

SECOND EDITION

“WE ARE STILL HERE”

American Indians since 1890

Peter Iverson and Wade Davies



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“We Are Still Here”

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“We Are Still Here”

American Indians since 1890

Second Edition

Peter Iverson

Arizona State University

Wade Davies

The University of Montana

WILEY Blackwell

This second edition first published 2015
© 2015 John Wiley & Sons Inc

Edition history: Harlan Davidson, Inc (1e, 1998)

Registered Office

John Wiley & Sons Ltd, The Atrium, Southern Gate, Chichester, West Sussex, PO19 8SQ, UK

Editorial Offices

350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148-5020, USA

9600 Garsington Road, Oxford, OX4 2DQ, UK

The Atrium, Southern Gate, Chichester, West Sussex, PO19 8SQ, UK

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Iverson, Peter.

"We are still here" : American Indians since 1890 / Peter Iverson, Wade Davies. —Second edition.

pages cm

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-118-75158-9 (pbk.)

1. Indians of North America—History—20th century. 2. Indians of North America—History—21st century. 3. Indians of North America—Government relations.

I. Davies, Wade, 1969- II. Title.

E77.I94 2015

970.004'97—dc23

2014011424

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Cover image: A member of the Northern Arapaho Tribe from Wyoming at the opening of the National Museum of the American Indian in Washington, DC, 2004. AP Photo/Susan Walsh / Press Association Images

Set in 10/13pt MeridienLTStd by Laserwords Private Limited, Chennai, India

To All Our Teachers

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Acknowledgments for the Second Edition

When faced with a difficult assignment, Navajo leader Peterson Zah often will respond by saying, “Don’t call it a problem, call it a challenge.” In both its initial and its revised version, “*We Are Still Here*” has certainly been a challenge. The first edition included a nearly endless list of names, as I attempted to thank people for their help. I remain grateful for the hundreds of people who have taught me through the years, but this time around, we thought it more appropriate to furnish a more concise sense of the forces that shaped this book.

Until quite recently American Indian histories focused almost entirely on loss and victimization. One should not ignore these elements, but at the same times students of the Indian past needed to pay more attention to adaptation and continuation. This book is one of a growing number of volumes that place greater emphasis on these elements. When I chose “*We Are Still Here*” as the title for the book, I had no idea how many museum exhibits, anthologies, and forms of public presentations would employ these four words for this purpose. Hundreds of people as teachers, staff, or students at Navajo Community College (now Diné College), the McNickle Center of the Newberry Library, the University of Wyoming, the Labriola Center of Hayden Library at Arizona State University,

the Mansfield Library Archives and Special Collections at the University of Montana, Associated Press images, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Arizona Historical Society, Heard Museum, the Department of History and the American Indian Studies program at Arizona State University, and the Western History Association helped us to write this book. We greatly appreciate the careful reading and advice of two colleagues in Native American Studies at the University of Montana, Richmond Clow and David Beck. We also thank Georgina Coleby and Andrew Davidson for their friendship, guidance, and encouragement, and also thank the rest of the staff at Wiley Blackwell.

The first edition of this book has been well received but a second edition would not have appeared without the insight and imagination of Wade Davies. As a graduate student in American Indian history at Arizona State University, Wade was among those who first read the initial version of *"We Are Still Here"* in manuscript form. Together with other peers in the graduate program at that time, he offered ideas and suggestions that I incorporated in the book. Now Professor of Native American Studies at the University of Montana, he is one of several dozen doctoral students whom I directed or co-directed over the course of about 25 years at ASU. Wade wrote a new concluding chapter for this edition, updated the text and the bibliographical essay, and located several photographs. It has been a pleasure to work together on this project.

"We Are Still Here" is a work of synthesis. It is based in part on the written work of countless colleagues, whose writings and stories and memories have enriched what follows. Wade and I are honored to have had the opportunity to put together this book. We are pleased to dedicate it, with respect and gratitude, to all who have taught us about the power of memory, the meaning of place, the value of silence, and the importance of stories. Our dads introduced us to the life of the university and our mothers, teachers as well, have never been hesitant to provide counsel. Our spouses, our children, and our grandchildren continue to encourage us and

Acknowledgments for the Second Edition

to remind us each day about what is truly important. This edition is also dedicated to Madoc, and, as always, Kaaren and Colleen.

Peter Iverson and Wade Davies
Tempe, Arizona, and Missoula, Montana

Introduction

This book begins with the tragedy of Wounded Knee. In another volume of the American History Series, *Farewell My Nation: The American Indian and the United States in the Nineteenth Century* (2nd ed., 2001), Philip Weeks employs the same event to start his analysis. Books such as *Farewell My Nation*, Robert Utley's *The Last Days of the Sioux Nation* (1963), and Dee Brown's *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee* (1970) use Wounded Knee to mark the end of a long story. Until recently, for most students of American Indian history, Wounded Knee sounded the death knell of Native life within the United States. In the deaths of Lakota men, women, and children on the Pine Ridge Reservation in December 1890, the final chapter of the so-called "Indian wars" had been written, and Indians as identifiable peoples appeared destined for disappearance.

Indian communities endured great hardships and suffered enormous losses in the nineteenth century. And yet we can now perceive more clearly that the final years of the 1800s comprised a more complicated scenario than usually has been presented. The end of the nineteenth century witnessed the conclusion of

"We Are Still Here": American Indians since 1890, Second Edition.

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Introduction

warfare and the assignment of Indian nations to various reservations within the western portion of the lower forty-eight states. But for the Native peoples of the East, the Midwest, the South, and of Alaska, this era did not necessarily have the same meaning. Moreover, within the West the status of Indian peoples varied considerably. Some Indian communities had been removed far from their homelands. Some had been moved in order to share reservation lands with other Native groups, sometimes with those who had been their rivals. Other Indians were denied any land. Still others saw the size of their land base increase. These varied experiences and outcomes should remind us that Indian history is at once a national, regional, and local story.

At the same time, regardless of location or land status, Indians faced common questions. One was the presence and the influence of the federal government. "The Great Father" continued to cast a long shadow over Native individuals and communities. Federal court decisions, federal laws, and the actions of commissioners of Indian Affairs all had a major impact on Indian lives. Thus, although this book is an account centered on the Indians themselves, it cannot ignore the actions of the US government. Especially in the first six decades of the twentieth century, the successive commissioners of Indian Affairs played a major role in Indian country, and their actions merit detailed attention. However, historians often have ascribed too much power to the federal government and its overall effect on the daily lives of Indians. Until recent years, most standard studies of relations between Indians and other Americans or of federal policy toward the Indians portrayed Washington in particular and non-Indians in general as the actors and Indians as the acted upon. In such analyses, Indians emerged too exclusively as powerless, as victims with little or no ability to shape their day-to-day lives or chart their own futures. We fully acknowledge the failure of most federal policies and the pervasive presence of racism in American life, but believe that any historian who wishes to present a more complete picture must account for the efforts of Native men and women who have succeeded, often against great odds, in

achieving meaningful lives on their own terms and in insuring the survival of their own communities.

Indians are still here. They have contradicted past assumptions that they were vanishing Americans. There are many more American Indians today than there were at the close of the nineteenth century. Although there has been loss of land and loss of language for some groups, there also has been the acquisition and retention of territory and cultural revitalization by others. All Native peoples have allowed for some degree of change in regard to the construction of their identity. As Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr. once observed, we don't consider ourselves "less American" than Abraham Lincoln because we drive automobiles and watch television and Lincoln did not. Somehow non-Indians are inclined to classify Native peoples as "less Indian" if they incorporate comparable changes in their lives, even though Indian identity has never depended upon isolation. Rather, increased contact with other Americans frequently caused Native peoples to recast and strengthen their different senses of who they are. Federal policies designed to hasten assimilation often have caused quite contrary results. In the same sense, students of Indian history should realize that periods that have been presented in almost entirely negative terms, such as the "Americanization" era from the 1880s through the 1920s or the "termination" era from the mid-1940s through the 1960s, yielded mixed, instead of entirely unhappy, consequences.

Even in the limited number of pages afforded to this synthesis, it is not enough to declare that Indians have defied the conventional wisdom of the late nineteenth century. It is necessary to try to explain how they have succeeded in doing so. Indian history is an extremely complex subject, and the tremendous range of Indian experiences makes any generalization suspect. The land itself, with its secular and sacred significance, is one element that has encouraged and inspired Native persistence. Choices about how the land would be used reflected not only economic but cultural and social priorities. Control of, and the meaning given to, territory mattered. Reservations represented an imposed form of

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land holding, but imposition did not ultimately dictate that reservation lands could never have meaning for their residents. The twentieth and early twenty-first centuries did not see the end of challenges to Indian communities to hold on to their remaining estate. The story of resistance to the erosion of that control encompassed failure and success. And success has been as striking as failure. The degree to which Indian land bases have been maintained has rested upon the largely unsung men and women who worked not only to keep acreage from being wrested away but also to nurture and to sustain socially and culturally what those acres represented. In addition, one should also note both the growth of towns on reservations and the building of new Indian communities in off-reservation towns and cities. This migration dates back to well before World War II. The urban experience, both on and off reservation, has been a more central dimension than usually is recognized.

The history of American Indians since 1890, then, should include the story of tribal governments and tribal leaders. It should also ponder how Indian communities have carried on and redefined "tradition." It should encompass large and small Native nations, and it should give attention to groups in all parts of the United States. It should address education and economics. It should present the stories of individual men and women. It should consider architecture, art, and athletics; it should say something about dance, literature, and music. It should analyze both rural and urban experiences. Migration, new forms of transportation, and urbanization have affected the lives of most Indian families in the United States, with significant consequences in terms of economic, political, social, and cultural change.

No one term can be used for all Native peoples. Although "Indians" share many common historical experiences, including being dealt with or seen as a monolithic entity, they are members of different groups. In the United States, "Indian" and "Native American" have been commonly employed during the past several decades, while, in Canada, the term "First Nations" has often been utilized. This alternative has yet to find widespread use south of the forty-ninth parallel. "Indian" and "Native

American” both have their limitations. We still prefer “American Indian” because most “Indian” people we know prefer it. For the purposes of linguistic variation and out of deference to others who do not like the term “Indian,” we also use “Native” or “Native American” in these pages. “Native” is always spelled here with a capital “N” so as to distinguish it from “native American,” an identity shared by many other residents of the United States.

There are hundreds of groups that are often termed “tribes” or “nations,” and there remain hundreds of aboriginal languages. Within an Indian tribe or nation, one generally belongs to a particular clan and has defined ties to various relatives. So any Native individual is likely to be a member of several different entities that coexist. In addition, since the turn of the twentieth century it has become increasingly likely that an individual will be linked by family to more than one “tribe.” Defining membership in a particular community and defining the nature of that community both have been important questions. There have been accompanying misconceptions about the degree of self-sufficiency or independence necessarily possessed by an Indian “nation.” As Vine Deloria, Jr. (Standing Rock Sioux) noted years ago, all nations are not self-sufficient; moreover, a group does not need to be a certain size or have an army to merit use of the term. Perhaps it is still useful to recall that the Navajo Nation is larger than Switzerland, that the Jicarilla Apaches possess more land than is included in Luxembourg, and that Duck Valley is nearly twice the size of Bahrain.

Nonetheless, “tribe” is certainly a problematic construction. Jack Campisi and an increasing number of other scholars in recent years have demonstrated that the term can be subjected to endless scrutiny and debate. This matter has been an issue for over a century, starting with the landmark US Supreme Court decision of *Montoya v. United States* in 1901. The court then defined a tribe as “a body of Indians of the same or a similar race, united in a community under one leadership or government, and inhabiting a particular, though sometimes ill-defined, territory.” *Montoya*, of course, sparked additional debate about the meaning of each noun, adjective, and verb in this definition. Decades later,

Introduction

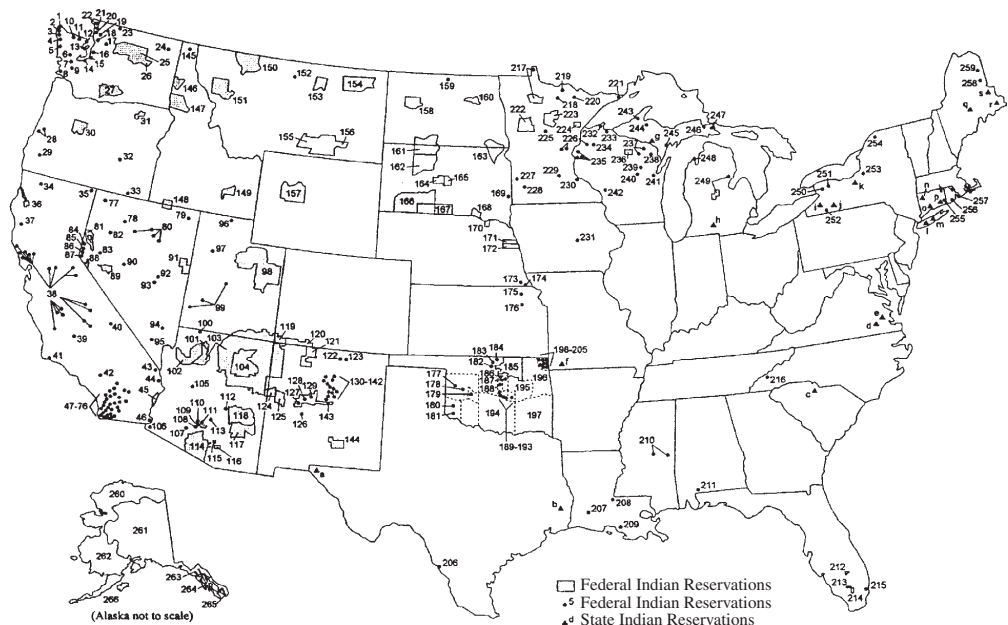
in *Mashpee Tribe v. New Seabury Corp.* (1979), Campisi was asked for his definition of tribe. He replied that it is “a group of Indian people whose membership is by ascription, who share or claim a common territory, have a ‘consciousness of kind,’ and represent a community with a recognized leadership.” During the same case, Vine Deloria, Jr. said that a tribe is a group of Indian people “living pretty much in the same place who know who their relatives are.” When you try to make the definition more elaborate, he contended, you start adding or subtracting all kinds of footnotes.

We do use “tribe” in the unfootnoted pages that follow, but will also employ “community” or “group” or “nation.” Another related matter is the names by which these communities or confederations of different communities have become or are now known. These names often have been changed, formally or informally, as the modern era has progressed. Many groups have formally discarded terms inflicted upon them by outsiders and substituted the term by which they call themselves in their own language. But there are inconsistencies and differences of opinion in this area, too. Labels such as “Sioux” or “Chippewa,” for example, have been in place for so long that they are difficult to erase, and some tribal communities still officially call themselves “Sioux” or “Chippewa.” The Navajo Nation remains that, although its institution of higher learning is now Diné College instead of Navajo Community College. We regret any unintended errors or misunderstandings in this regard. If a group has been known by more than one name, we try to introduce both names at the group’s first mention. An appendix provides a listing of these names. We also have listed individuals’ tribal affiliations, if appropriate, when they are introduced in the text and regret any errors in this regard.

This book is divided into seven chapters. Chapters 1 and 2 cover the years from the late nineteenth century to the early 1930s. During this period there were attempts to assimilate Indians into the mainstream of American society through enforced changes in land ownership and land use, schooling, and religious belief. We also observe the initiatives of Native

individuals and communities to establish places in the new day of the twentieth century. The Native American Church, the *Winters* doctrine of Indian water rights, the Society of American Indians, the creation of new Indian land bases and the attempts to develop land resources, the participation of Indians in World War I, and transitions in Indian cultural and social life are all part of this era. In the 1920s Indians and their allies mounted an increasingly influential attempt to call attention to the failure of prevailing federal policies; they also finally achieved the goal of citizenship for all Native Americans. Chapters 3 and 4 extend from the beginning of the 1930s to the start of the 1960s. Here the narrative moves from the mixed results of the “Indian New Deal” and the experiences of World War II to urban relocation, political revitalization, and the attempted termination of federal trust status. Chapters 5 and 6 consider the final decades of the twentieth century. This period witnessed new forms of activism and persistent campaigns to gain greater self-determination and sovereignty. The final chapter considers the twenty-first century to date, during which Native peoples have worked to secure gains achieved in previous decades while addressing new challenges to their sovereign rights and community well-being. To date, inevitably, many questions remain unresolved about the present and future status of American Indians. Yet one cannot question the resoluteness with which Indians have continued to work to build better futures for themselves and their communities.

The story of American Indians in modern times is an ongoing one. It remains a narrative too little known to most Americans, who too often persist in caricaturing Native peoples and in presenting their place in national history only in the distant past and as a foil to the chronicle of non-Indian advancement. But modern Native American history is far more intricate and revealing than most Americans realize. It continues to encompass great disappointment and difficulty, aspiration and achievement. It is certainly a different story than most people would have anticipated just over a century ago. It is a story that we begin at Wounded Knee.



State and Federally Recognized Reservations

Note: Federal recognition is an ongoing process; status of certain tribes is subject to change.

Washington	41 Santa Ynez	85 Yerington	New Mexico	North Dakota	195 Muscogee	Minnesota	New York
1 Makah	42 San Manuel	86 Carson	121 Jicarilla Apache	158 Fort Berthold	196 Cherokee	217 Red Lake	250 Tuscarora
2 Ozette	43 Fort Mohave	87 Dresslerville	122 Taos	159 Turtle Mountain	197 Choctaw	218 Deer Creek	251 Tonawanda
3 Quileute	44 Chemehuevi	88 Washoe	123 Pecos	160 Spirit Lake	198 Peoria	219 Bois Forte	252 Allegheny
4 Hoh	45 Colorado River	89 Walker River	124 Zuni		199 Shawnee	220 Vermillion Lake	253 Oneida
5 Quinalt	46 Quechan	90 Yomba	125 Ramah Navajo	South Dakota	200 Quapaw	221 Grand Portage	254 St. Regis
6 Skokomish	47 Palm Springs	91 Goshute	126 Alamo Navajo	161 Standing Rock	201 Ottawa	222 White Earth	i Cattaraugus
7 Squaxin Island	48 Morongo	92 Ely	127 Acoma	162 Cheyenne River	202 Wyandot	223 Leech Lake	j Oil Springs
8 Shooswater	49 Soboba	93 Duckwater	128 Laguna	163 Sisseton	203 Seneca Cayuga	224 Fond du Lac	k Onondaga
9 Chehalis	50 Santa Rosa	94 Moapa	129 Canoncito	164 Lower Brule	204 Miami	225 Sandy Lake	l Poosepuetuck
10 Lower Elwha	51 Ramona	95 Las Vegas	130 Jemez	165 Crow Creek	205 Modoc	226 Mille Lacs	m Shinnecock
11 Jamestown Kiallam	52 Cahuilla		131 San Juan	166 Pine Ridge		227 Upper Sioux	
12 Fort Gamble	53 Pechanga	Utah	132 Zia		Texas	228 Lower Sioux	Connecticut
13 Fort Madison	54 Pala	96 NW Shoshone	133 Santa Clara	167 Rosebud	206 Kickapoo	229 Shakopee	255 Mashantucket Pequot
14 Nisqually	55 Pauma	97 Skull Valley	134 San Ildefonso	168 Yankton	a Tigua	230 Prairie Island	n Shagricoke
15 Puyallup	56 Rincon	98 Uintah & Ouray	135 Pojoaque	169 Flandreau	b Alabama-Coushatta		o Paugussett
16 Muckleshoot	57 San Pasqual	99 Paiute	136 Nambé	Nebraska		Iowa	p Paucateck Pequot
17 Sauk Suittale	58 Mesa Grande		137 Tesuque	170 Santee Sioux		231 Sac and Fox	
18 Tulalip	59 Viejas	Arizona	138 San Felipe	Louisiana	207 Coushatta		Rhode Island
19 Silligumish	60 Jamul	100 Kalbub	139 Cochiti	208 Tunica-Biloxi	209 Chitimacha		256 Narragansett
20 Upper Skagit	61 Sycuan	101 Havasupai	140 Santa Ana	209 Chitimacha		Missouri	
21 Swinomish	62 La Posta	102 Hualapai	141 Santo Domingo			f E. Shawnee	
22 Lummi	63 Campo	103 Navajo	142 Sandia	Mississippi	210 Mississippi Choctaw	Wisconsin	257 Wampanoag
23 Nooksack	64 Manzanita	104 Hopi	143 Isleta	210 Mississippi Choctaw		232 Red Cliff	
24 Kalispel	65 Cuyayaipai	105 Yavapai	144 Mescalero	Kansas	211 Pouch Creek	233 Bad River	Maine
25 Colville	66 Capitán Grande	106 Cocopah		175 Kickapoo	Alabama	234 Lac Courte Oreilles	258 Houlton Malisset
26 Spokane	67 Injaha-Cosmit	107 Gila Bend	Idaho	176 Potawatomi	211 Pouch Creek	235 St. Croix	259 Micmac
27 Yakama	68 Santa Ysabel	108 Mariopica	145 Kootenai	Oklahoma		236 Lac du Flambeau	q Penobscot
	69 La Jolla	109 Gila River	146 Coeur d'Alene	177 Cheyenne	Florida	237 Sokaogon Chippewa	r Pleasant Point
Oregon	70 Los Coyotes	110 Camp Verde	147 Nez Perce	178 Arapaho	212 Brighton Seminole	238 Potawatomi	s Indian Township
28 Siletz	71 Torres-Martinez	111 Salt River	148 Duck Valley	179 Wichita	213 Big Cypress Seminole	239 Menominee	
29 Cow Creek Band of Umpqua	72 Augustine	112 Payson	149 Fort Hall	180 Caddo	214 Miccosukee	240 Stockbridge-Munsee	Alaska
30 Warm Springs	73 Cabazon	113 Fort McDowell		181 Kiowa	215 Dania	241 Oneida	260 Inupiat
31 Umatilla	74 Twenty-Nine Palms	114 Tohono O'odham	Montana	182 Ponca		242 Ho-Chunk	261 Athapaskan communities
32 Burns Paiute	75 Barona	115 Pascua Yaqui	150 Blackfeet	183 Tonkawa	South Carolina		262 Yup'ik, Alutiiq
33 Fort McDermitt	76 rancheria	116 San Xavier	151 Flathead	184 Kaw	c Catawaba		263 Tlingit
		117 San Carlos	152 Rocky Boys	185 Osage		Michigan	264 Haida
California		118 Fort Apache	153 Fort Belknap	186 Ojib	North Carolina	243 Ontonagon	265 Annette Island
34 Karuk			154 Fort Peck	187 Pawnee	176 Cherokee	244 L'Anse	266 Unangan
35 Fort Bidwell		Colorado	155 Crow	188 Iowa		246 Bay Mills	
36 Hoopa Valley		119 Ute Mountain	156 N. Cheyenne	189 Kickapoo	Virginia	247 Sault Ste Marie	
37 Round Valley		120 Southern Ute		190 Sac and Fox	d Pamunkey	248 Grand Traverse	
38 Small rancherías			Wyoming	191 Potawatomi	e Mattaponi	249 Isabella	
39 Tule River			157 Wind River	192 Shawnee		g Lac Vieux Desert	
40 Fort Independence				193 Seminole		h Potawatomi	
				194 Chickasaw			

1

“We Indians Will Be Indians All Our Lives,” 1890–1920

On the day after the massacre the blizzard came. Two days later the weather cleared and the young Dakota physician assumed charge of the 100 people, most of them Indians, who ventured forth to seek the living and the dead. He never forgot that scene:

Fully three miles from the scene of the massacre, we found the body of a woman completely covered with a blanket of snow, and from this point on we found them scattered along as they had been relentlessly hunted down and slaughtered while fleeing for their lives. Some of our people discovered relatives or friends among the dead, and there was much wailing and mourning. When we reached the spot where the Indian camp had stood, among the fragments of burned tents and other belongings we saw the frozen bodies lying close together or piled upon one another. I counted eighty bodies of men who had been in the council and who were almost as helpless as the women and babies when the deadly fire began, for nearly all their guns had been taken from them.

The doctor was Ohiyesa, or, as he was called as a student at Dartmouth College and the Boston University medical school,

“We Are Still Here”: *American Indians since 1890*, Second Edition.

Peter Iverson and Wade Davies.

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Charles Eastman. Eastman had departed from New England in 1890 to serve as physician on the Pine Ridge Reservation in western South Dakota. He was Wahpeton and Mdewakanton Dakota, rather than Oglala Lakota, who comprised most of the Pine Ridge population. Proud of his Native heritage and eager to serve a Native community, he had arrived in November in a dust storm that obscured what he later described as his "bleak and desolate" surroundings. By year's end, he confronted the harrowing assignment of retrieving the few survivors as well as the dead from the frozen earth near Wounded Knee.

The massacre occurred in the waning days of warfare on the northern Plains. The Lakotas formed the western portion of the peoples who came to be known as the Sioux, while the Dakotas, to the east, included the four bands of the Santee: Mdewakanton, Sisseton, Wahpekute, and Wahpeton. The Yankton and Yanktonai were between the Santee bands and the Lakota bands. The seven bands of western Lakotas (or Teton Sioux)—Hunkpapa, Itazipco (Sans Arc), Mnikowoju (Minniconjou), Oglala, Oohenunpa (Two Kettles), Sicangu (Brulé), and Sihasapa (Blackfeet)—had migrated westward centuries before. They had supplanted other Indian nations, claimed much of the northern Plains country as their own, and made the Black Hills into sacred ground. They thus had become Plains people, then emerged as the most powerful of them. The Lakotas vigorously defended their rights to what had become their homeland. By the mid-nineteenth century they were destined to conflict with the other expanding power in the region, the country called the United States, whose citizens had pushed into the heart of the northern Plains, demanding access to all of its resources.

In order to expedite the settlement by outsiders of Native land, and in the wake of the successful military campaign that Red Cloud (Oglala Lakota) had directed along the Bozeman Trail, the US government in 1868 had negotiated one of the last major treaties with Indian communities. Through the Treaty of Fort Laramie, the Lakotas had obtained what was called the Great Sioux Reservation, a substantial enclave that included the Black Hills. However, the discovery of gold in the Black Hills soon

thereafter caused the US government to abandon promises it had just made. Federal officials never received the signatures of three-quarters of the adult Lakota population required to alter the Fort Laramie treaty, but they still approved the "Agreement" of 1876, which robbed the Lakotas of their sacred land.

Anger over federal actions sparked renewed resistance among the Lakotas. During the summer, just before the United States observed its centennial, the Lakotas and their allies had triumphed at the Little Bighorn over George Armstrong Custer and his men. Memories of Lakota military prowess remained vivid among the members of the Seventh Cavalry, Custer's unit. The era since the triumph on the Greasy Grass had been increasingly difficult for the Lakotas. In 1889 further pressure from intruders had prompted the US government to reduce and fracture the Great Sioux Reservation into fragments: Pine Ridge, Rosebud, Cheyenne River, Standing Rock, Lower Brule, and Crow Creek. Restricted in their movements, hungry, and embittered, many Lakotas as well as many Yanktons, Yanktonais, and Santees were receptive to the teachings of a Native prophet in distant Nevada. The Paiute prophet, Wovoka, had promised a new day, when the whites would disappear, the buffalo would reappear in great numbers, and the Indians would be reunited with their loved ones who had gone before. Lakota representatives traveled to Nevada to meet with Wovoka, and they brought home their own interpretations of the Ghost Dance. They believed that the shirts they wore in observing the ritual would make them invulnerable to bullets.

In 1890 a new federal agent, Daniel Royer, arrived at Pine Ridge. He proved to be ill-suited for this assignment. The Lakotas quickly gave him a name: Young Man Afraid of Indians. Royer panicked at the sight of the Ghost Dancers on Pine Ridge. Just days after he arrived, he began to appeal to the US Army for troops. Such military assistance was hardly necessary, but the army's own designs made a confrontation almost inevitable. The army brass, especially General Nelson Miles, was determined to put on a show of force. Miles believed that the army rather than the civilian agency, the Office (later Bureau) of Indian Affairs, should be in charge on the reservations. Taking control would

provide a role for the western army in peacetime and would guarantee order in the chaos of the early reservation years. Miles thus acceded to Royer's request, and soon the bluecoats were in the field. Some of them hailed from the Seventh Cavalry.

In December two terrible confrontations occurred. One took place on Standing Rock on December 15. There, in a violent stand-off between some of his followers and Lakotas who had joined the agency police force, the old Hunkpapa leader, Tatanka Iyotanka (Sitting Bull) was killed. The other tragedy transpired two weeks later at Pine Ridge. Mnikowoju Lakotas under the leadership of Big Foot had left their home at Cheyenne River, both terrified by the news about Tatanka Iyotanka and anxious to visit Pine Ridge at the invitation of Red Cloud. However, Big Foot's band, riddled by hunger and illness, never made it to Red Cloud. Intercepted by the Seventh Cavalry, they were taken to Wounded Knee Creek, about 20 miles from the village of Pine Ridge. On the following morning of December 29, the Lakotas were ordered to surrender all their weapons and implements. Members of the cavalry took away nearly all of the Lakotas' weapons before an argument between a Lakota who refused to surrender his rifle and some soldiers almost instantaneously escalated into a hail of fire from the soldiers' rifles and the four Hotchkiss cannons that had been placed on a hill above the encampment. There are different estimates of how many of the Lakotas were killed, but at least 153, and probably scores more of them, died in the massacre. Twenty-five whites also perished, some of them fatally wounded by cross fire from within their ranks. Many of the Lakota dead were women and children who had been killed immediately or who had been shot down as they tried to flee into the countryside. The federal government later awarded the American soldiers present at Wounded Knee twenty congressional medals of honor.

Disappearing Peoples?

Wounded Knee in time became a metaphor for the struggle between whites and Indians in the West. In his poem "American

Names," Stephen Vincent Benet wrote, "bury my heart at Wounded Knee." Writer Dee Brown used the phrase in 1970 as the title for his history of the "Indian wars" in the American West. In 1973 Native protesters who took over the village of Wounded Knee briefly captured the attention of the national media. The year of the first Wounded Knee, 1890, was also used by the Superintendent of the US Census to declare the end of the frontier. The young historian Frederick Jackson Turner soon employed this census report to speak of the end of an era in American life.

Interpretations that used the 1890 massacre and census to denote the end of an era were overstated. Wounded Knee was forever carved in the Lakota memory. But the event did not have exactly the same meaning for all Indians. Many other Native nations had their own wars to remember. For those who resided east of the Mississippi River, South Dakota was distant, unknown land. So other occurrences took precedence in their memories and shaped separate tribal identities. Wounded Knee was ignored or conveniently forgotten by most non-Indians who lived in other parts of the country. If recalled, it became a "battle" rather than a "massacre." And 1890 did not signal the end of the frontier. Prospective farmers, ranchers, miners, and others continued to seek the natural resources of lands new to them, whether or not those lands already were occupied. They still found their way into the interior of the West and ventured north to Alaska.

However, it did appear in 1890 that a transition was well under way. Three years after the United States signed a series of treaties with Indian tribes in 1868, confident that the tide had turned in the wars to gain control of the West, Congress passed a law calling for an end to formal treaty-making. From now on any compact signed would be formally labeled an agreement rather than a treaty. Congressional representatives thus stated that the balance of power had shifted sufficiently that the United States no longer needed to enter into the same kinds of negotiations. Custer's defeat in 1876 suggested Congress had been premature in its declaration, but the completion of the transcontinental railroad, the growth of towns and cities, and the development of new

industries to exploit the natural resources of the West all testified to increasing US control over Indian communities. Whether they were labeled treaties or agreements, these documents were taken more seriously by the Indians who signed their names or left their marks upon them. Non-Indians thought they knew better. They saw the pacts as convenient, bloodless means through which Native lands would be opened and their occupants confined. They perceived the treaties and agreements as legal documents that provided legitimate and permanent claims to lands that would hereafter be theirs.

Non-Indian Americans, after all, tended to portray American history as beginning with the arrival of their particular ancestors or with the landing of the first English-speaking immigrants. However, because Indians were here first and had every intention of remaining on their lands, various colonial and then US representatives had to confront the aboriginal nations. In the early years of the United States, the Supreme Court under Chief Justice John Marshall was forced to consider the nature of the Indian presence and the kinds of rights the Indians possessed. Law professor Charles F. Wilkinson has concluded: "Chief Justice Marshall's opinions made it clear that Indian tribes were sovereign before contact with Europeans and that some, but not all, sovereign powers continued in existence after relations with Europeans and the United States were established." In *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832), Justice Marshall declared that before contact "America, separated from Europe by a wide ocean, was inhabited by a distinct people, divided into separate nations, independent of each other and of the rest of the world, having institutions of their own, and governing themselves by their own laws." He added: "The Indian nations had always been considered as distinct, independent political communities retaining their original natural rights, as the undisputed possessors of the soil, from time immemorial, with the single exception of that imposed by irresistible power."

Here were the roots of the "tribal sovereignty" that became the rallying cry of Indian peoples in the twentieth century. Marshall's court considered specifically the situation faced by the Cherokees

of the southeastern United States. The state of Georgia, with the full support of President Andrew Jackson, was trying to justify its attempts to deny the Cherokees their rights to remain within Georgia's borders. Georgia, in essence, denied that the Cherokees had any right to exist as any kind of separate entity. Marshall's decision in *Worcester* did not prevent the removal of thousands of Cherokees from their home country. It did establish the legal foundation for the movement for modern Indian sovereignty through which tribes, as Wilkinson has written, attempt to achieve or maintain a form of self-rule that sustains self-determination and self-identity. Thus, sovereignty entails a governmental structure and a way of life "premised on a unity with the natural world, a stable existence, and a deep connection to place and family." These ideals, present 100, 200, 500, and more years ago, continue to inform the Native American presence on this continent. They provided a kind of anchor in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when nearly all non-Indians concluded that Indians were destined for disappearance.

Such a disappearance, non-Indians generally determined, was in everyone's best interest, including the Indians themselves. Non-Indians saw the reservations as little more than temporary enclaves. The Indians, said newcomers who wished to grow wheat and graze cattle on these lands, were not even using their remaining acreage to full advantage. The Indians, said Christian missionaries who wished to convert them to different, often competing, versions of a new faith, were not worshipping the proper God. The Indians, said federal officials who observed the onrush of immigrants past Ellis Island, were not speaking the correct language or adjusting to the ways of modern America. The Indians, they all determined, needed less land and more of everything else: more Christianity, more English, more private ownership. They needed "real" houses, "real" marriages, and "real" names.

The interested parties predicted that such a transition should not take long. Indian peoples' wills seemingly had been broken. One could see defeat and submission in the images of the day. One heard of Geronimo (Goyathlay) of the Chiricahua Apaches

and Joseph (Heinmot Tooyalakeet) of the Nez Perces living in exile. The federal official in charge of the government bureau responsible for Indian policy, Commissioner of Indian Affairs Thomas Jefferson Morgan, predicted that other than the Sioux, the Navajos, and the Pueblo communities, most tribes would disappear. "The great body of Indians," Morgan forecast, "will become merged in the indistinguishable mass of our population." The census takers in 1900 offered evidence in support of Morgan's prediction. When they counted the Indians in Vermont, they came up with a grand total of five. The Mashantucket Pequot population had dwindled to less than twenty. The photographer Edward Curtis believed that a way of life was coming to an end. He thus embarked upon an extended foray to portray on film what he termed "the vanishing race." In 1911, the last survivor of the Yahi people made his way out of the foothills in northeastern California. One by one, members of his tribe had been killed or had died from diseases brought in by newcomers. Anthropologists Alfred Kroeber and Thomas Waterman took this man from the town of Oroville to San Francisco. He became known as "Ishi," the word for "man" in the Yahi language. In the city, living within the confines of the University of California Museum of Anthropology, this quiet, gracious person offered Kroeber and Waterman the details of his people's history and culture. In 1916 he died from tuberculosis. During the previous year, sculptor James Earle Fraser had fashioned "The End of the Trail." This bronze of a slumped warrior on horseback was created for the Panama-Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco. Fraser's statue demonstrated altered circumstances. He paired it with another of a pioneer confidently gazing into the future.

A group of non-Indian men and women had begun to address the status of American Indians in American life. These "Friends of the Indian," as they called themselves, had started to gather in 1883 for an annual meeting at a new hotel on Lake Mohonk, New York. The hotel's owners, Albert and Alfred Smiley, had a strong interest in the subject under consideration; Albert Smiley had been appointed in 1879 to the Board of Indian Commissioners, a group of wealthy philanthropists who advised the government

on its policy toward Indians. Some of the people who came to Lake Mohonk also had joined the Indian Rights Association (IRA), organized in 1882 and already the most significant of the associations lobbying for reform of that policy. The IRA's leader, Herbert Welsh, spoke in 1886 at Lake Mohonk on "The Needs of the Time." He argued that such reform would "make the Indian a man among men, a citizen among citizens." Welsh knew that Indians could "be safely guided from the night of barbarism into the fair dawn of Christian civilization."

In Welsh's view, Indians were no different from other Americans. They should be treated just like everyone else; they should be expected to meet the same standards that society set for others. When given access to schooling, Christianity, private property, and the privileges and responsibilities of citizenship, Indians would compete equally in contemporary America. The reformers thus embarked upon a crusade to reach these objectives. This drive to assimilate the Indians—to make the Indians at home in America, as one proponent phrased it—dominated the federal agenda from the late nineteenth through the early twentieth century.

Nevertheless, contrary to the expectations of Edward Curtis, the Indians did not vanish. Their lands and their lives changed, to be sure. The assimilative assault of the period had severe consequences. Indians lost millions of acres of land to sale and cession; still more lands were leased to outsiders. Indian religious ceremonies were prohibited; Native children were compelled to attend school, often in institutions far from home. At the same time, the reservations did not entirely disappear and new ones were even established in the early years of the twentieth century. For those who inhabited them, these reservation lands began to take on new meaning and new significance. Indian religious observances may have been outlawed, but that did not mean they either stopped or were erased from memory. An emerging peyote religion also won thousands of Native adherents. Even in the matter of education, the results proved more complicated than one might have assumed. These additional developments are also central to an understanding of these decades.

In the late 1970s, an old man looked back upon this time. Olney Runs After remembered the occasion as though it had taken place just the other day. He had traveled to Dupree, South Dakota, a new town constructed on land that had once been part of the Cheyenne River Reservation. In 1912 the future of the reservation seemed very much in doubt. Runs After recalled the words of a speaker at the fair, Congressman Henry L. Gandy: "... he said forty years from now there won't be no Indians. He come near make it ... But we Indians will be Indians all our lives, we will never be white men. We can talk and work and go to school like the white people, but we're still Indians."

Education

An examination of Native American education, religion, ties to the land, and identity helps clarify what Runs After meant. Providing schooling for American Indians represented a challenge, because public education remained out of reach for many Americans, especially those who were poor and who did not speak English as a first language. The states showed little, if any, interest in educating Native students. Indians on reservations lived far away from established schools for non-Indian children, and the reservations lacked a tax base to pay for school construction and operation. Moreover, many Indian parents distrusted the means and ends of non-Indians' kind of education.

The federal government and Christian denominations both believed that a proper education would lead Indian children to assimilate. And during this era most Native children who went to school did so at an institution operated by the government or by a Christian church. Many of these institutions boarded their students, requiring many of their charges to move far away from home. Proponents of these distant boarding schools argued that such isolation was necessary to remove children from the harmful, counterproductive influences of their homes and communities. The students, they contended, should even be encouraged never to return to their former residences. At the

time, boarding schools in England and New England offered an exemplary education to the privileged sons and daughters of the wealthy, but the kind of tutelage students received in Indian boarding schools obviously was designed to meet other goals.

The Board of Indian Commissioners in 1880 had not minced words in proclaiming the need for such schooling: "The Indian, though a simple child of nature with mental faculties dwarfed and shriveled, while groping his way for generations in the darkness of barbarism, already sees the importance of education; bewildered by the glare of the civilization above and beyond his comprehension, he is nevertheless seeking to adjust himself to the new conditions by which he is encompassed." Commissioner of Indian Affairs J. D. C. Atkins stated in 1886 that instruction must be in English, "the language of the greatest, most powerful, and enterprising nationalities beneath the sun." Use of a common language would break down tribal distinctions and encourage the common bond of citizenship. Atkins understood the importance of the task. In 1887 he emphasized that the government "must remove the stumbling block of hereditary customs and manners, and of these language is one of the most important elements." He had made up his mind: "This language, which is good enough for a white man and a black man, ought to be good enough for the red man."

At Carlisle Indian Industrial School in Pennsylvania, Richard Henry Pratt established a model for Indian education. Pratt had been a captain in the army, fought in the Civil War, and later worked with Indian scouts in the Red River war. At Fort Marion, Alabama, he sought to instruct Indian prisoners in English and generally to prepare them for assimilation into US society. Pratt had been in the Tenth Cavalry and had developed an interest in the African-American men who had served in his unit. He knew of the new school in Virginia, Hampton Institute, that another military man, General Samuel Armstrong, had founded for black students. Pratt took twenty-two of his Indian students from Fort Marion to Hampton in 1878 and recruited more Indian pupils from the West to the school. By the following year he had decided to found his own school at an abandoned military installation in Pennsylvania. At Carlisle, for a quarter of a century thereafter,

Pratt directed what became the most prominent school for Indians in the United States. He was forced out eventually as superintendent in 1904, and Carlisle closed its doors permanently during World War I. In its time, however, the school had a significant influence on how Indians would be educated.

Part of that influence came through the efforts of the tireless Pratt. He appeared at the Lake Mohonk conferences and publicized his labors through endless correspondence and frequent speeches. Non-Indian Americans generally applauded the image of Carlisle. Captain Pratt appeared to be bringing discipline to young people who, it was assumed, previously had not known the commodity. Pratt pledged to "kill the Indian in him and save the man." He ordered that before-and-after photographs be taken of the pupils, so that even casual observers could see the effect of his program. These images vividly captured the spirit of the transformation Pratt hoped to realize. Long hair was shorn and tribal dress discarded, the after-image revealing students with neat haircuts and dressed in military school uniforms. In addition, new names were bestowed upon those enrolled. One of the first students at Carlisle recalled: "I was told to take a pointer and select a name for myself from the list written on the blackboard. I did, and as I could not distinguish any difference in them, I placed the pointer on the name Luther. I then learned to call myself by that name and got used to others calling me by it, too."

At the turn of the century, about 50 percent of Indian children were enrolled in school. Most attended schools west of the Mississippi that resembled Carlisle. After Carlisle's demise, Haskell, in Lawrence, Kansas, became the most prominent of these institutions. Other large schools, such as Chemawa (Oregon), Chilocco (Oklahoma), and Phoenix, attracted students from many different communities. Competition among the schools for students intensified to the point that Commissioner of Indian Affairs William Jones in 1902 banned all but the two most prominent, Carlisle and Haskell, from national recruitment campaigns. These schools at first bore considerable resemblance to each other in their insistence upon military uniforms and drill, their emphasis on vocational-technical training, their dedication

to the eradication of Indian languages and cultures, and their separation of curriculum for boys and girls in attendance. The government, however, proved more committed to opening these Indian schools than it did to adequately funding their operation.

The emphasis on the practical mirrored the approach taken in Tuskegee Institute and other schools for peoples of color during the era. Unfortunately, underfunding and mismanagement meant that the Indian schools generally emphasized outmoded skills such as blacksmithing and expropriated student labor not for instructional purposes but simply as a ready and captive workforce. School officials assumed that young women were learning nothing of value in their communities. They had no sense of Indian societies in which young women customarily learned how to sow, tend, and gather useful plants, as well as weave, cook, and assist in the care of children. Girls and young women thus were subjected to heavy-handed attempts to prepare them to become housewives who would transmit appropriate middle-class values and behaviors within their households. Pratt once queried: "Of what avail is it that the man be hard-working and industrious ... if the wife, unskilled in cookery, unused to the needle, with no habits of order or neatness, makes what might be a cheerful, happy home only a wretched abode of filth and squalor?" The curriculum for female students at the Morris Indian School in Minnesota, for example, stressed sewing, cooking, and doing the laundry. At Sherman Institute in California, by contrast, girls received instruction in the preparation of shrimp cocktails. Polingaysai Qoyawayma, a Hopi, learned at school how to bake cakes and pies and then returned home to discover that these dishes were undesirable additions to her family's fare.

