.

glasses signify Cardinal's role in political bureaucracy, rather than as a warrior. Soop leaves viewers other hints, also. Cardinal holds his war shield stating his name. With this gesture Soop reveals his assessment of Cardinal as looking out for himself, rather than representing the rights of all Aboriginal Albertans. Cardinal sits, barely perched on his trusty steed, a hapless pony whose large ears resemble a donkey over a war pony, charging forward, eyes closed to the future.

December 15 was the last edition of the Kainai News in 1969. However, it was not the end of Soop's editorial cartoons on the subject of the White Paper, the Red Paper, or federal dealings with Indians. In many ways, the events of 1969, from the Choosing a path consultation to the presentation of the White Paper and the NIB response with the Red Paper, focused Soop's resolve as an editorial cartoonist.

Conclusion

When we think of the Trickster we usually think about the traditional stories associated with being. Yet, Gerald Vizenor cautions the need for academics to moved beyond the simple gathering of tribal texts in studying this aspect of Aboriginal cultures.²³ I agree that continually referring to tradition constructions of the Trickster in stories, limits the level of understanding of Trickster narratives in contemporary culture. The shift in understanding from the Trickster as being to the Trickster as a doing is part of this discourse.

At the heart of Trickster discourse is a comic spirit that demands a break from formulas; it disrupts social and cultural values. Trickster discourse involves risk taking, boundary testing, deception, and cruelty in an effort to teach culturally

²³ Gerald Vizenor, "Trickster Discourse: Comic Holotropes and Language Games," in *Narrative Chance: Post-Modern Discourse on Native American Literatures*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989: 198-200.

appropriate attitudes and behaviour. Clearly, Everett Soop, with his disarming sense of humour fills this role in his 1969 coverage of the White Paper issue in the *Kainai News*. This historical event that happened over thirty years ago gains richness through the Soop editorial cartoons. It also reminds us how many of the struggles going on in 1969 with regard to Indigenous issues and the federal government remain ongoing. We could use a few more Everett Soop's to help instruct audiences about appropriate attitudes and behaviours today.

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