The boarding schools also promoted sports among students of both sexes. Carlisle and other schools relied on their boy's athletic program to attract non-Indian attention and support. Because Carlisle attracted and recruited older students, it fielded teams that especially in football and track-and-field were competitive at the intercollegiate level. Jim Thorpe (Sac and Fox), a future Olympic pentathlon and decathlon champion and Pro Football Hall of Famer, attended Carlisle. So did two Anishinabe



Figure 1.1 Oneida students complete their assignments, with a recipe for baking powder biscuits on the blackboard. Oneida Indian School, Wisconsin, 1910. Source: Courtesy of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

(Chippewa) men from the White Earth Reservation in Minnesota: Charles A. “Chief” Bender and Joseph Guyon, who later entered, respectively, the baseball and pro football halls of fame. Another student, Lewis Tewanima (Hopi), represented the United States in track-and-field in two Olympics, winning a silver medal in the 10,000-meter run in 1912. Coached by Glenn “Pop” Warner from 1899 to 1914, Carlisle football teams routinely defeated their college opponents. In the 1907 season, Carlisle won ten out of eleven games, defeating Minnesota, and, at a time when it mattered, Chicago.

Principals and superintendents of other schools also recognized that successful athletic programs inspired enrollment and continuation by pupils. Upon occasion, students even became a bit too enthusiastic. James McCarthy, a Tohono O’odham (Papago), extended his education by moving from Santa Fe Indian School to

Phoenix Indian School to Albuquerque Indian School, changing his name and running away from one place to the next, primarily so he could keep playing baseball and keep competing against the best teams. Boys and girls often found in sports the one dimension of their educational experience that they could remember with genuine fondness. They were particularly enthusiastic about the recently invented game of basketball, which became a premiere sport at the medium-sized and smaller Indian schools. Like other boarding school sports, basketball was intended to teach students life skills and make them better students, but young Indian men and women loved it for contrary reasons. Basketball helped them be who they were and escape the drudgery of school life. For Native students like the girls' basketball team from Fort Shaw Indian School in Montana, tournament champions of the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair, school sports were a source of enduring tribal and Indian pride.

School officials also hoped that exposure to non-Indian musical styles and instrumentation would teach students to accept this form of musical culture and reject traditional tribal songs and dances from home. Students learned to perform classical music, Christian hymns, and the patriotic American music of the day, as well as original school songs like "Hail to Thee, Carlisle." Marching bands and other musical performance groups, just like Indian school sports teams, were meant to teach students discipline and publically advertise the schools' success in incorporating Indian children into the American mainstream. Student musicians, like student athletes, responded in unanticipated ways. Many of them enjoyed aspects of their musical training while still regarding the schools negatively. They retained a life-long affinity for non-Indian musical styles, some of them performing as professional musicians during the 1920s; but upon returning home, they embraced their tribal songs and dances.

Despite the positive experiences some students had with sports, music, or other aspects of boarding school life, a great many students, parents, and other relatives detested these schools. Family members wept as the children departed. Some of the students were older, but many were little ones for whom the

sudden change of worlds was all the more traumatic. Boarding schools comprised an ongoing onslaught against Native families and Native belief systems. Students away from home could not participate in tribal ceremonies, including important rituals that marked puberty or other stages of life. Many boarded students were homesick, despised the particular routine, loathed the food, and resisted the prohibition of the use of Native language. More than a few students, at one time or another, attempted to run away. An Eastern Cherokee boy from North Carolina decided to return home from Haskell. One way or another he reached Knoxville, Tennessee, then walked through the Smoky Mountains. A Jemez Pueblo girl attending the Santa Fe Indian School was always hungry and missed the food of home. It took her and two other girls three days to complete the 80-mile trip back to Jemez, walking much of the way. Soon after she arrived, her father took her back to Santa Fe. Not all students survived their attempts at escape. Two boys who fled the Rapid City Indian School in South Dakota followed the railroad tracks out of town, fell asleep near the tracks, and were killed by a train. One boy who departed Santa Fe in the winter lost his legs to frostbite; another boy froze to death. Students who returned to school after running away generally faced some form of punishment, from incarceration to extra chores to the wearing of a gunnysack for two days. The disciplinarians often were Indians themselves, frequently graduates of the institution that now employed them. Having made it through the school, they now strictly enforced policies and rules. Schools discouraged students from returning home during the summer, instead often hiring their pupils out to farms and other industries seeking cheap labor. Parents and other relatives, of course, missed their children and agonized over their recurring illnesses. Indeed, a considerable number of students in those early years died and were buried far from home, "through," Luther Standing Bear observed, "with all earthly schools. In the graveyard at Carlisle most of the graves are those of little ones."

Even under such tragic and traumatic circumstances, however, some parents chose to send their children away to the only schools then available. They believed that the next generation

had to obtain the means of coping with American society. Many students who became fluent in English were destined to play leadership roles on future tribal councils. For students who came from extremely poor dysfunctional families or had no family at all, the schools offered food, clothing, and shelter. Friendships and occasional opportunities for extracurricular adventures attracted some students to the schools. Anna Moore (Pima) was hardly the only person to meet a future spouse at a boarding school. She remembered the "first and only romance of my life began in 1912" at Phoenix Indian School when Ross Shaw (Pima) began to pay attention to her. They eventually married and enjoyed a long and happy life together.

In many families the success of one brother or sister at a particular institution encouraged the enrollment of younger siblings. Anna Bender of White Earth enrolled in Hampton Institute in 1902 and graduated in 1906. Four of her siblings followed her to Hampton, with three graduating from the school. A fourth stayed a year before transferring to and graduating from Roe Institute in Wichita, a school established in 1915 by Ho Chunk (Winnebago) educator Henry Roe Cloud. The Boutangs, the Brokers, and other families from White Earth followed the same, if not always equally successful, pattern, sending more than one son or daughter to Hampton or to Carlisle. Presence of a sibling at a school also increased one's chances for continuation, as did prior educational experience. By the time she enrolled at Hampton, Anna Bender had attended other off-reservation schools and had adjusted to life away from home. The attitudes of parents and extended family members also affected the student's perspective. Just as families and their circumstances might change over time, the schools also did not remain exactly the same, but evolved from one decade to the next.

Federal off-reservation schools could not remain the only alternative for Indian students. Many parents exerted pressure for their children, especially the youngest ones, to be able to attend school closer to home. It cost too much to transport students to distant institutions, and Christian missionaries

wanted to have students attend schools run by their respective denominations. Sympathetic commissioners of Indian Affairs sometimes promoted contract schools. Under this arrangement, a particular denomination agreed to run a school for Indian students subsidized by funds from Washington.

The federal off-reservation schools ultimately failed to deliver what they had pledged to achieve: the assimilation of their students into American society. Too many of their students dropped out. Moreover, upon their return home many of them embraced again the customs and traditions of their communities. By 1900 the transition was well under way from heavy reliance on off-reservation schools. As of that date, 7,430 students attended the twenty-five federal off-reservation boarding schools, 9,600 students were enrolled in eighty-one federal reservation boarding schools, and about 5,000 attended reservation day schools.

In assessing the effect of schooling on young Indian people of this period, it is important to recognize that many students were scarred by their experiences, both by what happened to them at school and what they missed at home by being away. On the other hand, it is also necessary to point out that many children did not attend school at all and many others were enrolled only for a short period of time. In addition, attendance at the multitribal schools was as likely to reinforce tribal identity as dissolve it. Students finding themselves in unfamiliar surroundings tended to associate with others who spoke their particular Native language and who shared common experiences and memories, thereby proving the general theory that greater contact with another culture can strengthen one's loyalty to one's own, rather than promptly eliminate it. The students had loyalties and bonds that were too deep to be easily or quickly uprooted. The schools thus did not necessarily accomplish what Pratt and his colleagues wanted. The boarding schools even proved to be places where students became aware of new Indian institutions. For example, through contact with people of other tribes, it was at Carlisle that many Natives first learned about a new religious movement, the Native American Church.

Religions

In the late nineteenth century federal officials were determined to eradicate Native religious practices and advance Christianity among Indian peoples. Seizing upon Indian religious ceremonies as obstacles that had prevented the tide of assimilation from fully washing over Native peoples, federal officials prohibited the Sun Dance and other Indian ceremonies and empowered local agents to jail those who organized or attended such gatherings. Native spiritual practices were also challenged by Protestant and Catholic missionaries who seemed to be ubiquitous. Looking back on this period, Elizabeth Cook-Lynn of the Crow Creek Reservation wrote of "the Dominican priests who roamed the prairies, as much nomads as any Indians had ever been." The 1880s and 1890s immediately followed an era of rapid acceleration in mission activity. During the 1870s the Christian churches had been involved directly in the nomination, selection, and supervision of federal agents to many Indian communities, and individual denominations had been asked by the federal government to take primary responsibility for particular reservations in Indian country. This division of territory had favored "mainstream" Protestant churches. The more conservative pentecostal and evangelical denominations and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (the Mormons) had been largely shut out by the process, although the Mormons did initiate a highly successful mission to the Catawbias in South Carolina.

In a few instances, Christian churches serving Native parishioners chose to incorporate Native languages or symbols. For example, a Baptist church service on the Eastern Cherokee Reservation in North Carolina featured sermons in Cherokee. Although missionaries sometimes attempted to learn the language of the people in Indian communities, they rarely succeeded, and even those who gained some degree of fluency utilized the skill for evangelical rather than pluralistic purposes. The Franciscans at St. Michael's in Navajo country were rare in their degree of interest in and knowledge of Navajo ceremonialism.

Government repression and missionary activities interfered with tribal spiritual practices, but these ways proved too essential and resilient to stamp out. The Cheyennes, for example, maintained the Sun Dance by modifying it and conducting it on America's Independence Day to appease Indian agents, and by practicing it in secret. Many Indians also willingly joined established Christian denominations or accepted aspects of Christianity without forfeiting their tribal identities. Some Native peoples chose to develop worship services that combined Christian tenets with Native beliefs. Many Native Christians also wanted to be in charge of their own worship rather than have the process directed by outsiders. The Native American Church and the Indian Shaker Church were significant Indian-driven religious movements that involved some Christian aspects. A Squaxin from the lower Puget Sound area of Washington, John Slocum, established the Indian Shaker Church in 1883, after surviving two nearly fatal illnesses. He told others that he had, in fact, died, but come back to life in order to save Indians from the evils of gambling, drinking, smoking, and the traditional healers or shamans. Slocum asked relatives to build a church for him, wherein his followers soon became known as "shakers" for the trembling they experienced as they worshipped. Despite this name, they were not related to the Shaker communities founded earlier in eastern America. Although Slocum died in 1897, the church continued and was legally incorporated in 1910. It combined Christian and traditional Puget Sound area Native beliefs and practices. The church's message against the abuse of alcohol, together with the obvious devotion of its adherents and its willingness to permit local communities to establish autonomous congregations, helped it expand beyond the Puget Sound to the Olympic Peninsula and Yakama in Washington, southern British Columbia, Warm Springs, Umatilla, lower Siletz, and Klamath in Oregon, and Smith River and Hoopa Valley in far northern California. The Indian Shaker Church continues today in this area, with approximately twenty congregations and a few thousand members.

The Native American Church appealed to a wider membership. Its rituals employed the buttons or tops of the peyote cactus

which grew primarily in northern Mexico and in the lower Rio Grande valley of south Texas. The bitter-tasting buttons contain alkaloids that produce psychedelic or hallucinogenic effects upon those who chew them, but peyote was regarded by adherents as sacred medicine, not as a "drug." Peyote had been employed for ceremonial use for hundreds of years by various aboriginal groups in Mexico. A number of the elements in the old Mexican peyote ritual continued in the version of it inaugurated in the United States, including the gourd rattle, cleansing in fire, smoke and incense, an all-night ceremony, cigarettes, and, above all, the spiritual power of peyote.

Bands of the Apaches most likely originated the peyote ritual in the United States, with the Lipan Apaches bringing the ceremony at the beginning of the 1870s to the Comanches, Kiowas, and Apaches in Indian Territory. These tribes resided in the area that later became a part of the state of Oklahoma, but at this time was reserved for Indians indigenous to the region and those who had been forcibly removed to this location. The railroad, that intruder that had bisected Indian country and contributed to the near extermination of the buffalo, aided in the spread of the new religion. When the railroad came to south Texas, it became possible to ship dried peyote by rail from Laredo north to Indian Territory, and from there all over Indian country. Diffusion of the peyote ritual also was hastened by the network of off-reservation boarding schools and by charismatic practitioners, road men, who spread the word about, and the details of, the new faith. By the middle years of the 1910s, the use of peyote had spread to Colorado, Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, Minnesota, Montana, New Mexico, South Dakota, Utah, and Wyoming.

The peyote ritual varied somewhat from one community to another, but everywhere the ceremony contained certain elements that contributed to its acceptance. It incorporated both Christian and tribal symbols, thus representing a syncretic message of accommodation yet persistence of Indianness. It provided an opportunity for the people to congregate; in many instances it offered a substitute for other tribal rituals that

had been repressed or abandoned. It employed symbols with common meaning: the earth, moon, and sun. And it took place in a tipi. The Native American Church perpetuated a tradition of seeking visions and finding power. For men on the Plains who had been denied the responsibility and attendant achievement of hunting and making war, practice of the new faith brought new opportunities for leadership. Adherents of the ritual preached abstinence from alcohol. As alcoholism had become a scourge in many Native communities, this dimension of the church proved especially important. In sum, the Native American Church offered a striking example of the ability of Indians to combine continuity and change in order to build a viable Native future.

The use of peyote, however, provoked a severe reaction from individuals and groups who saw it, to state it mildly, as a counter-productive addition to Indian life. Christian missionaries, federal officials, and more conservative Indians united to harass the peyotists. Gertrude Simmons Bonnin, or Zitkala-Sa, a Yankton Sioux writer and activist, lambasted the new faith, labeling peyote a drug. She claimed that it "excites the baser passions and is demoralizing—similar in its abnormal effects to that of opium, morphine, and cocaine." Congressman Henry L. Gandy and other elected representatives led the charge against peyote, introducing bills in Congress calling for its prohibition and for imprisoning those who persisted in using it.

In response, Indians who had found meaning in the new ritual counterattacked. In February 1915, for example, fifty-four Omahas signed a petition to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Cato Sells, calling for religious freedom, including the freedom to conduct peyote ceremonies. Several Omahas also composed statements attesting to the positive impact that the peyote ritual had had on their lives, particularly in regard to helping them turn away from the abuse of alcohol. Francis La Flesche (Omaha) joined with ethnologist James Mooney to testify before Congress in 1916. La Flesche spoke of all the problems brought to his people by bootleggers. Now, he said, "Practically all of those of my people who have adopted the peyote religion do not drink . . . I have a respect

for the peyote religion, because it has saved my people from the degradation which was produced by the use of the fiery drinks white people manufacture."

The strident opposition against them encouraged some peyotists to formally incorporate the ritual as the Native American Church. In El Reno, Oklahoma, in 1918, a group of spiritual leaders from multiple tribes in the area formed "a religious and benevolent association under the laws of the State of Oklahoma." They incorporated, they stated, "to foster and promote the religious belief of the several tribes of Indians in the State of Oklahoma, in the Christian religion with the practice of the Peyote Sacrament as commonly understood and used ... and to teach the Christian religion with morality, sobriety, industry, kindly charity and right living, and to cultivate a spirit of self-respect and brotherly union ...". At the close of the 1910s, the legality of the use of peyote for religious purposes remained in doubt, but the foundation had been established for the Native American Church's growth and prosperity. It became in time the largest and most significant Native association of the twentieth century.

Land

The most powerful part of the assimilationist crusade was directed at Indian land holdings. Reservations consisted of lands set aside by the federal government for the occupation and use by Indian communities. They exemplified two contradictory strains in American thought about "minority" groups: segregation and assimilation. In order to accomplish the goal of assimilation, policy-makers had segregated Indians on separate enclaves. They assumed such arrangements were temporary. As Indians disappeared as separate, identifiable groups, then reservations would vanish as well.

Henry L. Dawes wanted to expedite the process. The senator from Massachusetts sponsored legislation that gained approval in 1887 as the General Allotment (or Dawes) Act. Allotment or division of Indian communal or tribal lands into individually owned

parcels was an old idea, dating back to 1633 in New England. Given the importance of private property in the workings of American life, allotment boasted continuing currency. Americans also continued to pay homage to the agrarian ideal, even as small-scale farming became less viable and the national economy expanded through rapid industrialization. Versions of the General Allotment Act had been proposed in Congress for a generation prior to final approval of this particular piece of legislation. Under the Dawes Act, which resembled the Homestead Act of 1862, heads of families received 160 acres of land. Single persons aged eighteen years and over and orphans under eighteen years of age could claim 80-acre allotments. If land remained after such a division among tribal members, this "surplus" could be sold to non-Indian applicants. The Dawes Act furnished a temporary safeguard for these allotments; for twenty-five years they could not be sold or leased without federal approval. Not all tribes were affected equally by the Dawes Act. The Five Tribes of the Indian Territory—the Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, Muscogees (Creeks), and Seminoles—avoided allotment for the time being. So, too, did the Osages, Miamis, Peorias, and Sac and Foxes of Indian Territory. The Senecas of New York also were exempted. Other tribes might escape the Act's provisions, if the demand did not arise for division of their lands. In other words, the Indian reservations most directly in the path of non-Indian pressure would be the ones most likely to be allotted.

The Five Tribes had been excluded since these nations were perceived as more advanced. The "Five Civilized Tribes" had gained this appellation because so many of their members were well educated, attended Christian churches, and lived in substantial homes. However, they also received different treatment because their representatives had lobbied in Washington against passage of different versions of allotment. "The change to individual title," they argued, "would throw the whole of our domain in a few years into the hands of a few persons." In addition, they contended, "a large portion of our country, and at least two-thirds of the Indian Territory, are only suitable for grazing purposes. No man can afford to live by stockraising and

herding who is restricted to 160 or even 320 acres, especially lands away from water."

The proponents of allotment believed that keeping the tribal estate tribal or communal held individual Indians back. Reformers such as Merrill Gates concluded that Indians had to become "more intelligently selfish." Too many Indians, he decided, had not been "touched by the wings of the divine angel of discontent." Gates thus conveyed in 1896 that it was time "to get the Indian out of the blanket and into trousers—and trousers with a pocket in them, and a pocket that aches to be filled with dollars!" Regarding land, most Native Americans persisted in honoring the old values of reciprocity and generosity. They saw the kind of personal acquisition lauded by Gates as hoarding; they generally shared their resources rather than keeping them solely for themselves.

Passage of the Dawes Act did not spell instantaneous disaster for all Indians. In the first eight years after the law went into effect, relatively few reservations were allotted. Leasing rarely occurred. This deliberate speed, however, soon accelerated as more western states joined the Union and gained additional representation in Washington. These men had no patience with patience. Just as they sought to open public lands for private exploitation by state citizens, in a related sense they wanted to open Indian lands. Thus pressure dramatically escalated to hasten the division and diminution of tribal lands. Congress began to tinker with allotment to make it easier for Indians to lease their lands. It also tried to cede blocks of remaining reservation land.

In the first decade of the new century the map of Indian country started to take on a new look. The Supreme Court decision of *Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock* in 1903 had far-reaching implications. It involved, among other plaintiffs, Lone Wolf, a Kiowa man who had appealed the opening of the Kiowa, Apache, and Comanche lands in Oklahoma Territory because appropriate tribal consent had not been obtained, as specifically stipulated in the Treaty of Medicine Lodge Creek of 1868. The Jerome Agreement, which permitted the opening of the lands, had been rejected by the Kiowas, Apaches, and Comanches in 1892 but had been approved by Congress in 1900. Secretary of the Interior Ethan

Allan Hitchcock had concurred with congressional judgment, arguing that such an opening could take place without tribal consent. In *Lone Wolf*, the court ruled that the power existed for Congress "to abrogate the provisions of an Indian treaty."

Lone Wolf permitted a previously formed congressional commission charged with negotiating land cessions to proceed whether or not the Indians involved wish to make a deal. Reservation communities, in fact, were not necessarily unwilling to negotiate, but they insisted on a fair price for any lands they surrendered. Now they possessed little bargaining power. US Special Agent James McLaughlin was dispatched to carve out the cessions. Armed with the *Lone Wolf* decision, within two years McLaughlin had gained hundreds of thousands of acres to be opened for non-Indian settlement at Crow and Flathead in Montana, Rosebud in South Dakota, Uintah in Utah, and Wind River in Wyoming. McLaughlin argued that such reservations were larger than necessary for their Indian residents. Ironically, following the erosion of the tribal estate during these years, federal officials of the mid-twentieth century would claim that reservations were not large enough and did not contain sufficient resources to sustain Indian communities.

Lone Wolf also undermined the more altruistic intentions of allotment. It pressured the government to speed up the leasing and sale of Indian lands. The Burke Act of 1906 empowered the Secretary of the Interior to grant any "competent" allottee fee-simple title to his or her land, thus permitting the individual to lease or sell the acreage at any time. This designation of competency resembled the later policy of termination. Indians deemed able to fend for themselves were perceived as not needing federal protection; in the same sense, "competent" Indian tribes at mid-century would be subjected to withdrawal of trust status for their lands. The western states and various commercial interests discovered in commissioners of Indian Affairs Francis Leupp, Robert Valentine, and Cato Sells men who were willing to push vigorously for development of Indian lands. The commissioners placed more emphasis on leasing these lands to cattle companies and sugar beet companies than they

did on promoting the evolution of sustaining, independent tribal economies. Indians often were caught in the vise of demand for their lands and the inadequacy of making a living on the relatively meager acreage granted to them. They frequently took the easy way out and leased their holdings. Leasing yielded small cash payments but it did not inspire people to work hard and become independent. Inheritance also complicated leasing. Parcels over time were subdivided into smaller entities, making it even more likely for leasing to occur.

By 1920 those reservations containing the most promising deposits of natural resources had become checkerboarded by non-Indian intrusions. The population of the United States grew from 63 million in 1890 to 106 million in 1920. Both immigrants and migrants sought to generate their fortunes on lands previously owned and occupied by Indians. The federal government clearly bowed to public pressure and relinquished its trust responsibility in its acquiescence to non-Indian demands. The northern Plains were particularly hard hit by allotment and subsequent sale, but other parts of Indian country were also affected. Timber and mineral leases as well as farming and ranching leases subdivided more and more Native land.

Oklahoma furnishes a good example of non-Indian goals taking precedence. Following removal to Indian Territory, the Five Tribes had rebuilt. They had developed their own schools, constructed capital cities, and made noteworthy progress in farming and ranching. Their very success in demonstrating the potential of their lands ultimately worked against them, for a horde of prospective settlers and speculators lobbied to open up this region to the rest of the American population. By 1893 these "Boomers" had convinced Congress to revoke the initial exemption the Five Tribes had received under the terms of the Dawes Act. A commission headed by the retired Senator Dawes then established tribal rolls despite tribal objections. The rolls provided specific lists of who officially was included as a member of a specific Indian community. The rolls were established as a prelude to dividing tribal lands among these individuals. The Curtis Act of 1898 denied the authority and legitimacy of existing

tribal governments in Indian Territory and approved allotment of Native lands. Many of the original occupants of Indian Territory spoke of establishing a separate Indian state, which they proposed to name Sequoyah, after the man who developed the system for writing the Cherokee language. However, when allotment was carried out among the Five Tribes, hopes for Sequoyah evaporated. Instead Oklahoma became the forty-sixth state, gaining admission to the Union in 1907.

Allotment had targeted primarily the tribal lands of the West, but Indian communities outside of the region did not escape unscathed. The Choctaws of Mississippi and the White Earth Anishinabeg of Minnesota supply two examples. In 1898 the Dawes Commission concluded that Choctaws who had managed to remain in Mississippi and avoid removal earlier in the century now could participate in the allotment process if they agreed to migrate to Indian Territory and claim parcels of land following a three-year residence there. Two attorneys, Robert Owen and Charles F. Winton, spied a situation too lucrative to ignore. A thousand Choctaws signed contracts with them to serve as their claims lawyers, with Owen and Winton to obtain 50 percent of any awards. Other attorneys then vied for the attention of the Choctaws, while Protestant and Catholic missionaries took sides on the matters of migration and the claims process. In the segregated South, Christianity did not usually stand for assimilation; ministers often preached segregation and the Choctaw churches, with their prayers and hymns in the tribal language, evolved into central symbols of a persisting Choctaw identity. The Dawes Commission enrolled 2,240 Mississippi Choctaws, but others, especially in more remote communities, boycotted the procedure or simply were not included in the count.

By the first few years of the twentieth century hundreds of Mississippi Choctaws had been moved to Oklahoma. They did not all find happiness in this new location. Some of the lawyers did represent them well and the Oklahoma Choctaws fought against any addition to their rolls. Those who remained in Mississippi were bolstered by a \$75,000 appropriation from Congress in 1918, which provided not only badly needed financial assistance but

also federal recognition of an existing Indian community in the state. This formal recognition was more than a formality. In a symbolic sense, it paid tribute to Choctaw perseverance. It emphasized the continuity of the Choctaw presence and increased the likelihood that Choctaw people would remain in the state. It also made the tribe eligible for other federal programs in the future.

In Minnesota, the Nelson Act of 1889, a law patterned after the Dawes Act, drastically changed life on the White Earth Reservation. The Anishinabeg lived here in a transitional zone between prairie and forest, which allowed the people to have choices in their economy and permitted development of both agricultural and timber resources. The residents of White Earth comprised migrants from different bands from the northern part of the state and Metis, or mixed-bloods, the descendants of marriages between Anishinabe women and English and French fur traders. This latter group, with names such as Fairbanks and Beaulieu, brought bilingual skills and greater awareness of the workings of the larger American society.

The Nelson Act not only divided White Earth, it also opened the reservation to subsequent legislation that additionally harmed the people. Minnesota representatives Moses E. Clapp and Halvor Steenerson sponsored a bill that Congress passed giving lumber interests the ability to purchase timber from holders of individual allotments. Passage of the Burke Act inspired Clapp and Steenerson to gain congressional approval not to limit the sale, encumbrance, or taxation of allotted lands on White Earth. Subjected to new taxes and confronted by escalating demands for their lands, the people of White Earth began to sell off parcels of real estate. Soon much of White Earth was now owned or controlled by outsiders. In turn, the Anishinabe people were increasingly limited in their access to wild rice, maple sap, and berries, as well as in hunting deer and fishing. These restrictions affected the reservation economy, but they also had social and cultural repercussions. Traditionally, women had completed most of the harvesting and men had accomplished most of the hunting and fishing. Denied access to many of their traditional sites, the people became less cohesive. Women and men were

less able to teach these skills to their children, and children grew up without the benefit of learning such customary practices. Extended families thus were less likely to carry out seasonal work together, and families separated as individuals left the reservation to try to find more lucrative opportunities elsewhere.

Identities

Such a reversal of fortune sometimes encouraged overt or covert forms of resistance. In eastern Oklahoma, the Redbird Smith movement and the so-called Crazy Snake rebellion symbolized widespread resentment as well as reaffirmation of traditional identities. Born July 19, 1850, at the edge of Cherokee country, Redbird Little Pig Smith was a member of the Keetowah Society. The Keetowahs were cultural conservatives who had been an organized unit for centuries. They saw in allotment a tool that non-Indians might use to destroy Cherokee life. Redbird Smith attempted to lead the Cherokees toward a more complete recognition of traditional tribal values and practices. His followers sought to follow what they called the White Path, a balanced life that promoted personal harmony; they tried to keep the Sacred Fires burning at the sites for ceremonies. When Smith and others resisted allotment and the official tribal enrollment demanded by the Dawes Commission, they were arrested and forced to enroll. After Congress dissolved the Cherokee government in 1906, conservative "fullbloods" named Smith as their new chief. (In many Indian communities people of mixed ancestry were termed "mixed-bloods"; they were often, but not always, more willing to incorporate new social, cultural, and economic elements into their lives. "Fullbloods," whose ancestry was completely or almost fully within the tribe, tended to be more conservative in such choices.) Smith opposed allotment until his death in 1918, but the Keetowahs ultimately split over the issue, with some grimly accepting the land division as inevitable. Denied Smith's dream of a separate conservative Cherokee community, many fullbloods retreated into the eastern Oklahoma hill country and

observed traditional ways, having as little contact as possible with others who disagreed with them. In 1912 two thousand land allotments went unclaimed. Keetowah fires continued to burn.

Chitto Harjo, called Crazy Snake, led conservative Muscogee political revitalization in the Indian Territory at the turn of the century. He also resisted the kinds of changes being imposed upon his people. Like Smith, he denied the authority of the federal government to negate the sovereignty of the Native community. The acceptance of an allotment, Chitto Harjo contended, was a break with tribal custom, and those who did so would no longer be members of the Muscogee nation. Accordingly, his followers harassed and punished those who did take allotments. Finally federal officials, supported by US cavalry, stepped in to quash resistance and for a time imprisoned in Leavenworth the man who had reasserted the power of traditional Native law. If overt resistance ceased, the sentiments in support of traditional authority remained present, even after Harjo's death in 1911. The Muscogee poet Alexander Posey paid tribute to him:

... Such will! such courage to defy
The powerful makers of his fate! ...
Condemn him and his kind to shame!
I bow to him, exalt his name!

Contemporary observers of Indian communities in the early twentieth century could be excused for gloomy prognostications. Federal policy had shown little shift in direction. Most Christian missionaries remained inflexible in their attitudes toward Native religious ceremonies. A rapidly expanding non-Indian population challenged and often appropriated Indian resources. In the lower forty-eight states, roughly 2 out of every 3 acres that Indians had owned or controlled prior to passage of the Dawes Act had been removed from the tribal estate. Even with those dilemmas, Indians resolved not to simply accede to the customary assumptions of the day. They were determined to weather this era and to move forward. The period did include victimization and despair, but also, ultimately, reasons for hope.

Native women and men searched for ways to make their constrained surroundings into meaningful and viable environments. To borrow historian Frederick Hoxie's useful concept, they sought to turn prisons into homelands. Such terminology is not overly melodramatic. Federal agents on the reservations served heavy-handedly. A colonial mentality persisted. Indian peoples hated being dependent for rations, being told where they could live, and being commanded how they should worship. They turned to the elders and to younger leaders and to family relationships to find ways to continue to observe traditional values.

No magical, instantaneous unity appeared on the reservations. The first generation or two of reservation life prompted different opinions about the future. Where allotment had taken place, for example, people were likely to reside in a more dispersed pattern. Many reservations now encompassed members of more than one band or even more than one tribe. For example, four of the seven western Lakota bands lived on Cheyenne River. At Fort Belknap, the Gros Ventres shared acreage with the Assiniboines. Although band and tribal distinctions and divisions remained, circumstances dictated the need for some degree of accommodation. How could the people save the land that they still held? Many communities concluded they had little choice other than to try to employ an imposed political system to work toward certain goals. To be effective the leaders of a tribal council or business council had to embody customary virtues, including wisdom, generosity, and the ability to speak well.

Cheyenne River revealed the kind of partial success that could be realized. The reservation was established in 1889. In 1900 the allotment process began, and eventually it pushed people to spread out across the reservation. A business council and a police force of Cheyenne River residents started to function. This initial version of a tribal council was comprised of representatives from different districts of the reservation. The federal government treated the reservation as a unit. The people living on Cheyenne River began to see themselves not only as Mnikowoju or Sihasapa but also as Cheyenne River Sioux. One should not overstate this point at Cheyenne River or elsewhere, for such identification

depended upon how new institutions affected daily life. If the new political unit challenged the authority of an existing traditional governing system, especially one combining secular and religious power, then it was unlikely to succeed. If the council or committee did not consider the residents of an important area or was in some other way not wholly representative, then it decreased its chances of acceptance. If the unit did not seek goals upon which the community had reached consensus, then it shackled its promise.

At Cheyenne River, the new business council confronted an immediate threat. Non-Indian interests, well represented in Congress by Senator Robert Gamble and Congressman Philo Hall, wanted to reduce or eliminate the reservation. Special Agent McLaughlin tried to engineer such a reduction, while Gamble and Hall introduced bills toward that end. The political leaders at Cheyenne River could not fight off one cession of land. But other attempts failed to further reduce the reservation in size. Increasingly experienced negotiators from the business council such as Ed Swan and Percy Phillips traveled more than once to Washington, stalled, offered counterproposals, and manipulated, seizing upon the inefficiency of the Indian Office. Like their counterparts all over Indian country, these people battled against the odds to preserve some kind of land base for the future. These challenges could encourage the election of individuals who spoke English more fluently and who could represent tribal interests more effectively in this new era. These representatives often were younger men who had obtained more schooling.

The Indian Office tried to accomplish two conflicting goals. It preached self-sufficiency for the Indians and at the same time it placated non-Indians who wanted access to Native lands. Federal officials embraced agriculture as a way to use those lands productively and to teach Indians the value of toil. More than a few Indian communities had rich and long-standing agricultural traditions. However, other groups had not emphasized farming or had perceived it to be work to be done by women rather than men; in these locales, the men balked at assuming a task they thought women should undertake. In addition, many reservations were ill-suited for agriculture. Aridity, short

growing seasons, and the small size of allotments all conspired against successful farming. Under these circumstances, agents or superintendents—as head federal officials for a particular locale started to be called—faced severe challenges. The Reclamation Act of 1902 was designed to help non-Indians in the West, through funding for substantial dams and extended canals to be constructed throughout the region. Although non-Indian citizens often complained about federal assistance to Indians, they did not hesitate to take advantage of this aid for themselves. Indian communities that could have benefited greatly from such help struggled to obtain even small amounts of federal aid for similar but much more limited projects on their lands.

On the Fort Belknap Reservation in northern Montana, the Assiniboines and Gros Ventres complained about off-reservation farmers and ranchers who diverted water from the Milk River before it could flow through their lands. Superintendent William R. Logan complained to the commissioner of Indian affairs on June 3, 1905: "So far this spring, we have had no water in our ditch whatever. Our meadows are now rapidly parching up. The Indians have planted large crops and a great deal of grain. All will be lost unless some radical action is taken at once to make the settlers above the Reservation respect our rights. To the Indians it means either good crops this fall or starvation this winter."

Logan's complaint eventually brought the matter to court, where he pleaded his case on the basis of prior appropriation. This doctrine, recognized in Montana, held that the first users of water had the senior rights to the resource. Judge William Hunt of the US district court decided that in agreeing to the terms of the treaty which confined them to the lands of Fort Belknap, the Indians were entitled to sufficient water to fulfill the purposes of that agreement. The treaty clearly indicated that the occupants of the reservation should "become 'self-supporting as a pastoral and agricultural people.'" It did not matter whether non-Indian farmers and ranchers such as Henry Winter (whose name was entered as "Winters" in court documents) had a prior claim to the water.

After the Ninth Circuit Court affirmed Judge Hunt's decision, the US Supreme Court ruled on *Winters v. United States* on

January 6, 1908. Justice Joseph McKenna spoke for the court in his opinion. He stated: "The Indians had command of the lands and the waters—command of all their beneficial use, whether kept for hunting, and grazing, roving herds of stock, or turned to agricultural and the arts of civilization." McKenna then asked: "Did they give up all this? Did they reduce the area of their occupation and give up the waters which made it valuable or adequate?" He declared they did not. This declaration of water rights for Fort Belknap, which became known as the *Winters* doctrine, marked a fundamental turning point in the national Native struggle to remain on their land. Not only did *Winters* buttress Indian claims to water rights, it offered additional testimony that Native peoples were not going to disappear.

The decision had lasting significance, but it made less of a difference at Fort Belknap than one might have anticipated. Superintendent Logan had encouraged non-Indians to reside on the reservation in order, he said, to encourage greater Indian productivity. Logan also built up a sizable cattle herd of his own, even appropriating Indian cattle to bolster that enterprise. Therefore Logan had not been concerned just about Indian well-being when he complained about the diversion of water from the river. Moreover, five years after *Winters*, the Matador Land and Cattle Company of Texas gained a lease to most of the reservation and held that lease until 1927. Thus the hopes for continuing economic development by and for Natives at Fort Belknap proved largely unfounded, even though Gros Ventre and Assiniboine farmers and ranchers had made a promising start in the decade before the Supreme Court decision.

Cattle ranching elsewhere produced better results. Prevailing federal policies often worked against Native initiatives, but many reservations witnessed the emergence of an industry that made social and cultural as well as economic sense. Much of the remaining estate was well-suited for the grazing of livestock. In the Great Basin country, the Plateau area of the Northwest, in Oklahoma, on the northern Plains and in the Southwest, Indians began to work as cowboys and as ranchers. Becoming cowboys allowed them to remain Indians. That is to say, cattle

ranching permitted them to stay on the land and to practice time-honored values. They fed relatives and strangers; they gave cattle as gifts. They formed ranching associations based on family and band ties.

Difficult winters, the leasing of ranges to non-Indians, and varying market conditions worked against full development of Indian cattle ranching, but some success stories could be reported. On the White Mountain Apache (or Fort Apache) Reservation in central Arizona, Wallace Atlanta, known also by his brand of R-14, became the most famous Indian cattleman of the region. By 1918 he owned 10,000 head of cattle, allowing him to purchase \$25,000 worth of liberty bonds. Superintendent C. W. Crouse helped develop the industry by importing Herefords, which became the mainstay of Apache cattle ranching. The existence of Indian cattle raising also helped maintain or add to Native land bases. The creation of the main Tohono O'odham reservation in southern Arizona in 1916 was justified based on the need for more land for the expanding cattle herds of the people.

Women participated in cattle ranching as individual ranchers, as spouses who worked with their husbands, and as members of extended families who raised cattle. Historian Clifford Trafzer's research on the Yakama Reservation suggests that Yakama women generally played a larger role in the working of the tribal economy than previously had been assumed. From 1909 to 1912, for example, the women purchased more household goods, wagons, buggies, and hacks than did the men. They also bought more horses and more cattle. On the reservations in general, men certainly outnumbered women in their ownership of cattle and played the dominant role in livestock associations, but women were not absent from the picture. At Navajo, where the people primarily raised sheep rather than cattle, ownership of the flocks was vested in the women. The raising of sheep also empowered Navajo women because of their ability to weave wool. The raising of sheep or cattle throughout the Indian West also offered children (often charged with tending the flock) responsibility and taught them discipline, while it underscored their importance as contributors to their families' welfare.

Raising livestock presented an opportunity for independent choice and action during an era in which the memory of military defeat, the reality of confinement, and the policy of forced assimilation all rankled. The sale of Indian-owned cattle might necessitate a trip away from the reservation. Such a journey was as likely to reinforce tribal identity as it was to diminish it. When the Hidatsa ranchers from Fort Berthold, North Dakota, traveled to St. Paul and Chicago in 1900 they saw surprising dimensions of the non-Indian world. Wolf Chief later recalled that in Chicago, in back of a hotel, "they threw away old foods they did not want any more on their tables." He saw "some poor women dirty and in rags take off the covers of cans, and they took the food to eat." The Hidatsas professed astonishment at this demonstration of a lack of generosity and caring among the whites. "If an Indian man is hungry," mused Wolf Chief, "no matter what he has done or how foolish he has acted, we will always give him food."

Indian cowboys also sought fame and fortune in rodeo. The best-known Indian rodeo cowboy of this generation was a Nez Perce man, Jackson Sundown, who earned renown for his bronc-riding ability at such major events as the Pendleton Roundup. Sam Bird-in-Ground (Crow) and George Defender (Standing Rock Sioux) also gained acclaim for their exploits. Will Rogers, the son of Cherokee rancher Clem Rogers, participated as a roper in rodeos at Madison Square Garden and elsewhere. Rogers later said the excitement of the rodeo encouraged him to try his luck in the world of entertainment, where his probing and amusing commentary made him a beloved national figure.

Cattle ranching provided a positive alternative to farming for many tribes of the interior; for coastal peoples the ocean offered another option to agriculture. The Makahs of the Olympic Peninsula in Washington state were successful whalers long before the United States became a country. They proved quite willing to incorporate useful new technology as they pursued not only whales but also fur seals. By the late nineteenth century they prospered sufficiently to employ white labor for their schooners. They dutifully planted a few potatoes, but potatoes seemed a

luxury; the Makahs observed that it seemed much easier to obtain food from the ocean than from the earth. Money from sealing permitted Makahs in 1892 to buy Neah Bay's two food stores, the local trading post, and the one hotel. As US laws began to severely restrict Native sealing, the Makahs moved into fishing for halibut. Despite massive numbers of competing non-Indian fishermen and additional restrictions on their participation in this maritime activity, the Makah people still fared quite well in the industry throughout the remainder of this period.

Indians seized upon various new institutions and tried to utilize them for their own purposes. For example, federal agents inaugurated a version of the county fair on reservations in order to advertise Native agricultural accomplishment. Thus in 1904 Samuel Reynolds started a fair in Crow country, but the Crows quickly realized such occasions could provide more than a procession of potatoes. They could also include parades, horse races, and rodeos. Crow Fair allowed the Crows a fine opportunity to be together and to have a great time. Of course such gatherings could serve commercial purposes as well. In North Carolina, the Eastern Cherokee fair started in 1914 and soon provided the people with a useful venue for the sale of their crafts to neighboring non-Indians.

The Fourth of July also offered an opportunity for community celebration. Indians quickly realized that festivities organized ostensibly for patriotic purposes had a better chance of being endorsed than communal religious observances. At Rosebud in South Dakota, for example, a six-day spectacle in 1897 encompassed everything from Corn and White Buffalo dances to music by the Rosebud Cornet Band and a reading of the Declaration of Independence. For good measure, spectators observed bronc and steer riding and a mock reenactment of the Custer battle. Federal policy may have prohibited tribal religious rituals, but the program noted: "These dances having been prohibited, special permission has been granted to have these occur on this day for the last time." Employing the Fourth of July for their own purposes allowed Indian communities another occasion to establish their own priorities and to define who they were.

The Wild West shows yielded another avenue for travel and adventure during this transitional age. From the time Buffalo Bill Cody and his associates organized the first of these productions in 1883, critics assailed them as demeaning to Indian participants. Most of the Native individuals who joined the shows disagreed with this assessment. They relished the chance not only to travel and see new places, but also to ride horses and make more money than they likely would have made on the reservation. Some of the "show Indians," as they became known, journeyed more than once to Europe and visited many of the major cities in the United States. Most of them actually liked Cody, who demonstrated more respect for them than other show entrepreneurs. Defeating Custer one more time in reenactments, portraying Indian cowboys and cowgirls, and taking part in rodeo-like events all evoked enthusiasm from the show Indians, most of whom hailed from the Plains region. They saw the shows usually as an adventure and as a new possibility to exhibit honor and courage. Like the Hidatsas who traveled to Chicago, their contact with the non-Indian world promoted rather than diminished their own sense of identity as Indians.

On the local and national level, more than a few Indians perceived the last years of the nineteenth century and the first years of the twentieth not as the end of an era but as the start of a period filled with promise. Quanah, or, as he was generally called, Quanah Parker, exemplified this sentiment in Oklahoma. He seized upon changing times for his own benefit and for the benefit of his people, the Comanches. Parker's surname came from his mother, Cynthia Ann Parker, who at nine years of age had been captured by the Comanches in 1836 and who had remained with them, becoming a member of the tribe. Quanah's father, Peta Nocona, a war chief, was not in camp on the day in 1861 when Texas Rangers recaptured Cynthia Ann Parker and returned her and her daughter to white relatives. Quanah never saw his mother and sister again. They both had died by 1870, three years after the Comanches had signed the Treaty of Medicine Lodge, which confined the tribe to a reservation in what became southwestern Oklahoma.

These lands, shared with the Kiowas and the Apaches, were in the path of the expanding Texas cattle industry. Quanah rose to a position of leadership on the reservation and by 1885 served as primary spokesperson for his people. In some ways, he remained a "traditional." Like a number of prosperous Comanche men, he was married to more than one woman. A cultural broker, Quanah interpreted the ways of one culture to another and tried to find means to realize mutual understanding and advantage. As principal chief, he negotiated with the Texas cattlemen, acknowledged their power, and attempted to strike the best leasing deals he could. Before the Jerome Agreement went into effect in 1900, he and the Comanches enjoyed a brief interlude of prosperity. Quanah practiced the politics of delay, hoping to retard the ratification of the agreement as long as possible. However, as a pragmatist, he realized that he and others would have to adapt to changing circumstances. Quanah thus accumulated a substantial cattle herd of his own and did not hesitate to try to find means to improve his personal finances. He built a fine home with a big porch and stars painted on its roof. Yet as he adjusted to an economic order, he also played a vital role in promoting the expansion of the Native American Church. Over the course of his career, Quanah traveled to Washington nearly twenty times to represent the Comanches. He was appointed a tribal judge to rule on criminal offenses at a time when being married to more than one woman represented a criminal offense. A charismatic and complicated person, he is but one of many examples of Indian people during this era who utilized the new, often imposed, institutions in creative ways to maintain or establish flexible, viable contemporary Native identities.

There were other Indians who remained hopeful about the future. They appreciated their heritage, but they also believed Indians as individuals and as a group could realize bright tomorrows. Many were college graduates whose education and professional experiences had empowered them. Henry Roe Cloud, for example, did not see the world as Henry Dawes did, though they both had graduated from Yale University. In fact Roe Cloud also had gained a master's degree in anthropology

from Yale as well as a degree in divinity from Auburn Theological Seminary. Roe Cloud and his colleagues recognized that all Indians had things in common and they understood that asserting a broader Indian identity did not have to conflict with individuals' identification with their bands or tribes. Using the model of the Indian Rights Association, they decided to form an organization not only for Native peoples, but with full membership limited to Indians. Assisted by Fayette McKenzie, who taught at Ohio State University, an original committee of six Native Americans met in Columbus, Ohio, in April 1911, to plan a conference for an association that would consider the needs and issues facing Indian peoples. The committee members were Laura Cornelius (Oneida), Charles Daganett (Peoria), Charles Eastman, Carlos Montezuma (Yavapai), Thomas Sloan (Omaha), and Henry Standing Bear (Sicangu Lakota). The group called itself the Society of American Indians (SAI). The group of six quickly expanded to eighteen, including Marie Baldwin (Anishinabe), Rosa B. La Flesche (Omaha), Arthur C. Parker (Seneca), and Henry Roe Cloud.

The Society of American Indians appeared to present a valuable forum for Indians to meet and consider the Native present and future. Nonetheless, certain issues surfaced that divided the society's modest membership. Should the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) be abolished? Should Indians work for the bureau? Should peyote be prohibited? Montezuma argued that the bureau was beyond salvation and must be abolished immediately, whereas Parker initially was more moderate in his criticism. Sloan was an active member of the Native American Church, while Gertrude Simmons Bonnin, as mentioned, wanted peyote outlawed. Philip Gordon (Anishinabe), a Catholic priest, censured those who worked for the bureau; Sherman Coolidge (Northern Arapaho) was a minister, but disagreed with Gordon about the matter of employment. Almost from one annual conference to the next, the SAI's stance seemed to shift on some of these hotly contested points.

Such internal divisions limited the SAI's development. It had not built a membership base beyond several hundred people. It had not succeeded in developing grassroots support from

reservation communities. Most of its members remained people who had had access to more education and who had enjoyed more opportunities than the majority of Native Americans. Lacking a sufficient foundation either of adherents or financial benefactors, it could not directly engage in extended campaigns to right contemporary wrongs. Although it persisted into the 1920s, the SAI did not survive the decade. Such limitations frustrated Montezuma, among others. After the annual meeting in 1915 in Lawrence, Kansas, he muttered in his newsletter, *Wassaja*: "The sky is clear and we meet only to discuss. It is so nice to meet and discuss. There is nothing wrong. We meet only to discuss. It is so nice to meet and discuss. We can meet and discuss as well as the Mohonk Conference . . . Meeting and discussing is so soothing and smoothing. Sh—! Sh—! Don't whisper about the Indian Bureau."

During World War I, Arthur C. Parker, the editor of the SAI's journal, the *American Indian Magazine*, as well as the society's

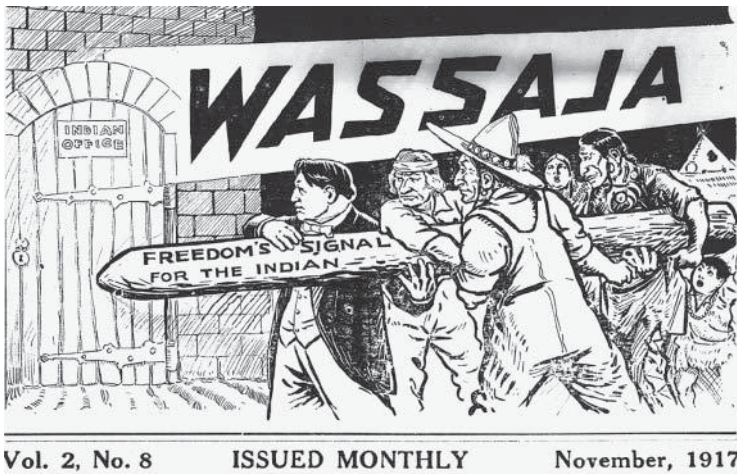


Figure 1.2 Carlos Montezuma (Yavapai), MD, started a newsletter, *Wassaja*, to call for the abolition of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. From his home in Chicago, Montezuma sent the publication throughout the United States. Source: Courtesy of the Carlos Montezuma Collection, Arizona Collection, Arizona State University Libraries.

current president, joined the armed forces and thus could not attend the 1918 conference in Minneapolis. In his absence, the SAI voted in favor of abolishing the BIA. It also elected Charles Eastman as president, retaining Parker as journal editor. When Parker did not reply immediately to new SAI secretary Gertrude Simmons Bonnin's query about whether he wished to continue as editor, she promptly extended her own duties to include editing the journal.

The society's leadership was primarily male, but women also assumed important responsibilities. Bonnin was one of the most articulate voices of Indian America in the early twentieth century. Born February 22, 1876, on the Yankton Reservation, she accompanied Quaker missionaries to White's Indiana Manual Labor Institute in Wabash, where she enrolled for three years. Although she had been unhappy at the school, she returned to it at the age of fourteen to further her education. She then attended Earlham College; leaving because of illness before she graduated, she still obtained a teaching post at Carlisle and then attended the New England Conservatory of Music. A talented violinist, she also published a collection of essays and a separate collection of short stories. Bonnin detested Pratt, whom she once labeled "pig-headed," and others who pushed for rapid assimilation. She also fought for women, first to be included in the Society of American Indians, and then for them to take on major tasks within its workings.

Parker was also a significant figure. A member of a distinguished Seneca family, he had grown up on the Cattaraugus Reservation (in upstate New York) and in New York City, where he studied with anthropologist Franz Boas at Columbia. Parker left the university before receiving his undergraduate degree, yet went on to become a well-regarded scholar, contributing studies of Iroquois history and culture. Parker never lost sight of his identity both as a Seneca and as an American Indian. He, like others in SAI, appreciated some of the ironies of the present day. English now presented a common language for Indian peoples. Development of regional and national transportation networks and mail systems increased the chances for Indians to see and



Figure 1.3 Gertrude Simmons Bonnin (Yankton Dakota), musician and writer, served as an officer in the Society of American Indians and later founded the National Council of American Indians. Source: Courtesy of the Institute of American Indian Studies, University of South Dakota.

communicate with each other. In other words, developments that initially seemed to hasten assimilation did not necessarily further that prospect.

World War I

Service in World War I created another bond among many Indian men and women. Native participation in the war had been encouraged by federal officials and assimilationists who believed the war would accelerate assimilation and permit Indians to demonstrate their ability to contribute to American society. Although many Indians had not yet been granted citizenship and were not eligible for the draft, they were asked to register with

the selective service, and over 16,000 Indians served in the war, a rate twice that of other eligible Americans. Those who went overseas encountered commanding officers whose reading of history convinced them that Indians were "natural" scouts. General John Pershing remembered the service of Apaches as scouts against other Apaches and more recently as trackers in the campaign against Pancho Villa. Indians also had served in the Oklahoma National Guard on the south Texas border in that same campaign. Pershing thus formed a unit of Apaches to scout in France.

Pratt and SAI leaders argued against such segregated entities, contending that Native soldiers could best exhibit their talents and their patriotism in integrated units. Why not permit Indians to be bakers, teamsters, sharpshooters, aviators, engineers, artillerymen, and hospital aides? Native soldiers served alongside other Americans in the war, but they also filled such units as the 36th Division, which included many Indians from Texas and Oklahoma, especially from the Five Tribes. Company "E" of the 142nd Infantry Regiment was almost all-Indian.

Indian soldiers gained many awards for heroism. Sergeant Alfred Bailey (Cherokee) received posthumously the Distinguished Service Cross. Corporal Nicholas E. Brown (Choctaw) also died in battle and received a Croix de Guerre. Private Joseph Oklahombi (Choctaw) had the Croix de Guerre bestowed upon him by Marshal Henri Pétain. Historian Michael Tate wrote that Pétain praised Oklahombi "for single-handedly crossing 210 yards of barbed wire entanglements, wrenching a machine gun away from its German crew, and capturing 171 German prisoners with the same gun," then holding the position for four days. In addition, two Choctaws from the 142nd Infantry pioneered the use of an Indian language for coded radio communications. Their success inspired the formation of a unit of Indian code talkers, with twenty-six different Native languages at their disposal. The *American Indian Magazine* in 1919 reported with great glee upon this development in an article entitled, "Played Joke on the Huns."

As they would in later wars, Indians debated about fighting for a country that had treated Native peoples shamefully. Those who did enlist frequently spoke to the need to prove Indian patriotism

and capabilities. Still others saw in the conflict a different opportunity. Plains Indian soldiers earned honor by counting coup in battle through touching or striking the enemy. Others participated in appropriate tribal ceremonies upon their return home. Some WWI veterans were welcomed as warriors into the old, traditional warrior societies. Historian Tom Holm (Cherokee-Muscogee), a veteran of the war in Vietnam, argued that such a person "abided by the treaties signed between his people and the federal government; most importantly he had taken part in those time-honored tribal traditions linked to warfare. In short," Holm concluded, "he was a warrior and whether clad in traditional dress or olive drab, he had reaffirmed his tribal identity."

Not all Indians endorsed the war effort. Some reaffirmed their tribal identity, they said, through opposing registration for the selective service or conscription. For example, Parker reported "a systematic attempt on the part of some Indians to discourage the idea of registering on the ground that Federal law or ruling requiring registration did not apply to wards." The Indians to whom Parker referred were Iroquois, who did not oppose war but opposed any infringement upon Iroquois sovereignty. Unhappy with leases that had eroded their land base, these Iroquois saw registration as the latest in a series of assaults upon their own control of their lives. If individual Iroquois wanted to volunteer, they reasoned, that was up to them, but service should be voluntary. In the same sense, when the Oneidas and Onondagas of the Six Nations chose to declare war on Germany, that action also should be permitted.

In eastern Oklahoma the war ignited new and reignited long-standing grievances over federal and non-Indian treatment of Indians. Some members of the Five Tribes angrily joined the Green Corn Rebellion, an agrarian uprising organized by unionists and socialists. The rebellion protested against people being uprooted from the land, but it also expressed the view that poor men should not fight in a war that would benefit rich men. Near Henryetta, Oklahoma, about 200 Muscogees participated in a protest over the issue of conscription. One of their leaders, Ellen Perryman, contended: "The Indians are not going to the

slaughter fields of France." "To Hell with the Government and the Allies ...," she added. "They are nothing but a bunch of Grafters and Sons of Bitches." Although she was not imprisoned, Perryman was charged with violating the Espionage Act for advising Indians not to register for and to resist the draft.

Ellen Perryman and Joseph Oklahombi both hailed from the same part of Indian America. Their varied responses to World War I underlined the various ways in which different Native Americans could react not only to the war but to this entire era, which had brought so much social and economic change. In the end, the first two decades of the twentieth century verified what Indians, regardless of their perspectives, had known all along. They were not going to disappear, and they would be Indians all of their lives.

2

Confronting Continuation, 1921–1932

In December 1922, Carlos Montezuma decided to return home to a place where he had never lived. A physician, he had tuberculosis and knew that he had little time remaining. He boarded the train in Chicago one final time to make the long, familiar journey to Arizona to be with his Yavapai relatives. Montezuma was born in the 1860s, when tribes still could and did conduct raids on their enemies. Kidnapped by Pimas, the young Montezuma was sold to a non-Indian and raised in the Midwest and the East. He completed medical school in Chicago and eventually entered private practice there. As an adult, he traveled west to become reacquainted with relatives now living on the newly founded Fort McDowell Reservation. He had witnessed an era in which his people had begun to transform their reservation into home, into a place that mattered, into a base to be safeguarded for future generations. Although he severely criticized the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) for its management of reservation life, his continuing association with his relatives at Fort McDowell had taught him that these communities must not be abandoned. During his life Montezuma helped his people stay, and ward off attempts to

"We Are Still Here": American Indians since 1890, Second Edition.

Peter Iverson and Wade Davies.

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remove them from their small enclave. He got off the train in Phoenix and traveled out to Fort McDowell, where he refused the care of other doctors. Within a month he was dead. He was buried on the reservation that had never been his residence but had, in his final years, become his home.

In the last issue of his newsletter, *Wassaja*, Montezuma had provided his own epitaph. It addressed the concerns of the present, but it also underlined the certainty he and other Native Americans shared that Indians had a future: “... if the world be against us, let us not be dismayed, let us not be discouraged, let us look up and go ahead and fight on for freedom and citizenship of our people. If it means death, let us die on the pathway that leads to the emancipation of our race; keeping in our hearts that our children will pass over our graves to victory.”

The final act in the dramatic life of Carlos Montezuma continues to inspire his people, but it also demonstrated, as early as the 1920s, that Indian reservations would remain. What kinds of lives were possible for their residents? Even with the damage caused by the allotment era, even with the onslaught of assimilation, Native peoples persisted. However, their lands, their schools, their health care all needed to be improved. In the 1920s, Americans had to confront the fact of Indian continuation. A national debate considered the future of American Indians.

Failed Policies

The need for significant alteration of prevailing federal policies had been articulated by members of the Society of American Indians (SAI) and other critics in the years leading up to 1920. As the decade began, these dissenters did not have far to look for examples of ongoing problems with the administration of Indian affairs. The Osages and Muscogees of Oklahoma, the Pueblo Indian communities of the Southwest, and the Mescalero Apaches of New Mexico offered telling cases in point of why major changes had to occur.

The Osages were one of many tribes who had been moved to the Indian Territory. Their new home happened to be situated on one of the great oil fields in the region. Oil had been discovered under Osage land in 1896. Although the surface lands on the reservation fell prey to allotment in 1906, the subsurface rights remained an “underground reservation.” Thus individuals, by virtue of membership in the tribe, were eligible to share in the sudden wealth. During the 1920s, despite impressive mismanagement and almost instantaneous corruption in the leasing of the fields, royalties on the sale of oil still came flooding into the Osages. Before the Great Depression and the plummeting of oil prices, they appeared to possess more wealth than one could possibly imagine. Other Americans were quick to learn of the “oil Indians,” who reportedly were squandering their new-found fortunes on fancy cars and endless parties.

That fleeting image soon was replaced by a more familiar and enduring one—of Indians being overrun by outsiders seeking to obtain their own wealth from Native lands. In a matter of a few years—years marked by the marriage of Indian and non-Indian partners for reasons other than love, by acts of violence, and by a score of “unsolved” murders—the Osages lost most of their money and most of their control over their lands. The Oklahoma court system proved willing to facilitate this transfer of wealth. Attorneys representing non-Indian interests found ready allies in judges who quickly stamped approval on devious schemes to defraud the Osages. William K. Hale and his nephew Ernest Burkhart were two of a multitude of migrants who schemed to obtain wealth in Osage country. They eventually plotted to murder members of the family into which Burkhart had married in order to gain their inheritance. Osages were killed by bullets, poison, and explosives, before the Federal Bureau of Investigation took charge of solving a mystery that local authorities seemed unwilling and unable to untangle. Even after the oil boom ended, the oil resources that had not been depleted continued to prove a mixed blessing for the Osages. The tribe still struggled with an internal factionalism fueled by the problems of inheritance.

Nor were the Osages alone in facing problems resultant from the sudden influx of oil money. The Muscogees also occupied lands with considerable petroleum deposits, the discovery of which made some tribal members extraordinarily wealthy, while leading to the dispossession of many more. Jackson Barnett (Muscogee), for example, became rich because of oil discovered on his land. Soon after his financial status became public knowledge, he was lured into the car of Anna Laura Lowe. Lowe, a former prostitute, proceeded to get Barnett drunk, drive him to Coffeyville, Kansas, marry him, and claim his wealth. Eventually Lowe's interest in Barnett's estate was bought off by Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles Burke, who took control of Barnett's assets. Burke siphoned off \$550,000 in Lowe's direction, landed \$137,500 for her attorney, and also siphoned off a fast \$550,000 to the Baptist Home Missionary Society, which was instructed to pay Barnett a yearly sum of \$20,000. This arrangement appeared less than ideal to the US congressional committee that investigated the matter in the late 1920s, to the legal guardian appointed for Barnett, and to the judge to whom the guardian had appealed. Oil had brought wealth to eastern Oklahoma, but relatively little long-term benefit accrued to Native peoples of the area, whose mineral holdings had brought them little other than misery.

The Pueblo Indians of Arizona and New Mexico had resided on their lands for centuries. Following the war with Mexico, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848 brought US claims of authority to the region. The granting of statehood to Arizona and New Mexico territories in 1912 intensified further pressure by non-Indians upon Native community lives and lands. Events of the 1910s and 1920s forced Pueblo Indians to realize that this new presence, the federal government of the United States, could have a major impact upon their religious traditions and their ability to control their territory.

Leading federal officials still were influenced by the sentiments of Christian missionaries and their supporters within the ranks of leading philanthropic organizations. Indian Rights Association president Herbert Welsh sounded the alarm in 1920 about the

“corrupting” influences of the Hopi Snake Dance. Welsh alleged that this ritual encouraged sexual permissiveness among its participants. Welsh’s colleague, Matthew K. Sniffen, editor of the association newsletter, *Indian Truth*, quickly followed up with assertions of the “immoral” tendencies encouraged by traditional dances at other pueblos. Protestant missionaries joined the chorus of complaint.

In Commissioner of Indian Affairs Burke, such critics had a steadfast ally. A former congressman from South Dakota, Burke had no sympathy for the persistence of Indian traditions. Blithely disregarding constitutional separations between church and state, he ordered all Indian students at federal boarding schools to attend Christian church services on Sundays. Then he issued Circular 1665, on April 26, 1921, threatening participants in all Indian religious ceremonies with fines or imprisonment. Just to make sure no one misunderstood his intentions, Burke presented an addition to Circular 1665 on February 14, 1923, in which he proclaimed that many dances should be banned or at least held less frequently. The commissioner targeted certain dances as being so degrading that only those Indians fifty years of age or older could be permitted to indulge in them. Forty-nine-year-olds evidently remained tender and vulnerable; Burke tried to send them and their younger counterparts to the sidelines. The commissioner’s effort sparked controversy, drawing support from ardent assimilationists and open criticism from many Native people and non-Indian newspapers.

In the midst of the Burke blockade, other developments vied for the attention of the Native peoples of New Mexico. As commissioner of Indian Affairs, Burke reported to the secretary of the interior. In the Harding administration, this person also happened to be a westerner. Albert Bacon Fall of New Mexico had a particular interest in Native lands in his state. An attorney, he had been an active participant in New Mexico territorial and state politics. In 1906 he purchased the Three Rivers Ranch, 106,000 acres of which adjoined the Mescalero Apache Reservation. Joining forces with other wealthy New Mexicans, Fall succeeded in building a small empire of private, state, and federal

lands totaling over 1 million acres. His influence and power encouraged his selection in 1912 by the state senate as one of the first two US senators to represent New Mexico. Mescalero water resources were critical to Fall's overall plans for developing his allied holdings. He maneuvered to obtain access to Mescalero water, but he had gained only temporary and partial use of the resource when he became secretary of the interior in 1921. By that time, Fall had suffered various financial difficulties that prompted him to take more desperate measures. When Ernest Stecker, a longtime BIA employee, objected to expanding Fall's diversion of reservation water, Fall transferred him to another reservation. Fall also had pushed for the establishment of a national park on Mescalero lands, the allotment of Mescalero, and the opening of tribal lands more completely to timber and mining interests. In 1919 Congress had approved opening executive order reservations—those reserves established by presidential initiative rather than by congressional action—to mining. Of seventy-three leases granted at Mescalero during Fall's tenure as secretary of the interior, ten were obtained by Fall's daughter-in-law, son-in-law, and his ranch manager. Fall's self-serving schemes were opposed by the Indian Rights Association and those federal employees who still advocated for Indian assimilation rather than blatant exploitation. Fall and other insincere stewards of Indian affairs made ill-conceived assimilation policies even more disastrous, serving non-Indian interests while causing embarrassing scandals for the federal government and further misery for Indian country.

Collier and the Pueblo Indians

Among those Natives and non-Indians who drew attention to these failures in Indian affairs were critics like newcomer John Collier, whose activities during the 1920s in New Mexico launched a remarkable and unlikely career. Collier is best known for his own ideas and actions as commissioner of Indian Affairs during the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt, but

his activities a decade before the New Deal had prompted his selection for the post. The son of a former mayor of Atlanta, Collier had left the South to work in New York City in the early twentieth century. Collier's interest in the fate of foreign immigrants to the city found an outlet in working for the People's Institute. The People's Institute attempted to aid immigrant workers in the city through a variety of programs, ranging from cultural presentations to efforts to improve living conditions. Collier was impressed by the vitality and determination of immigrants to New York, but he worried about what they lost in coming to a country that seemed so insistent on their abandonment of different traditions and customs. He also agonized over the impact of urban life on all residents of the city. It appeared to Collier, as it did to many observers of the era, that the city denied its residents a real and supportive sense of community and individual self-worth. Collier's ideals did not always mesh with his modest administrative abilities or the political realities of New York. After encountering a series of disappointments to his often ambitious plans, he left the city, uncertain about his future. He worked in 1920 for the California State Housing and Immigration Commission before being forced to resign his position before year's end. Collier had gained the improbable assignment of directing the commission's community-organization program, but it soon became evident that his notions of community did not mirror those of powerful nativist groups in the state such as the Sons of the Golden West.

Collier then impulsively accepted the invitation of Mabel Dodge to come visit her at Taos Pueblo, New Mexico, where she now resided. Collier had known Dodge in New York. She was one of many people who had been drawn in the late 1910s to the extraordinary country of northern New Mexico. Dodge had divorced her husband, initiated a relationship with a man from Taos Pueblo, Antonio Luhan, and married him in 1923. She loved her new surroundings and spared no effort in recruiting a bevy of others, from Collier to D. H. Lawrence, to travel to Taos Pueblo. Collier arrived there with his family less than six weeks after he had resigned his post in California. He remained in Taos Pueblo

for five months before going back to California. When Kate Vosburg of Azusa, California, contributed \$10,000 to sponsor his proposed study of reservation conditions, Collier returned to New Mexico in September 1922. Nearly half a century later, he died in the Taos Pueblo area which had become the center of his world.

In the life of Taos Pueblo itself, Collier discovered a group of people who had managed to combine the benefits of shared community values and beliefs with respect for the integrity of the individual. He concluded that Taos Pueblo had over the centuries evolved into something that was precious and should be maintained. Taos Pueblo also offered something valuable to the United States; it could teach Americans that preservation of Native custom and tradition did not necessarily yield negative consequences for the mainstream society. Collier realized that he had stumbled into a situation that posed tremendous danger to all Indian nations of New Mexico. He therefore initiated a zealous campaign designed to save Indian lands.

The specific matter that launched the Collier crusade involved a bill concocted by Fall and proposed to Congress by New Mexico senator Holm Olaf Bursum in July of 1922. Bursum's bill was prompted by disputes over non-Indian land and water claims to the Pueblo estate. In essence the bill legitimized most claims of non-Indians who had resided for some time on Pueblo lands. It threw Pueblo water rights and land jurisdiction into the state court system, where the Indians obviously would be at a considerable disadvantage. The Pueblo peoples protested this usurpation, but Bursum had not been elected to represent Indian concerns.

Collier visited Pueblo villages, discussed the current situation with individuals and various governing bodies, and added to his rapidly increasing storehouse of knowledge about Pueblo history and culture. When he obtained a final version of the Bursum bill, he was armed and ready to respond. Collier and Stella Atwood, chair of the Indian welfare committee for the General Federation of Women's Clubs, wrote articles sympathetic to the Pueblos' position for *Survey*, an eastern magazine. Collier also penned a series of essays for *Sunset* magazine of California. In "Plundering the Pueblos," published in the January 1923 issue of *Sunset*, Collier

demonstrated a flair for dramatic assertion, and at times romantic overstatement, as well as his conviction of the importance of Indians to America. “The Pueblos of Zuni, Santo Domingo and Taos live on today,” he proclaimed, “mysterious and colorful and vital from the ancient world.” Now they faced a great challenge. “Can the Pueblo Indian communities today survive even if they receive justice?” “The answer,” Collier suggested, “lies in history”:

They have already survived four centuries of contact with the white man’s world. Even those Pueblos whose condition is most piteous—Tesuque and San Ildefonso, starving, and riddled with preventable and curable disease—have not yet lost their own souls. Still through the veins of their members runs that fierce joy expressed in a dance and song which have lost none of their splendor. Still, and increasingly, they produce objects of beauty—vases and rings and graceful adobe dwellings. Still the members of the tribe are faithful to the tribe, and the old industry continues in the face of discouragements which would disintegrate most white communities They have as much to teach to the white man as they have to learn from him. They belong to the future as much as to the past. They are a national asset; and the Bursum bill, which is a blow at them, is a blow at an innocent, helpless and priceless part of America’s cultural life.

On November 5, 1922, the All Pueblo Council convened at Santo Domingo and signified its opposition to the bill and its willingness to dispatch representatives to Washington, DC, to plead their case. Two months later Fall resigned, driven from office by the Teapot Dome scandal. Collier and the Pueblo delegates traveled to Washington via Chicago and New York, galvanizing opposition to the Bursum bill along the way. They and Atwood appeared before a Senate committee, demonstrating the potential possessed by Indians and their allies to speak out effectively in a national arena.

Collier had forged personal and political connections across the country. His efforts clearly established the foundation for his own future, including an extended term as commissioner of Indian Affairs, as well as the possibility of a serious reexamination

of federal Indian policy. During the remainder of the 1920s, he continued to lobby and fight for the rights of Native peoples to maintain their cultures and retain their remaining land and natural resources. When Burke convinced Montana representative Scott Leavitt to introduce a bill in 1926 that, among other provisions, outlawed traditional Indian forms of marriage and divorce, Collier led a successful campaign to prevent its passage.

Rights, Opportunities, and Identity

Throughout the lower forty-eight states and the territory of Alaska, Native peoples worked in this era to realize rights and gain opportunities. For example, the Alaska Native Brotherhood (ANB) had been founded in Sitka in 1912; a related, although significantly less influential, organization, the Alaska Native Sisterhood, was founded three years later. The ANB had been started by thirteen people, twelve of whom were Tlingit. Its membership remained concentrated in southeast Alaska and mostly limited to the Tlingits and Haidas, but by 1920 it was beginning to mature into an organization that could more effectively become engaged in issues affecting all of Alaska's aboriginal peoples. In that year William Paul, a Tongass Tlingit, began to assume a leadership role in the ANB. Paul had attended Carlisle and gone on to gain a law degree, becoming the first Alaska Native attorney and, in 1924, the first Native elected to the territorial legislature. Through his successful defense of his great-uncle, a Tlingit leader who had been charged with a felony for voting in a local election, Paul established the right to vote for all Alaska Natives. In 1929 Paul and the ANB also filed legal claims to title to ancestral Tlingit lands, thus initiating the modern land claims movement in Alaska.

At the other end of North America, Native groups in the East, like the Nanticokes of Delaware and the Mashpees of Massachusetts, asserted their rights as separate communities. Because they were perceived as persons of color, if not always acknowledged as Indians, Nanticoke children generally attended

separate schools and Nanticoke Christians worshipped in separate churches. The beginning of the 1920s marked a reassertion of Nanticoke identity, with the election of William Russel Clark as chief and the incorporation of the Nanticoke Indian Association under Delaware law. Through their incorporation, charter, and bylaws, the Nanticoke obtained a form of state acknowledgment of their status as Indians and established a precedent followed by other Indian groups in the Carolinas, Rhode Island, and Virginia. The Nanticoke Indian Association soon began to sponsor an annual festival or powwow.

Until the twentieth century, by virtue of their location, the Mashpees had remained largely apart from non-Indian towns and from other Indian groups. The new century, however, brought with it a steady increase of non-Indians living or vacationing on Cape Cod. As the Mashpees started to confront the specter of this demographic transition, they realized a cultural revitalization through which their identity as Indians was reaffirmed. Members of the tribe sought out other nearby Indian groups in Gay Head and Herring Pond to form a new organization in 1928—the Wampanoag Nation. The organization soon held its first powwow at Mashpee, building upon the annual summer homecoming, an event more than two centuries old. The August event had something for everyone. The first day included a speech by Harvard University president A. Lawrence Lowell (a summer resident of the area), a peace pipe ceremony, and speeches emphasizing Wampanoag identity. Day two began with a commemoration of the death of the great seventeenth-century Wampanoag leader, Metacom (King Philip), and concluded with a 10-mile race and baseball games pitting the Mashpees against the Narragansetts and the married Mashpee women against the single Mashpee women. In addition to a beauty contest—won, perhaps predictably, by a Mashpee contestant—the final day included games, songs, and dances combining elements and features of Mashpee and other Indian groups' traditions. Although neither tribe, like other New England tribes, was federally recognized, these gatherings brought their people together during a challenging transitional era, and demonstrated both to themselves and to

outsiders the firm determination that these communities would not disappear.

A continuing Indian presence was recognized in the passage in 1924 of the Citizenship Act, which finally granted citizenship to all American Indians. By the time the law passed, roughly two out of every three Native Americans already had been accorded this status, including those who had taken allotments or who had served in World War I. Citizenship in and of itself surely did not change the economic difficulties plaguing Indian communities, and many Indians regarded the matter as irrelevant because of their perspectives on sovereignty. Yet because its absence had been so insulting and because it had been singled out as a specific goal to be achieved, gaining US citizenship mattered very much to many individuals. However, citizenship itself neither magically assimilated Indians nor guaranteed them full rights as Americans. Upon becoming citizens Indians did not automatically discard their separate languages or other cultural traditions, as the assimilationists had assumed they would. And, as many minority individuals can attest, citizenship by no means opened all the doors to Indians desiring to participate fully in American life. Voting offered a telling case in point. After 1924, though all Indians were citizens, they remained restricted in their ability to exercise the franchise other than in tribal elections. Such restrictions obviously reinforced tribal loyalties rather than reducing them. Western and midwestern states discouraged Indian voting in nontribal elections in ways not unlike the manner in which southern states denied the vote to black voters. Voters had to be “civilized,” said California, Minnesota, North Dakota, Oklahoma, and Wisconsin, leaving interpretation of the definition of who was and was not civilized up to voting officials at the local level. Voters had to be taxpayers, said Arizona, Idaho, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah, and Washington; since reservation lands were not subject to state property taxes, Indians, officials in these states contended, should not go to the polls. For good measure, Arizona, Nevada, and Utah specifically declared reservation residents ineligible for participation in the electoral process. If Indian participation in World War I had been needed

to prompt the final granting of universal citizenship, then Native contributions to World War II would have to be recognized before full voting rights could become a reality in all states. Returning Indian veterans in Arizona and New Mexico helped eliminate the final official restrictions in 1948 in these states. In Maine a comparable victory was achieved in 1954.

The attempt to establish equal rights for Natives accompanied the ongoing need to develop and diversify Indian economies. Cattle ranching remained a viable option for many Native communities in the West, even though the leasing of reservation lands worked against the evolution of what could be termed a successful Indian cattle industry. A determined individual agent, however, could make a difference. On the San Carlos Reservation in Arizona, for example, the arrival of James B. Kitch in 1923 opened the door to rapid expansion of Apache cattle ranching. Kitch learned that half of the families at San Carlos already had become involved in this pursuit, but they only owned 2,500 head of cattle and leasing had limited further expansion. As a result of Kitch's persistent efforts through the remainder of the 1920s and much of the 1930s, non-Indian ranchers were denied extension of their leases or, in some instances, had their permits revoked, and Apache cattle ranchers were thus able to expand their herds and were encouraged to improve the quality of them as well. This transition was not accomplished without a fight, for by the mid-1920s the ranching industry in general had confronted falling prices for beef and rising costs of doing business; lessees complained bitterly about both the curtailment of their access to reservation lands and growing competition from their Indian neighbors.

Tourism and the Arts

The growth of tourism in Indian country also offered possibilities for economic development. Native Americans were no more enthusiastic about the newcomers who ventured into their midst than were non-Indian residents, but they began to appreciate the

opportunities for financial gain that the travelers represented. As national and regional transportation systems continued to improve and expand, many urban and suburban Americans started to explore previously isolated terrain. The mass production and new affordability of the automobile combined with the development of paved highways to prompt a new wave of intra-American tourism. In North Carolina, the sale of Eastern Cherokee crafts increased significantly, so that by the end of the 1920s the community realized at least \$5,000 a year from the sale of baskets to tourists. In addition, the major transcontinental railroads vigorously promoted travel via their routes to destinations in or near Indian country.

Through this era Indian communities did not benefit as directly from the tourist trade as they would later in the century. However, many recognized the potential for financial gain, especially from the sale of various forms of Native art: pottery, baskets, weavings, jewelry, paintings, and so forth. Often the very existence of the tourist trade inspired the transformation of pots and baskets used in everyday life into products designed specifically for commercial sale. In California, for example, small tribes such as the Chemehuevis and Pomos became noted for their exceptionally fine baskets. Individual artists, such as the great Washoe basket weaver Daotsali gained a reputation not only in the immediate vicinity of their homes, but regionally and eventually nationally. Even at the beginning of the 1900s there existed two quite different but lucrative markets for the inexpensive souvenir and the painstaking product that reflected the highest level of talent. Marketing proved crucial to the distribution of Native art, as owners of trading posts and other stores sought to cultivate not only the business of the passing tourist but also that of the discriminating purchaser who might never venture far from home. Entrepreneurs like Juan Lorenzo Hubbell, whose trading empire extended from his headquarters at Ganado, Arizona, succeeded in developing good markets in both inexpensive and fine Navajo weavings. Customers could order Navajo rugs based upon the illustrations they reviewed in catalogs or could visit and inspect the products firsthand.

In either instance, people such as Hubbell played a vital role in the process, not only in brokering the exchange but even in encouraging the use of new designs or colors.

Tourism within Indian country often was linked with travel to the national parks or monuments, which bordered reservations and, indeed, had often been carved from Native lands. The great hotels of such national parks as Glacier, Grand Canyon, and Yosemite featured the work of Indian artists, usually from the immediate area, but occasionally from farther afield. The Great Northern Railway used the Blackfeet as a romantic symbol to draw tourists to Glacier, praising in its promotional literature the “tribesmen who live in the very shadows of the ‘Shining Mountains’ and whose traditions have so enriched the area.” Starting in 1928 and continuing for thirty years the railway employed on its calendars portraits of the Blackfeet by artist Winold Reiss. Nowhere was this linkage more striking nor more successful than the partnership between and among the Santa Fe Railway, the Harvey Houses (a chain of hotels, noted for their good restaurants), the BIA, and the national parks and monuments of Arizona and New Mexico. The Santa Fe used Pueblo motifs and images of such pueblos as Taos in its advertisements, trying to lure the easterner or midwesterner to visit the “Land of Pueblos.” A typical advertisement spoke of the traveler being able to witness “age-old ceremonial dances, or fascinating rituals,” as well as “watch the Indians making pottery and silver-and-turquoise jewelry.” The patented “Indian detours” run by the Fred Harvey Company allowed tourists to stay in good hotels, enjoy fine meals, and journey to Pueblo villages or other Indian communities. The company organized these side trips to encourage visitors to venture into country they otherwise might have bypassed.

Infusion of tourist dollars into the Pueblo villages inevitably prompted a fundamental transition in their economies, from subsistence to cash. Pueblo farming could not maintain an adequate financial base for the people. Throughout the United States small farms had declined in their viability. In New Mexico Anglo and Hispanic land claims and occupations restricted the acreage that villagers could use. Arts and crafts thus offered a badly needed

stimulus. The experience of San Ildefonso Pueblo constitutes a dramatic illustration.

Prior to 1900 little about San Ildefonso pottery distinguished it from the ware produced by other villages. The ready availability of tin and enameled containers discouraged most villagers from making pots out of clay. After the arrival of the Santa Fe Railway in the late nineteenth century, the early tourist trade actually undermined the quality and the size of San Ildefonso pottery; most travelers preferred small, cheap pots, which made good souvenirs. Then in 1907 the School of American Research of Santa Fe, supervised by Edgar L. Hewitt, an archaeologist of Tuscarora descent, began to conduct work near San Ildefonso. In the course of the excavations, Hewitt and his co-workers, including San Ildefonso laborers such as Julian Martinez, uncovered pieces of pots dating back hundreds of years. Hewitt was struck by the artistry of the designs on these pots, as was Martinez's wife, Maria. Hewitt asked Maria Martinez if she could recreate the polychrome pottery. As it turned out, she could. So commenced a veritable revolution in the world of Pueblo art.

Maria and Julian Martinez worked together. She became a master in creating the pot itself—reaching new heights in regard to shape, firing, and finish; he decorated the pot, using his artistic ability to adapt pre-contact and nineteenth-century designs. He was also inspired by the pioneering work of Nampeyo, the great Hopi-Tewa potter. In 1919 Maria and Julian Martinez began to redefine the look of San Ildefonso pottery by producing the black-on-black ware that would gain international renown. They did not keep their methods to themselves, but shared them with other potters in the village. By 1925 the appearance of San Ildefonso pottery was established. The Santa Fe Indian Market, set up in 1922, provided a showcase for the work of artists from San Ildefonso and elsewhere; construction of a bridge over the Rio Grande in 1924 allowed potential buyers to have access to the potters in the village itself. Maria Martinez at first was astonished at the prices her work began to command. When collector Henry Dendahl asked her how much she wanted for a large, particularly beautiful pot—now in a Santa Fe museum—she told him, “Oh,



Figure 2.1 Julian and Maria Martinez at work in San Ildefonso, New Mexico, in 1934. Source: Courtesy of PA Images.

you can give me whatever you want.” When he gave her \$40 and three shawls, she recalled, she nearly fell down. Maria Martinez was earning over \$5,000 a year from her work by the 1930s, making her wealthy indeed by the income standards of the era. Her success, both artistically and financially, helped inspire many other aspiring Native artists.

Indian artists in the first three decades of the twentieth century did more than find ways to make a living; they positively influenced non-Indian perceptions of Native peoples and cultures. Since the early years of the twentieth century, non-Indians had increasingly acknowledged valuable contributions that Native peoples had made, and were still making, to the richness of American culture. As historian Tom Holm has argued, “Indian

art was tangible evidence that Native Americans were creative, peaceful, spiritual, aesthetic, and thus worthy of admiration.” Such admiration did not translate into broad acceptance of Native peoples’ sovereign rights during these decades, but helped encourage a growing number of non-Indians to question policies aimed at total Native cultural destruction.

Work, Community, and Government

Despite some positive advances, the overall economic picture on many reservations remained discouraging. The old customs had great staying power on reservation communities, but the new economic forces unleashed through the allotment era threatened to fragment what once had been a cohesive world. Large, multigenerational households helped maintain languages, for example, and served as a kind of buffer against imposed, sudden change. Nonetheless, at Crow and elsewhere, as Frederick Hoxie has observed, there were “crossing trajectories of cultural growth and economic decline.” Reduction of reservation acreage through cession, allotment, and eventual sale, combined with leasing, eroded Indian efforts to become economically more self-sufficient. Frustrated by limited opportunities, more than a few Native individuals departed the reservations for extended periods of time. In some instances, they never returned.

Thousands of Indians migrated to urban areas in search of employment. The main thrust of urban migration did not occur until after World War II, but Native Americans moved into towns bordering reservations and into cities throughout the twentieth century. SAI leaders such as Gertrude Simmons Bonnin, Carlos Montezuma, and Arthur C. Parker chose life in the city. So, too, by the 1920s had a host of other less prominent individuals.

These urban migrants did not necessarily seek anonymity or assimilation in their new surroundings. Many Native people joined urban organizations that promoted a sense of continuing Indian identity, emphasizing a new commonality as Indians rather than specific tribal identities. In Minneapolis, Indians

joined a club associated with the American Indian Association and Tepee Order, a fraternal society. There were, however, some Indians moving to cities that believed Indians should assimilate and could succeed economically as individuals. They chafed at federal restrictions over reservation lands. The Twin Cities Chippewa Council in Minneapolis represented such interests by lobbying, though unsuccessfully, for the redistribution of tribal assets to individual tribal members.

Many Native Americans who chose to leave their home communities were drawn by specific job opportunities, such as seasonal employment as agricultural laborers. Historian Kurt M. Peters (Blackfeet) learned that in 1901 his grandfather, then fifteen years old, left home to go to work for the railroad. He continued in his railroad section maintenance job for the next half-century. Many Indians who lived near the lines of the great western railroads were recruited to work for them. SAI member Charles Daganett served for a number of years as the Indian Office's national employment supervisor. He helped negotiate contracts with individual Indians to do the hard work on the railroad that many other Americans did not find desirable. In Pueblo communities such as Acoma and Laguna, working for the Santa Fe Railway evolved into an ongoing means to keep families together and to earn needed income. Men and women who assumed such jobs sometimes formed "colonies" of Native people in the off-reservation main railroad towns, from Winslow, Arizona, to Richmond, California.

Mohawks from Caughnawaga in Quebec and Akwesasne in New York began their migrations off their reservations and into North American cities during the 1920s, beckoned by available construction work on bridges and buildings. The use of steel in construction made possible the skyscrapers of New York City and other major cities; the Mohawks earned a reputation for their proficiency in working fearlessly upon "high steel." A new tradition had become established. Everywhere you looked in New York City you saw structures that the Mohawks had helped to build, from the George Washington Bridge to the Empire State Building. As more Mohawks began to settle their families in a

Brooklyn neighborhood, the local grocery stores soon featured a new item on their shelves—Quaker white enriched and degerminated corn meal—preferred for the making of a traditional Mohawk bread. The new downtown of Caughnawaga, the people said, now could be found in Brooklyn.

Although growing numbers of Indians pursued urban opportunities during the 1920s, the majority still tried to make a living in rural areas close to their homelands. They adapted as best they could to changing economic circumstances while maintaining their communities and cultures. In Nevada, Northern Paiutes and Western Shoshones engaged in wage work in order to bring in needed cash, but also as a means to keep family and relatives together. Although they had considerable interest in developing their own farms and ranches, Paiutes and Shoshones were hamstrung by federal policies that pushed for development of regional lands at the expense of the needs of the indigenous occupants. The Reclamation Act in 1902 funded irrigation projects that clearly benefited new and recent non-Indian migrants to western Nevada more than it did Indian community members, who often worked for the farms and ranches belonging to these latecomers. However, Northern Paiutes in the Fallon area attempted with some success to combine wage labor with traditional subsistence activities. The money they earned from part-time jobs enabled them to purchase needed material items, actually giving them back more time for hunting and gathering, activities that yielded valuable foods and, equally significant, helped develop important aspects of Native culture, such as associations with kin and lessons learned from older relatives.

More remote areas like Barrow, Alaska, removed from earlier gold rushes, reflected greater continuity with past economies and societies, but even in northern Alaska commercial activities had an impact. Commercial whalers reduced the whale population and introduced new forms of technology to whaling and hunting. Some of these non-Indian whalers married Iñupiat (Eskimo) women. Sadie Brower Neakok, an Iñupiat, was the “mixed-blood” daughter of Charles Brower and Asianguataq. She grew up in a world where, even with attendance at school

and church in the village, one could enjoy *maktak* (dried seal meat) in summer and hear stories in the winter, the appropriate time to relate such accounts. An old man, Suakpak, enthralled youngsters with tales about animals and “boogie men stories” designed to scare and enlighten.

On the reservations, which were still home to the majority of American Indians during the 1920s, tribal governments evolved to deal with new economic and social needs. As the example of Cheyenne River demonstrates, the existence of a tribal council could make a major difference in addressing central issues facing the people. The process of election to the council mattered considerably in terms of the kind of power that council members might wield. On the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming, home to the Northern Arapahos and Eastern Shoshones, each tribe separately selected its representatives. Wind River had three governing entities—separate councils for each tribe as well as a joint business council. On such reservations, the joint councils naturally labored against divisions between the two Indian groups; however, common concerns such as leases, payments, and looking after the resources of the reservation, could bind a joint council together.

On some reservations in the 1920s or with newly established councils in the 1930s, religious societies or other preexisting ceremonial organizations influenced the authority that the new councils attempted to assume. At Wind River, a Drum Ceremony provided the forum for the selection of council representatives. On this occasion, important in its own right for its symbolic linking of the people with the Creator, elders or a councilman acting under the authority of the elders would choose the new members. These people, of course, had to have a high regard for traditional religious practices and the ongoing traditions of the people, including the role of elders.

Men such as Henry Lee Tyler and Robert Friday served on the Arapaho Council throughout the 1920s. Tyler had gained his initial education at Fort Washakie on the reservation and then left for three years to attend Genoa Indian School in Nebraska. Friday had attended both Carlisle and Haskell. Their command of English

as well as Arapahoe was perceived as an asset. Tyler and Friday also remained adherents to traditional religious ceremonies. The leadership of these talented men allowed a returned student to put to use new linguistic skills and an awareness of the outside world to try to reach goals that remained consistent with a more conservative social order.

Wind River was hardly unique in this regard. Some returned students had become converts to Christianity and their attempted assumption of authority would be greeted differently, but in many Native communities, individuals comparable to Tyler and Friday played the role of cultural broker. This transition could not occur overnight and obviously was subject to a host of local variables. Among the Southern Arapahos in Oklahoma, Jesse Rowledge followed a path not unlike that of Tyler and Friday. He grew up in a traditional family, but left to attend Haskell in 1904, after completing the first six grades in the local boarding school. By the 1920s, recently married and having gained experience as a BIA employee and a farmer, he was ready to engage in tribal politics. Rowledge participated in both the Sun Dance and peyote ceremonies and belonged to a Christian church, but his multiple religious affiliations only widened his circle of allies and friends. During the decade, Rowledge was one of a number of well-educated Arapaho men who went to Washington to try to assert the needs of his tribe. The transition toward a greater role for such individuals and for a more authoritative role for the general council did not occur without some division; the old chiefs and people loyal to them were not always pleased with the emergence of this new form of political power. Such divisions sometimes fostered factionalism within the council and worked against its overall influence.

Moving Toward Reform

Even the restructured councils had little effect on one of the major problems facing reservations: inadequate health care. In fact, the desire to improve health conditions in large measure helped

inspire the cry for reform of prevailing federal policies. Tuberculosis and trachoma, an infectious eye disease, had persisted on reservations from the turn of the century. A penny-pinching Congress acknowledged the problem, but failed to approve sufficient funding to effectively halt incidence of the diseases. Albert Fall's successor as secretary of the interior in 1923, Hubert Work, had served as president of the American Medical Association. Distressed at what he had learned about contemporary conditions in Native communities, he pushed Congress to increase its appropriation. Congress responded to Work's plea, nearly doubling the amount from \$370,000 in 1923 to \$700,000 in 1926. However, the increase in funding did not result in immediate improvement in health care. A much publicized but experimental approach in treating trachoma proved largely futile, and government officials refused to change prevailing approaches to other diseases.

Work attempted to respond in other ways to the growing clamor for reform. Soon after he assumed his position, he appointed a Committee of One Hundred to review the contemporary status of American Indians. The group ranged in its eclectic membership from William Jennings Bryan to John Collier, and from John Pershing to Alfred Kroeber. The IRA was well represented. Indians participated in the committee. Arthur C. Parker was named as its chair and, among others, Henry Roe Cloud, Sherman Coolidge, Charles Eastman, Philip Gordon, and Thomas Sloan contributed to its efforts. In its quick survey and response to Work and the new president, Calvin Coolidge, the committee pointed out the need for more Indians to attend colleges and universities, for better health care programs on the reservations, and for other such improvements, but could concur on no specific recommendations. Clearly a more comprehensive survey was required.

For this assignment Work turned to the Brookings Institution. Accustomed to studying entities ranging from the Patent Office to the Alaskan Engineering Commission, the Institute was an obvious choice for a detailed examination of a bureaucracy. Institute staff member Lewis Meriam directed the study and the ensuing report, formally entitled *The Problem of Indian Administration*, but

soon known simply as the Meriam Report. Meriam and his nine principal associates, including Henry Roe Cloud, devoted seven months to field work before organizing and compiling their findings, which they presented to Work on February 21, 1928. The report considered eight subjects: policy; health; education; economic conditions; family and community life and the activities of women; migration; legal aspects; and missionary activities. With an index, it totaled 872 pages.

Meriam's report represented a ringing indictment of federal Indian policy. "An overwhelming majority of the Indians are poor, even extremely poor," it began. Indian health compared badly to that of the rest of the US population. Living conditions included a poor diet, inadequate housing, and limited sanitary facilities. Indian families generally had low incomes. The allotment policy had failed. An adequate public health system had not been developed. Boarding schools were characterized by dietary deficiencies, overcrowded dormitories, student labor, inadequate medical care, and an inappropriate curriculum. Leasing of Indian lands must be curtailed. Taken in sum, *The Problem of Indian Administration* hardly could have been more damning in its assessment of how the federal government had failed to carry out its trust responsibilities. Its lack of bombast and its dimensions helped insure its reputation as a serious, thorough study. At the same time, its very title spoke to its emphasis and its inherent limits. The report analyzed the failures of the BIA to achieve its goals, but it did not question fully the ultimate nature of those objectives. In the end the Meriam Report appeared far more critical of bureaucratic inefficiency and incompetence than of the assumption that Indians should be fully assimilated into American life.

The subsequent administration of President Herbert Hoover in certain respects presaged the forthcoming "Indian New Deal." For example, the new director of Indian education, W. Carson Ryan, had been on Meriam's staff and appreciated the need for change. Ryan, who would continue in his post during the first years of Collier's term as commissioner, wished to reduce the number of boarding schools and the percentage of Indian



Figure 2.2 Four girls' basketball teams from Bismarck, Rapid City, Pine Ridge, and Pierre Indian schools in the Dakotas competed enthusiastically at a 1929 inter-Indian school tournament. School officials in the region promoted the event in an effort to better coordinate their otherwise isolated and underfunded athletic programs. Source: Photograph No. 75PI364; Photographs, 1903–1933; Rapid City Indian School; Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs; Record Group 75; National Archives and Records Administration – Central Plains Region (Kansas City).

students who attended these institutions. He also sought to establish community schools that reflected the needs and concerns of the particular locales in which they were situated. These were laudable objectives, but Ryan found it difficult to move quickly to achieve them in full measure. Thus, by the beginning of the 1930s, the reformers had little patience with his seeming lack of progress. Ryan did succeed in closing a few boarding schools and in converting a few others to day schools, but the growth in the number of Indians attending school meant that by 1933 there were more Native children in boarding schools than there

had been in 1928. To make things more difficult, congressional representatives resisted school closures in their districts. When Ryan proposed closing two of the oldest and best-known boarding schools, Haskell and Chemawa, he met considerable resistance as well from Indian communities whose children had attended these institutions; Haskell and Chemawa remained open. In other matters, Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles J. Rhoads and Secretary of the Interior Ray Lyman Wilbur mirrored the president in their reluctance to embrace anything other than cautious, incremental progress. As this period drew to a close, Native Americans could only hope that better days lay ahead.

3

Initiatives and Impositions, 1933–1940

Alice Lee Jemison could not believe it. John Collier was going to be the next commissioner of Indian Affairs. The young Seneca woman declared in no uncertain terms that this was a very bad idea. Writing for the *Buffalo Evening News* early in 1933, she wrapped up her anger and frustration in one gloriously long, indignant sentence: “We are weary unto death,” she groaned, “of the propaganda for a continuance of the bureau to further ‘protect’ the Indian which is spread by the so-called Indian Defense Association and other societies which are sponsored by wealthy people in the name of charity, many of whom have never seen an Indian, would not know one unless he had on full tribal regalia, have absolutely no knowledge of reservations or actual conditions thereon, but who think they know exactly what is best for the Indians.”

Born in 1901 in Silver Creek, New York, adjacent to the Cattaraugus Seneca Reservation in New York, Jemison was the daughter of a Seneca mother and Cherokee father, who had both attended Hampton. She was proud of her Seneca heritage

“We Are Still Here”: *American Indians since 1890*, Second Edition.

Peter Iverson and Wade Davies.

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and confident of her own ability and the ability of other Indians to make their own way in the world without federal assistance or intervention. Jemison expressed her anger at a government that did not respect Iroquois sovereignty and did nothing about the contamination of Cattaraugus Creek or tuberculosis at Cattaraugus. Married at the age of eighteen, separated at twenty-seven, she abandoned hopes of becoming an attorney in order to work to support her two children and her mother. Through the years she gained employment as a beautician, a Bureau of the Census employee, a clerk, a confectionery store manager, a dressmaker, a factory worker, a farmer, a freelance journalist, a housekeeper, a paralegal researcher, a peddler, a political lobbyist, a practical nurse, a secretary, and a theater usher. She knew what it was like to be poor, to be out of work, and to do a job she would prefer not to do. Influenced by the writings of Carlos Montezuma, she had promoted the candidacy of Joseph Latimer, Montezuma's attorney, for commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). If Latimer got the position, she believed, he would do what Montezuma had always recommended: abolish the BIA. If John Collier thought Indians all over America were going to welcome him with open arms as the next commissioner, Alice Lee Jemison would soon let him know otherwise.

Collier's Perspective

Amid the economic and social turmoil of the Great Depression, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's "New Deal" initiated major governmental and economic reforms nationwide. The new administration signaled its intent to extend reform to Indian country in 1933, appointing the BIA's leading critic, John Collier, as that agency's new commissioner. Changing how the BIA did business represented a major challenge. Many federal employees remained wedded to assimilation, and they were not about to change their minds. Non-Indians with vested interests in

Indian country—primarily those who had access to Indian land or wished to convert Indians to Christianity—worried about any significant change to the situation they had enjoyed for so long. More than a few Indians assumed that nothing good could come out of Washington; if the commissioner of Indian Affairs proposed something, nothing positive lay behind it. In addition, the long era of Americanization had affected the perspectives of many Indians. Native Americans who had moved away from more traditional beliefs or surroundings saw Collier as a person attempting to move the clock back rather than forward.

Collier did not make any strong distinction between the different problems faced by different Indian peoples. In 1934 he told members of the Iroquois nations—the Cayugas, Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Senecas, and Tuscaroras—that federal policy toward it “should become exactly what the policy is toward the Blackfeet, the Sioux, the Papagos, the Pueblos, or the Navajos.” Alice Lee Jemison and other Iroquois, however, did not see themselves as members of just another Native confederation. Their pride in their unique history and heritage encouraged a resentment toward Collier, given his apparent willingness to lump them together with other peoples, with whom, correctly or incorrectly, the Iroquois felt they had little in common. Collier failed to realize the degree to which different Indian peoples had not only different histories but also different perspectives and different needs.

But the new commissioner did appreciate the resilience of Indian cultures and the potential that Native communities had to retain or revive their languages, beliefs, and values. Collier thus differed from his predecessors in his judgment of the place of Native Americans in national life. He was a cultural pluralist before the term “cultural pluralism” became a part of the American vocabulary. However, he also often believed the ends justified the means, and he proved willing to impose his ideas in much the same way as assimilationists had in previous generations. Nor did his commitment to cultural pluralism mean

that he was free from cultural bias. Collier took for granted that he knew what government models were best for Native peoples and that some forms of “progress” were desirable and inevitable. Because of the length of his tenure, his activist nature, the power he wielded, and the complicated and enduring legacy of the era, Collier demands extended attention in any analysis of the 1930s. After his departure from office in 1945, no commissioner, or non-Indian for that matter, would ever play such a dominant role in Indian affairs.

After Collier became commissioner he moved promptly to try to put some of his ideas into practice. Aided by his associates, including Assistant Commissioner William Zimmerman, solicitor Nathan Margold, and Margold’s assistant Felix Cohen, Collier wanted Indian tribes “to develop their own life in their own patterns, not as segregated minorities but as noble elements in our common life.” In *Indians of the Americas* (1947), Collier later spoke of Indians as “perduring” and emphasized how Indian communities over time had demonstrated their ability to flourish when they had received the right kind of “social rain.” The new commissioner intended to provide that necessary nourishment. Even given the damage of the past half-century, tribes could experience new prosperity if certain objectives could be realized. Indian land bases had to be consolidated and expanded. Indians must enjoy all the freedoms that other Americans possessed, including religious freedom. They must also be able to govern themselves more fully, develop their economies, and be able to articulate their own sense of who they were and who they could become. All dimensions of Indian cultures, including language, art, and belief, should be fully supported.

Analysis of Collier as commissioner has largely focused on the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, the central piece of legislation to be passed during his administration. It also emerged as a considerably modified version of Collier’s ideals, for it did not encompass all of what Collier tried to achieve or what this period represented.



Figure 3.1 John Collier (seated and wearing glasses) and other government officials meet with Seminoles in southern Florida on January 5, 1940. Collier listens sympathetically as Seminoles object to a Department of Agriculture campaign to slaughter their wild deer population to protect Florida cattle herds from tick infestation. Source: Courtesy of PA Images.

Cultural Considerations

In 1934 the BIA issued the following order: “No interference with Indian religious life will be hereafter tolerated. The cultural history of Indians is in all respects to be considered equal to that of any non-Indian group. And it is desirable that Indians be bilingual—fluent and literate in English, and fluent in their vital, beautiful, and efficient native languages.” This statement offered a striking contrast with the federal philosophy of the past half-century.

As a result of Collier’s order, specific steps were taken to bolster Indian religious freedom. Now the Native American

Church could hold its ceremonies as it wished. When Senator Dennis Chavez of New Mexico introduced legislation in 1937 to prohibit the interstate transportation of peyote, Collier organized sufficient opposition to kill the bill. The commissioner and his aides for education, Carson Ryan and then Willard Beatty, worked to reduce the percentage of Indian students attending boarding schools, where students often had been compelled to attend Christian church services. They also prohibited federal employees from forcing Indian children to go to such services. Indian communities were free to conduct traditional ceremonies without harassment by the BIA; this freedom encouraged the revival of the Sun Dance and other ceremonies that had been outlawed in the past. Freedom of worship did have its ironic consequences, because not only had the doors been opened to the Sun Dance, but also to the pentecostal and evangelical churches and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, who largely had been shut out of the division of Indian country for missionary work more than half a century before. These groups quickly became much more active in their missionary efforts and enjoyed some immediate success. Their presence, in turn, contributed to an overall increase in competing missionary activity on various reservations.

The BIA encouraged the development of new written versions of various Indian languages. John Harrington, Robert Young, and others labored to create orthographies that could be used in bilingual curricular materials. By 1940 linguists such as Edward Kennard and Young had begun to work with Native linguists like William Morgan (Navajo) to develop bilingual materials for the schools. Series such as “The Little Herder” and the “Singing Sioux Cowboy” by Ann Nolan Clark were published in bilingual editions and illustrated by Native artists. Now Navajo, Sioux, and Pueblo Indian pupils could read about children from their own communities. In *Little Herder in Spring* (1940), the English and Navajo (Diné) text read:

THE HOGAN

My mother's hogan is dry
against the gray mists
of morning.
My mother's hogan is warm
against the gray cold
of morning.
I sit in the middle
of its rounded walls,
walls that my father built
of juniper and good earth.
Walls that my father blessed
with song and corn pollen.
Here in the middle
of my mother's hogan
I sit
because I am happy.

HOOGHAN

Shimá bighan góne' hóółtsaih
'ahbínigo
'áhí bee halbáa ndi.
Shimá bighan góne' honeezdo
'ahbínigo
hak'az bee halbáa ndi.
Hooghan shináz'áago
hoogahn góne' sédáh
shizhé'é gad dóó teezh
hoogahn yee 'áyilaayígíí.
Shizhé'é hooghan tádííín yee
da'azhdlishígíí.
T'áá kwe'é
shimá bighan góné'
sédáh,
shih hózhqgo biniinaa.

Many Indian languages remained without a modern orthography by the conclusion of Collier's term, but a start had been made and a principle underscored. Through issues of the bimonthly bulletin *Indian Education* that were published during Beatty's term as director of education, BIA teachers also were encouraged to be supportive of cultural pluralism. Anthropologist Ruth Underhill and others wrote articles clarifying the value of traditional Native customs or comparing the evolution of Indian practices or rituals with celebrations such as Easter, which Underhill labeled "our heathen festival."

Native artistic expression gained strong support. Through the provisions of the Works Progress Administration, Indian artists painted murals in public buildings and in new tribal buildings like the Navajo Tribal Council chambers in Window Rock, Arizona. Forty-five Indian painters and other artists from New Mexico painted murals and made pottery, rugs, and other works of art for Indian community centers, hospitals, and schools. Monroe

Tsatoke (Kiowa) participated in the painting of murals for the Oklahoma Historical Society building in Oklahoma City, and other Indian artists in the state worked on a variety of structures. In New York Arthur C. Parker directed a very successful Seneca Arts Project, largely underwritten by Works Progress Administration funds. It featured the work of important artists such as Jessie J. Cornplanter, the best Iroquois mask carver of the day, and painter Ernest Smith.

A new Indian Arts and Crafts Board under the direction of René d'Harnoncourt offered support. D'Harnoncourt was a forceful and energetic administrator. He encouraged more vigorous efforts to publicize and sell Native work. He also contended that Indian artistic expression should be allowed to evolve, rather than remaining frozen in place in regard to form and style. The Golden Gate International Exposition of San Francisco in 1939 and a special exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art in New York in 1941 exhibited and advertised the best contemporary Native work. The New York exhibition underlined that Indian artists of the day were as gifted as those of previous generations. The board also helped different tribes start their own arts and crafts enterprises.

Other developments fostered Native art. In 1930 the Hall of Indian Arts was inaugurated at the Museum of New Mexico in Santa Fe. The hall exhibited the work of outstanding contemporary Indian artists. In 1931 the Exposition of Indian Tribal Arts took place at the Grand Central Galleries in New York, and the work of San Ildefonso painter Oqwa Pi toured nationally, visiting a number of museums, including the Museum of Modern Art in New York and Joslyn Museum in Omaha. The exposition featured work from fifty different private, university, and museum collections and displayed the talent of southwestern painters such as Fred Kabotie (Hopi), Awa Tsireh (San Ildefonso), and six Kiowa artists—Tsatoke, Mopope, Jack Hokeah, Asah, Bou-ge-tah Smokey, and Auchiah.

In 1932 Santa Fe Indian School hired Dorothy Dunn as an art instructor. The school immediately emerged as a major center for the training and development of Native artists. Noted New Mexico painter Olive Rush helped coordinate the first multitribal

murals painted on the walls of the dining room. Prominent Indian artists, including Julian Martinez and Jack Hokeah, joined with eight student artists on this impressive endeavor. Later in the year the painting studio at the school began, with forty students ranging in age from fifteen to twenty-two. Primarily from the Southwest but also including Natives from the Plains and elsewhere, the student body included in its ranks artists such as Pablita Velarde (Santa Clara) and Andrew Tsihnahjinnie (Navajo). By the third year the studio had attracted more than four times its initial enrollment, as Sioux, Omaha, Kiowa, Klamath, Cherokee, Salish, Cheyenne, and Arapaho students joined the others. From this extremely talented contingent, Allan Houser (Chiricahua Apache) and Oscar Howe (Yanktonai Dakota) became two of the most highly regarded Native artists of the twentieth century.

Dorothy Dunn at the Santa Fe school and Oscar Jacobson in Oklahoma were significant mentors of these painters. The studio school painting style later drew increasing criticism; some complained that students had been limited in their freedom of artistic expression. The whole question of patronage and non-Indian influences upon Native art, to be sure, continued through the remainder of the century. The two-dimensional representation style of the studios of the 1930s was idealized and may well have imposed upon or funneled Indian expression. Students from the Santa Fe program varied in their reflections upon their experience. Houser, for example, later contended that Dunn “trained us all the same way. ... Her style lacked originality and creativity.” Yet others claimed they “had lots of freedom.” Perhaps the studio’s greatest limitation may have derived from its very success, for later in the century some Indian painters fought against the creation of what became defined as “traditional” or “true” Indian art. These artists felt that such a narrow definition had solidified into a kind of rigidity that did not allow new forms of painting always to be fully appreciated as equally legitimate. On the other hand, as Hulleah J. Tsihnahjinnie (Seminole-Muscogee-Navajo) has said, the “rather peculiar times” of the 1960s and 1970s may have encouraged an overreaction. It was certainly unfair and insensitive—Hulleah Tsihnahjinnie called it “internalized

racism”—to label fine artists such as her father, Andrew Tsin-hahjinnie (whose name was spelled differently), and Harrison Begay, Pablita Velarde, and other “traditional painters” as individuals who worked in a “Bambi style.” Today there is renewed appreciation for the quality of the work of the artists of the 1930s and the kind of foundation they established for future generations.

In a related sense, the 1930s saw two major Native writers explore themes of Indian identity and cultural continuity and change and create a legacy for Indian writers of the future. As A. LaVonne Brown Ruoff and other students of modern Indian literature have observed, John Joseph Mathews (Osage) and D’Arcy McNickle (Salish-Kootenai) wrote impressive and influential novels that helped establish a common theme of twentieth-century Indian writers of fiction: “the quests of mixed-blood protagonists to find their places in society and ... the importance of oral tradition to the survival of tribalism.”

Born in Indian Territory in 1894, Mathews journeyed to Norman to attend the University of Oklahoma. After serving in World War I in Europe as a military pilot, he resumed his studies in geology and graduated Phi Beta Kappa. Mathews declined a Rhodes scholarship and yet attended Oxford, graduating in 1923 with a degree in natural sciences from Merton College. Although he had enjoyed great success as a student, he understood the kind of alienation and despair Native Americans could experience in a university setting. In *Sundown*, published in 1934, Mathews presented the memorable character of Challenge Windzer, a mixed-blood who experiences all the potential and problems inherent in Osage life of this era. Mathews’s first book, *Wah’kon-Tah: The Osage and the White Man’s Road* (1930) became a Book-of-the-Month Club selection and sold 50,000 copies in the first year after its release. In 1938 Mathews helped his people establish the first tribal museum in the country. He enjoyed a long, happy, and distinguished life as a resident of Osage country. “Being Indian,” Mathews once said, “isn’t in looks, in features or color. Indian is inside you.”

D'Arcy McNickle seconded such sentiments. Of Cree descent, but brought up as a member of the Confederated Salish and Kootenai community on the Flathead Reservation, he attended the University of Montana and, briefly, Oxford University. He settled in New York City in 1926 and began work on a novel set at Flathead. Not unlike *Sundown*, *The Surrounded* was based to a significant degree on the author's own life experiences and observations. McNickle's novel told of Archilde Leon, a mixed-blood young man who knows many struggles and disappointments. The story also spoke of the failures of federal Indian policies and of a Native people and culture under siege. The book won considerable critical acclaim following its publication in 1936, but not a considerable audience. McNickle was more prominent in the 1930s as an associate of John Collier. He contributed to the BIA periodical *Indians at Work* and as a government employee journeyed to articulate the New Deal program to many Native communities. Through his travels, McNickle gained an appreciation for the common challenges facing Indian peoples, which later encouraged him to play a central role in the founding of the National Congress of American Indians.

Education, Health Care, and Land Use

In three other areas—education, health, and control of land—Native peoples achieved some headway in the 1930s, even if much more remained to be accomplished. Native determination to obtain better education, improved health care, and increased power over their own estates, together with altered federal policies, prompted these relative advancements.

The enthusiasm that Collier, Beatty, and Ryan shared for a bilingual, bicultural approach to Indian education did not translate into an instantaneous shift of teaching philosophies at all BIA schools. Some teachers and principals welcomed the attempted transition, but many others resisted it. Beatty employed *Indian Education*, summer workshops, and other means to push for

his goals, yet he could not require all employees to swear full allegiance to new objectives. Low salaries, isolated (in the eyes of most non-Indian teachers) locations, and the overall demands of the job caused high teacher turnover rates. Indian resistance to other bureau programs often crossed into the educational arena.

Some significant reforms were nevertheless accomplished. The government closed some of the older boarding schools and began to construct community day schools in their stead. The opportunity for more Indian children to remain at home pleased many parents and pupils, even if the nature of the curriculum remained a topic of considerable disagreement. Passage of the Johnson-O'Malley Act in 1934 permitted state departments of education to contract with the federal government to provide federal funds for public school districts that enrolled Indian children. Only four states during the 1930s worked out such contracts with the Department of Interior: Arizona (1938), California (1934), Minnesota (1937), and Washington (1935). Although bureaucratic obstacles loomed, Johnson-O'Malley helped increase the percentage of Indian children attending public school.

Not all Indians wanted all boarding schools closed. They identified formal high school instruction with the boarding school and approved of the progress such institutions had made since the early days of Carlisle. Students no longer marched; boys and girls were more likely to sit together in the dining room. At Santa Fe students started the Mide-Wi-Win or Indian Club in 1933 in order to encourage Native dances, songs, and food. Boys at the school took pride in winning state championships in boxing and baseball. At Chilocco and at other multitribal schools, K. Tsianina Loma waima (Muscogee) asserted, "student life was more richly textured than a simple opposition to non-Indian authority might indicate." She added: "Age, tribe, family life, native language, and other salient factors operated meaningfully to subdivide students while survival, shared experience, resistance to authority, and an enrollment in an 'Indian' school knit them together." In the 1930s students were more likely to enroll at Chilocco when they were older. If they also came from more stable family backgrounds, they tended to be far more positive about their experience than their

counterparts in the 1920s had been. In those final years before the start of World War II, Lomawaima concluded, Native pupils assumed greater power over the nature of their experience at Chilocco: “Native people made Chilocco their own. Chilocco was an Indian school.”

Health care gradually improved during the 1930s, although significant problems persisted. By decade’s end, an effective treatment had been introduced against trachoma, and some Indian Service administrators realized the benefit of working more cooperatively with traditional religious leaders to encourage Indians to seek appropriate medical treatment. When a new hospital opened in Fort Defiance, Arizona, in 1938, for example, the director of medical care invited a Navajo, Pete Price, to perform the Blessingway ceremony. However, medical missionaries and doctors from Christian evangelical backgrounds still echoed the sentiments of hospital director Dr Richard H. Pousma, from Rehoboth, New Mexico, who proclaimed that people who encouraged Indian religious ceremonies were “idiotic, exceedingly stupid, and ignorant of conditions among the Indians.” Many physicians agreed with the sentiments emblazoned on a sign in front of the Presbyterian mission hospital in Ganado, Arizona, on the Navajo Reservation: “Tradition,” it announced, “is the Enemy of Progress.” Nonetheless, as roads continued to be built and the general isolation of many Native communities reduced, more people started to use hospitals and clinics. A slowly growing number of Native individuals became nurses; a few became physicians.

Indian communities had paid a terrible price through land allotment. Formal cessation of allotment mattered. By the end of the 1930s, statistics demonstrated that Indians at last had stemmed the inroads upon their various land bases. The Indian Reorganization Act earlier in the decade had prohibited the further allotment of reservation lands. Although the Act did not grant specific authority for consolidation of the lands splintered by allotment, and western congressional representatives still blocked appropriation of sufficient funds for substantial land purchases, the BIA had succeeded in adding about 4 million acres to

the Native estate. The gains on individual reservations, however, were generally piecemeal in character and modest in amount.

The New Deal's Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) included funds for building dams and reservoirs, fences, roads, and wells. On many reservations, the CCC–Indian Division provided modest but badly needed salaries for labor and tangible results. The program offered more to men than it did to women, who tried to find employment through arts and crafts, the tourist industry, agriculture, and domestic labor in neighboring communities. The people of the Tohono O'odham Reservation, for example, welcomed the money and the new wells, but new fences did not always meet with approval, for they disrupted traditional land use by local cattle ranchers.

In the days of the dust bowl, soil conservation assumed a high priority, but the Tohono O'odham, Navajos, and other tribes did not generally share the perspectives of federal employees who claimed that the herds had to be reduced if the soil was to be preserved. The subsequent crusade by federal employees to reduce the number of cattle owned by the Tohono O'odham and sheep owned by the Navajos mirrored national patterns, but such federal interference was unexpected and unwelcome. The livestock reduction program caused considerable confusion and, ultimately, great anguish. The Native communities did not believe they had overgrazed the land, arguing that prolonged drought, insufficient grazing acreage, and restricted water sources were responsible for soil erosion. They truly hated having their animals destroyed; to them the cattle and sheep were not simply economic commodities but valuable entities in the workings of their social and cultural order. Collier believed livestock reduction had to be carried out to halt soil erosion and to allow Indian communities to carry on traditional livestock raising, albeit on a reduced scale. But Collier's motives and methods were not understood or accepted by the people themselves. Navajo elder Descheeny Nez Tracy said: "All was going well, and the people had increased their livestock very rapidly, when along came John Collier and stomped his big foot on our sheep, goats and horses—and crushed them before our eyes." The world would never again be the same. "We believe,"

Tracy contended, “that is when the rain went with the sheep. If it hadn’t happened we would have rain and green ranges with sheep grazing all over. Now we only have small units to our permits, and the sandstorms erase a herd’s hoof prints in seconds.”

The Indian Reorganization Act

The original version of the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) or the Wheeler-Howard Act—for its initial sponsors, Senator Burton K. Wheeler of Montana and Congressman Edgar Howard of Nebraska—ran to forty-eight pages. The bill included four titles concerning Indian self-government, education, land, and a Court of Indian Affairs. In regard to self-government, each Indian community would be granted a charter through which it would be responsible for a progressively greater degree of its own affairs. Approval by the people of the charter would institute a new body that would have significant authority over local affairs and would protect the community from undue exercise of power by the federal government. In addition, the bill called for the government to take a more active role in training Indian people for employment within the BIA. This second title also emphasized the importance of maintaining traditional Indian cultures. In the third title further allotment of tribal lands was prohibited. So-called surplus lands that had been opened for non-Indian occupancy and had not been purchased would be returned to the tribal domain. Additional lands would be added to reservations, especially with a concern for consolidating the fractionated acres created through the legacy of allotment. Finally, a Court of Indian Affairs would be established through which many important cases now adjudicated elsewhere in the federal court system could be considered. This provision attempted to devise a means whereby cases involving Indian peoples could be heard more promptly, fully, and sympathetically.

Responding to the uncertainties expressed about this legislation, Collier quickly scheduled ten congresses across the United States in March and April 1934. Through these sessions Indian

people could learn more about the bill, raise questions about it, and, Collier hoped, become more supportive of the proposal. The congresses began in Rapid City, South Dakota, on March 2–5. With the exception of a belated gathering in Hayward, Wisconsin, on April 24, the remaining meetings took place in rapid succession, all in the month of March. The other eight sites included, in chronological order, Chemawa, Oregon; Fort Defiance, Arizona; Santo Domingo, New Mexico; Phoenix, Arizona; Riverside, California; Anadarko, Oklahoma; Muskogee, Oklahoma; and Miami, Oklahoma. Collier attended seven of these sessions. Other than in Hayward, no congress occurred east of the Mississippi River. This neglect of eastern Indian communities did not increase the bill's chances of acceptance in the East, especially in Iroquois country, where Jemison and her allies immediately proclaimed their steadfast opposition.

Many Indians who attended the congresses marveled at the idea of a commissioner actually willing to leave Washington, but the novelty of the sight of the commissioner did not guarantee a positive reaction to what he presented. At Rapid City, Plains Indians who had endured the ravages of land allotment and land cession worried aloud about the immediate future. A Northern Arapaho spoke of his people as being circled by a predatory wolf. Antoine Roubideaux (Sicangu Lakota) later recalled the active opposition of the Catholic Church and other denominations toward the bill, because the churches "knew if the Indian people went under this '34 Act, they would lose control of the Indian, you know." Such opponents alleged that "that was a socialistic form of government that John Collier was trying to set up" and raised the specter that Indians "would go back to their old ways." By contrast, George Yellow from Lower Brule hailed an end to allotment, which had permitted the whites to steal "everything except the soles of my shoes." The Blackfeet adopted Collier into the tribe and bestowed upon him the name of Spotted Eagle, for they said he would erase the spots on the reservation created through the division of land by allotment.

In the end, divisions over the proposal followed rather predictable lines. Conservative Christians and old-line assimilationists,

among them many veteran BIA employees, lobbied against the bill. They realized that Collier was trying to unravel all they had accomplished over the past half-century. Their voices were heard by many congressional representatives who resisted any kind of separate status for Native Americans. The version of Wheeler-Howard ultimately approved by Congress and signed into law by President Roosevelt on June 18, 1934, was watered down considerably from Collier's original recipe. Collier took solace in what remained: reservation allotment was dead; surplus unsold lands were returned to the tribal domain; Native lands could not be sold or leased without specific tribal approval; and tribes could form their own governments, with their own constitutions, but only if they voted to approve all the provisions of the IRA. Ten million dollars had been put aside for a revolving credit fund for economic development. However, prior allotments remained intact and the Indian court system had been eradicated from the final bill. The powers of the tribal government had been reduced, and the secretary of the interior maintained a veto power over decisions it made. The specific mention of the effort to help foster and maintain Indian cultures had vanished.

Oklahoma Indians gained exemption from the Act's provisions; Alaska's Native villages and groups also were omitted. The Act potentially might benefit federally recognized Indian tribes who had maintained at least some kind of land base. Once bestowed, federal recognition formally acknowledged a community as an "Indian community," making it eligible for federal services and trust protection. For other Native communities, particularly in the East and South but also scattered around the West, who failed to gain this recognition and who presently did not possess a viable land base, the IRA essentially offered little hope for a future renaissance. The Act presented a strict definition of Indian identity based exclusively on blood quantum. Those who were one-half "Indian blood" fell under its provisions as individuals, even if their tribes were not considered eligible for recognition.

In the wake of the passage of the IRA, Indian communities faced a significant, often divisive, question. Should they agree to form governments organized under the Act's provisions? The

referendum on this fundamental issue had to be held within a year. This deadline did not allow enough time for voters to gain a full sense of what implementation of the Act might mean specifically for them. The vote was to be on the basis of majority rule rather than the consensus many groups preferred. Boycott the proceedings and one might feel satisfaction, but such action would not be counted as a “no” vote. In fact, under the terms governing this specific election, it would be counted as a “yes” vote. This arrangement may have allowed the Act to be approved on some reservations where it otherwise might not have been, but such deception called into question the overall legitimacy of the process through which many tribal governments were established. Other concurrent developments clouded the process. For example, Navajo sentiment about Collier had already been affected by the livestock reduction program. And within the particular reservations, competing communities or constituencies saw the formation of new governmental units as the chance to obtain power or the chance to have authority wrested away. Once voters understood that rejection of the IRA did not mean termination of trust status, they could cast their ballots based on other criteria.

Observers of the referenda and historians who followed came up with wildly varying counts of the particular votes and perceived the importance of their outcomes in sharply different ways. In New York the Iroquois sentiment had been registered quite clearly. The people of Allegany voted against it 298–37. The other reservations also said “no” to Wheeler-Howard: Cattaraugus, 475–101; Onondaga, 206–17; Akwesasne, 237–46; Tonawanda, 175–42; and Tuscarora, 132–6. Alice Lee Jemison helped organize opposition, but her task had been made easier by the historic distrust of the BIA by the New York Iroquois and the degree to which the Iroquois tribes of the state saw their own status as separate and distinct. Those Iroquois who had migrated westward had not had the same historical experience and saw the IRA in quite different terms. Thus the Oneidas of Wisconsin voted affirmatively. Well-developed factions within the Wisconsin group saw it as a chance to assume control. Most of the people were extremely poor and many were willing to endorse

any proposal that might ameliorate their circumstances. The IRA passed at Oneida 688–126, although 56 percent of the eligible voters did not exercise their right to vote. The practice of counting no vote at all as a vote in favor of the measure helped swing close elections, especially on smaller reservations. The Santa Ysabel Reservation in California was counted as giving the act a 71–43 margin of approval, but only nine of the fifty-two people who actually voted said “yes” to Wheeler-Howard. On many reservations residents actually voted and did so enthusiastically and overwhelmingly in favor of the IRA. Local conditions and historical precedents influenced the direction of the particular outcomes. Before, during, and after the referendum, many voters remained confused about the nature of the vote. Others claimed later that they would have voted the other way had they better understood what was at stake.

Eventually the IRA gained approval by 174 Indian tribes and bands, while 78 others voted against the measure. The largest tribe, the Navajos, narrowly defeated the IRA, 8,214–7,795. The vote totals reflected Navajo unhappiness with stock reduction as well as the enmity toward Collier felt by Jacob Morgan of Shiprock, New Mexico. In addition, the commissioner had failed to deliver on his promise of expanding the Navajo Reservation eastward and Navajo voters in that area also expressed their disappointment at the polls. Collier could not blame the results on voter apathy, for 98 percent of the eligible voters on the Navajo Reservation cast ballots.

Most of the large reservations favored the IRA. But at Crow, Fort Peck, and Klamath, all noteworthy for long-standing internal divisions, the measure failed. The Crows voted overwhelmingly against the IRA, even though the reservation’s new superintendent, Robert Yellowtail, was a member of the tribe and campaigned for it. Yellowtail was not universally popular, but even some of his friends and political allies could not bring themselves to support the measure. James Carpenter complained that the IRA maintained the federal government’s power and ignored Crow rights. The Crows, Carpenter argued, would be “serfs” under the IRA.



Figure 3.2 Visitors and participants assemble for a parade during Crow Fair in the late 1930s. Inaugurated decades before by federal agents and incorporating displays of the American flag, the annual event nonetheless became an important expression of Apsáalooke (Crow) cultural perseverance. Source: Image 318(IV)71 courtesy of the Fred W. Voget Papers, Archives & Special Collections, Mansfield Library, The University of Montana.

A considerable number of small groups also wound up casting negative votes, including many of the California Indian communities. Rupert Costo (Cahuilla), a prominent opponent of Collier and the IRA, helped lead the campaign in California. Costo viewed the IRA as “the last great drive to assimilate the American Indian.” He believed that under the new law the secretary of the interior would become more powerful. Costo also took a great dislike to Collier, perceiving the commissioner as a man who manipulated Indian people and who made promises he did not intend to keep.

An examination of the response to the IRA on several reservations clarifies its initial effect. The Jicarilla Apaches of northern New Mexico voted to accept its provisions. Jicarilla historian Veronica Velarde Tiller noted that this affirmative vote

allowed the tribe to give up allotments, buy the Wirt trading post from outsiders, obtain new sheep and cattle, and adopt conservation programs. “All of this,” she concluded, “amounted to a visible increase in individual and tribal income, which, in turn, improved social conditions on the reservation. As a result, the Jicarillas changed from a dying, poverty-stricken race to a prosperous people with a thriving livestock economy.”

The Jicarillas had voted for the IRA in part because the federal government had made a vigorous, and largely successful, attempt to add to the reservation land base by purchasing adjacent lands from non-Indians. The tribal council established under the IRA reflected local group settlements and permitted a majority of the first council members to be people who supported traditional religious observances and customs. Some were descendants of traditional leaders. In addition, the council included the five wealthiest men at Jicarilla: John Mills Baltazar, DeJesus Campos Serafin, Grover Vigil, Lindo Vigil, and Laell Vicenti. Council membership comprised both people who had many years of formal education and people who had never been to school.

The Jicarilla Apache Council also functioned effectively. It helped make a difference in the daily lives of average citizens. Through a loan from the federal revolving credit fund, the tribe purchased the old Wirt trading post and transformed it into the Jicarilla Apache Cooperative Store. The cooperative store not only mirrored tribal ownership but encouraged more people to get into the livestock business. In addition, the government sponsored a very popular and successful herd of about 1,000 sheep. This herd helped support tribal elders. It became known as the Old People’s Herd. On San Carlos, a comparable herd of cattle established at this time was called the Social Security Herd.

Of course not all tribal councils experienced comparable success. Divisions within a reservation community could doom a council’s efforts or the very existence of a council could exacerbate existing intratribal factions. The tribal council for the Anishinabe community at Keweenaw Bay on Michigan’s Upper Peninsula consisted of six representatives from the L’Anse district on the reservation’s eastern shore and six from the Baraga side of

the bay. Local interests naturally encouraged 6–6 votes. Divisions within Lac Courte Oreilles in northern Wisconsin kept it from reaching agreement upon a tribal constitution.

Hopi and Pine Ridge present instructive cases in point of how the IRA could create havoc or worsen existing splits on reservations. At Hopi, traditionalists generally boycotted the vote and others who voted in favor of the IRA did so because they anticipated specific benefits from the government in return. Among other things, the Hopis expected the government to expand their livestock herds and their land holdings and to keep the Navajos from using the Keams Canyon school and hospital. When the government did not fulfill these expectations, the council began its life under a considerable cloud. After four years, marked by disagreement and ineffectiveness, the council was disbanded in 1940. A decade passed before attempts began to revive it.

On Pine Ridge the new tribal council ran directly into the existing dichotomy between fullbloods, who possessed allotments and generally lived in the more isolated stretches of the reservation, and the mixed-bloods, who primarily lived in and around the small towns. Those who assumed power through the tribal government tended to be mixed-bloods. Council members were known in English as the New Dealers, in Lakota as *Oon-tey-cha*, the new way of life. Those on the outside were called the Old Dealers. Traditionalists who believed the council did not represent them tried to ignore the entity and did not accord to it any degree of respectability or authority. That authority they reserved for individuals at the local level who shared their values and customs and continued the old ways of looking out for the well-being of others.

If tribal councils struggled with the matter of incorporating or representing different groups, they also usually floundered in regard to the inclusion of women. Men constituted the vast majority of membership on the councils in the latter half of the 1930s and into the 1940s. Women were not entirely absent from the political process but were not equal partners in it. Nell Scott (Northern Arapaho) offered one exception to the rule. First elected to the business council in 1937, she served on it for thirty years, frequently as its chair. The daughter of an Arapaho woman

and a white man, Scott hailed from the section of the Wind River Reservation almost entirely occupied by Shoshones. Scott's mother was divorced and had chosen to reside in this location, obtaining allotments there for her family members. Although she did not speak Arapaho and later married a non-Indian, Scott emerged as a powerful force in tribal politics. She devoted her life to the well-being of the people of Wind River, and over the course of her long career she earned the respect of both tribes. Scott's knowledge of English and the outside world made her especially effective in transitional times. She knew how to interpret the world beyond Wind River—often telling jokes to demonstrate her understanding of non-Indian behaviors and tendencies—as well as how to deliver needed services to her constituents.

Tribal councils in the 1930s confronted the problems in the national economy. Generally lacking legal counsel, the councils possessed limited means to combat inequities in attempted Native development of natural resources. Indians often had to compete with non-Indians for access to these resources, and state and local interests frequently restricted the ability of Natives to take advantage of such resources. In Washington, for example, the state government worked against Indian participation in the fishing industry, at either the commercial or subsistence level. In the first decades of the twentieth century tribes such as the Lummi faced severe restrictions. By the time of the Indian New Deal, destitution had replaced self-sufficiency, with the Lummi limited to fishing only on reservation waters, where non-Indians also fished, and denied jobs in the canneries.

The advent of the New Deal did not improve the lot of the Lummi. In November 1934 voters in Washington approved Initiative 77. This law banned traps, fish wheels, and set nets. The state moved to strongly discourage Indians from using any form of fish trap. The Lummi and others also rejected the idea of fishing seasons as another imposition of state authority. Tensions increased in Washington about the rights of Native fishers, even though Indians actually took a very small percentage of the catch.

Elsewhere the faltering national economy also did not encourage greater economic independence for tribes. Critics charged that

the IRA simply increased dependence upon Washington. Supporters pointed with pride to examples such as the Red Shirt Table Development Association on Pine Ridge, where federal support had made possible everything from a new day school and new housing to more cattle and irrigated farming. Those who opposed it complained that such intervention bound the people all the more to the government.

Alaska and Oklahoma

The Native peoples of Alaska and Oklahoma had been excluded from the IRA, but in 1936 Congress passed legislation providing new regulations affecting these areas. The Alaska Reorganization Act (ARA) permitted villages which chose to do so to organize governments and establish cooperative businesses. Some Indian communities used the funds available through the act to establish canneries important to their economies. However, the diversity of the Native population, long-standing conflicts among some of the Natives, and non-Indian opposition stymied the potential of the ARA. These factors also contributed to the problems inherent in land use in the region that would become progressively more apparent in the years after World War II.

The Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act of 1936 also encouraged the establishment of tribal governments and constitutions. Many Oklahoma Native communities decided to organize under its provisions. These included the Caddos, Cheyenne-Arapahos, three towns of the Muscogees, Absentee Shawnees, Eastern Shawnees, Iowas, Kickapoos, Miamis, Pawnees, Peorias, Poncas, Potawatomis, Sac and Foxes, Senecas, Tonkawas, Wyandots, and United Keetowah Band.

However, some Oklahoma Indians also played an important role in opposing the Indian New Deal. Joseph Bruner (Muscogee) chaired the American Indian Federation (AIF), a right-wing organization that linked Collier with Communism. Although many observers ridiculed the AIF, it appealed at the time to Indians who favored an emphasis on individualism. Prominent

participants in the group included Jemison, Jacob Morgan, Fred Bauer (Eastern Cherokee), and Thomas Sloan. The AIF was established in response to the Collier commissionership; when Collier resigned his post in 1945, the AIF soon disbanded.

Land Bases and Recognition

In the 1930s those Indians who lived on reservations generally were better positioned to gain assistance from the federal government than were Natives living off the reservations. In Nevada, for example, the Western Shoshones and Paiutes living at Duck Valley (Western Shoshone) received the benefit of the Civilian Conservation Corps–Indian Division program, whereas others who resided in Nevada’s tiny Indian “colonies” in the state’s towns were less affected. Duck Valley gained a new hospital, a new community gymnasium, new roads, and additional fencing and water sources for cattle. Nothing comparable came to the colonies. By the early 1940s, however, the government had created several new reservations within Nevada through the purchase of land—primarily that owned by white ranchers—and residents from the colonies of Elko and Battle Mountain, and elsewhere moved to these new sites. South Fork (eventually 13,638 acres), Yomba (4,681 acres), and Duckwater (3,642 acres) represented important additions to the Indian land base in Nevada.

BIA efforts to expand, consolidate, or create Native land bases did not always succeed, but some victories were recorded. In Florida, the Seminoles had provided a classic instance of “support” for the IRA. Only 21 of the approximately 500 tribal members had voted on the measure, but all 21 voted in the affirmative. The BIA established Big Cypress Reservation in 1911 and the Hollywood Reservation in 1926. The difficult times of the 1930s prompted some Seminoles to move to these new land bases in order to take advantage of federal programs. Divisions remained, however, among the people. Many individuals attempted to remain off the reservations and tried to capitalize on the burgeoning tourist trade in the Everglades. In the 1930s the federal government

also obtained the site for the Brighton Reservation, northwest of Lake Okeechobee. This substantial land base of over 30,000 acres proved to be good cattle country, and the federal government funded the start of a tribal herd of 1,200 head. The election of trustees to serve on the cattle enterprise offered Seminole women their first chance to vote directly in a tribal election. Creation of a reservation such as Brighton would not have been possible in later years, with the vast influx of newcomers and rapidly escalating real estate prices that characterized postwar Florida. In Nevada, Florida, and other locations, the Collier administration took advantage of the depressed market conditions of the period to establish needed land bases.

Many smaller and more isolated Indian communities in the 1930s saw the possibility of federal financial assistance and support for their identity as sovereign Native entities and accordingly sought formal federal recognition. These communities had not gained recognition through the past treaty process as had other tribes. Without recognition, they lacked the right under federal law to tribal self-governance and were denied protected federal trust status for their lands. Attempts to receive recognition almost always meant an extended struggle. East of the Mississippi, with few exceptions, tribal communities had little land, a declining number of Native language speakers, and an increasingly diverse character. Eventually some of these communities received state recognition. Thus in Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, for example, small Indian groups held reservations dating back to colonial or antebellum times, even without federal designation as tribes.

Other Native peoples owned or used lands over decades or centuries and defined themselves as members of Indian communities, regardless of whether the state or national government might deign to accord recognition. Some actively sought federal recognition and others did not. Not all of these unacknowledged groups fit the tribal categorizations utilized by the federal government. For them, and many other Indian people, how non-Indian politicians and academics determined which communities comprised distinct “tribes” was alien to their own ways of identifying

and organizing their communities. These Indian communities' ambiguous identities as perceived by outsiders did not mean that they were any less "Indian" or "traditional" by their own perceptions. Such was the case for a multicultural group in the Pacific Northwest that had come to be known as Columbia River Indians. Many of them were connected by descent and culture to various reservation tribes in the area that had been legally defined, and confined, by the United States. The Columbia River Indians, however, viewed themselves as independent off-reservation peoples, some having taken land allotments on public lands. During the 1930s, they had no legal right to organize under the IRA, but they operated an informal Columbia Tribal Council, remained strong adherents to traditional cultural ways, and were defiant in asserting their fishing rights separate from those of reservation-based tribes. As a seemingly forgotten people or, as historian Andrew Fisher has referred to them, a "shadow tribe," Columbia River Indian rights and concerns were neglected by both the federal government and reservation-based tribal governments. As the twentieth century progressed, many of them resisted increased government pressure to either assimilate or seek membership in an already recognized reservation tribe.

Because Collier and Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes focused their attention on the West and on the considerable number of existing groups already eligible for the IRA, non-western, non-recognized entities faced an uphill fight. One of the most intriguing of these groups lived primarily in North Carolina. The Lumbees sought formal federal recognition in the 1930s, with Collier's backing, but Ickes's opposition doomed their chances. "It would appear," Ickes stated, "that the Federal Government is under no obligation whatsoever to this group of people." Part of the problem lay with the particular nature of this group's identity, as well as the usual combination of forces opposing a change in the status quo. Local whites wanted to continue to have access to inexpensive labor, and a few Lumbees did not think a reservation would improve their lives. Although the Lumbees had always considered themselves as Indians, their legitimacy as a Native entity had not always been accepted by outsiders,

including many of the Eastern Cherokees. Lumbee scholars Adolph Dial and Linda Oxendine concluded that their people are an amalgamation of the Cheraws, an eastern Siouan group, and remnants of other tribes who moved to the swamps of eastern North Carolina. Most Lumbees resided in Robeson County, in the southeastern portion of that state, although some also lived in South Carolina. Their earliest and most enduring bases for identity were kinship and attachment to place. Adaptation to life in the segregated American South later led them to employ an Indian racial identity as well, separate from white or African American, and had convinced the state to recognize them as a “tribe” in 1885. In North Carolina, the Lumbees had been classified from 1835 to 1865 as “Free Persons of Color,” from 1865 to 1885 as “non-White,” from 1885 to 1911 as “Croatan Indians,” from 1911 to 1913 as “Indians of Robeson County,” and after 1913, against the opposition of the Eastern Cherokees, as the “Cherokee Indians of Robeson County.” Lumbees answered to changing names, explains Lumbee historian Malinda Maynor Lowery, “not because they didn’t know who they were or what constituted their identity but because federal and state officials kept changing their criteria for authenticity.” They were determined, under whatever name, to gain proper recognition and strenuously resisted the efforts of the state to classify them as African Americans. This resistance prompted the creation for them in 1940 of Pembroke State College for Indians (now Pembroke State University), since 1953 open to all students.

The 1930s, therefore, yielded a chapter in an ongoing story that would take on intriguing turns as the century progressed, not only in regard to the Lumbees, but among many other communities, both east and west of the Mississippi, as well. In the state of Washington, landless tribes vied unsuccessfully for federal recognition. Snoqualmie and Steilacoom leaders, for example, had been encouraged by the wording of the IRA, but because these groups lacked reservation land, BIA officials balked at extending them recognition.

By the end of the decade, as a reviving economy cooled America’s commitment to many New Deal programs, the Indian

New Deal had slowed its momentum; the start of World War II essentially brought it to an end. Despite the deserved criticisms that could be lodged against its flaws and imperfections, D'Arcy McNickle emphasized how crucial it had been to end allotment, to add 4 million acres to the tribal land base, to provide, however modestly, some credit financing to Native concerns, to promote a bicultural, bilingual approach in education, and to support Native art and religions. Collier, McNickle acknowledged, "was limited in what he could do. He could not substitute his will and vision for Indian will and vision." But even with his faults and limitations, he had been the first commissioner who understood that Indians would not disappear, that Indian societies could adapt, change, and respond to the challenges presented by the modern age.

4

The War, Termination, and the Start of Self-Determination, 1941–1961

The 1940s and 1950s brought extraordinary change to Indian country. World War II provided for thousands of Indian men and women a new opportunity to perceive and experience American society. Service in the armed forces and work in war-related industries permitted individuals to gain a heightened sense of the demands, biases, and priorities of the United States. However, the war years were followed by termination, a movement to divest the federal government of its trust responsibilities for Indians, an effort that also mirrored American demands, biases, and priorities.

Ruth Muskrat Bronson (Cherokee) spoke out in 1957 against the renewed pressures for assimilation this period engendered:

More than one theorist has stated that “the solution to the Indian problem” is the absorption of the Indian into the culture, race, and society of the European-oriented American way. Shouldn’t the Indian have something to say about this? Should the Indian be forced to give up his beliefs, his way of conducting his affairs, his method of organized living, his kind of life on the land he is part of, if he chooses not to? Shouldn’t the Indians have the same

“We Are Still Here”: American Indians since 1890, Second Edition.

Peter Iverson and Wade Davies.

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right to self-determination that our government has stated, often and officially, is the inalienable right of peoples in far parts of the world? Do we apply a different set of principles, of ethics, to the people within our own borders?

Born in a rural Cherokee community in Indian Territory, Bronson graduated from Mount Holyoke College in 1925 and devoted her life to what she termed “the Indian cause.” She worked for years for the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), laboring to increase educational opportunities for Native students. Then, in 1944, she began to play a central role in the life of a new organization, the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI), which had been established by Indian people to address the needs and concerns of Native Americans. As national secretary for the NCAI, she helped insure its survival and maturation into an important medium through which pressing issues could be confronted. Bronson also offered an articulate and determined voice against the tide of termination of federal trust responsibility. People like Ruth Muskrat Bronson prepared the foundations for the modern Indian movement toward greater self-determination, a movement that gained greater and more immediate force because of the dangers and discrimination that the new policy of termination posed.

The story of this period begins with the outbreak of war. Twenty-five thousand American Indians served in the armed forces during World War II and more than 550 of them were killed. Clarence Spotted Wolf knew he might not survive the war. A private in the US Army, the young Gros Ventre from Montana was sent overseas. Fully recognizing the danger he was in, he wrote to his family:

If I should be killed, I want you to bury me on one of the hills east of the place where my grandparents and brothers and sisters and other relatives are buried. If you have a memorial service, I want the soldiers to go ahead with the American flag. I want cowboys to follow, all on horseback. I want one of the cowboys to lead one of the wildest T over X horses with saddle and bridle on. I will be riding that horse.

Private Spotted Wolf lost his life in Luxembourg on December 21, 1944. He did not know the satisfaction or hear the accolades Native men and women received from their many contributions to the national effort. But he would be remembered, and his particular story would be told. There are many American Indian narratives from the war and, of course, no single one is representative of that collective experience. Many of those stories involved struggle and death. Some emphasized tragedy, some survival, others triumph. Now, many decades after the war's end, they continue to be repeated, and they still hold lessons about the significance of the war years. They suggest that in some ways the era yielded a kind of turning point in the modern Indian experience. In *Speaking of Indians*, published in 1944, Ella Deloria (Yankton Sioux) observed: "The war has indeed wrought an overnight change in the outlook, horizon, and even the habits of the Indian people—a change that might not have come for many years yet." However, this period also often accentuated or emphasized trends already under way in individual lives and in the communities that Native peoples called home.

American Indians had not been completely isolated before 1941. Many had left reservation environments to attend school; others had gone to the city to work. Federal programs had left their mark on tribal government, land use, education, and health care. Nonetheless, the war allowed countless thousands of Indians to perceive and experience the larger society of America. These perceptions and experiences, in turn, affected individual and group decisions about life in the postwar era.

World War II and Its Consequences

Although many Native Americans rushed to volunteer for the war effort, others resisted the demands of the Selective Service Act of 1940. Now that all Indians were citizens, they all faced the draft. Even the Iroquois in New York who supported the United States' cause, for example, questioned the authority of the federal

government to force men to fight. They took the matter to court. However, in *Ex parte Green* (1941), the US Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit denied Iroquois protestations. The federal government catered to the Iroquois sense of separation by encouraging a group of individuals from the Six Nations—Louis David and Peter Oaks (Mohawk), Jesse Lyons (Onondaga), Hilton Nicholas and William Rockwell (Oneida), and Uly Pierce (Cayuga)—to come to Washington, DC, and to issue a separate Iroquois declaration of war against the Axis. That the men acted as individuals rather than as official representatives was largely ignored in the flurry of media publicity surrounding the event.

Other Indian nations divided over the matter. Tohono O’odham village leader Pia Machita, about ninety years of age, denied the legitimacy of the Gadsden Purchase, which had brought his people’s lands into the United States in 1854. To signify his disclaimer of the Indian Reorganization Act he had flown the Mexican flag over his village for six months. In 1940 he urged young men from his district not to register for the draft. Another local man, Leandro, provided the same counsel. Machita and Leandro were both arrested and sent to Terminal Island in California and then transferred elsewhere to serve time for their defiance. Tribal chairman Pete Blaine and BIA administrator Wade Head intervened to shorten their terms of incarceration. In the meantime other Tohono O’odham quickly voiced support for the war, and the tribal council purchased \$10,000 of war bonds in 1942.

At Hopi a group of young men from Hotevilla declined to register for the draft in 1941. James Pongonyuma and Dan Katchgonva argued in behalf of the men before a judge in federal court: “We have a stone tablet. . . . It says that there will come a time when there will be great trouble involving many nations. The Hopi are to show their bows and arrows to no one at that time.” Unpersuaded, the judge sentenced the five men to a year and a day in prison—a term later reduced. By contrast, tribal council chairman Byron Adams informed Arizona governor Sidney Osborn that the Hopis were “100 percent with

the nation.” Thomas Banyacya went to prison three times during the war because of his resistance to the draft. After the war he became a leader of the traditionalist movement at Hopi.

The overall response by Indian men and women to the needs of wartime reflected both nationalism and tribalism. World War II let Native Americans demonstrate their love of country. It also yielded the possibility for men to display valor and courage, in much the same way that their ancestors had in other battles during prior centuries. Nowhere was this display more evident than in the Plains tribes. Alma Hogan (Crow) watched young men from these tribes answer the call to war while she was a student at the Indian school in Flandreau, South Dakota. “I think the whole football team went into one service or another,” she later remembered. “It was a very lonesome time. I cried and I cried.” From the Assiniboines, Blackfeet, and Lakotas in the north to the Kiowas and Comanches in the south, Plains Indians revived warrior traditions and societies. For example, Cecil Horse, a Kiowa man, looked on with pride as his son John, who had been awarded a bronze star and a purple heart, later received from his people a war bonnet and a give-away ceremony in his honor. Many men from the Plains, including at least 100 Sioux, perished during the war. Others, like Walter Amiotte, suffered severe injuries. Amiotte, a tank driver for the 41st Armored Division in the Normandy invasion, lost part of his leg when his tank was hit and overturned. Among the other casualties was Osage Clarence W. Tinker, the commanding general of the air forces in Hawaii, killed at Midway. Altogether about 25,000 Indians joined the armed forces, including 21,767 in the army, 1,910 in the navy, 874 in the marines, and 121 in the coast guard. Hundreds of Native women served as nurses, as “Wacs” and “Waves.” Natives fought in integrated units all over the world, earning a variety of medals and awards, including the Silver Star, the Distinguished Service Cross, the Navy Cross, and the Purple Heart. Lieutenant Ernest Childers, a Muscogee from Broken Arrow, Oklahoma, gained the Medal of Honor. Ira Hayes, a Pima from Bapchule, Arizona, was immortalized as one of the marines photographed on Iwo Jima raising the American flag. Navajo men in the marines formed the Codetalkers

and used their language as the basis of an effective code during the campaign in the Pacific; hundreds of others from the tribe fought in Europe. In the wake of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Alaska mobilized a Native militia, primarily Inuit, to protect the territory. The Eskimo territorial guard companies, as they were called, shot down Japanese balloons carrying incendiary bombs and worked hard to build up civil defenses in case of invasion.

Not all of these stories had happy endings. Only nineteen years old when he enlisted in the marines, Hayes struggled with the unanticipated and unwanted attention brought by the glare of publicity. Ultimately he lost a long battle with alcoholism and died in 1955 at the age of thirty-three. William Tsosie (Navajo) survived the horrors of the landing at Omaha Beach, but the memories of D-Day haunted him thereafter, as did his recollections of the German concentration camps. Robert Nez (Navajo) was taken as a prisoner of war by the Germans and after sixty-five days in captivity escaped and went on to participate in other battles. It took years, he said, for him to “finally accept life again,” following a period of heavy drinking and nightmares. As they were in World War I, Indians were still stereotyped as “natural” scouts, and they frequently drew dangerous assignments that exposed them to even greater danger than they might otherwise have encountered. Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes had rhapsodized about such “inherited talents”—their “endurance, rhythm, a feeling for timing, co-ordination, sense perception, an uncanny ability to get over any sort of terrain at night, and better than all else, an enthusiasm for fighting.”

Nonetheless, thousands of Indians who served in the armed forces in World War II clearly returned with a heightened sense of pride in themselves and received a lasting tribute from grateful Americans in general and from members of their home communities in particular. Their exploits in “the good war” are still celebrated in parades and reunions; they are still commemorated in displays at tribal museums across Indian country. When the Navajo Codetalkers marched in the presidential inaugural parade on January 20, 1997, the event simply marked the latest in a long series of tributes that Native veterans had received. Among the



Figure 4.1 This statue was erected by the Gila River Pima community to honor Ira Hayes, one of the men portrayed in photographer Joe Rosenthal’s iconic image of raising the American flag on Iwo Jima during World War II. Source: Courtesy of the Robert E. Ramsey Photograph Collection, Labriola National American Indian Data Center, Arizona State University Libraries.

Delawares and countless other Native peoples, tribal rituals and ceremonies were invoked to safeguard those in the armed services when they were away and to cleanse them when they returned home. The veterans often had positive stories to relate, reflecting a sense of accomplishment and a tangible sense of a mission achieved.

The experience frequently reaffirmed prevailing Native values. For Codetalker Cozy Stanley Brown, the success of the code, the ability of the Navajos to help other Americans, underlined his sense of being a member of his tribe. “We were Code Talkers for four months at Guadalcanal,” he recalled. “That was the time we took advantage of our enemy. It was like the old saying of our elderly Navajo people, ‘Only the Navajos had the whole world in their hands,’ or ‘the Navajos created the earth.’” But the war also

reinforced for Brown that there were ways to behave and ways not to behave. A young man from Crownpoint, New Mexico, had not paid attention to such teachings. He was always “acting silly” or “being prankster” and saying things you should not say, like “I’m getting fat, and I eat too much. It would seem like the enemy would butcher me at any time.” That night he was killed.

The war experience also underlined the responsibility the veterans felt for working for constructive social and political change. Across the United States they returned to problems that needed addressing and that they felt more empowered to confront. In this recognition, they were joined by other Natives whose lives and perspectives had also been altered during the war years. These individuals included the thousands who had gone to work in war-related industries as well as the thousands who had remained at home and had assumed new responsibilities. A great many in this latter cohort were women. Some had sought new surroundings or new tasks; others had had little choice in shouldering novel tasks in order to feed, clothe, and house themselves and their family members.

The women and men who were employed during the war frequently worked under trying conditions. Previously industry had been an almost entirely male domain. Women who went to work in such environments were almost never in charge and were subject to criticism and ridicule by men who resented their presence in the workplace. “Minority” women and men also faced prejudice and discrimination in a variety of forms, ranging from salutations of “chief” to more hostile responses. However, the need for a paycheck had to be weighed against such reactions. Working in a war ordnance depot offered more money than the usual employment to which Indians, especially women, had been relegated. Many Native women entered or remained in the realm of domestic service workers, where they received less pay or were not necessarily exempt from bias. The opportunity to work in new areas of employment allowed higher numbers of Indian women to become clerical workers, for example, when prior to the war only a few had ventured into such jobs. In addition, the disparity between off- and on-reservation employment possibilities and

salaries encouraged many people to ponder relocation to urban areas after the war ended.

Indian workers had to deal with a variety of adjustments during this transitional era. For many, their wartime job represented the first time they had ever worked or worked on a full-time basis for an hourly wage. Their employers expected them to follow a kind of schedule that for many seemed rigid and unyielding. Even with labor shortages, employers had little sympathy for employees who showed up late for work or who returned tardy after a weekend back home. They generally had even less sympathy for the cultural demands and expectations upon Indian workers to be present for a ceremony or to go home immediately when a family-related problem suddenly occurred. Wartime housing was not always ideal, and transportation to and from work continued to be problematic. At the same time, most Indians were used to dealing with hardship, and the Great Depression that had gripped the United States in the 1930s had affected Indian country as well. When Patty Loew (Bad River Anishinabe) asked her grandfather what life was like during the Depression, she evoked a chuckle. "It's always depression on an Indian reservation," he had replied. Rationing during wartime thus did not seem like an altogether unprecedented situation. Like other Americans, Indian families grew "victory gardens." If anything, they were more accustomed than non-Indians to sharing what they had.

On many reservations hunting and fishing continued to be essential means to provide or augment individual and family food supplies. In a time when Indians rarely had access to legal counsel, they had to endure state restrictions upon Native hunting and fishing on reservations, quite apart from rights that soon would be contested off reservations. In Wisconsin Indian men and women were subjected to a sentence of one to six months in jail for "violating" state conservation laws, because they and their families seldom could produce the \$158 fine usually imposed on "poachers."

Indians who sought off-reservation employment, of course, did not always venture into the city. In the American West, the



Figure 4.2 This image on the Gila River reservation in the mid-1930s reveals the ongoing emphasis on agriculture in Indian country during the first half of the twentieth century. It would not be until the next century, however, through newly gained water rights, that the Pimas would begin to realize the full results that modern irrigated farming could yield. Source: Courtesy of the Robert E. Ramsey Photograph Collection, Labriola National American Indian Data Center, Arizona State University Libraries.

demand for seasonal farm labor persisted, and Indians found jobs picking cotton or harvesting fruit. Cotton farmers in Arizona who in 1938 had denied any need to hire Tohono O’odham workers, four years later eagerly searched on the reservation for potential employees. Given language and other cultural barriers, misunderstanding as well as exploitation emerged. Native workers, including children, had to ride for hours standing in the backs of trucks that took them to their jobs in the fields. Those who did not commute frequently lived in terrible housing, and endured inadequate sanitation, a lack of schools, and other problems. Agricultural extension service and US employment

service employees sometimes attempted to intervene to stop abusive labor practices, but their efforts could not quickly alter such a widespread and exploitative labor system.

Whether in field or factory, Indian employees generally had to combat overwhelming homesickness. They were accustomed to seeing members of their extended family on a daily or at least frequent basis. Native workers also missed the sight of traditional landmarks—the mountains or mesas, the creeks or lakes—that had offered a sense of place. They longed for others who spoke their particular tribal language or who listened to the same kind of music or who told the same kind of jokes. Of course other Americans struggled with wartime transitions, but the cultural and social distance Indians had to travel rivaled and sometimes exceeded that of their counterparts.

The war years also brought unwanted intrusions on Native lands. The federal government imposed two of the internment camps for Japanese Americans on reservations. Such camps were constructed on the Colorado River and Gila River reservations in Arizona by the War Relocation Authority. Collier had pressed for such use of Native land because he thought the Indians would inherit facilities constructed for this temporary purpose. The arrival of 20,000 Japanese Americans at Colorado River and another 5,000 at Gila River, together with personnel charged with running the camps, expropriated Indian land and disrupted community life. To house its citizen prisoners, the government hurriedly constructed makeshift buildings. Soon after the war, most of these shoddy structures were torn down. A surviving warehouse might become for a time a place for dances at Colorado River, but for the most part, other than obtaining some lease money, the Indian communities gained nothing from the imposition.

Other wartime demands affected Indian reservations and lands. On Pine Ridge over 400,000 acres were appropriated for a gunnery range. Most of this land was owned by individuals—a legacy of the allotment era—and those living on the acreage were compelled to sell their property both quickly and cheaply. Not until the mid-1950s, after more than a decade of protest, did

the dispossessed Oglalas obtain more substantial payment, but the land remained severed from the reservation.

In another instance, the Unangan (Aleuts) were evacuated from their homes following the Japanese invasion of the Aleutian Islands and their capture of Attu. While the Japanese took the inhabitants of Attu as prisoners to Japan, the United States ordered that the remaining Unangan, who lived in villages west of Unimak Island and in the Pribilofs, be evacuated to southeast Alaska. Although federal officials ordered the evacuation of these people ostensibly to protect them from danger, the action was likely motivated by US military interests as well. The conditions the Native internees faced at the internment camps in Alaska mirrored those endured by the Japanese Americans incarcerated in the lower forty-eight. In the Unangan's case, however, the hardships imposed on them by flimsy housing and inadequate provision of food and health care were intensified during the fierce winters. Many of the old people and children died. Moreover, once the war was over, US officials gave low priority to a prompt return of the internees to their home communities. Some Unangan feared they would have little to return to and chose to remain in southeast Alaska, while others finally were able to go home. There they discovered, to their horror, that in their absence American military personnel had stolen their personal property, trashed most of their homes, and absconded with irreplaceable religious icons from their Orthodox churches. The overall situation resulted in economic loss and a traumatic cultural disruption.

The events of the 1930s and early 1940s thus emphasized that Indian communities had entered a new age, one that would not allow the degree of social and economic separation some had experienced in the past. Changes in the workings of the regional and national marketplace, transportation, and communication drew Indian nations more fully into the patterns of American life. Once again, their mineral resources invited exploitation by outside interests. Experiences in the armed forces and in industry had underscored the need for a more complete command of the English language. The appropriation of their land by non-Indians

and the discrimination they met in surrounding communities emphasized the necessity of gaining legal counsel. The war years thus set the stage for an unprecedented push for the industrial development of Indian lands, for more extended schooling for a higher percentage of Native children, and for the obtainment of attorneys by the tribes.

The NCAI, the ICC, and Legal Representation

Changing times highlighted the need for some kind of national organization that could address common needs and concerns. In 1944 eighty people from more than fifty tribes gathered in Denver, Colorado, to found the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI). A number of the key participants had worked for the BIA during the Collier administration, had traveled widely, and believed deeply that through collective action Indians could confront more effectively the challenges of contemporary American life. Some of the most significant founders included Ruth Muskrat Bronson, D'Arcy McNickle, Ben Dwight (Choctaw), Archie Phinney (Nez Perce), Charlie Heacock (Sicangu Lakota), Lois Harland (Cherokee), and Erma Hicks (Cherokee). McNickle worked particularly hard to persuade people to make the journey to Denver. Dwight chaired the proceedings and Bronson served as the organization's executive secretary during its formative years.

They recognized that the new association had to move beyond the accomplishments of the Society of American Indians. The NCAI could not be largely composed of middle-class, well-educated individuals. It had to develop support at the tribal level; it had to do more than "meet and discuss." Thus the congress's first president, N. B. Johnson (Cherokee), noted with considerable satisfaction after the initial meetings in Denver, Browning, Montana, and Oklahoma City that those in attendance comprised "a cross-section of Indian population: old and young, full-bloods, mixed-bloods, educated and uneducated Indians from allotted areas and others from reservations."

Bronson recognized that the fledgling organization needed to address voting rights in Arizona, New Mexico, and Maine, Social Security benefits for all Indians, tribal land claims, and the safeguarding of the Indian estate. With membership dues set at \$1, the NCAI began on perilous financial footing. Bronson sought necessary donations, volunteered her time, and created the Legal Aid and Service Bureau at 1426 35th Street Northwest, her home address. Although Dan Madrano (Caddo) first had been chosen as secretary, he had resigned by early 1946. At the NCAI's third annual meeting, in August 1946, Bronson was formally designated national secretary, a post she had occupied for quite some time. Her modest yet determined demeanor and her unflinching dedication to the organization were vital to its survival and its maturation.

Many Native women played key roles in the NCAI during these early years. Lorene Burgess (Blackfeet) served on the executive council in 1945. Many others took on various assignments, ranging from the annual meeting and membership development to creating educational materials and working as regional secretaries. Helen Peterson, a Cheyenne by birth who grew up on and was enrolled at Pine Ridge, and Elizabeth Roe Cloud (White Earth Anishinabe) prepared to take on major leadership responsibilities in the near future. Indian men may have appeared to dominate the organization in its first years, but it is evident that without Bronson and her compatriots, the NCAI would have been far less effective or ambitious.

The NCAI took on urgent issues throughout the United States. Bronson journeyed to southeast Alaska, where she learned from Haida and Tlingit representatives about their anxieties in regard to natural resources. The Three Affiliated Tribes (Arikara, Hidatsa, and Mandan) of Fort Berthold, North Dakota, needed more voices to speak out against the notion of the Garrison Dam, a massive project on the Missouri that would flood Indian lands. The winds of termination were already starting to sweep across Indian country. In 1946 it specifically appealed to Congress and the Truman administration "not to enact legislation or promulgate rules and regulations thereunder affecting the Indians

without first consulting the Tribes affected.” An Indian claims commission, proposed but thwarted during the Indian New Deal, appeared to offer the opportunity for Native peoples to gain compensation for lands and resources taken from them unfairly and without proper compensation. Bronson and other NCAI leaders therefore testified in favor of establishing such a body.

The Indian Claims Commission (ICC) created by Congress in 1946 ultimately embodied contradictory impulses and objectives. Indians saw in it the means to confront long-standing grievances and to force the federal government to acknowledge that millions of acres of Native land had been taken illegally or improperly. After all, the 370 treaties signed between 1784 and 1871 had encompassed 720 cessions of land. Although Indians had been pledged almost \$800 million in return, they had in a great many instances either not received the amount they had been promised or had obtained insufficient value from what they had surrendered. A decade after the formal conclusion of treaty-making, the Choctaws became the first Indian nation to challenge the United States in the federal Court of Claims, but resolving tribal claims through that body had proven problematic. By 1946, of the nearly 200 claims filed through the Court of Claims, only 29 had resulted in any compensation.

However, federal policy-makers were not wracked by guilt and did not perceive the newly established ICC as a means to dispense untold millions of dollars with few questions asked. They recognized the need to expedite the hearing of the claims, but they also saw the commission as an integral part of a more comprehensive goal: removing the federal government as fully as possible from its traditional position of trustee for the Indians. Once some version of justice had been handed out, the government would be free, as one common phrase expressed it, “to get out of the Indian business.” The ICC and termination, in sum, were linked. When he signed the legislation creating the commission into law, President Harry Truman expressed his hope that the Act would “mark the beginning of a new era for our Indian citizens. ... With the final settlement of all outstanding claims which this measure insures, Indians can take their place without special handicaps or special

advantages in the economic life of our nation and share fully in its progress.”

The ICC was supposed to hear and rule on not only all pending claims but hundreds of new ones inspired by its creation. Of the 176 tribes or bands eligible to file claims, almost all did so, and many filed more than one grievance. A total of 370 petitions ultimately were presented, usually involving lands claimed by individual communities. The commission therefore had to determine whether Indian groups had appropriately claimed occupation and use of specific territories, whether they had been unjustly dispossessed of these lands, and, if they had, how much compensation they should be awarded. The ICC had an initial charter of a mere five years. However, the slow nature of the work extended the ICC’s life span until 1978. As Indian communities discovered, the creation of the commission did not guarantee any compensation or a prompt hearing. Nor were all those who served on the ICC exactly free from bias. Arthur Watkins, who as a US senator from Utah had been a leading proponent of termination, was chosen in 1960 to replace a retiring member of the unit. The claims process employed a lot of lawyers and provided work for social scientists, but the commission gave little credence to the oral histories of the tribes or to the testimony of elders based upon such histories. Tribes found themselves mired in protracted proceedings that emphasized contentiousness rather than consensus. In order to have any hope at all of obtaining some compensation, Indian communities had to not only hire attorneys but invest these newcomers with unprecedented degrees of power and authority. Eventually over \$800 million was awarded, but attorney fees swallowed a substantial portion of that sum.

Almost all Indians believed that the ICC did not serve them well. Most wanted the return of their lands more than the money bestowed. Few, if any, thought the financial compensation sufficient, because the commission tried to ascertain the value of the lands at the time of their usurpation rather than their current worth. The Black Hills yielded one of the most publicized and significant examples. In 1942 the US Court of Claims had denied a Sioux claim, filed in 1923, for the unjust taking of their

lands in western South Dakota. Although the ICC initially decided the Sioux could not press a renewed claim to it, the US Court of Claims ordered the ICC to reconsider this decision. The ICC eventually decided that the Sioux had not been compensated sufficiently and awarded them \$17.5 million. After this decision had been appealed by the federal government, the US Supreme Court finally ruled in 1980 that this amount should stand, plus interest, equaling a total amount over \$100 million. However, the eight Sioux communities who took part in the suit refused to accept the money. Their position had not changed since 1923, or, indeed, since 1877, when the land was seized in violation of the terms of the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868. They believed you could not put a price upon sacred ground. They wanted the Black Hills returned to them. The settlement funds' value had accrued to more than \$1 billion dollars by the 2010s, but the Sioux held their position and refused to collect.

In another instance, two Western Shoshone sisters, Mary and Carrie Dann, carried on for decades an ill-fated battle that grew out of dissatisfaction with the claims process. As had many other groups, the Western Shoshones had hired the Washington, DC, firm of Wilkinson, Cragun, and Barker to represent them. Fifteen years after this firm had been employed by the Shoshones, the Claims Commission ruled in 1962 that certain Shoshone lands had been "taken" through the "gradual encroachment" of non-Indian settlers. Regardless of how the Shoshones might interpret their rights under the 1863 Treaty of Ruby Valley, they could only try to gain financial compensation for this loss rather than regain control of the land. Attorney Robert Barker chose to work with those Shoshones who would be willing to accept the money. The process thus obviously embittered many people and caused divisions among the Shoshones. Eventually in *United States v. Mary and Carrie Dann*, the federal government charged the sisters with illegally grazing their cattle on Bureau of Land Management land. Mary and Carrie Dann and their allies argued that the people had never surrendered their territory. Although the Danns won a temporary victory at the Circuit Court, the Supreme Court ruled in 1985 against their cause.

When the tribes decided to hire attorneys for the claims process, firms such as Wilkinson, Cragun, and Barker corralled a number of contracts, occasionally involving potential conflicts of interest in terms of measuring the territory occupied or used by one Indian claimant versus another. Law firms in the nation's capital were well positioned to undertake this potentially lucrative mission, for federal offices and records were within easy reach. Some Indian nations, however, chose an individual attorney or a firm outside of Washington in order to facilitate more direct and frequent contact between themselves and their lawyers.

Regardless of their selection of legal representation, the eventual consequences of the claims process for Indian nations often proved more significant than at first might have been imagined. Tribal attorneys were poised to occupy center stage in tribal affairs. Not only did their potential success or failure cast a significant shadow over reservation life, but their involvement in the life of that community did not end at the commission's door. They had positioned themselves to become advisors to the tribal chairman or council, offering counsel on everything from economic development to the functioning of the tribal government itself. Depending on the character of the parties involved and the questions facing the particular Indian community, an attorney or a firm could soon occupy a place of great power. Many attorneys were dedicated professionals who zealously and effectively represented tribal interests; others were indifferent to the people's pressing needs and devoted insufficient time to them, were not very competent, or even could be swayed by payments made to them by companies desiring access to reservation resources. In any event, the presence of attorneys unquestionably altered the workings of tribal life.

The Termination Era

A weary John Collier resigned as commissioner of Indian Affairs in January 1945. Although Collier and a small number of associates remained in Washington, during the war the offices

of the bureau were moved (in 1942) to the Merchandise Mart in Chicago, where they remained until war's end. Reform had been halted not only by the separation of most BIA personnel from the nation's capital, but also by the absence of necessary funds, materials, and employees to continue to develop programs on reservations. The campaign to convert more of the boarding schools to day schools also faltered in the face of prevailing conditions.

Collier's successor, William Brophy, had his hands full. The Claims Commission had been established and legal counsel frequently had been obtained, but the results of the claims process were yet to be determined. In some states Indian veterans were being denied the right to vote. Native individuals who had gained new horizons during the war years pondered the options for their home communities. What kind of economic development could be achieved? What kind of access to education would their children have? What responses would the federal government make to charges by critics such as O. K. Armstrong that the Collier years had inflicted "a collectivist system upon the Indians, with bigger doses of paternalism and regimentation"? To Armstrong, writing in 1945 for the *Reader's Digest*, the answer seemed simple. "Set the Indians Free!," he entitled his article. He urged Congress to "emancipate" the Indians by removing "restrictions" that stood in their way. Free from the roadblocks imposed by federal trusteeship, Native American communities would be liberated to achieve new heights now denied them. America, he argued, should not foster segregation but integration. Others owned lands privately rather than in common. The idea of a reservation had become outmoded. Employing rhetoric and logic eerily comparable to the language and reasoning of Indian policy reformers during the late nineteenth century, Armstrong called for a new era in Indian affairs. The Indians had proved their mettle during the war; they were ready to become full-fledged Americans. However, this effort to terminate federal trust responsibility spelled potential disaster for Indian America.

Two interrelated developments marked the period from war's end until the beginning of the 1960s. The first helped encourage the second. The drive toward terminating federal

trust responsibility for Indians caused immediate harm and sometimes lasting damage to certain Indian communities. However, the threat of federal withdrawal helped galvanize the beginnings of the modern Native American movement toward self-determination. Indian individuals and groups responded forcefully to reaffirm their rights and to find new means to realize them. Federal policies, then, did have negative consequences, yet Indians during this time also constructed the foundation for a movement in the 1960s that, like the African-American civil rights movement, had its origins in the prior decade.

Congress officially launched termination by passing Concurrent Resolution 108 in 1953, but the resolution followed years of discussion and debate. The goals of withdrawing federal services from and federal protection of Indian communities fit well with the more conservative postwar mood in the United States. Republicans were more likely to favor turning Indian affairs over to the states, but momentum for termination developed during the Truman administration. Critics called for “liberation” of the Indians from the shackles of federal paternalism. They perceived reservations as antiquated relics of a bygone age. If reservations could be eliminated, their acreage fully divided into property, and individual Indians freed from the restraint of federal bureaucracy, they professed, Indians would be better able to reach their full potential.

Not all Native Americans disagreed with this prescription. Some fully subscribed to the idea of assimilation, while others bitterly resented the kind of control BIA officials still appeared to maintain over tribal councils. With the postwar economic boom centered in urban America, more than a few Indians saw the cities as places where opportunity beckoned. Yet most Native Americans wanted relocation to urban areas to be voluntary rather than required. They recognized that the young could migrate to the city more easily and effectively than could older people. Indians knew that relocation could sever connections to the land and relationships among extended family members. They resented the heavy-handed tactics and simplistic thinking embraced by congressional proponents of “reform.” In the process

of resisting an imposed direction, Native persons increasingly began to chart a direction of their own, one that emphasized pride in tribal and Indian identity and a conviction that Indians were entitled to a wide range of rights.

After authorizing the Indian Claims Commission, Congress demanded an overhaul of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. An ailing William Brophy did not appear before the Senate Committee on Civil Service, chaired by William Langer of North Dakota. After being subpoenaed to appear, assistant commissioner William Zimmerman substituted for Brophy. Zimmerman felt trapped between the demands he knew the committee members would make for reducing the bureau's size and responsibilities and the widely varying conditions of different Indian reservations. Rejecting the notion that all Indian communities should be equally subject to withdrawal of federal protection, Zimmerman offered a kind of compromise. In his testimony before the committee on February 6, 1947, he divided Indian communities into three groups and listed four criteria that might be used to determine their preparedness for altered status. One group could manage immediately without federal services. A second could move toward the end of trust status after a ten-year period of limited protection. A third should have a longer period than ten years before federal protection should be withdrawn. The four criteria included the degree of acculturation of a tribe, its economy, its stance toward termination, and the local state's willingness and readiness to take on the duties the federal government previously had assumed.

Unwittingly, Zimmerman had furnished advocates of termination with the kind of ammunition they needed. They immediately zeroed in on the first group of tribes he had delineated and made them immediate targets for termination. Included in the first group of tribes were those on whom the ax of termination eventually fell, including the Klamaths of Oregon and the Menominees of Wisconsin. Others, such as the Salish-Kootenais of the Flathead Reservation in Montana, avoided termination, but only after a protracted campaign to do so. But all these Native peoples were put on notice. In 1947 Hugh Butler, a Republican

senator from Nebraska, offered bills to end federal trust responsibility for not only the Menominee and Flathead reservations, but also for the Hupas of California and various small reservations in that state, the Osages of Oklahoma, the Potawotamis of Kansas, the Turtle Mountain Anishinabeg of North Dakota, and the various Iroquois reservations in New York.

This list reveals something else at stake besides cutting federal spending and “liberating” American Indians. The Klamaths, Menominees, and Salish-Kootenais had reservation lands containing valuable economic resources. Once federal protection had been withdrawn, non-Indian outside interests were more likely to control or own the valuable timber and real estate of these three communities. Thus economic interest as well as ideology entered into the picture, just as it had during the allotment era.

Comparable economic interests affected the debate over the status of Indians in southeast Alaska. Tlingit and Haida land rights had been brushed aside in 1907 with the creation of the Tongass National Forest. The tribes had fourteen villages within the national forest’s boundaries. After World War II, they persisted in their fight to participate in the development of an expanded timber industry in the Tongass. Representing the NCAI, Bronson traveled to the region to meet with tribal leaders, who were trying to withstand the tremendous economic pressures. The Tongass Act of 1947, sponsored by senators Butler and Watkins, however, verified the degree of non-Native power and the relative powerlessness of the affected Indian communities. Both the Forest Service and leading Alaskan politicians, including territorial governor Ernest Gruening, backed the construction of pulp mills in the forest. Gruening saw rapid development of Tongass resources as another vital step in Alaska’s march toward statehood. Although the Tlingits and Haidas filed a land claims suit with the ICC, they were defeated in this particular confrontation. William Paul took some satisfaction in the fact that there at least had been a battle. At the NCAI’s fourth annual convention in Santa Fe in December 1947, D’Arcy McNickle emphasized the “need for Indians to stand together against the forces that would deprive them of their rights, their liberties, and their lands.”

By the end of the 1940s, McNickle and other Native Americans knew too well that BIA officials would not join in that stand, but rather would join the forces to which McNickle referred. Brophy had resigned, was followed by assistant commissioner Zimmerman, and then John R. Nichols made a brief appearance as commissioner. During his eleven months in office, Nichols supported the rapid withdrawal of federal protection and failed to protest as Congress gave civil and criminal jurisdiction over the Agua Caliente Reservation near Palm Springs to the state of California. Like other states, California had little respect for the notion of Indian separation or sovereignty. In May 1950 Dillon Myer succeeded Nichols. Myer had previously served as director of the War Relocation Authority, the agency in charge of interning Japanese Americans. He had butted heads with Collier during the war and now he was eager to reverse Collier's policies.

Myer had taken a particular dislike to James Curry, an attorney who not only advised the NCAI but by the end of 1950 many Indian tribes, including the Pyramid Lake Paiutes. The Paiutes were embroiled in a highly publicized fight for their land and water rights. Myer attempted to restrict any tribe's ability to hire counsel and to limit any attorney so hired to a three-year term. After the NCAI, the American Bar Association, and other organizations howled in protest, Secretary of the Interior Oscar Chapman decided Myer had gone too far and revoked his proposed regulations.

Before leaving office at the start of the Eisenhower administration, Myer did his best to expedite the process of termination. Under his direction, the BIA targeted the Klamaths, the Menominees, the Osages, and the Sioux tribes of the Missouri country for prompt withdrawal of federal protection. Indian nations protested such plans, but Meyer believed these changes were necessary. Myer did not serve as commissioner long enough to finish the assignment he had undertaken, but he charted the course that his successor, Glenn Emmons, followed.

With the election of Dwight Eisenhower and a Republican Congress in 1952, the process of termination accelerated. Emmons, a banker from Gallup, New Mexico, was ideally suited

to preside over the dissolution of the tribal estate. He was, if nothing else, an advocate of private property and free enterprise; two years after his arrival in town, he organized Gallup's first chamber of commerce. Emmons fully endorsed the views of Orme Lewis, a Phoenix attorney who had been appointed assistant secretary of the Department of the Interior for public lands management. Lewis concluded that Indians "are Americans and ought to become a part of us for their own good and for the benefit they can give us," and emphasized that he had "utterly no patience with those who think more about Indian culture than they do about Indians." "The world is made up of people who overran others, as a result of which we have great nations," he argued.

Attorney Felix Cohen observed the shift in thinking that had occurred during the postwar years. "Like the miner's canary," he wrote in 1953, "the Indian marks the shifts from fresh air to poison gas in our political atmosphere; and our treatment of Indians, even more than our treatment of other minorities, reflects the rise and fall in our democratic faith." "Here, as in other parts of the world," he added, "the undermining of that faith begins with the glorification of 'expert administrators' whose power-drives are always accompanied by soft music about 'the withering away of the state' or the ultimate 'liquidation' of this or that bureau."

Dimensions of Termination

The Indians were about to be overrun, because ending trust protection was deemed good for them and, in part, because the federal government now was controlled by people determined to reduce its scope, slice its expenditures, and return as much power as possible to the states. In 1953, Lewis tabbed an old political friend and ally, Phoenix banker Carl Bimson, to head a committee to study both withdrawal of trust status and reduction of the BIA's budget. The findings and recommendations of Bimson's committee reinforced several key objectives: to transfer powers from the BIA to the states or to other federal agencies; to

reduce the emphasis on boarding schools; to relocate people to the cities; to eliminate the trust status held by reservations.

The passage of Public Law 280 in 1953 constituted a crucial victory in the crusade to transfer power. California, Minnesota, Nebraska, Oregon, and Wisconsin took over criminal and civil jurisdiction on Indian lands, except for the Red Lake Reservation in Minnesota, the Warm Springs Reservation in Oregon, and the Menominee Reservation in Wisconsin. Iowa and Washington later chose to assume some jurisdiction and Alaska assumed jurisdiction when it became a state. Historian John Wunder later labeled Public Law 280 “the most successful legal attack on Indian rights and sovereignty since the adoption of the Constitution.” Eisenhower hesitated before signing the law, noting that it did not depend on Indian consent and that it mirrored an “un-Christian” spirit.

When Public Law 280 went into effect, it posed real problems for Indian communities. In Nebraska, state officials chose not to enforce the law, leaving the task to the counties. The counties backed off as well from assuming any substantial responsibility. The Omaha and Winnebago reservations in eastern Nebraska quickly were overrun by criminal activity and unprecedented violence. In Indian America, according to Joe DeLaCruz, a Quinault who later served as president of the NCAI, “we had conflicts with the states and counties over highways. We also had confrontations over our children and the rights of our children. States used Public Law 280 to impose their educational practices on our children.” Hank Adams (Assiniboine) recalled that when he was fourteen years old he attended with his stepfather a meeting of the Quinault tribal council in Washington. The tribe voted almost unanimously to oppose the extension of state jurisdiction over it. However, Adams remembered, the next week, the tribal council chairman, the tribal attorney, and the BIA superintendent “met at the agency and petitioned the state of Washington to assume jurisdiction over the reservation.” “That action,” he charged, “was a violation of Quinault sovereignty, and it revealed a fundamental problem between Indians and the federal government. Invariably, external forces contrive to get

what they want at the expense of Indian people, Indian rights, and Indian sovereignty." Soon thereafter the tribal chairman committed suicide. The chairman, Adams believed, had felt guilty about "violating the tribe's governing institutions and the will of the Quinault people." It all made a lasting impression on a fourteen-year-old, who in the 1960s and 1970s became a nationally known activist for Indian rights.

Another example of the transfer of power came with the delegation of Indian health care responsibilities from the BIA to the Public Health Service (PHS). The PHS established a special division, the Indian Health Service, to assume this new assignment, which began officially on July 1, 1955. A PHS survey then revealed what everyone already knew: the government had not fulfilled its trust responsibilities in this realm. The transfer did result in an infusion of badly needed funds into the system, but major systemic problems remained. Moving the job from one bureaucracy to another did not offer a miraculous cure. At the same time, from a standpoint of the delivery of health services, the move made sense and yielded the possibility that more satisfactory health care might yet be realized.

The need for change in regard to educational opportunities for Indian students could not be denied. Boarding schools too often provided the only option for rural reservation students. These schools emphasized immediate, applied vocational training at the high school level, to the exclusion of preparation for college. For many reasons development of public schools on the reservations appeared to be needed, but funding remained a major hurdle. Without the same forms of taxation, how could such schools be constructed and maintained? The answer started to emerge through passage of two public laws originally designed to deal with the issue of providing education for military dependents. Public school districts had balked at shouldering the additional expenses for such children on military bases, so Congress had agreed to subsidize existing school districts or provide funds to establish new ones for this purpose. In 1953 these laws were amended to include comparable assistance for the schooling of Indian children on reservations. Public Law 815 thus provided

money for the construction of new Indian public schools and Public Law 874 yielded funds for operating those schools.

These laws now made public education for Indians a goal that could be achieved, even though many states were less than enthusiastic about the prospect. State education officials often stalled, attempting to continue with the old system of funding through the Johnson-O'Malley Act of 1934 rather than apply the more recent legislation. Johnson-O'Malley encouraged the continuation of control at the state and non-Indian district level, because funding through its auspices targeted Indian children enrolled in existing schools. Public laws 815 and 874 raised the possibility of schools under Indian control and the diminution of the Johnson-O'Malley funds. School boards had come to rely on and frequently had employed these funds for purposes other than the well-being of their Native students. The BIA had simply contracted with state departments of education, bypassing any form of Indian participation, let alone control. Now new alternatives existed.

The BIA also started to reduce its overall role in education. In 1952 it closed all of its remaining schools in Idaho, Michigan, Washington, and Wisconsin, and in the following year it shut down an additional nineteen boarding and day schools. The federal presence in education remained prominent in Alaska and on large reservations such as Navajo. But even on Navajo, the pendulum began to swing more toward public education. Passage of the Navajo-Hopi Rehabilitation Act in 1950 had set aside additional funds for construction of both new highways and new schools. Although it would not occur overnight, the transition away from significant reliance on boarding schools was under way. In the next generation, the old off-reservation boarding high schools began to close, as more and more Indian students attended public schools, either on or off reservations. By 1970, 70 percent of all Indian children attended public schools, 25 percent attended federal schools, and 5 percent attended private or church-related schools. Those who still attended federal schools, for the most part, resided in one of three locations: Alaska, the Navajo Nation, and the Dakotas.

The migration of Native Americans to the cities also had a major impact on the demographics of Indian education. A growing number of Native children found themselves in urban classrooms, where they generally constituted a minority population. The 1960 US Census reported that over 30 percent of Indians resided in urban areas. In some instances, migrants to the city concentrated in one part of town, forming an identifiable Indian neighborhood, as in the case of Chicago's Uptown. More frequently, and particularly in western cities such as Los Angeles or Phoenix, Native families scattered to smaller core population centers. In such dispersed circumstances, Indian children often confronted the same dilemmas of other urban children of color: older school facilities, higher turnover rates among teachers and students, and a greater preoccupation with order than with instruction. Urban Indians resided in public school districts. Indian parents hoped that a move to the city might bring increased educational opportunities for their children. But by this time teenage students usually were more distant from their elders and from older relatives who encouraged responsibility in individual behavior. They struggled with new peer group influences. "Maybe the schools are better here," said one woman who had moved to Chicago, "but half the time my kids just don't go to school. They start out, but they never get there—or else I guess they leave before school is out. I don't know what to do with them."

The attempted withdrawal of federal trust responsibility encouraged the parallel notion of withdrawal of Indians from reservation to the city. Going from rural enclave to urban residence represented another variation on the pervasive theme of "liberation." Senator Watkins expressed the congressional conventional wisdom in 1957 when he argued: "Secluded reservation life is a deterrent to the Indian, keeping him apart in ways far beyond the purely geographic." Watkins believed that erasing all distinctions between Indians and other Americans offered the route to true freedom and equality. "Following in the footsteps of the Emancipation Proclamation of ninety-four years ago," he concluded, "I see the following words embellished in

letters of fire above the heads of the Indians—THESE PEOPLE SHALL BE FREE!”

House Concurrent Resolution 108 passed Congress unananimously and without debate. This resolution, approved on August 1, 1953, by the House, called for certain tribes to be terminated from trust status and singled out certain states in which termination was to be applied. The tribes earmarked for termination included the Klamaths of Oregon, the Potawatamies of Kansas and Nebraska, the Salish-Kootenais of Montana, the Menominees of Wisconsin, and the Turtle Mountain Anishinabeg. In addition, California, Florida, New York, and Texas were to have trust status eliminated for all of their Indian communities.

Resolution 108 offered a blueprint but did not determine precisely where termination would take place. Specific legislation had to be enacted and termination plans drawn up to officially terminate specific tribes, which proved to be a complicated and contentious process. Opposition from the Salish-Kootenais and from Montana representatives such as Senator Mike Mansfield derailed termination at Flathead, while the protests from four Paiute bands in Utah went unacknowledged by Watkins. In addition to the Paiute communities in Utah, congressional legislation approved the termination of numerous Indian groups in 1954: the Menominees, the Klamaths, the Alabamas and Coughattas in Texas, the Uintah and Ouray Utes in Utah, and various small bands and tribes in western Oregon. Over the next five years, various “rancheria” Indian communities in California, the Peorias, Ottawas, and Wyandots of Oklahoma, and the Catawbas of South Carolina were also terminated. The ax last fell in 1962 on the northern Poncas of Nebraska. Some groups did not have their trust status actually eliminated until the 1960s. In the most publicized cases, Menominee and Klamath termination went into effect in 1961, seven years after they had been singled out for this transition. For these two reservations, as elsewhere, termination proved disastrous. Without federal protection and with corresponding needs for funds to provide local services, Indian reservations were forced to sell land previously held in

trust. As a result of termination, over 1 million acres of Native land would ultimately be “liberated” from Native ownership. The social, cultural, and economic consequences of termination quickly became apparent in the 1960s. Ironically, termination punished the very Indian communities that had enjoyed some degree of self-sufficiency and that had possessed considerable promise for further development.

Questions about how to respond to termination policy also caused conflicts throughout Indian country, as tribes and multi-tribal organizations like the NCAI strongly opposed those tribal councils that preferred to sever ties with the federal government and requested termination. If some tribes sought termination, opponents feared, they could create a variety of problems for neighboring Indian communities and fuel a movement that most tribes viewed as threatening. Some tribes also split internally over termination, as did The Colville Confederated Tribes in Washington State. What began as an attempt to compromise with Congress by drafting a termination plan for their own tribe in exchange for the return of lost tribal lands became a twenty-year-long internal struggle, lasting through the 1960s even as Congressional enthusiasm for termination waned. Some tribal members, like council woman Lucy Covington, vigorously opposed these pro-termination Colvilles. “Termination is something no Indian should ever dream about,” Covington argued. “It is like giving your eagle feather away.” Pro-terminationists, however, dominated the tribal council during the 1960s, including those representing a faction known as the Colville Indian Association. These advocates had a variety of reasons for requesting termination, including seeking freedom from BIA control and individual access to tribal assets. Tribal members not only disagreed about whether to terminate, but also about how that process should be carried out and whether mixed-blood and off-reservation members should have an equal say in the matter. In the end, Congress did not approve any Colville termination bills and they remained a recognized tribe. As historian and Colville member Laurie Arnold has explained, it is not surprising

that her people broke into factions during this debate given that the federal government had originally created the “tribe” a century before by thrusting together multiple independent bands. Rather than weakening Colville governance, says Arnold, the spirited internal debate ironically helped them hone their political skills and “would ultimately serve the tribe well” in the post-termination era.

Other threats to the Native future appeared during this time. Various federal agencies built new dams designed to assist in the production of electrical power, the control of floods, and the provision of recreation. Some of these projects inundated Indian lands and Native peoples were uprooted from traditional residences and economies. In the Northwest, the Bonneville Dam on the Columbia River eradicated the Indian dip-net fishery at the Cascades and the Grand Coulee erased the dip-net fishery at Kettle Falls. Worst of all, the Dalles Dam, also on the Columbia, eliminated the cherished fishing site of Celilo Falls. Following the demise of Celilo Falls in 1957, the government paid a settlement to members of the affected tribes, but the money could not replace the social and cultural significance this site had possessed for generations. The massive Pick-Sloan plan, carried out on the Missouri River by the Bureau of Reclamation and the Army Corps of Engineers, caused massive devastation for the Indian peoples of the northern Plains. Fort Randall Dam, Oahe Dam, and Big Bend Dam flooded over 202,000 acres of Sioux lands on the Cheyenne River, Crow Creek, Lower Brule, Standing Rock, and Yankton reservations. The Three Affiliated Tribes of North Dakota also had productive lands and towns disappear following the construction of Garrison Dam. Their tribal headquarters at Elbowoods vanished, to be replaced by New Town; the resulting lake, dubbed Lake Sakakawea, separated the southern part of the reservation from the rest of Fort Berthold. Carl Whitman and other reservation leaders fought the doomed fight against Pick-Sloan, just as did Frank Ducheneaux at Cheyenne River and his associates in Sioux country. Whitman and Ducheneaux received more than one lecture about standing in the way of

“progress.” The money their people were promised by the federal government did not represent fair compensation, quite apart from the fact that no amount of money could substitute for what had been lost. South Dakota congressman E. Y. Berry figured prominently both in the overall push for termination and for the construction of the dams. Indeed, Berry professed to see a benefit that would ensue from dissolving Indian trust lands and submerging them as well. With the new freedom and the new money, he suggested, these reservations “may be able to get out from under the yoke of the Indian Bureau before too long.”

Nor were such catastrophes confined to the West. A comparable tragedy occurred on Seneca lands in New York, where the Kinzua Dam, constructed by the Army Corps of Engineers just south of the New York–Pennsylvania state line, flooded more than 9,000 acres of Native land. The Senecas of the Allegany Reservation lost Cold Spring Longhouse, a vital place in their ceremonial life. Their land under water, 130 families had to move to new homes. Federal officials saw the new housing tracts at Steamburg and at Jimersontown as improvements, but the Senecas themselves mourned the loss of their old residences. The dam would not be formally dedicated until 1966, but the decision had been made in the 1950s. Once again, “rehabilitation” funds were presented by Congress, but what did money mean in the face of the loss of the people’s cherished longhouse and their homes and lands?

Urban Migration and Relocation

The urban migration of American Indians, as has been noted, did not begin in the 1950s; it had been ongoing throughout the twentieth century. The experiences of individuals during World War II, however, did accelerate the movement into the city. Commissioner Myer’s own personal transition from county extension agent to Washington bureaucrat influenced his conclusion that the United States was becoming increasingly urban and that the

Indian future lay in the city. He established in 1951 a Branch of Placement and Relocation, with a new office in Chicago and an expansion of existing offices already serving Navajos in Denver, Los Angeles, and Salt Lake City. This relocation program endeavored to induce Indian individuals and families to voluntarily remove themselves to cities at a higher rate. By February 1952 Indian relocatees were being funneled through this program. In its first year, 1,785 people participated. They received limited funding for initial transportation, housing, and living costs in their new urban environment. From these beginnings, the federal relocation program expanded to other cities, such as Dallas and Cleveland. Many people were deliberately placed a long way from home, not unlike the early boarding schools, so as to discourage prompt or easy return to reservation communities.

Orme Lewis spoke for many in the Eisenhower administration and Congress when he said it was “nuts” to maintain the separation of the reservation. Lewis knew from his own experience in Arizona that reservations could be cultural enclaves, the environments of which worked against the goal of assimilation. For Indians to be “rehabilitated” they needed to move. Such a philosophy was also reflected in the inauguration of the Indian Placement Program by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Over the next quarter of a century more than 60,000 Native students were taken from their homes and placed with Mormon families elsewhere.

Whether they participated in the federal program or not, Indian people who relocated to cities did so for their own reasons. Social and economic problems on reservations and in other rural areas where Indians lived encouraged more than a few people to leave. Land allotment and cession had splintered many such locales. On the reservations individuals with particular skills could not necessarily put them to full use; individuals with particular ambitions could not necessarily realize them. Indians in the 1950s thus continued a pattern evident in the years before World War II, when the first generation after the implementation

of allotment frequently chose new locations. Charlotte Wilson Heth (Cherokee) remembered:

Younger people in the 1930s, often still in their teens, moved to the smaller cities and towns near their homes to get work as unskilled laborers and domestics in order to support their families. ... In my own family, my grandfather moved his family a few miles from his allotment to a very small town where his father lived, and finally to Sallisaw, the largest town in the county. He was a handyman, gardener, butcher, barber, and cook. In town he could use these skills to support his family. Out in the country, he could not.

Heth's mother, at the age of sixteen, moved to Muskogee in 1930 to find work and assist her parents in buying a home. When Heth was two, her parents moved on to Tulsa, so that her father could obtain a better job. "Finally," she noted, "as might be predicted, my parents moved to Los Angeles in 1964 to find work, only to return to Oklahoma as soon as they could retire in 1978." The story of her family suggests that the era of relocation from the end of the 1940s to the end of the 1950s must be placed in a larger context of ongoing migration. Not only did many Indians come voluntarily to the city, but urban migration did not always mean permanent exile from the Native community. Just as they did in later years, many Indians moved back and forth from reservation to urban centers, did their best to visit family members "back home," and encouraged relatives to visit them during the period they remained away.

The overriding issues for Indian people who relocated were what kind of assistance they received in getting started in the city, what kind of jobs they could obtain, and what social services were available to them. Testimony from urban migrants attested to a great variety in their experiences. Nonetheless, those who had received more formal education or who already possessed a marketable skill, not surprisingly, tended to fare better. Bureau personnel spoke of job training and continuing aid, but most Indians who came to the city through the federal program reported that

they had received little of either. They explained that they had been given a one-way bus ticket, were offered a little initial help with finding a job and housing, and then largely were left on their own. Their situation resembled that of the person who has never been swimming and who is tossed into the pool by a well-meaning “instructor,” who then commands the thrashing “swimmer” to swim. A lot of Indians believed the government simply left them to drown. More than a few found urban life traumatic. Many had not previously encountered stoplights, elevators, telephones, and a world ruled by the insistent ticking of the clock. They often wound up living in substandard housing. Some struggled with alcoholism.

Being left to drown did not always result in drowning. Navajo anthropologist Jennie Joe commented that many of those who had difficulty in the city also had difficulty on the reservation. Those who hailed from troubled family circumstances or who were not well grounded in their own tribal culture, or both, she said, “usually report continuous personal and other situational problems and these difficulties appear to follow them whether they are in the city or on the reservation.” For example, many adults who had been raised in boarding schools had not had much of an opportunity to learn good parenting skills. However, the problems that emerged or reappeared in the city demanded immediate attention and Indians knew they could not rely on federal officials to provide timely or appropriate assistance. They thus began to establish organizations of their own to try to deal with common needs and concerns. The Chicago Indian Center, for example, was established in 1953. Through Indian centers, churches, and associations, urban Indians often discovered not only that they were not alone, but that they could gain counsel and camaraderie. The racism and discrimination they encountered sometimes inspired greater solidarity, greater understanding of a common multitribal identity as Indians, as opposed to an identity tied to a particular reservation, community, or tribe. A thirty-three-year-old man reported that up in Wisconsin Oneidas might fight with Menominees, but in Chicago “we’re all good

friends. When we get to the city we begin to think of ourselves more as Indians. Here we all stick together.”

Toward Self-Determination

The more publicized movement for Indian rights of the 1960s, therefore, began in the previous decade. The National Indian Youth Council (NIYC), founded in 1961, traced its origins to the annual conferences of the Southwest Association on Indian Affairs, starting in 1956. In the Saint Francis auditorium in Santa Fe, Indian high school and college students met and talked. This assemblage became the Southwest Regional Youth Council, which met annually until the NIYC's inauguration. Anthropologist Alfonso Ortiz (San Juan Pueblo) credited “a core group from these youth councils, augmented later by alumni of D’Arcy McNickle’s Indian leadership training programs” for founding “the NIYC in Gallup after the American Indian Chicago Conference was held in June [1961].”

That conference in Chicago brought together about 500 Indians from nearly 100 communities all over the United States. Two anthropologists, Sol Tax and Nancy Lurie, helped with the necessary arrangements to have the group convene from June 13 to June 20 at the University of Chicago, where Tax taught. Supported by the NCAI, the meeting allowed an eclectic mix of young and old, including some from tribes not yet recognized by the federal government, to gather and to hear each other’s views. The “Declaration of Indian Purpose,” which emerged from the conference, opposed termination and Kinzua Dam and addressed the needs of Indian tribes for better education and medical care as well as economic development. In a Cold War era when Indian organizations noted the contradictions of US efforts to support peoples’ freedom and self-determination overseas while terminating Native sovereign rights at home, the declaration also stated that “the problem we raise affects the standing which our nation sustains before world opinion.” For many individuals the

conference encouraged or reinforced their sense of commonality among Indian people and the corresponding interest they had in speaking out for the achievement of a brighter Native American future.

Urbanization and the continued expansion of contact between and among Indian communities during this era also inspired the growth of two other major modern pan-Indian institutions: the Native American Church (NAC) and the powwow. In the 1950s the annual meeting of the NAC began to take place for the first time outside of Oklahoma. The NAC convention convened in 1953 in Macy, Nebraska, on the Omaha Reservation, followed by gatherings in Tama, Iowa, Wisconsin Dells, Wisconsin, and Scottsbluff, Nebraska. Navajo migrants to the San Francisco Bay Area and Denver helped promote the NAC in these locations. The powwow also expanded as a common meeting ground for Indians of all tribes. The powwow circuit continued to develop in the Plains, and Indians in urban locales began to plan and establish their own powwows. For some smaller Indian communities outside of the Plains region, the powwow began to emerge as a means through which a recognized form of Indian expression and celebration could occur. In the wake of lost traditions, a new tradition was being established.

Such cultural revitalization, of course, ran contrary to the assimilationist spirit that fueled the fires of termination. And there were other signs suggesting that Indian identity would not easily be extinguished. Building upon the legacy of the New Deal years, Indian arts and crafts flourished in the postwar years. The Southwest particularly experienced an impressive outpouring of artistic expression. Kenneth Begay (silversmith, Navajo), Marie Chino (potter, Acoma), Lucy Lewis (potter, Acoma), Charles Loloma (silversmith, Hopi), and Daisy Tauglechee (weaver, Navajo), together with previously mentioned artists such as Allan Houser and Maria Martinez, gained heightened recognition and financial rewards from an expanding marketplace. Elsewhere a rediscovery of the beauty of traditional Native art set the stage for an imminent renaissance. For example, according to artist Bill Holm, exhibits of traditional Northwest Coast art in this era

rekindled interest throughout the region, making it possible for extraordinary artists such as Robert Davidson (Haida) to prosper in the next generation.

Cattle ranching offered other opportunities for the reaffirmation of Indian identity and proved to be a livelihood that enabled individuals and families to remain on reservation lands. On San Carlos and Tohono O'odham in Arizona, Blackfeet and Northern Cheyenne in Montana, and other reservations throughout the West, Native ranchers attempted to improve the quality of their livestock and increase their returns from the industry. They were often frustrated by BIA officials with little sympathy for tribalism, but they persisted. At times they enjoyed clear success. "Famed Apache Cattle Raisers to Complete Peak Spring Sales," the headline in the (Phoenix) *Arizona Republic* declared on May 25, 1952. In 1955 Tohono O'odham cattle sales totaled \$634,000. In Lakota country, the people of Pine Ridge even succeeded in imposing a tribal tax on non-Indian ranchers who leased Lakota land. The matter went to federal court in 1956, with the white ranchers' indignant lawyer complaining that the Indians were acting like a "foreign nation." However, US District Court judge George T. Mickelson eventually ruled against the white ranchers, saying they had a choice: pay the tax or do not use the land. Mickelson affirmed that Indian tribes were "sovereign powers and as sovereign powers can levy taxes."

By the end of the 1950s it had become evident that the courts presented one of the key arenas in the evolving battle for Indian rights. The acquisition of legal counsel inspired tribes to test the judicial waters in trying to determine just when and where their rights could be affirmed or clarified. And larger tribes such as the Navajos began to develop their own court systems, in part as a response to the potential of assumed state jurisdiction over Native lands. The establishment of tribal courts, in turn, provided the possibility of greater self-determination. *Williams v. Lee* in 1959 illustrated the point. A non-Indian trader on the Navajo Reservation sought payment for goods obtained on credit. He sued his delinquent Navajo customer in state court. The US Supreme Court ultimately denied the trader's case, concluding that the Navajo

courts offered proper venue for such action. Writing for the majority, Justice Hugo Black contended: "There can be no doubt that to allow the exercise of state jurisdiction here would undermine the authority of the tribal courts over Reservation affairs and hence would infringe on the right of the Indians to govern themselves."

That right now appeared more possible. Although the withdrawal of federal responsibility still would take its toll in Indian country, around the United States Native people realized that the overall movement toward termination had started to slow. In many quarters the talk turned to the need to work even more strenuously within tribes and across tribal boundaries in order to achieve a greater degree of control over Indian lands and Indian lives.

The Struggle for Sovereignty, 1962–1980

Each night and each morning, as he always had, the old man prayed. Juan de Jesus Romero had reached ninety years of age and as the cacique, the spiritual leader of his community, he had been the quiet and largely unobserved force behind the struggle by Taos Pueblo to regain sacred ground. Now, in 1970, the climax of that long campaign had finally neared. If Blue Lake could be regained, he had reason to be optimistic about the Taos future. If Congress rejected the rationale for the return of Blue Lake, then the Taos future would be grim, indeed. Determined that Blue Lake would be officially and fully returned to his people by the US government, he had fought for more than six decades to regain the spiritual center of Taos Pueblo life. Earlier in the twentieth century, the federal government had granted a fifty-year use permit for Blue Lake to the pueblo, but had maintained control of the lake as part of Carson National Forest. The multiple-use philosophy of the Forest Service caused lands in Carson to be scarred by logging; the idea of religious privacy or sacred space for the Native people had not enjoyed a high priority. The influential senator from New Mexico, Clinton Anderson, had resisted the idea

"We Are Still Here": American Indians since 1890, Second Edition.

Peter Iverson and Wade Davies.

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of returning Blue Lake and significant acreage surrounding it to Taos Pueblo. So Juan de Jesus Romero had made the long journey to Washington, DC, to add his voice to that of the tribe's attorney and other members of his community.

He emphasized that if Blue Lake and the land around it were not fully returned to Taos Pueblo then it would mean the end of his people's life. "Our people," he declared, "will scatter as the people of other nations have scattered. It is our religion that holds us together." Through the force of his presence and testimony, combined with the efforts of Paul Bernal and others from the village, Taos Pueblo eventually won its battle for sovereignty—and survival. H.R. bill 471, which returned Blue Lake and 48,000 acres to the pueblo, found its champions in the federal government among Democratic senators Fred Harris, Ted Kennedy, and George McGovern and Republican senator Barry Goldwater. On December 2, 1970, the US Senate passed the bill by a vote of 70–12; on December 15, 1970, President Richard M. Nixon signed the bill into law.

Before the vote in the Senate, the cacique had chanted with Bernal, Pueblo governor Querino Romero, and another veteran of the campaign, James Mirabal. They prayed and they waited. At the moment the vote was announced in the Senate, the people of Taos Pueblo who had assembled in the Senate gallery joined in the celebration. Juan de Jesus Romero rose to his feet. He held up three canes, which, along with Blue Lake, symbolized the vitality, the past, and the future of Taos Pueblo sovereignty. Those present on that occasion would always remember that sight and that triumph.

The canes of Taos and other pueblos in the Southwest involved a long and significant story. The first cane dated from the era of early Spanish incursion in the region. Each pueblo governor had received a cane crowned with silver from the Spanish government, according to Jemez Pueblo historian Joe Sando, as a symbol "of justice and leadership." The cane was passed down from one governor to the next. After Mexico gained its independence from Spain in 1821, its new government presented a second group of silver-crowned canes. These were passed down

from one lieutenant governor to the next. Following the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, the United States then assumed jurisdiction in the region. In 1863 the United States formally continued the tradition of presenting a cane. President Abraham Lincoln gave the pueblo governors new canes, again crowned in silver, with the pueblo name, 1863, and “A. Lincoln” engraved on each. The Lincoln canes were transferred from one pueblo governor to the next. In the 1980s, the governor of New Mexico and the king of Spain presented additional canes to the pueblos.

Blue Lake, the pueblo cacique and the pueblo governor, and the canes offer important emblems of the evolving struggle for sovereignty by American Indians in the 1960s and 1970s. During this period, many different confrontations erupted over control and revolved around symbols. In another time, the assumption of power over Blue Lake by the Forest Service had aroused strong emotions and encouraged passionate protests. Yet the degree of significance and seriousness of this action went largely unnoticed by the non-Indian public. By the beginning of the 1960s modern forms of communication, especially television, had altered how Americans heard and learned about such matters. Juan de Jesus Romero was not only often quoted but also frequently photographed. The image of this small, old, dignified man provided additional power to the Taos Pueblo cause. The fight over Blue Lake, the clash between Taos leaders and Senator Anderson, and the canes themselves all served as reminders of the importance of history, place, tradition, and memory in the Indian world. They also spoke to the ongoing, complicated relationships between Indian peoples and those who came later to the Americas. They attested to different claims of authority and, at times, different expressions and understandings of sovereignty.

In the 1960s and 1970s those expressions came in varying guises and those understandings revealed varying degrees and forms of self-determination. Through demonstrations in the Pacific Northwest over fishing rights, the emergence of the American Indian Movement, the occupation of Alcatraz, the Trail of Broken Treaties, and the confrontations at Akwesasne and Wounded Knee, Native Americans dramatized and underscored

their commitment to vital concerns. In Alaska, Maine, and elsewhere Indians sought to claim, regain, or reassert their rights to land. In the areas of tribal recognition, the welfare of children, religious freedom, and tribal membership, Native peoples wrestled with central matters relating to identity. Indians also attempted to gain more control over their water, their economies, and their education. In literature, art, and history, Indian perspectives had major effect. In the course of a generation, termination was overcome and a new route charted toward the Native future. The hereditary religious leader of Taos Pueblo, Juan de Jesus Romero, lived to see a great many transitions. He died on July 30, 1978, confident about the Taos future.

Restoration

As termination of trust status began to take full effect in the 1960s, the results belied the buoyant optimism of Arthur Watkins and other congressional proponents. The ending of federal protection quickly impoverished heretofore relatively self-sufficient Indian communities such as the Menominees, who had operated their own utility company and hospital and been one of three tribes to reimburse the federal government for its provision of community services. Termination transformed Menominee into Menominee County. The Menominees already had dissipated half of the tribal treasury of \$10 million in order to pay for court costs to implement a process few had wanted. In addition, they had to spend much of their remaining budget to modernize the tribal sawmill, which had been neglected by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). The small hospital and utility company could not meet the new state standards and soon closed. The lumber mill faced a declining market for its product and new business taxes. Families now had to pay state taxes on their lands. Some Menominees were compelled to sell their homes, and some now asked for welfare assistance as they confronted a downward economic spiral. Congress had wanted to reduce

federal appropriations to Menominees, but the effects of its action now forced the federal government to pour much more money into the new county. Furthermore, Menominee students now faced long commutes to attend school in a neighboring county, often encountering racism when they got there. In summarizing its wide-reaching consequences for the Menominees, historian David Beck has argued that “termination visited an unmitigated disaster on the tribe, comparable only to the land losses associated with the nineteenth-century treaty era.”

Menominee determination to overturn termination encouraged the development of new organizations to fight for that objective. Members of the Citizens’ Association for the Advancement of the Menominee People (CAAMP) helped inaugurate DRUMS (Determination of Rights and Unity for Menominee Shareholders) in 1970. DRUMS revealed the connection between Indians living in the cities and those living on reservations or former reservations during this era. Menominees in Milwaukee and Chicago organized DRUMS to protest non-Indian influence in Menominee Enterprises Incorporated (MEI), the entity created to manage tribal assets after reservation status had been eliminated. MEI had initiated controversial economic development ventures, such as Legend Lake, to sell vacation home sites to outsiders. Menominees were furious about these developments. Protestors would lie down in roads leading toward realtors’ offices, trying to block outsiders from purchasing Menominee land. DRUMS would eventually grow into a movement that united tribal members in an effort to restore reservation status. Ada Deer became a major spokesperson for restoration. Deer later remembered that initially supporters of restoration were regarded as “agitators and crazies.” Undeterred, she gained valuable allies within Wisconsin, such as attorney Joseph Preloznik of Madison. Deer was aided by the efforts of many other resolute Menominee women, including her mother and her sister, as well as Joan Keshena Harte, Sylvia Wilbur, and Shirley Daly. In time the Menominees succeeded in overturning termination, although they could not erase all of its effects. Wisconsin senators Gaylord Nelson and William

Proxmire introduced legislation to restore reservation status and, after Congress voted its approval, President Nixon signed the Menominee Restoration Act on December 22, 1973.

The Menominees had not been alone, either in suffering ill effects from termination or in fighting to overturn it. The Klamath Reservation also experienced severe economic, cultural, and social trauma from cessation of trust status. In 1986 the community regained its position as a reservation, but not until after major damage had been inflicted upon its land holdings and overall economy. Most of the other terminated Indian groups also gained restoration, yet the process took usually two decades or more to accomplish. Those communities today are still recuperating from the divisive, catastrophic impact of an ill-advised policy, but their very survival is additional testimony to Native resilience.

Restoration of reservations should be understood in the context of shifts in national politics and ongoing contradictions or paradoxes in regard to the status of Indians in American life. During the 1960s and early 1970s, three presidential administrations moved toward greater support for tribal economic development and self-determination. This policy shift was evidenced both by legislative action and presidential statements, including President Nixon's "Special Message on Indian Affairs" to Congress in 1970. However, the director of the American Indian Law Center, P. Sam Deloria (Standing Rock Sioux), later argued: "The transition of recent federal policy from termination to self-determination reflects only a tactical shift in the fundamental commitment of a society to bring Indians into the mainstream, not a movement toward a true recognition of a permanent tribal right to exist." Deloria concluded that a tension continued to exist between self-determination and federal trust responsibility.

During the heyday of President Lyndon Johnson's Great Society in the mid-1960s, the desire to improve conditions on Indian reservations and elsewhere inspired the creation of a variety of programs through the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO). Federal funds now came to Indian communities from sources other than the BIA. Although Indians increasingly assumed

power within the bureau, it remained bureaucratic in its tendencies and chronically unable or unwilling to foster many plans that promised sudden or significant change. Thus Head Start, legal services, and other programs with important grassroots consequences came to reservations from Washington but not from the BIA. Legal services programs gave individual Indians, as well as tribal governments, access to legal counsel. This access permitted Native people to confront more directly a host of concerns, ranging from sales contracts and wage claims to family-related issues. The California Indian Legal Services program started a project that grew into the Native American Rights Fund (NARF). A Ford Foundation grant in 1970 permitted NARF to open its doors in Boulder, Colorado. NARF quickly emerged as a major force in many different battles relating to tribal sovereignty and standing, including federal recognition, fishing and hunting rights, taxation, use of natural resources, water rights, religious freedom, education, and health care. David Getches served as the organization's founding director. Within three years, original staff attorney John Echohawk (Pawnee) became NARF's director, a position he still held in 2013. NARF also recruited other Natives who had recently completed law school.

Younger tribal members, many of them college-educated, seized upon varied new programs from the outside to promote community development, to foster their own political careers, or to work more aggressively for social, economic, or political change. This pattern, in turn, often encouraged more progressive tribal governments and also stiff resistance from established tribal leaders who feared a redistribution of both money and power. On many reservations, however, suspicion and uncertainty greeted the passage of the Economic Opportunity Act in 1964 as part of the "War on Poverty." These emotions gave way to more enthusiasm as funds became more generous and it became increasingly evident that the communities themselves actually could control the community action programs. Programs like Head Start created opportunities for work and new career horizons. In the Salt River community in Arizona, for example, women gained a high percentage of positions in Head Start and youth programs, for they had more clerical

skills and traditionally had more responsibility for child care. Participation in such new endeavors encouraged the political as well as social empowerment of women. In the 1970s, women began to chair committees and boards dealing with industrial development and land management; in 1980 Alfretta Antone became the first woman vice-president of the Salt River Pima-Maricopas. She served in this capacity until 1990, to be succeeded by Merna Lewis, whose career had begun as a teacher aide for Head Start.

At Salt River and throughout Indian America in the 1960s and 1970s one saw the rise of new leadership on reservations, in the cities, on college and university campuses, and in multitribal organizations. These leaders called upon Native peoples to regain control of their lives and lands, and to begin to realize more fully the kind of sovereignty that had once characterized Indian communities prior to European incursion. While still in his early twenties, Clyde Warrior (Ponca) became the leader of the National Indian Youth Council (NIYC). His speeches and essays articulated with angry eloquence the frustrations and urgency felt by his generation. Warrior, Mel Thom (Walker River Paiute), and other NIYC members criticized some tribal leaders' and the National Congress of American Indians' (NCAI) more conservative strategies and instead began to turn toward an emphasis on protest and grassroots activism. In Washington state leaders like Joe DeLaCruz and Lucy Covington spoke out for the rights of their people. In New Mexico, Zuni governor Robert Lewis started his tenacious quest for the return of sacred ground. In Mississippi, Phillip Martin (Choctaw) began the first of three separate tribal chairmanships during which he would challenge BIA authority and eventually enjoy great success in building a viable local economy.

These initiatives sometimes were aided by federal funding and at other times were continued despite federal interference. Many observers perceived an inherent contradiction between true sovereignty and acceptance of federal funds or new programs conceived in Washington, DC. Vine Deloria, Jr. retorted that while restoration of Indian tribes "to a status of quasi-international independence with the United States acting as their protector" might strike most Americans "as either radical or ridiculous,"

it was neither. The reality of the federal presence in Indian country did not mean Indians had to sacrifice principle, P. Sam Deloria concluded, but rather they had to make “realistic adaptation” to that fact. The federal government could accelerate or retard Indian control over Indian communities but could not achieve it altogether. Moreover, self-determination did not mean access to untold amounts of federal assistance with no accountability for that infusion. As for the new wave of publicity attending the push for self-determination, P. Sam Deloria contended: “Indians did not discover they were Indians in the early 1970s. We were not reborn; we were simply noticed.”

Fishing Rights and the Growth of Activism

That notice accompanied a series of dramatic crusades to highlight inequity and injustice. These campaigns all had their roots in prior treaties, agreements, and judicial decisions. One of the first well-publicized attempts concerned Indian fishing rights in the Pacific Northwest. Washington territorial governor Isaac Stevens had negotiated five separate treaties in 1854 and 1855 with various Native groups. The tribes salvaged only small amounts of land from these deliberations, but all the treaties noted specifically that “The right of taking fish at usual and accustomed grounds and stations is further secured to said Indians in common with all citizens of the territory.” The state of Washington over time, however, worked against the realization of these fishing rights by excluding Indians from traditional fishing sites and by favoring the interests of white sport fishers and the burgeoning salmon canneries of the region. The Yakamas and the Makahs in the 1940s began to take matters to court, and in 1954 Bob Satiacum (Puyallup) challenged state fish and game laws by gill-netting near Tacoma. He was arrested. Other “fish-ins” followed, inspired by both long-simmering resentments against the restrictions of Indian fishing rights and the success of sit-ins in the national civil rights movement. The Survival of American Indians Association, founded in 1964, helped organize these protests. Janet

McCloud (Tulalip) and Hank Adams were among its leaders. Film celebrities such as Marlon Brando and Jane Fonda began making their way to places like Frank's Landing to assert their support for the cause.

People like Brando and Fonda soon wandered off to other causes, but the confrontations continued. By the end of the decade, the federal government brought suit to insure that the states of Oregon and Washington would allow Indians an appropriate and fair share of the annual "harvest" of fish. The case in Washington had more serious overtones, as it involved a larger number of tribes and a more determined resistance from the state and the non-Indian sport and commercial fishing industry. Filed in 1970 and ruled upon in 1974 by US District Court judge George Boldt, *United States v. Washington* sent shock waves through the waters of the Northwest. In what became commonly known as the "Boldt decision," the judge ruled that non-Indians could not take more than half of the salmon going through the "usual and accustomed" grounds of the treaty tribes. The state appealed, but lost; in 1979 the US Supreme Court upheld the conclusions Boldt had reached.

The decision, according to attorney Alvin Ziontz, "proved to be a tremendous impetus for the revival of the Indian fishing economy. It not only affirmed the rights of Indians to have their harvest opportunity respected by the State, but left the Indians unrestricted as to the type of gear which could be used at any of their usual and accustomed grounds." More Indians began to fish and to add to their gear; more urban Indians returned home to their reservations. The percentage of the fish caught by Indians increased from an average of 5 percent in the four years prior to 1974 to 27.2 percent in 1980 to 49 percent in 1984. Heightened participation in the industry spawned related new industries on the reservations, including fish buying, fish processing, and the raising of fish through aquaculture programs. Tribes also built new fish hatcheries, started fisheries departments, and saw their governments grow in stature and influence. At the same time, questions arose over what constituted tribal membership, the amount of fish each tribe of the region should be allowed to harvest, and

other related matters. The central importance of fishing in both the culture and the economy of the Northwest guaranteed that regardless of court decisions, fishing rights would remain a source of contention.

The fight over fishing rights in the Northwest also offered valuable experience for a number of Indian activists who went on to participate in the early years of the American Indian Movement (AIM). Darrelle “Dino” Butler (Tolowa), Janet McCloud, Sid Mills (Yakama), Leonard Peltier (Anishinabe-Dakota), Bob Robideau (Anishinabe) and Jim Robideau (Anishinabe), and Joseph Stuntz Killisright (Coeur d’Alene) witnessed the effectiveness of the fish-ins as well as other protests and proceeded to appropriate lessons from them. Anishinabeg in Minneapolis, including Dennis Banks, Clyde and Vernon Bellecourt, and George Mitchell, started AIM in the summer and fall of 1968. Indian residents of the city had complained bitterly about their treatment by local police officers, so AIM first focused its attention on this issue. Soon AIM added to its ranks and to its agenda. Although the organization was not directly engaged in the occupation of Alcatraz Island in 1969, Banks had been involved in the overall protest. AIM moved over the next several years on a variety of fronts, applying the approach of highly publicized occupations and demonstrations. Paul Chaat Smith (Comanche) and Robert Warrior (Osage) later described AIM as “less a political organization than a force of nature;” it enjoyed its greatest influence and success in the first decade after its founding. In the wake of the imprisonment of Leonard Peltier in 1977, federal infiltration and subsequent factionalism, and the deaths in 1979 from a suspicious house fire of AIM leader John Trudell’s (Santee Dakota) wife, three children, and mother-in-law, it dissolved as a formal national association and continued in several locations through local efforts, with its most significant residual influence in the northern Plains. Not until the mid-1990s did the organization begin to attempt a national revitalization. The dissatisfaction of Indian women activists also contributed to AIM’s decline. Janet McCloud and others had grown weary, as she phrased it, “of the sexist macho stuff we got from the men in AIM. We needed to do something

for the women. We are the backbone of our communities—men are the jawbone.” During the second half of the 1970s, McCloud and others established Women of All Red Nations (WARN). WARN addressed concerns ranging from involuntary sterilization and domestic violence to the revitalization of languages and cultures. By the late 1980s the Indigenous Women’s Network (IWN) had become the primary Native women’s organization.

The occupation of Alcatraz represented an important landmark of this era. And, while the decision to take control of the infamous island erupted from local conditions, the choice also rested upon the legacy of the civil rights, women’s, student, and other movements of the 1960s. Most of the early protesters on Alcatraz were not initially from the San Francisco Bay Area but had migrated there from all over the United States. Many of them were relocatees who had experienced poor housing, inadequate schooling, and other problems; they knew about the struggles over Kinzua Dam in New York and fishing rights in the Northwest. The creation of United Native Americans (UNA) in the area in the summer of 1968 provided another common bond. UNA encouraged recognition of common Indian concerns and expressions of unity across tribal boundaries.

Other developments also had an immediate influence on the decision to occupy Alcatraz. On the United States–Canada border, Mohawks protested the denial of their free access between the two countries. Citing the Jay Treaty of 1794, which specifically permitted Indians to take goods without customs payment and to travel without restriction between Canada and the United States, the Mohawks balked at tolls on the Cornwall International Bridge and fees demanded by customs agents. They blockaded the bridge in 1968 and by February, 1969, the Canadian government had given in to these demands. The controversy helped spark the start of a newspaper published on the Akwesasne Reservation, *Akwesasne Notes*, and the founding of White Roots of Peace, a group of Mohawks dedicated to traditional tribal values who traveled throughout North America to speak. *Akwesasne Notes* immediately attracted thousands of readers across the continent. It brought news not only from Akwesasne but elsewhere in

Indian country; it carried word of other protests, such as on the Pit River Reservation in northern California. Finally, the occupation was encouraged by the involvement of many college students, who had become increasingly aware of the roles and results of organized protest. By the fall of 1969, the idea of occupying Alcatraz began to move from possibility to probability. A fire in October 1969 burned down the San Francisco Indian Center. In the aftermath of this event, Indian activists began to see in the occupation of Alcatraz a way to dramatize the need for such centers and the denial of Indian rights. Alcatraz had been a military prison before it became a federal penitentiary. Modocs and Hopis had been imprisoned there. But the memories of such incarcerations had dimmed and Alcatraz simply stood as a symbol of the federal presence.

The actual occupation of the island also had its antecedents. A brief protest had been waged there by five Lakota men in 1964. Then on November 9, 1969, the new group of occupiers claimed the island “by right of discovery”, left, returned for an overnight stay, then left again. November 20 found the occupying group back once again, their numbers swelled to eighty by the addition of seventy UCLA Native students recruited by Richard Oakes (Mohawk). Oakes, Adam Nordwall (Anishinabe), and others from the Bay Area shared a common objective in taking control of the island, but differed in regard to personality and the range of their goals. Even with internal disagreements, the Indians succeeded in holding the island until June 11, 1971, when remaining occupants were taken from Alcatraz by the US Coast Guard. During this period, the “Indians of All Tribes,” as the occupiers called themselves, generated national and international publicity for grievances shared by a great many Native Americans. Permanent control of the island proved to be impossible. Many Native students returned to college in January, 1970. The twelve-year-old stepdaughter of Richard Oakes fell down a stairwell in the former prison and died as a result of her injuries that same month; Oakes and his family departed the island following this tragedy. Other Indians arrived and disagreements arose over leadership. Through the period of occupation, nonetheless, Native Americans



Figure 5.1 Some of the occupying group stands on Alcatraz Island's dock on November 25, 1969. The occupation from November 1969 to June 1971 publicized the concerns of urban and reservation residents and encouraged subsequent protests and occupations. Source: Courtesy of PA Images.

on “the Rock” brought the attention of the world to the general question of the status of urban and reservation Indians and the more particular needs of Indian students. In addition, as historian Troy Johnson has noted, the occupation played no small role in inspiring more than seventy other occupations of other sites in the years that immediately followed.

Two of the most significant of these occupations were those which occurred in Washington, DC, and on the Pine Ridge Reservation. In the fall of 1972 a Native protest group calling itself the Trail of Broken Treaties converged upon the capital. This procession publicized a number of grievances, both local and national, both new and long-standing. But the main reason for the caravan stemmed from the treaties themselves and the failure of the federal government to live up to their part of the agreement. AIM and NIYC members helped carry out the protest. Robert Burnette (Sicangu Lakota), Reuben Snake (Ho-Chunk), Anita Collins (Paiute-Shoshone), and LaVonne Weller (Caddo) served as officers. After the caravan arrived in Washington, several hundred people proceeded to the BIA offices for initial discussions. BIA security guards demanded that the protesters leave. Resistance to this demand led to occupation of the building itself. The occupation of “The Native American Embassy,” as the protesters labeled it, lasted a week. Opponents of this action charged that occupation of the building caused considerable damage to federal property and to the non-Indian view of Native peoples. Supporters of the action believed it highlighted BIA mismanagement through the release of previously confidential files and pressured the government to take the group’s demands more seriously.

The occupation of Wounded Knee followed directly from the standoff in the national capital. Russell Means (Oglala Lakota), Banks, and others from AIM journeyed to Pine Ridge in South Dakota, where they joined with traditional Lakota leaders to try to unseat the new tribal chairman, Richard Wilson. Pine Ridge politics long had been characterized by severe factionalism, and under the Wilson administration things had reached a breaking point. Wilson did not permit disagreement and strong-armed those who dissented from his opinion. Efforts to impeach him failed. Just

over the reservation border in Buffalo Gap, a Lakota man, Wesley Bad Heart Bull, was murdered and the non-Indian who killed him was charged only with second degree manslaughter. Some Indians who protested the watered-down charge made their way to the county courthouse in Custer, South Dakota, where they confronted local authorities and then set fire to the building.

Three weeks later, on February 27, 1973, AIM members and their allies took over the village of Wounded Knee on Pine Ridge. Angry about Wilson's unwillingness to meet with them, AIM members assembled on February 27 at a community center, Calico Hall, near the town of Pine Ridge. People from throughout the reservation expressed their fears and frustrations, often in a rush of Lakota, a language spoken by neither Dennis Banks nor Russell Means. Even if the men required English translations of the speeches, the emotions expressed were evident instantly to all. Gladys Bissonette and Ellen Moves Camp were among those giving eloquent pleas for action. Later that night, in a subsequent meeting held in the basement of the Holy Rosary Church, traditional leaders like Frank Fools Crow called upon Banks, Means, and other AIM members to go to Wounded Knee. And so they did, that very evening. Once they arrived, they were blocked from leaving by barriers set up around the community by BIA police and Wilson supporters. Then FBI agents and US marshals quickly arrived on the scene, together with additional BIA police and units of the National Guard. The surrounded AIM group had commandeered food and weapons from the local trading post and began to dig in. The standoff began. As had been the case with Alcatraz, the activists understood the symbolic value of this particular location; if they had taken over Kyle or Wanblee, it would not have been the same. "Wounded Knee received more attention in its first week," conclude Paul Chaat Smith and Robert Warrior, "than the entire previous decade of Indian activism." Nonetheless, even if effective in the short run, the precipitous decision left the occupants vulnerable. They could not really expect to defend the village in the face of the military forces allied against them. The blockade proved porous; food and supplies continued to make their way into Wounded Knee. The defiant men and women

who held Wounded Knee declared the enclave the Independent Oglala Nation. The rhetoric and the sniping escalated and during the protracted ordeal, Frank Clearwater (Eastern Cherokee) and Buddy Lamont (Oglala Lakota) were shot and killed. But as days turned into weeks and months, the American public began to lose interest in the details. Surrounded by heavily armed federal marshals and FBI agents, the protesters eventually called a halt to the occupation after seventy-one days. By the time the siege ended, much of the initial public relations advantage had evaporated.

Wounded Knee, as in the case of Alcatraz, again brought worldwide media attention to Native issues (at Pine Ridge) and to the goals of AIM leaders. Under the terms of the agreement that halted the occupation, the federal government promised to examine the conditions on Pine Ridge. But while Banks, Means, and other AIM members faced one trial after another on the basis of past incidents, the government did little to follow up on its promise, and in the aftermath Wilson and his cohorts, a group known widely as “the goon squad,” had free rein to terrorize the reservation. The murder of Anna Mae Pictou Aquash (Micmac) symbolized the pervasive violence at Pine Ridge. In this atmosphere, two FBI agents, Jack Coler and Ronald Williams, and AIM member Joseph Stuntz Killright were all killed on June 26, 1975, following an exchange of gunfire. Leonard Peltier of AIM was charged with the agents’ deaths. His trial resulted in conviction and Peltier began to serve two consecutive life sentences. Books such as *In the Spirit of Crazy Horse* by noted writer Peter Matthiessen and *The Trial of Leonard Peltier* by Jim Messerschmidt raised considerable doubt about the government’s actions and thus Peltier’s status. Public officials like William Janklow had concluded that the ends justified the means. Years later the former attorney general for South Dakota was asked how he could justify the methods he had employed in prosecuting Peltier. Janklow replied that he believed Peltier was guilty, and he was going to convict him any way he could. Despite ongoing protests about Peltier’s conviction, he remained imprisoned in 2013.

In the area of health care, Indians criticized the operation of the Indian Health Service (IHS) branch of the Public Health

Service. Until the medical draft ended in 1973, most non-Indian doctors served Indian communities as an alternative to military service. Although there were many dedicated men and women who defied the prevailing image, Native patients generally perceived IHS physicians as too young, too inexperienced, and culturally insensitive. They resided in segregated housing and were often uninformed about or antagonistic toward Native traditional healers. Hospitals and clinics were inadequately funded and were too few in number, and thus remained too distant from many Indian people. Monolingual staffs could not communicate effectively with many of their patients. By the 1970s, more Indian men and women were finishing medical school, but they had not yet altered time-worn practices at most facilities. Without adequate Indian participation in the system or adequate safeguards against abuses within it, some IHS employees proved guilty of scandalous practices. Although some physicians were sensitive to the needs of their patients, others believed they were empowered to make decisions for their patients without appropriate consultation. The most appalling of all examples of malpractice occurred from 1973 to 1976, when thousands of American Indian women were involuntarily sterilized. These women were not properly informed about either the seriousness or the irrevocable nature of this decision that had been made for them. One of the few Native physicians of the era, Connie Uri (Cherokee), eventually helped reveal this horrifying procedure and bring about its cessation.

Lands and Recognition

Control and appropriate use of the land continued as a rallying cry throughout this generation. Alaska and Maine provided two major cases in point. The Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) in 1971 had been hailed by many commentators for yielding a much better deal for the Native peoples of the region than American Indians had received in the past. Alaska Natives through ANCSA obtained title to 44 million acres of land and

nearly \$1 billion in compensation. Twelve different regional Native corporations and more than 200 village corporations were established to manage these lands and to promote economic development. For an initial period of twenty years, only Alaska Natives would be eligible for membership and voting rights in these corporations.

After the initial self-congratulation had subsided, it soon became apparent that ANCSA bore more resemblance to the Dawes Act of 1887 and termination than its proponents preferred to acknowledge. Natives worried over the 1991 date, after which individual shares could be alienated from the corporations. They agonized over the children born after 1971 who could not become shareholders. Discovery of oil in the Prudhoe Bay area in 1968 had necessitated the settlement of Native land claims. In their eagerness to expedite the construction of the Alaskan oil pipeline, federal lawmakers revealed that although termination had ceased, assimilation and economic progress remained higher priorities than maintenance of traditional Native subsistence or assertions of Native sovereignty. Therefore, at the same time that he opposed returning Blue Lake to Taos Pueblo, Senator Henry Jackson of Washington helped lead the fight for ANCSA's approval. As they had done so frequently in the "lower 48," newcomers to Indian country in Alaska underestimated the importance Natives gave to subsistence and disregarded the significance of sovereignty. Advisors to those who fashioned ANCSA concluded that Alaska Natives were poor because they lacked the comparable material comforts possessed by most other Americans. What the Natives needed, they decided, was access to more materialism rather than the means to continue their traditional ways of life. The chief economist for the field study, Douglas Jones, later admitted that he and others "probably misjudged" the "fierceness" Natives felt about the land and acknowledged that pleas for subsistence had been judged one-third legitimate and two-thirds politics. The desire to exploit natural resources overrode any nagging concerns that might have surfaced about the short- or long-term effects ANCSA might have upon Alaska's indigenous occupants.

Testimony presented by Native elders and younger political leaders at federal hearings held in 1968 and 1969 anticipated the kinds of problems ANCSA brought. Over and over again members of the recently established Alaskan Federation of Natives and other Native persons underlined their desire to continue to use and occupy specific lands and their determination to realize continuity in cultural integrity. Herman Rexford, chief of the village of Kartovik, spoke about a different kind of ownership, one won “through battles” and that was “by tradition ... the inheritance we received from our ancestors.” It was, anthropologist Ann Fienup-Riordan added, “a relational” concept of ownership, “where a man has a right to, and in fact an obligation to, use a site because of his relationship to previous generations of people who had a definite relationship to the species taken at the same place.” On Nelson Island, for example, “when a person lives like his grandparents from the land and the sea, he feels that those grandparents are still alive in him.” And you could honor the old values of generosity and reciprocity because the animals would come back. But money was different. If all you had was money, you could not give the same gifts and you lacked “the social and spiritual bonds that make gift giving both necessary and possible.” The Natives understood this point, in fact perceived it as a given that hardly needed to be articulated. For most non-Natives, it reflected a world they did not know and one they believed they did not need to understand.

ANCSA appeared to most Natives to have brought some marginal economic benefits; it contributed to improved health care, education, and housing. Yet it had not noticeably decreased major and ongoing social problems, including relatively high incidences of alcoholism and suicide. Alaska Natives had hoped that implementation of the Act might encourage greater independence and that it might somehow promote cultural integrity, but thus far they could not be encouraged by what they had witnessed. They became all the more determined to amend ANCSA and to combat more effectively the problems that remained.

In Maine, the Passamaquoddies, Penobscots, and the Houlton Band of Maliseets also reached agreement on a land claims

settlement. This settlement appeared to have been more satisfactory to the Native communities concerned. On October 10, 1980, President Jimmy Carter signed the Maine Indian Settlement Act (Public Law 96-420), which appropriated \$81.5 million for the Passamaquoddy Tribe, the Penobscot Nation, and the Houlton Band of Maliseets to purchase 300,000 acres of the 12 million acres of land taken from them through unratified treaties with the states of Maine and Massachusetts. The Act also established a \$27 million trust fund for economic development. NARF declared the settlement “far and away the greatest Indian victory of its kind in the history of the United States.”

The victory took decades to achieve, from the day in 1957 when a Passamaquoddy tribal elder, Louise Sockabesin, said to reservation governor John Stevens, “I have some old documents you should see.” They had been stored in a cardboard box beneath her bed. In the box Stevens found original materials from long ago, including letters from George Washington and the treaty of 1794 that the Passamaquoddy had signed with Massachusetts (Maine did not become a separate state until 1820). The treaty made clear that the 17,000-acre Indian Township Passamaquoddy Reservation had once encompassed 6,000 additional acres. The Passamaquoddies tried for more than a decade to work out some kind of settlement with local and state authorities, who balked at any such arrangement. In 1971 Stevens turned to Tom Tureen, a young attorney in Calais, Maine, who soon joined NARF. After consulting with colleagues, Tureen concluded that the Passamaquoddy and the Penobscot peoples were entitled not to 6,000 acres but up to 12 million acres—two-thirds of the state of Maine—since the Indian Trade and Intercourse Act of 1790 had specified that any transfer of Native land without federal approval was null and void. The 1794 treaty and other treaties had never been ratified by the US Congress. As one might expect, Maine politicians and non-Indian property owners in the state disagreed. Nonetheless, the Indian communities prevailed in the legal battles that followed. Bolstered additionally by full federal recognition, they began to use the appropriations to purchase the additional acreage to which they had so long been entitled.

Other Indian groups in different parts of the United States continued to seek federal and state recognition. At the Chicago conference in 1961 anthropologist Sol Tax brought a map to publicize the claims for recognition being waged by such groups in the East and South. The establishment of the Branch of Acknowledgment and Research in the Department of the Interior in 1978 further encouraged non-recognized communities to seek legal status. Tribes were supposed to apply to this branch, providing documentation of their existence and operation from the past to the present. Within five years seventy groups had begun this process.

Education and Economies

All Indian communities of this era faced common questions. Tribes sought to reverse the process of urban migration through revitalization of local economies and improvements in such crucial areas as education. If terms such as “self-determination” and “sovereignty” were going to have more than rhetorical meaning, then significant headway had to be accomplished in gaining greater control over education and achieving more vital economies.

Although termination of trust status had been renounced, the drive to terminate federal schooling for Indian children continued. The BIA still wanted to move children from federal boarding and day schools into public schools. By 1980 about 80 percent of all Native children attended public schools. With the continuing migration off the reservations and the growth of the public junior high and high school network on the reservations, many of the old off-reservation boarding junior high/high schools began to close in the 1970s. Chilocco in Oklahoma had enrolled more than 1,000 students in 1935, but by 1972 it claimed fewer than 500. It closed its doors by the end of the 1970s. Phoenix Indian School built new classroom buildings and new athletic facilities in the mid-1960s. School officials hoped that the school would continue to improve academically and that the Braves and Bravettes would

continue to enjoy success in athletic competition. However, by the 1970s the student body at Phoenix and other remaining off-reservation schools attracted a steadily higher percentage of students who had serious problems. Although Phoenix Indian School continued into the 1980s, its days were numbered. It finally closed in 1990.

As fewer Native students living in urban areas attended off-reservation boarding schools, more attended city public schools. Phoenix provided an example of how these students confronted special challenges, and how Indians in an era of increased activism could address those challenges head-on. Native students in Phoenix schools struggled to maintain a sense of identity in a school system that treated them as though they were invisible. The curriculum either ignored Indians or spoke of them in stereotypically offensive ways. The school system failed to take full advantage of available federal funding to address the needs of Native students; employed only two Native American members of the district's approximately 1,800 faculty; and suffered an Indian drop-out rate that exceeded that of any other ethnic group. Twenty-five percent of the Indian students failed to finish high school. Concerned Indian students and their parents took direct action. They formed the Phoenix Indian Youth Committee and Indian Education Committee and, in 1973, took their concerns to the school board. They successfully prompted the previously unresponsive board to recommend measures to address these problems. This victory did not spell the end of Native students' struggles within Phoenix schools, but some progress was made in the following years as more Native teachers and counselors were hired, some offending textbooks were dropped, and more Indian school clubs were established. Students and parents had made their voices heard.

During this era Native individuals and communities in other urban and rural areas also fought to establish and maintain control of schools they increasingly defined as their own. Enhanced funding of public schools on reservations, the development of community or contract schools, the founding of tribally operated community colleges, and the growth of enrollment and

graduation of Indian college students were all hallmarks of the period. This transition was also hastened by the report in 1969 of the US Senate Special Subcommittee on Indian Education. The Kennedy Report, so named because the subcommittee had been chaired by Robert Kennedy and then Ted Kennedy, labeled national Indian education policy “a failure of major proportions.” This document did more to dramatize shortcomings than reveal solutions, but it did offer a useful mandate for significant and prompt alteration.

From the mid-1960s through the 1970s Congress passed more legislation relating to Indian education than it had approved during the prior two centuries. Passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act in 1965 represented a useful step. Title I of the Act specifically encouraged greater community involvement and the Act itself was designed to assist children from families with limited incomes. In the 1970s, three new laws promised additional help: the Indian Education Act of 1972 (P.L. 92-318), the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975 (P.L. 95-638), and Title XI of the Education Amendments of 1978 (P.L. 95-561). The first included Title IV, which dealt with programs under the US Office of Education. It provided funding to programs reaching new constituencies ignored by the BIA, including urban and rural non-reservation groups as well as communities that had been terminated or had not received federal recognition. The second included needed changes to Johnson-O'Malley (1934). It also allowed Indian tribes to contract with the federal government to take over the management of BIA schools, IHS hospitals, and other federally operated services without surrendering the federal funding. Known as “638 contracting,” this process involved many financial and bureaucratic headaches, but was nevertheless a major step toward Native American self-determination in education and other areas. By the twenty-first century, over half of the federally funded schools for Indians would be tribally operated. The third statute offered additional revisions to how public schools gained funding to help Indian children and yielded other stipulations to promote parental involvement. Such legislation seemed

positive, if dependent upon the whims of future congresses and presidential administrations.

Deliberations over such legislation and the contents of the laws themselves contributed to the realization of greater Indian control of Indian education. At the local level, exciting initiatives began to alter permanently the future course of schooling for Native young people and adults. Rough Rock Demonstration School on the Navajo Nation furnished the inaugural example of a contract school. Begun in 1966, Rough Rock was financed by the BIA and the OEO. The community contracted with the federal government to run its own school; the school board emphasized the importance of having the children obtain a bilingual, bicultural education. Other pioneering contract schools included the Ramah Navajo High School and the Busby School on Northern Cheyenne. In addition, in the 1960s Indian voters, many of them recently registered, began to transform the composition of public school boards for schools enrolling a significant number of Native children. By the beginning of the 1970s, seventy-eight public school districts had boards in which Indian members formed the majority. Given the power of such boards to hire and fire personnel, make contracts, and revise curricula, this new level of participation often led to sweeping changes in school curricula, and opened the door to more Native superintendents, principals, and teachers. Not all Native school board members shared the same perspective about priorities and possibilities. But in school districts where Indians served in larger numbers on such boards, there resulted a more positive assessment of Native cultures and more vigorous recruitment of Indian employees.

Why did this transition matter? In 1997 journalist Betty Reid (Navajo) supplied her own answer in a searching and poignant remembrance published by her employer, the *Arizona Republic*. At the age of seven, in the mid-1960s, she had enrolled in the Tuba City Boarding School. That action, Reid wrote, “would change my life in ways that I still struggle to understand.” She no longer accompanied her parents to the Blessingway and other curing ceremonies; the school required her to attend Christian church services. Reid spoke no English at first, but dormitory

aides punished her for speaking the Navajo language; for this infraction she scrubbed toilets with a toothbrush. During the night she heard “little girls sniffle in the dark for their far-away parents or grandparents.” “My heart ached too,” Reid added, “for my parents, my home, my lambs and my rock toys left behind near a sheep camp called Pillow Hill. Tears streamed down my cheeks as I tried hard to imagine myself chasing pet goats through the grass at a place where the Rabbits Run Up a Butte ...”. Reid recalled: “I adjusted to the school as the years passed. I played basketball, participated in the student council, published a school newspaper, and took several trips to Disneyland.” She left Tuba City to attend high school in Massachusetts, then earned a journalism degree at the University of Colorado. Although she liked certain dimensions of her life in Phoenix, she mourned her loss of fluency in the Navajo language and revealed that sometimes when she visited her family in Tuba City, she felt “like a misfit—like a tourist looking at what used to be my life.” In 1997 she began her day in the city by greeting the Dawn People and saying prayers to the Holy People. Some day, she vowed, she would live again near “The Place Among the Sagebrush. ...”

The establishment of tribal colleges also represented an important achievement. Founded in 1968, Navajo Community College began offering courses in the spring of 1969. It shared facilities with a new BIA boarding high school in Many Farms, Arizona, until its own campus could be constructed in Tsaile in 1973. Passage of the Navajo Community College Act in 1971 (P.L. 92-189) assured a continuing funding base, together with financial contributions from the Navajo Nation and private foundations. The college was governed by its own board of regents who encouraged a central place for the study of Navajo history, language, and culture in the overall curriculum. In 1997 the board voted to change the name of the institution to Diné College, in order to incorporate the people’s name for themselves and to prepare for the institution’s transition to a four-year curriculum. Two other tribal colleges, Oglala Lakota College and Sinte Gleska College (later University) followed on the Pine Ridge and Rosebud reservations of South Dakota. Both because of their early founding in the late

1960s and early 1970s and the size of their constituencies, these three institutions became the largest and most ambitious of the reservation-based Native colleges.

All of the colleges faced continuing challenges, including the perennial problem of funding. Faculty and staff accepted comparatively low salaries in order to contribute their efforts; students experienced not only financial difficulties but often conflicting emotions about their obligations to their families as well as, in some instances, the limits of their academic preparation at the secondary level. Increased emphasis on the recruitment of promising Native American students to regional public universities as well as national private colleges and universities drained away many of the most able young high school graduates. The tribal colleges offered a second chance for adult re-entry students and for others who could not have started college away from home. They also generally reaffirmed the importance of traditional knowledge, teachings, and values.

The colleges symbolized the aspirations of Native peoples for new opportunities and new futures. Most of these institutions were established on reservations, but others developed for off-reservation populations. The most prominent, Deganawidah-Quetzalcoatl University, began in 1970 after an extended effort by Jack Forbes (Powhatan-Lenape) and other Indian scholars and leaders in California to establish an Indian university. Such an institution, Forbes argued as early as 1961, “would train Indians to control their own destinies in today’s complex society.” As its name indicates, the university sought to offer instruction to both Indian and Chicano students. Occupying a former federal communications center near Davis, California, the school struggled against not only a lack of adequate federal funding but hostility from Department of Health, Education, and Welfare officials who had wanted the center to be transferred to the University of California at Davis. Passage of the Tribally Controlled Community College Assistance Act (P.L. 95-471) in 1978 offered potential assistance to DQ-U, as the school was popularly known, if it redefined itself as an urban tribal college. DQ-U chose to take that action, and the Chicano board members resigned their positions.

After a first decade noted for perseverance as well as turmoil, DQ-U hoped for a more stable future.

In 1972 DQ-U joined Navajo Community College, Oglala Lakota College, Sinte Gleska College, Turtle Mountain Community College (North Dakota), and Standing Rock Community College—later renamed Sitting Bull College (North Dakota)—to form the American Indian Higher Education Consortium (AIHEC). Three BIA institutions, Haskell Junior College (later Haskell Indian Nations University) in Lawrence, Kansas; the Institute of American Indian Arts in Santa Fe, New Mexico; and Southwest Indian Polytechnic Institute in Albuquerque, New Mexico, participated in the first discussions and later joined the consortium. AIHEC proved invaluable in assisting tribal colleges, especially newer and smaller ones established in the 1970s, and in securing the Tribally Controlled Community College Assistance Act in 1978. By that year fifteen additional schools had been founded, including seven in Montana and four more in the Dakotas, of which only four failed to survive, due primarily to insufficient financing and internal political disagreements.

Many of the tribal college students later transferred to other colleges and universities; still other Native American students began and completed their collegiate work at non-Indian schools. Establishment of student support services, Indian clubs, powwows, and other means of assisting Native students slowly started to provide more successful experiences for a progressively larger number of people. The dropout rate of Indians enrolled at large public universities remained too high. Nonetheless, public universities as well as private institutions, including Brigham Young, Cornell, Dartmouth, and Stanford, started to increase their commitment to and improve the success rate of Native students. Beginning in the late 1960s, some universities started to plan and to develop Indian studies programs. These fledgling academic enterprises faced considerable opposition from faculty members in traditional departments and generally received limited funding and few staff or faculty positions. But even if their promise remained largely unfulfilled in their first years, the very existence of American Indian Studies at the University

of Minnesota and other institutions comprised a necessary first step toward the eventual development of more substantial and successful programs in the next generation. Efforts to increase the number of Native attorneys, on the other hand, realized more immediate results. The pre-law summer institute at the American Indian Law Center played a central role in achieving this objective. This program, started in 1967 by the University of New Mexico Law School, became an independent entity, but remained situated at the university. The number of Indian attorneys rose from only twenty-five in the late 1960s to over 1,000 by the early 1990s. More Native teachers, engineers, and other professionals also began to appear by the end of the 1970s.

The increased Native enrollment in colleges and universities encouraged reconsideration of the use of Indian names for mascots for athletic teams. Most Indian students detested the employment of tribal names like the “Seminoles” for college teams, as well as similar uses of such terms as “braves,” “warriors,” “redmen,” “redskins,” and “Indians.” Conservative students and alumni members of many institutions frequently resisted Native Americans’ attempts to alter “tradition” by calling for name changes. Public schools generally delayed or altogether refused to change the names of their teams, but some private institutions took the lead in doing so in the early 1970s, despite considerable opposition within their ranks. Stanford and Dartmouth teams no longer would be called “Indians,” but rather “Cardinal” and “Big Green.” However, followers of the Big Green continued for years to give “scalp ‘em” cheers at football games, and two students in 1979 even appeared in mock Indian attire at a hockey game, skated across the ice, and departed to applause. The Dartmouth hockey team went on to enjoy a banner year, reaching the national championships, where it lost to the University of North Dakota Fighting Sioux.

Native communities had achieved considerable headway in the area of education, but the record in the realm of economic development appeared more mixed. The 1960s saw the number of Native college students double and the percentage of Indians twenty-five years of age and older who had completed

high school increase in the decade from less than one-fifth to one-third. By contrast the 1970 census reported the median income of Indian families as \$5,832, compared to the national median of \$9,590. Nearly 40 percent of the Indian population lived below the federal poverty level in 1969, about three times the percentage of the entire population. On most reservations unemployment remained high, thus contributing to a continuing migration of residents to uncertain futures in off-reservation towns and cities.

At the beginning of this period, federal officials had anticipated a different outcome. The Johnson and Nixon administrations chose to invest heavily in Indian country through measures and agencies designed to reduce poverty across the United States. However, as applied to Native communities the approach still emphasized industrialization and corporate models. The government wanted to increase investment in factories or assembly plants by major outside companies, while prompting tribes to establish their own enterprises. Public works projects on and for Native communities also benefited from a substantial amount of federal funds. During the 1960s on some reservations these efforts seemed to produce some positive results.

However, most of the advances proved short-lived. Much of the investment on reservations had been made either by marginal companies or established companies confronting a changing economy; when military spending began to decline in the 1970s, more than a few of the new reservation factories dependent on defense-related production went out of business. Introduction of the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) in 1973 provided jobs in areas such as construction and craft production for over 100,000 Native Americans. When CETA became politically expendable during the Reagan years, unemployment rose precipitously. Aided by Small Business Administration loans and monopoly status, tribal enterprises occasionally enjoyed significant success. But, again, these developments were fragile. For many reservation-run businesses, managerial changes usually accompanied the arrival of a new tribal administration. Enterprises based on use of natural resources, such as timber, often

prospered, but, like all such businesses, remained vulnerable to a sudden decline in the market for a particular commodity.

Tourism offered a market with great potential. A number of communities built facilities, such as Kah-nee-ta at Warm Springs in Oregon, Inn of the Mountain Gods at Mescalero in New Mexico, Sunrise Ski Resort at White Mountain Apache in Arizona, and Bottle Hollow on the Uintah and Ouray in Utah. The first three resorts succeeded; Bottle Hollow did not. Location, amenities, management, and local tribal politics all figured into the scenario. Tourists from the United States and western Europe flocked to the scenic and cultural splendors of Indian communities, but few of the dollars they spent in the process wound up in Native wallets. The monies were more likely to flow off the reservation to bordertown communities which boasted the familiar motel and fast-food franchises as well as other services. What happened with tourists, of course, also happened with reservation residents. Most of the money they spent on food, clothing, transportation, and other goods went to those same bordertowns.

The economic picture, nonetheless, was not entirely bleak. Indian communities attempted to take control over more of the functions historically carried out by the federal government. 638 contracting expedited this process. Members of various reservations became increasingly likely to occupy local federal positions and to assume new responsibilities for social and health services. Tribal mineral resources had brought substantial profits to outside companies in the past; during the 1970s, energy-rich tribes started to try to obtain a larger percentage of those returns for themselves.

In 1975 twenty-five Indian tribes thus founded the Council of Energy Resources Tribes (CERT). Navajo tribal chairman Peter MacDonald, a key figure in CERT's early years, labeled the Navajos "an emerging nation." He contended: "Like other underdeveloped countries with rich but exhaustible supplies of fuel and minerals, we realize we must use our natural resources to create jobs for our people and put us on the road to self-sufficiency." In a much publicized move obviously designed to embarrass federal officials, CERT asked the counsel of OPEC nations about possible

strategies and approaches. Federal officials expressed their displeasure but also accelerated their grants to the new organization. CERT furnished badly needed technical and legal assistance to its members, and the agreements they reached for additional development appeared to be far more lucrative than ones reached in the previous generation. Back then, energy companies had taken advantage of the lack of Native leadership on the matter to craft long-term leases with limited returns to the people whose lands and lives were being disrupted by the extraction of the resources.

That disruption inspired protests in the 1970s and revealed considerable misgivings on the part of many Native peoples about the desirability of this kind of economic development. On Black Mesa in northern Arizona, on Crow and Cheyenne lands in southeastern Montana, and elsewhere, Indians worried about damage to the earth itself and agonized over the impact of mining on traditional subsistence. In places where mining had taken place for a period of time new objections surfaced over the effect of the industry upon the health of Natives living nearby the operations. Evidence mounted that the uranium miners in the southwestern states were experiencing far higher rates of cancer because of their exposure to radiation; hundreds of these miners were Navajos, who labored in the Kerr-McGee mines near Cove, Arizona, and Red Rock, New Mexico, from 1952 to 1963. As Harry Tome, the Red Rock representative on the Navajo Tribal Council, put it in 1979, "No one ever told us of the danger in it. . . . It was the only employment that was ever brought to our part of the reservation." The jobs, he observed, brought in "quite a lot of income. Then the mines closed. They went away. Now the people are dying." The development of natural resources on Native land continued in the late 1970s but leases no longer were automatically renewed, for the tribes concerned were far more knowledgeable and skeptical than they had been in the recent past.

Recognition of their water rights loomed as another key to Indian economic development in the 1960s and 1970s. Even after the *Winters* decision, Indian water rights had existed primarily on paper rather than in acre feet (the amount of water needed to cover an acre of ground with an inch of water, or

326,000 gallons). The decision of the US Supreme Court in 1963 in *Arizona v. California* indicated that the future might hold more promise for the realization of those rights. In *Arizona* the court concluded that Indian reservations on the lower Colorado River should receive almost 1 million acre feet of water each year. In arriving at this total, the court ascertained the “practicably irrigable acreage” the Indians possessed. The decision eventually expedited the delivery of water not only to these particular Native groups but potentially to other groups in the Southwest as well, but it took years of lobbying and negotiation before that delivery became a reality. In the meantime, once-prosperous farming operations languished for lack of water.

Rights and Restrictions

The Indian Civil Rights Act of 1968 reflected the desire of congressional representatives to restrict the power that tribal governments could exercise over their members. It reaffirmed the applicability of much of the Bill of Rights to those persons, including free speech. However, the interpretation of the Act opened the door to a flood of lawsuits against different tribes, contesting tribal authority and sovereignty in a variety of realms. The case of *Dodge v. Nakai* in 1968 confirmed the suspicions of those who feared the repercussions of the Act. Ted Mitchell, a non-Indian attorney who headed the legal services program on the Navajo Nation, had an angry confrontation with Annie Wauneka, a prominent member of the tribal council. Mitchell had laughed scornfully after Wauneka had answered a question during a tribal council advisory meeting in the council chambers. Furious at Mitchell’s behavior, she sought him out the following day in the chambers, slapped him, and ordered him to leave the room. The advisory committee then voted to banish Mitchell from the reservation. Under the terms of the Civil Rights Act, Mitchell was able to sue successfully in federal court to return to the Navajo Nation and to obtain financial compensation. *Dodge v. Nakai* thus prompted the federal courts to assume general

jurisdiction in matters involving suits against the tribe. This assumption clearly constituted a major setback to the assertion of greater tribal sovereignty and undermined the workings of tribal governments, including the tribal courts.

In the decade following *Dodge*, the Supreme Court began to delineate some of the possibilities and limits of contemporary sovereignty. In *McClanahan v. Arizona State Tax Commission* in 1973 the court ruled that an Indian employee did not have to pay state taxes on a salary she had earned working on the reservation. On the other hand, as *Dodge* had made evident, the court wished to curb the efforts of tribes to expand their jurisdiction over non-Indians in certain areas. *Oliphant v. Suquamish Indian Tribe* (1978) restricted the ability of Indian communities to exercise control over nonmembers in regard to criminal matters. *Santa Clara v. Martinez* (1978), however, reaffirmed the right of an Indian community to decide who was entitled to membership within it. But the particular details of the case gave pause to many observers. A woman from the Santa Clara Pueblo had married a Navajo man. They lived at Santa Clara and brought up their children there. The pueblo government decided that the children of Julia and Myles Martinez could not be enrolled as members at Santa Clara. Many at Santa Clara disagreed with this decision, but the Supreme Court determined that the pueblo had the power to determine its own membership on its own terms. This decision served another function. It turned back the tide of lawsuits against the tribes. It returned authority to tribal governments, including tribal court systems, and affirmed sovereign immunity for the tribes from suit under the terms of the Indian Civil Rights Act.

The American Indian Religious Freedom Act (AIRFA) of 1978 and the Indian Child Welfare Act (ICWA) of 1978 also confronted issues of major concern to Native Americans. AIRFA reaffirmed the “inherent right of freedom” for Indians “to believe, express, and exercise the traditional religions.” They thus should have full access to sacred sites as well as the ability to practice traditional ceremonies without hindrance. Such legislation promised to limit harassment of the Native American Church and to allow Indians

in prisons the right to sweat lodges. ICWA attempted “to promote the stability of Indian tribes and families by the establishment of minimum Federal standards for the removal of Indian children from their families.” As with AIRFA, this Act mirrored sentiment rather than compelled compliance, but it emphasized the existence of an important dilemma. One study concluded that almost 25 percent of all Native children under the age of one were being adopted in the early 1970s. During this time many non-Indian social workers consistently misunderstood different cultural practices, including comfort with silence and the role of the extended family in child rearing, and thus often recommended children be taken from Indian parents without due justification. Churches, particularly the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, had seen in adoption a means to “save” Indian children. As in the past, modern boarding schools and placement programs increased the chances for Indian children to be removed to non-Indian homes. Passage of ICWA by no means eliminated such practices but may have constrained them. The Act also emboldened tribes to take more vigorous actions through their own court systems and agencies to protect the rights of Indian parents and children.

In this matter, and in so many others throughout these two decades, Native Americans kept asserting their need and their ability to define themselves, to reaffirm their identities, and to articulate their determination to continue. In nonfiction and fiction, in paintings and other forms of art, Indians expressed contemporary Native life in all of its complexity and richness. Just as the events, rulings, and decisions of the era helped underline for all Americans that Indians were a force to contend with, the voices and imaginations of Native writers, musicians, artists, and historians attested to that continuing presence.

Writers, Musicians, and Artists

In nonfiction, Vine Deloria, Jr.’s *Custer Died for Your Sins* (1969) had a particularly profound impact. This “Indian Manifesto” showed no mercy to those who had created the problems and

entanglements of the present. Deloria's sardonic assessment of anthropologists and missionaries, his dissection of termination, and his call for a redefinition of Indian affairs not only gained him applause from throughout Indian country but made clear to the non-Indian public issues of paramount importance. His subsequent publications, ranging from *God Is Red* to *We Talk, You Listen*, reinforced his own importance in helping to "write the final chapter of the American Indian upon this continent."

N. Scott Momaday (Kiowa) won the Pulitzer Prize for fiction in 1968 for *House Made of Dawn*. Momaday and Leslie Marmon Silko (Laguna Pueblo), the author of *Ceremony* (1977), introduced characters who were army veterans, struggling with life on the reservation and in the city, yet finding harmony through the power of the land and the cultural traditions of their communities. Both Momaday and Silko also received critical acclaim for their poetry. So, too, did Gros Ventre-Blackfeet author James Welch for *Riding the Earthboy 40*. In this collection and in his first two novels, *Winter in the Blood* (1975) and *The Death of Jim Loney* (1979), Welch etched the Native world of northern Montana. Momaday penned an elegant tribute to his Kiowa heritage through the montage of *The Way to Rainy Mountain* (1969), a work accompanied by illustrations completed by his uncle, Al Momaday. With *Wordarrows* (1978) Gerald Vizenor (Anishinabe) combined fiction and nonfiction in distinctive fashion. Simon Ortiz (Acoma Pueblo) became well regarded for his poetry and short stories, which spoke to historical memory, the pain of contemporary life, and the resilience of Indian people.

More than in previous generations, contemporary Indian musicians established national audiences for an eclectic range of styles, from folk to rock. Buffy Sainte-Marie (Cree) lent her remarkable voice to a variety of songs, including "Now That the Buffalo's Gone" (1964). Floyd Westerman (Lakota) employed some of the main themes from *Custer Died for Your Sins* in a very successful album. Rock bands Redbone and XIT engaged the loyalties of fans across the country.

Indian painters explored connections between the traditional and contemporary arts. Two of the most compelling artists were Fritz Scholder (Luiseno) and T. C. Cannon (Kiowa-Caddo), who used irony and humor in their forceful portrayals of Native and non-Native men and women. Scholder opened new doors for other artists through his pathbreaking work, such as “Super Kachina” and “Three Indian Dancers.” Cannon died in a car accident while still a young man. Lloyd Kiva New (Cherokee) emphasized that Cannon “broke through the barriers of confusion and unnecessary prevailing constraints that had become an impediment to progressive creativity in Indian art.” “Collector #5,” “Indian Princess Waiting for Bus in Anadarko,” and “Grandmother Gestating Father and the Washita Runs Ribbon-Like” exemplified Cannon’s extraordinary talent and vision. Pablita Velarde’s daughter, Helen Hardin (Santa Clara Pueblo), died of cancer in 1984. Her paintings and etchings earned her considerable critical and popular appeal; “Looking at Myself I Am Many Parts” spoke to her own complicated life and career. Among many other significant artists of the era whose first-rate work continued into the 1980s and beyond, one should mention George Longfish (Seneca-Tuscarora), a professor of Native American studies at the University of California, Davis, whose early work included “You Can’t Roller Skate in a Buffalo Herd Even If You Have All the Medicine;” Jaune Quick-to-See-Smith (Salish-Kootenai-Cree-Shoshone), who painted “Horse Constellation with Jack Rabbit;” and the traditional Wintu singer and dancer (as well as professor of Native American Studies at California State University, Sacramento) Frank La Pena, whose “Deer Rattle, Deer Dancer” is one of the most striking examples of contemporary Indian art.

Two important forums promoted the writing of Indian history. The American Indian Historical Society, established in 1964, was headed by Rupert Costo and Jeannette Henry Costo (Eastern Cherokee). Headquartered in San Francisco, the society played a vital role in bringing both public and scholarly attention to



Figure 5.2 D'Arcy McNickle (Salish-Kootenai) was an important writer who also helped start the National Congress of American Indians. He later headed the Newberry Library's Center for American Indian History where this image was taken in the early 1970s by Peter Weil. Source: Courtesy of the Newberry Library.

California communities. The society also sponsored convocations for Native scholars, published from 1964 to 1982 a journal, *The Indian Historian*, and from 1972 to 1984 a national newspaper, *Wassaja*. In addition, through its Indian Historian Press, the society published over fifty books. The first, *Textbooks and the American Indian*, written by Jeannette Henry Costo, skewered publishers for their inadequate treatment of American Indians in American history. The Indian Historian Press opened new areas of inquiry and published the work of Native authors.

In addition, D'Arcy McNickle devoted the final portion of his life to the creation and maturation of the Center for American Indian History at the Newberry Library in Chicago, which now bears his name. At the McNickle center, founded in the fall of

1972, young and senior Indian and non-Indian scholars, traditional Indian historians, community archivists, and others discovered a meeting ground through which they could learn from each other and take advantage of the Newberry's impressive collections. Alfonso Ortiz assumed the crucial role of chairman of the national advisory board, a task that he carried on for most of the center's first quarter-century until his death early in 1997. In time, the center increasingly realized McNickle's vision as a place that encouraged Native history to be understood and written in a new way. McNickle's words provide an appropriate summary of Native peoples in the 1960s and 1970s: "People are like Grass. ... They toss and sway and even seem to flow before the forces that make for change, ... but when the rude force moves on, people are found still rooted in the soil of the past."

“We Are All Indians,” 1981–1999

A young Shoshone-Bannock man glanced through the old newspapers. Reading through the pages of *Tevope* (or “paper,” in the Shoshone language) from Fort Hall, Idaho, he encountered the words of editor Ralph Dixey, published in 1939: “Friends, we are all Indians no matter how white or dark you are. It does not make any difference where you are, what you are doing, or how much money you are making. We are all Indians. . . . Our chiefs call us half-breeds and no good and we call them darn fools. Now, who is right? We are both wrong,” Dixey concluded. “We are all Indians.” For Mark Trahant, a “mixed-blood” enrolled member of Fort Hall, the words had particular meaning. He thought about who he was and who he might become; he began to realize that being an Indian today included, as it always had, the incorporation of change. He started to understand more fully, as he later wrote, that Indian peoples had “always made alliances, intermarried, and borrowed ideas and technology from other people.” “Indian history didn’t end in the 1800s,” Trahant added. “Indian cultures aren’t some sort of museum piece, that are frozen in time, preserved under glass. They evolve, grow, and continually try to renew themselves.”

“We Are Still Here”: *American Indians since 1890*, Second Edition.

Peter Iverson and Wade Davies.

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In 1996 Trahant accepted a new position as publisher of the *Moscow-Pullman Daily News*, newspaper for the neighboring towns of Pullman, Washington, and Moscow, Idaho. Having become one of the leading American Indian journalists in the country, Trahant came of age in a time when being Native American appeared less bounded by narrow definition in blood quantum or physical location. He spent years in Navajo country, served as editor of the *Navajo Times* and publisher of *The Navajo Nation Today*, and married a Diné woman; he worked for newspapers in Phoenix and Salt Lake City, held a prestigious fellowship at Vanderbilt University in Nashville, Tennessee, and joined the national advisory board for the D'Arcy McNickle Center of the Newberry Library in Chicago. His own life testified to the possibilities of evolution, growth, and renewal.

American Indians faced recurring problems at century's end. Alcoholism and diabetes plagued the lives of countless people; AIDS now claimed Indian victims. Unemployment remained too high on most reservations. The dropout rate from high schools, college, and universities continued to be excessive. Youth gangs appeared for the first time on some reservations. Even if more Americans seemed somewhat more informed about Indians, all too many people within the United States still embraced ignorance and bigotry. Yet even with an unflinching recognition of such dilemmas, one sensed, on balance, a cautious optimism in Indian country as the twentieth century entered its final few years. Five hundred years after Columbus, one hundred years after Wounded Knee, American Indians had not disappeared. Unlike a century earlier, there could be no doubt about their permanent place in the future of this nation. Thomas Jefferson Morgan had been proven incorrect; "the great body of Indians" had not "become merged in the indistinguishable mass of our population."

Native Identity

Data from the most recent censuses attested to that place. The American Indian population had reached its nadir early in

the twentieth century, with less than a quarter million people counted. By 1930, the census had begun to record an increase in that population; by 1960, slightly more than half a million (523,591) were enumerated. Since 1960, there had been a rapid statistical expansion: 792,370 in 1970, 1.37 million in 1980, and 1.9 million in 1990. Some of that demographic explosion can be explained through a change in how the census was compiled, whereby individuals could identify themselves as Indians or as Indians of multiple ancestry or as people of Indian descent. Although the last category appeared largely irrelevant in regard to cultural identification, the middle category encompassed persons who might not be enrolled as members of particular tribes, but who perceived themselves as Indians. In addition, the growth of the percentage of Indians who lived away from reservations meant they were simply more likely to be reached by the census takers.

Moreover, most observers suggest that efforts by previously non-recognized Indian communities to gain federal recognition and the more positive image enjoyed by American Indians in the United States may well have bolstered these numbers. However, the increases also mirrored better health care and thus longer life expectancy and a recent upswing in birthrates.

Regardless of how they were counted precisely, there could be no question about an increasing Native American population. One-fourth of this population were American Indians who resided on the 278 reservations (including the pueblos of the Southwest and the rancherias of California). Still others lived in Alaska Native villages. While less than half of 1 percent of American Indians resided in urban areas in 1900, by 1950 this percentage had increased to 13.4 and by 1990 to a little over 50. New York City, Oklahoma City, Phoenix, Tulsa, Los Angeles, Minneapolis–St. Paul, Anchorage, and Albuquerque contained especially sizable Indian populations in 1990, but many other cities included a significant number of Native persons. About 53 percent of the Indian population were enrolled in a particular tribe. Those Indians who were not enrolled included those of more than one tribal heritage or of primarily Indian ancestry

who did not meet the particular standards of a particular Native community (as the *Santa Clara v. Martinez* case of 1978 illustrated) and those of mixed ancestry who claimed affiliation without being eligible for enrollment (for example, two-thirds of the 308,132 Cherokees counted in 1990). Many enrolled Indians as well were of mixed ancestry and had spent part, most, or all of their lives away from their "home" communities.

Such patterns affected crucial dimensions of traditional tribal cultures. Among nearly all groups, the percentage of people who spoke a Native language as a first language continued to decline. In addition, the percentage of children who did not speak a Native language at all escalated markedly. Even in the Navajo Nation, which had shown little decrease before this time, a significant number of children grew up in the 1980s and 1990s as non-Native-language speakers. Television, of course, was far more pervasive by this time, but it could not be blamed entirely for this transition. Increased intermarriage with non-Indians, for example, had also been an important contributing factor. Through the efforts of community members, teachers, and scholars, many Indian nations attempted to alter this trend. Noted Native poets like Ofelia Zepeda (Tohono O'odham) and Rex Lee Jim (Navajo) wrote most of their work in their tribal languages. However, the outlook here remained uncertain, at best.

Intermarriage could not be equated with assimilation, even if it had affected language. A student of the subject of intermarriage, anthropologist Brenda Kay Manuelito (Navajo) noted that "intermarried families and mixed-blood children construct their identities within particular historical and cultural contexts" and that "individuals move back and forth between social and cultural milieus." These generalizations could be applied to the lives of all Indians, regardless of heritage. The world of the 1980s and 1990s permitted, often demanded, a considerable degree of flexibility in terms of the construction of culture. Affiliation with a particular Indian community did not preclude common participation in powwows or the Native American Church. The work of Indian writers, artists, and musicians transcended tribal boundaries. Although engaged specifically at the local level, certain issues or

questions involved Indians across America. These included repatriation, gaming, and land and water rights. Successes achieved in particular locales encouraged or inspired renewed efforts in other places. In sum, as the twentieth century drew to a close Indian communities sought, often in unprecedented ways, to reclaim their pasts and redefine the possibilities of their futures.

During this era the powwow became all the more established as a national Indian institution and as a prevailing symbol of Indian identity. As W. Richard West, Jr. (Southern Cheyenne) remarked, "Dance is the very embodiment of indigenous values and represents the response of Native Americans to complex and sometimes difficult historical experiences. . . . The dance of native peoples is thus both a vital means of surviving culturally and a powerful expression of that survival." Whether it involved one community or many tribes, the powwow provided the opportunity not only to compete, but to pay homage to past and present through particular dances, honoring songs, the giving of gifts, and the selection of head singers, dancers, and other ceremonial leaders. It also afforded the opportunity to eat. Frybread, roasted ears of corn, beans, soups, stews, and other choices awaited one and all. From its customary beginning of grand entry, flag song, and invocation, until its close, dancer and spectator alike were joined in common observance of continuity and change in Native American life. The flag song spoke to identity as an Indian and as American, as in the instance of the Lakota National Anthem, where a soldier says:

Tunkasileyapi tawapaha kin oihanke sni najin ktelo
lyohlate oyate kin wicicagin;
ktaca, lecamon.

(The flag of the United States will fly forever
Under it the people will grow and prosper;
Therefore I have done this [fought for my country].)

The powwow was not identical from one region to another and must be understood as an evolving institution, incorporating new categories or elements. For example, men used to be the only participants in fancy dancing, but women later in the century competed in fancy shawl and jingle dress dances.

Given the evolving nature of the powwow, it was fitting that the event called "The World Championship of Powwow" would be held not somewhere on the plains but in Connecticut. Schemitzun ("Feast of the Green Corn and Dance" in the Pequot language), renewed an old traditional feast for the Pequots of Mashantucket. The fifth annual gathering held on September 14–17, 1996, included fifty invited drum groups and dancers from throughout North America who vied for the three-quarters of a million dollars in prize money.

That same year, powwows took place all over Indian America, commencing with the New Years annual powwow at the Lac Courte Oreilles tribal grounds in Hayward, Wisconsin. The Grand Village of Natchez Indians in Mississippi hosted the Natchez annual powwow on March 22–24. A week later the twenty-fourth annual Ann Arbor Dance for Mother Earth Contest Powwow began in Michigan. The largest of the powwows held on university campuses, the Gathering of Nations, took place on April 25–27 at the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque. On the last weekend in May, one could choose between the Cherokee Memorial Day Powwow in Cherokee, North Carolina, and the Delaware Annual Powwow in Copan, Oklahoma. June 7–9 featured at least eleven powwows, including the gigantic Red Earth Powwow in Oklahoma City, but also the Cheyenne Homecoming Powwow in Lame Deer, Montana, the Native American Educational Services College Powwow in Chicago, and the Honoring Our Veterans Powwow at Bay Mills Community College in Brimley, Michigan. On through the summer newly founded and time-honored gatherings occurred, from Oregon's Coquille Restoration Powwow in Brandon, and the Po-Ume-Sha Powwow & Treaty Days at Warm Springs to the annual powwow of the Ho-Chunk Nation in Nebraska and the Comanche Homecoming Powwow near Walters, Oklahoma. Fall brought the Eastern band of Shawnee powwow in Seneca, Missouri, and the twenty-ninth annual Louisiana Indian Heritage Association fall powwow in Folsom.

Indian communities shared common determinations to continue as Indian entities. There was a revitalization of

smaller communities, which found new ways to reassert their uniqueness. The Nanticoke people in Delaware experienced many difficulties and the Nanticoke Indian Association had been dormant for a generation before its revival in 1975, with the election of William Russel Clark's descendant, Kenneth Clark, as chief. A subsequent Nanticoke Indian Heritage project placed nine buildings on the National Register of Historic Places; an annual powwow the first weekend of September and an annual homecoming the second Sunday in October provided important times to gather and to celebrate continuation. A Nanticoke museum opened in 1985. Like so many other eastern groups, the Nanticoke community had refused to disappear. The people remained on the land.

Throughout Indian America one could not disregard the importance of the land itself. "Wisdom sits in places," remarked Dudley Patterson, a Western Apache man from the White Mountain community of Cibecue. "Wisdom—or 'igoya'i—," wrote anthropologist Keith Basso, "consists in a heightened mental capacity that facilitates the avoidance of harmful events by detecting threatening circumstances when none are apparent. This capacity for prescient thinking," he continued, "is produced and sustained by three mental conditions, described in Apache as *bíni' godilkoo*h (smoothness of mind), *bíni' gonil'iz* (resilience of mind), and *bíni' gonldzil* (steadiness of mind.)" When one comes to know the cultural significance of a particular place, one begins a long journey toward wisdom, a quality that helps sustain life, that is, above all, "an instrument of survival." Even if reduced in size or splintered through the legacy of allotment, the land bases had been vital to the maintenance of distinct Native communities. Specific sites remained sacred or offered teachings and lessons from the stories and lives of one's ancestors and, as Betty Reid's story in the *Arizona Republic* in 1997 illumined, from one's own life. The natural landscape still yielded cultural meaning and significance.

For a steadily growing number of American Indians, the Native American Church (NAC) also constituted a kind of instrument of survival. Participants found spiritual and social meaning in its

ritual and its fellowship; the church remained a bulwark against the abuse of alcohol. NAC members often took part as well in the traditional ceremonies of Christian churches, depending on their needs and the customs of their families. An incident in Oregon furnished ample evidence that Indian religious freedom remained a fragile entity. Alfred Smith and Galen Black of Portland had been employed by a drug rehabilitation group but were dismissed for their use of peyote. The state of Oregon denied unemployment benefits to the NAC members, based on its conclusion that Smith and Black had been guilty of misconduct. The resulting case, *Employment Division, Department of Human Resources of Oregon et al. v. Alfred Smith et al.* (1990) made its way on appeal to the US Supreme Court. There the court majority agreed with Justice Antonin Scalia's determination that Oregon was entitled to prohibit peyote because a state had the power to control drug use. Other states did not follow Oregon's lead, but the court's decision offered a disturbing legal precedent. A congressional amendment in 1994 to the American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978, however, reaffirmed the right of an Indian "who uses peyote in a traditional manner for bona fide ceremonial purposes in conjunction with the practice of a traditional Indian religion" to use, possess, or transport peyote without penalty.

New Voices, New Images

The 1980s and 1990s witnessed a great variety of achievements in a variety of fields, accomplishments that often became sources of family, community, or more general Indian pride. Louise Erdrich (Turtle Mountain Anishinabe), whose *Love Medicine* (1984) became the best-selling novel yet written by a Native American, was but one of many Indian writers to earn critical acclaim and popular recognition. In *Love Medicine*, *The Beet Queen* (1986), *Tracks* (1988), and *Bingo Palace* (1994), Erdrich explored the challenges faced in her native North Dakota by Indian people of mixed ancestry. Another Anishinabe writer, Gerald Vizenor, enjoyed heightened acclaim; Vizenor employed crossblood

(to employ his term) characters to reveal dimensions of the Indian world, especially in urban settings. His satire and trickster figures enhanced his many novels, including *Griever: An American Monkey King in China* (1987), *The Trickster of Liberty* (1988), and *The Heirs of Columbus* (1991). Chickasaw poet and novelist Linda Hogan wrote *Mean Spirit* (1990), a brilliant, dark depiction of an Indian community preyed upon because of its oil resources. Thomas King (Cherokee) provided memorable characters and scenes from Blackfeet country in *Medicine River* (1990) and *Green Grass, Running Water* (1993). Michael Dorris (Modoc) presented three generations of women in his highly regarded *A Yellow Raft in Blue Water* (1987) and also published a compelling account of fetal alcohol syndrome in *The Broken Cord* (1989).

Younger writers also made major contributions, with many focusing on contemporary off-reservation life and the questions faced by characters of mixed-blood heritage. Sherman Alexie (Coeur d'Alene) gained a large following for his poignant characters from the Northwest, introduced in *The Lone Ranger and Tonto Fistfight in Heaven* (1993) and *Reservation Blues* (1995). In Alexie's *Indian Killer* (1996), set in Seattle, John Smith (a Native American who has been adopted by a white couple) confronts a world in which "White people no longer feared Indians" and "Indians had become invisible, docile." "John wanted to change that," Alexie wrote. "He wanted to see fear in every pair of blue eyes." In *Grand Avenue* (1994), Greg Sarris (Pomo-Miwok) offered contemporary urban vignettes of Indian people in Santa Rosa, California. Adopted as a child by Anglo-American parents, Sarris only learned as an adult that his biological mother was Jewish, his biological father Filipino, Miwok, and Pomo. Growing up near the people he would incorporate into *Grand Avenue*, Sarris, now chairman of the Coastal Miwoks, remembered being "an orphaned coyote at the edge of camp where everyone else is eating."

Kimberly Blaeser (Anishinabe), Joy Harjo (Muscogee), Roberta Hill (Oneida), Luci Tapahonso (Navajo), and Ray Young Bear (Mesquakie) numbered among many outstanding Indian poets of the era. Readers welcomed their words, to quote from Blaeser's "Rituals, Yours—and Mine," "... as if i haven't enough of my

own/ever/to make them stretch/that long distance/from home to here/from then to now ...". They recognized Tapahonso's Navajo cowboys "with raisin eyes" who "were just bad news" and they smiled at the way she portrayed her uncle drinking Hills Brothers coffee. Many shared Roberta Hill's disavowal of the "tyranny of the marketplace and of the heart" and her unflinching awareness that "unemployment and alcoholism continue to kill us on our reservations, radiation poisoning and acid rain kill our means of life, sky and earth wounded again and again." They seconded Hill in her belief that "it is the artisan's responsibility to overcome such dreadful tyranny. It is the artisan's responsibility to sing the sky clear so that we can walk across the earth, in a place fit for flowers."

Within colleges and universities Indian scholars began to obtain more positions in the traditional liberal arts departments as well as in fields such as education, where they previously had gained some representation. At the same time, they often accepted or developed joint appointments in American Indian Studies programs. As their numbers increased, the influence of Native professors also expanded within their home institutions and in regard to their scholarship within their disciplines (many of them can be found in the bibliographical essay). In addition, in the late 1990s a large number of Indian graduate students in the social sciences and humanities were completing their studies and preparing to play leadership roles in the academic world of the twenty-first century.

Native artists presented an ever-expanding creative constellation. Many offered more familiar, realistic representations, while others through more symbolic and abstract work probed new terrain. From Nora Naranjo-Morse's (Santa Clara Pueblo) inimitable character of Pearlene to Hachivi Edgar Heap of Birds' (Cheyenne-Arapaho) "Smile for Racism" (1996), which protested the symbol utilized by the Cleveland Indians baseball team, the creations of Native artists reflected a diversity of inspirations and agendas. In addition, the impressive work of Indian photographers became increasingly visible. Hulleah J. Tsinhnahjinnie produced a series of magnificent portraits of

Native American and Hawaiian women for the Bread and Roses Cultural Project (1997). The photographs of Kenny Blackbird (Assiniboine-Sioux), Larry McNeil (Tlingit/Nisga'a), Victor Masayesva, Jr. (Hopi), Monty Roessel (Navajo), and many others were displayed in major exhibits and featured in a wide variety of publications.

Graham Greene (Oneida), Gary Farmer (Cayuga), and West Studi (Cherokee) were among the Indian actors whose work in film earned praise and recognition. Greene became familiar to the world through his performance in Kevin Costner's *Dances with Wolves* (1990), and he tackled a wonderful array of roles in films that ranged from *The Last of His Tribe* to *Thunderheart* (1992). Farmer was a memorable figure in *Pow-Wow Highway* (1989), driving an ancient used car—which he dubbed his war pony—from Northern Cheyenne country via Bear Butte to Santa Fe. Studi appeared on film and TV taking on dozens of both contemporary and iconic roles, including Geronimo and James Fenimore Cooper's Magua. Native American independent filmmakers broke new ground, making films that featured complex contemporary Indian characters who defied past Hollywood stereotypes. Director and producer Chris Eyre (Cheyenne-Arapaho) collaborated with Sherman Alexie on 1998's poignant and funny film *Smoke Signals*, in which two men road trip across the West to retrieve the ashes of Victor Joseph's father, Arnold. This audience-pleasing film featured notable young actors Adam Beach (Canadian Saulteaux) and Irene Bedard (Iñupiat-Métis). Eyre and other Indian producers such as Sandy Johnson Osawa (Makah) and Chris Spotted Eagle (Houma) also completed noteworthy film documentaries. The American Indian Theater Company, the Native American Theater Ensemble, the Red Earth Performing Arts Company, and the Spiderwoman Theater Company provided opportunities for Native actors and Native playwrights. Significant playwrights included Hanay Geigomah (Kiowa-Delaware) and Tomson Highway (Cree).

Canyon Records of Phoenix figured as a leading force in the recording and distributing of Native American music. In some instances, the company launched the careers of musicians, such

as R. Carlos Nakai (Navajo-Ute), whose flute was heard by audiences around the world. From waila (chicken scratch) to powwow music to peyote songs, Canyon Records helped make available this vital medium. Joanne Shenandoah (Oneida) and other singers enjoyed national followings. Indian musicians broke new ground through jazz, reggae, and other contemporary forms. Red Thunder, a rock band of Apache, Pueblo, and Mayan musicians, enjoyed considerable popularity, as did the band, Poetic Justice—featuring saxophonist Joy Harjo, attorney Susan M. Williams (Sisseton-Wahpeton Dakota) on drums, judge Willie Bluehouse Johnson (Isleta Pueblo-Navajo) on guitar, John Williams (Sisseton-Wahpeton Dakota) on bass, and Frank Poocha (Hopi-Pima) on keyboards. Brent Michael Davids (Stockbridge-Munsee) earned praise for his compositions. His pieces were commissioned by such internationally recognized groups as the Joffrey Ballet and the Kronos Quartet.

Indian artists in various media often focused their attention on the hopes developed and accomplishments realized in competitive athletics. In Indian country just as much as elsewhere, sports could encompass individual, family, and community aspirations. The Wyoming Indian High School boys' basketball team won one state championship after another in the 1980s and 1990s. When Ryneldi Becenti (Navajo) competed at the intercollegiate level in basketball, her relatives and other community members drove hundreds of miles to watch her play point guard for Arizona State University. She later played for the Phoenix Mercury, continuing a long-standing tradition of Native Americans in professional sports. Young men and women in cross-country and track-and-field dreamed of duplicating the achievement of Billy Mills (Oglala Lakota), who had won the 10,000-meter run in the 1964 Olympics. Sports offered the chance not only for family achievement from one generation to the next, but also another kind of continuation. Howard Hunter of Pine Ridge allowed that rodeo presented the opportunity to gain the upper hand in the small bit of rivalry that persisted between the Lakotas and the Crows. Expressions of traditional horsemanship were displayed by young Indian men who tested their bravery and skill in front

of Pendleton and Sheridan rodeo crowds, jumping on and off mounts and riding bareback at high speeds in the popular and dangerous team sport of Indian Relay. Athletic competition also served as a source of community identity. The Iroquois Nationals Lacrosse Team, established in 1983 and made up of members representing Haudenosaunee peoples, proudly played internationally under an Iroquois flag, asserting their status as sovereign peoples. Whether in time-honored sports such as lacrosse or in sports like basketball and rodeo that had become



Figure 6.1 Rodeo became a significant tradition in many western Indian communities in the twentieth century. Breakaway roper Michelle Walking Bear (Crow) was also Miss Rodeo Crow Fair in 1994. Crow Nation Fair and Rodeo, Montana. Source: Photograph by Linda MacCannell. Courtesy of Linda MacCannell.

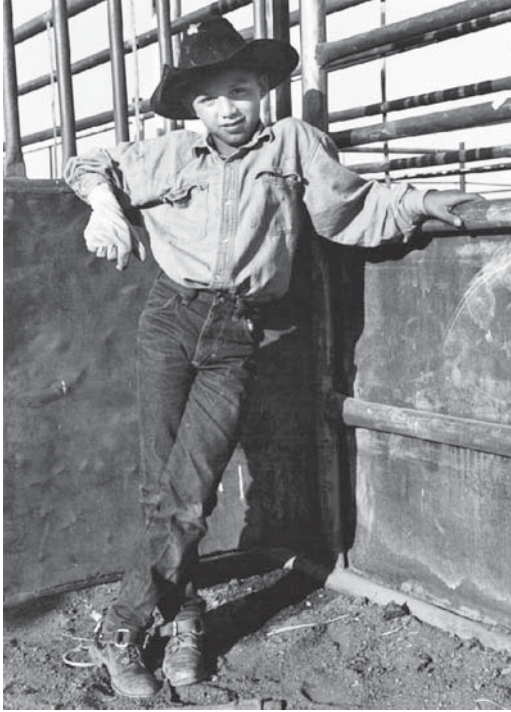


Figure 6.2 Steer rider Ben Hart (Three Affiliated Tribes) of New Town, North Dakota, participated in 1994 in one of rodeo's most challenging events. Crow Nation Fair and Rodeo, Montana. Source: Photograph by Linda MacCannell. Courtesy of Linda MacCannell.

traditional, Indians found additional means to foster competition, achievement, and community.

Museums and Repatriation

In tribal museums and visitor centers, Indians determined the means and the manner through which their histories and cultures would be presented. These facilities gave Native architects, such as Dennis Sun Rhodes (Northern Arapaho) and Dennis Numkena

(Hopi), and non-Indian architects sympathetic to Native design, the opportunity to create imaginative and culturally appropriate structures. The Warms Springs community in Oregon, for example, built an impressive new museum, which allowed for tribal artifacts to be displayed appropriately and provided a place to sell fine examples of beadwork and basketry. By the late 1990s more than 200 such museums and centers had been completed. The Mashantucket Pequot Museum and Research Center, opened in 1998, combined a public museum devoted to the story of the tribe with a research facility focused on Indian histories and cultures. This extraordinary 308,000-square-foot complex included permanent and temporary exhibits, a 320-seat auditorium, a large research and children's library, archives, and state-of-the-art research and conservation laboratories. At the Seneca-Iroquois museum in upstate New York, the Makah Tribal Museum on the Olympic Peninsula, the Pamunkey Indian Museum and Cultural Center in Virginia, and elsewhere one saw not only valuable depictions of tribal life but also key examples of Indian self-determination. Other crucial steps occurred in 1994 and 1999 with the openings of the George Gustav Heye Center in New York City and the Cultural Resources Center in Suitland, Maryland, as the first two components of the Smithsonian's National Museum of the American Indian.

Museums illustrated the different perspective a century had brought. In the late 1800s and early 1900s federal, public, and private museums had sponsored expeditions to collect artifacts and objects from Indian communities. One hundred years later, repatriation of funerary objects, sacred objects, and items of cultural patrimony stored in museums had become an issue of paramount importance. Native peoples were offended by the inappropriate, insensitive, and sometimes spiritually dangerous display of items that should either have been left undisturbed or continued to serve functions within their communities of origin. First at the New York State Museum in Albany and then at the Heard Museum in Phoenix, administrator Martin Sullivan demonstrated that a skilled cultural broker could facilitate and expedite the process whereby Indian nations could reclaim

certain objects of cultural significance. The Heard and many other museums in this era became more sensitive to Native concerns. Passage of the National Museum of the American Indian Act of 1989 and the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) in 1990 hastened the repatriation of material items and the return of the hundreds of thousands of skeletal remains still possessed by historical societies, universities, and various public and private museums. The NAGPRA affected not only federal museums but all agencies receiving federal support. The process of repatriation was made more complicated by the objections of private collectors and many archaeologists who, respectively, defended the retention of Native sacred objects and skeletal remains. Bureaucratic inertia, vested interest, and cultural insensitivity also created obstacles. For example, in the 1980s the director of the Nebraska State Historical Society, James Hanson, tried to deny the Pawnees the repatriation of the remains of their relatives as well as funerary objects; Hanson went so far as to contend that the Pawnees really did not have a religion and that his institution somehow was not a state agency. Following an extended controversy, Hanson eventually resigned.

Through their writings, presentations, and research, James Riding In (Pawnee), Roger Echo-Hawk (Pawnee), and a host of other Native scholars kept pushing for continued progress in regard to repatriation. As Riding In noted, this effort addressed "a pressing need to disestablish racial, institutional, and societal barriers that impede this country's movement toward a place that celebrates cultural diversity as a cherished and indispensable component of its social, political, and economic fabric." Riding In concluded that progress had been possible because more Americans, including "a growing number of sympathetic archaeologists and museum curators," had "recognized that Indians are not disappearing, and that Indians are entitled to burial rights and religious freedom."

Even with such headway, significant problems persisted. Many Native people argued the case of an independent origin of Native peoples in the Americas, as opposed to the widely accepted theory that the ancestors of American Indians migrated across the Bering

Strait from the Asian continent. Contending that Indian accounts of their own origins were as well founded as the judgments of archaeologists, these individuals rejected the utility of additional archaeological work to study past Native cultures. They believed that archaeologists had had ample time to do their research and often had exceeded their authority in conducting their investigations. Vine Deloria, Jr. articulated this perspective in *Red Earth, White Lies: Native Americans and the Myth of Scientific Fact*, published in 1996. During the 1990s many tribes employed the NAGPRA to demand the return of ancient skeletal remains found near their ancestral lands. The case of the so-called "Kennewick man" illustrated how controversial this repatriation process could be. When a perhaps 9,500-year-old skeleton was discovered in Kennewick, Washington, in 1996, The Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Reservation and other Native people were determined to rebury this "Ancient One." Some anthropologists argued against reburial, claiming the skeleton held potentially significant clues to human origins in North America. A long legal fight ensued, pitting a small group of plaintiff researchers against five Northwest tribes. A federal appeals court finally determined in 2004 that the tribes could not reclaim the skeleton under the NAGPRA because there was no conclusive proof of kinship, and thus allowed scientific study. The remains were stored at the University of Washington's Burke Museum, but Indian groups were determined to eventually reclaim them.

Gaming

If repatriation indicated a new attitude about the Indian past, gaming emboldened a new outlook concerning the Native future. The US Supreme Court decision of *California v. Cabazon Band of Mission Indians* in 1987 had opened the door to expanded gaming activities on Indian reservations. The court had ruled that California regulatory laws in regard to gambling could not be applied on Indian lands. The Indian Gaming Regulatory Act (IGRA), passed by Congress in the following year, allowed

certain forms of gaming to take place on reservations even if these activities were illegal elsewhere in particular states. Tribes were not entirely satisfied with this statute, however, because it required them to negotiate compacts with states if they wanted to operate more profitable, "Vegas-style" casinos, referred to as "Class III" gaming. Many Indians harbored misgivings about starting bingo parlors or casinos on their lands, but they argued that ongoing economic difficulties had left them little choice other than to seek new economic alternatives. Some laid part of the blame for their most recent difficulties on the "new federalism" of Ronald Reagan. As president, Reagan charged federal paternalism as the cause for the economic ills besetting the people of most reservations. With congressional approval, he slashed a billion dollars from the \$3.5 billion budgeted for Indian affairs. Secretary of the Interior James Watt embodied this philosophy; Watt suggested that "If you want an example of the failures of socialism, don't go to Russia. Come to America and go to the Indian reservations." He also charged the political leaders of reservations with purposely keeping tribal members poor in order to hold on to their positions.

The Reagan budget cuts hit hardest in the areas where Indians could least afford them. Job-training programs were dismantled and funds for new housing were erased. The Indian Health Service (IHS), already woefully underfunded, found itself a target for reduced expenditures. But surveys in the early 1980s concluded that the IHS needed more rather than less; more than 800 additional doctors and 3,000 more nurses were required for IHS care to be brought up to an average national standard. Clearly the IHS should have constructed more hospitals and clinics and remodeled or abandoned old and obsolete facilities. Instead the Reagan administration cut expenditures, especially in regard to the provision of health care to urban Indians.

Around the same time, gaming seemed to offer Indian communities the chance to provide new jobs and new housing and thus enable more of their residents to remain on the land. Casinos reversed the economic fortunes of many Indian nations, including Pojoaque Pueblo in northern New Mexico,

a community seemingly on the verge of disappearance earlier in the century. There the Cities of Gold Casino offered tangible proof of a new status.

Operating gaming parlors could be justified on the basis of financial need, but many also suggested that gambling always had been a part of tribal cultures. Offering a benediction at the groundbreaking ceremony for the 45,000-square-foot casino at Toppenish, Washington, Yakama religious leader Frederick Ike, Sr. said, "Gambling is a traditional way of life for our Indian people. This is nothing new to us...". Contentions of tradition notwithstanding, the hard economic realities of the day were undeniably compelling. The presence of this new source of tribal revenue and employment made it possible for people like Victrietta Hensley (Oneida) to move home to the place where her parents were born and raised. Her parents had moved away in search of employment, and Hensley had lived in Michigan and Ohio, but never on the Oneida Reservation, 8 miles west of Green Bay, Wisconsin. But in 1976, the initiative of two members of the tribe, Sandra Ninham and Alma Webster, began to change Oneida fortunes. They searched for a way to pay the tribal civic center's utility bills. Ninham and Webster finally settled on the option of holding Sunday afternoon bingo. From this modest foundation, the Oneidas proceeded to develop a multimillion-dollar casino gaming industry. By 1993 the tribe employed over 2,000 people, including Victrietta Hensley and her husband, Harvey.

The Oneida experience was not typical. A Government Accounting Office report in June 1997 revealed that just eight casinos had brought in 40 percent of the \$4.5 billion in total revenue of Native gaming in 1996 (compared to a total of about \$100 million in 1988). The profits of many of the smaller operations were marginal at best, and some Indian casinos failed to make money. And, even if they were somewhat profitable, casinos did not necessarily transform conditions on the reservations. The \$1 million earned at Pine Ridge in 1996, for example, did not seem to have much effect on that community, whose splintered land base reflected the terrible legacy of the allotment era. In 1996 unemployment remained at 75 percent on Pine Ridge

and hovered at an average of 50 percent on all reservations. So gambling could not be considered a panacea, even though it had produced unprecedented revenues and helped significantly to reduce unemployment and boost the economy of many tribes.

Gaming could also cause or exacerbate divisions within or between Indian nations. In November 1996, a traditionalist, Michael Schindler, became president of the Cattaraugus Seneca Nation in part because of his opposition to casinos as socially destructive forces. In May 1997, Menominee tribal chairman Apesanahkwat sent an open letter to Deborah Doxtator, chairperson of the Oneida Nation in Wisconsin, noting the "great disparity among the eleven tribes insofar as gaming profits are concerned" and contending that "gaming has separated all tribes into Haves and Have Nots." In this letter, published in a full-page display in the newspaper *News From Indian Country*, Apesanahkwat severely criticized the Oneidas for their opposition to an off-reservation casino site being considered by the Menominees.

Where casinos proved profitable, Indian nations had been able to regenerate their treasuries and reimagine their futures. Although some tribes chose to divide the proceeds on a per capita basis, many others used the proceeds from their gaming operations to build child care centers, schools, clinics, housing, nursing homes, cultural centers, and other similar institutions designed to benefit their members. The funds also could transform the workings of tribal government. Doxtator stated that the revenue had facilitated self-determination, by allowing the Oneidas to prove "we can conduct our government, and we can regulate ourselves." "With gaming," she added, "Oneida and other tribes have been able to start healing the wounds of poverty, joblessness, and isolation." Nowhere had this optimistic scenario been more striking than in the Pequot community of Mashantucket, Connecticut.

At the turn of the century this community appeared to outsiders to be on its way to extinction. Fewer than twenty tribal members resided at Mashantucket in 1900, and by 1930 there were fewer than ten. Elizabeth George Plouffe and Martha Langevin Ellal served as tribal leaders until their deaths in the early 1970s. Through their determined efforts the small group

persisted. Then Plouffe's grandson, Richard "Skip" Hayward, became chairman. Under his leadership the small community started to push for federal recognition and for the return of lands stolen in the 1800s. By 1983 the Mashantucket Pequots had gained federal recognition. With a \$900,000 land claims settlement they started to buy back land and develop their economy. Under IGRA terms, they negotiated a 1992 compact with Connecticut governor Lowell Weicker to build Foxwoods Casino. The Mashantucket Pequots agreed to give a minimum of \$1 million a year to the state of Connecticut for use in assisting economically depressed towns and cities. Given the overwhelming success of the casino, this annual donation did not prove difficult to make. By 1994 tribal membership had increased to 300 persons and the revenue generated by Foxwoods was estimated to be at least \$1 billion a year. The Pequots were able to pay large amounts to the state while also purchasing additional land, contributing generously to the Native American Rights Fund, sponsoring their powwow and traditional feast, Schemitzun, and building their world-class museum.

IGRA negotiations could not forestall collisions over economic empowerment and sovereignty. Opponents to Indian gaming simply rejected assertions of tribal sovereignty. They argued that the federal government had given tribes an unfair economic advantage over non-Indians as a kind of bone thrown to a group designated as deserving. From the moment the Florida Seminoles initiated high-stakes bingo games in the late 1970s, states and elected federal representatives voiced objections. Even though Indian gaming constituted less than 10 percent of the gambling activity in the United States, the presence in the country of 281 gaming facilities being run by 184 tribal communities sparked a great deal of animosity. State officials not only were frustrated by their inability to tax tribal proceeds from gaming and their inability to exert as much control as they wanted over the casino and bingo operations, but they also faced pressure from other interests within their borders who opposed Indian gaming. These interests included horse- and dog-track owners who saw their bases reduced, conservative constituents who opposed gambling,

and hotel owners and others involved in the hospitality industry who also perceived their clients as being lured away to greener pastures.

When the Wisconsin Dells Greyhound Park closed in 1996, its officials blamed the nearby casino owned by the Ho-Chunk. In contrast, the Pokagon Band of Potawatomi, the Little Traverse Band of Odawa, and the Little River Band of Ottawa sued the state of Michigan in 1996 for rejecting compacts they had negotiated with Governor John Engler. In New Mexico that same year the state supreme court ruled that the compacts signed by the tribes with Governor Gary E. Johnson were illegal, and yet the state hesitated to close down an industry that employed about 4,000 people and generated \$200 million a year. US District Attorney General John Kelly persisted, with the Mescalero Apache casino, at the Inn of the Mountain Gods, forced to close and others operating while the ruling was appealed. A poll by the *Albuquerque Journal* indicated that a clear majority of non-Indians within the state favored giving Indians the opportunity to operate gaming enterprises, either because they enjoyed gambling or because they believed that Indians had not been treated fairly by American society and deserved this chance to develop their economies. In Arizona Governor Fife Symington refused to negotiate a gaming compact with the Salt River Pima-Maricopa community, as he had with other Indian tribes. Salt River, which bordered the upscale city of Scottsdale, obtained enough signatures on referendum petitions to force a statewide vote on the matter in November 1996. Arizona voters overwhelmingly supported the right of the Salt River community to a compact comparable to those previously signed with other Indian tribes. Symington continued to resist negotiating, but his successor, Governor Jane Dee Hull, finally signed an agreement with the community in 1998.

In another instance, attorneys representing the state of Minnesota and county governments appealed the Federal District Court decision in 1994 that upheld the hunting, fishing, and gathering rights an 1837 treaty had reserved in east central Minnesota for the Mille Lacs Band of Anishinabe. The people of Mille Lacs no longer needed their "special" hunting, fishing,

and gathering "privileges," these lawyers contended in Circuit Court in 1997, because, due to gaming revenue, the average personal income at Mille Lacs now exceeded that of non-Indians in the region. For generations Indians had been condemned by other Americans who perceived Native peoples as being too lazy and too poor. Now it appeared Indians were being castigated by others for being too ambitious and too rich.

By mid-decade, some congressional representatives began to target Native American gambling income for taxation. In June 1997, Bill Archer, the chair of the House Ways and Means Committee, proposed a 34 percent income tax on revenue from tribal casinos and other Indian businesses. Archer argued that Indian gaming enterprises had an unfair advantage over other casinos and businesses that were taxed. Indian leaders quickly opposed this attempt, which ultimately failed, to deal with tribes as businesses or charities rather than as sovereign governments. Colorado Senator Ben Nighthorse Campbell (Northern Cheyenne) fought against this measure and anti-Indian initiatives sponsored by Senator Slade Gorton of Washington. The most serious challenge to Indian gaming came from the US Supreme Court. IGRA had allowed tribes to sue states that did not negotiate gaming compacts "in good faith," but in the 1996 case *Seminole Tribe of Florida v. Florida*, the court ruled that Congress could not force states to surrender their sovereign immunity and be sued by tribes without their consent. States had thus gained a significant upper hand in dealing with tribes, but Indian gaming nevertheless continued to grow, with 310 gaming operations earning \$9.8 billion in revenues in 1999.

Native American leaders understood that even the small percentage they controlled of the overall amount Americans spent on gambling was subject to shrinkage. They saw the current period as a window in time that would likely close in the future. Thus they encouraged the development of reservation economies based upon other means, employing casino profits to start new businesses. In addition, other commercial enterprises reconsidered Native land as a more likely possibility for new developments. Some important success stories could be related.

Communities

In a period of twenty years the unemployment rate among the Mississippi Band of Choctaw had been reduced from over 80 to 4 percent. The community employed nearly 3,000 people in 1996, including about 1,000 non-Indians from the surrounding area. Chief Phillip Martin presided over this transition. Martin first became chairman of the tribal council in 1959 and, other than for a term in the late 1970s, remained at the helm. Beginning with General Motors' Packard Electric Division, the Choctaw industrial park became home to a host of businesses, most of them now tribally owned. In 1994 the Silver Star Casino opened, with 1,550 slot machines, 71 table games (including blackjack, craps, poker, and roulette), and a fine restaurant called Phillip M's. It brought \$50 million into the community in 1995.

When the Ak-Chin Indian Community held the groundbreaking ceremony for its new eco-museum on November 17, 1990, it signified another in a long series of steps that marked the revitalization of this reservation. Situated adjacent to the small farming town of Maricopa, Arizona, the 21,000-acre Ak-Chin Reservation was blessed with good farmland. But until the early 1960s non-Indian leasing of the land had prevailed. Brothers Wayne and Richard Carlyle led the battle in the 1960s against renewing leases to outsiders. Then the Carlyles helped create Ak-Chin Farms, a tribal operation. By the end of the 1960s, Ak-Chin had succeeded in regaining control over much of its lands and Ak-Chin Farms was showing a substantial profit. However, the excessive pumping of water by non-Indian farmers in the area had extracted a toll from the water table and by the 1970s Ak-Chin farming was imperiled. The community had realized a less than 2 percent unemployment rate, but it all seemed for naught unless a new source of water could be provided. Passage of Public Law 95-328 in 1978 guaranteed delivery of water to the tribe; Public Law 98-350 in 1984 determined that the water would come from the Central Arizona Project (CAP). In 1988 the CAP water actually arrived. In 1989 the unemployment rate at

Ak-Chin stood at 3.8 per cent, or 10 people out of a labor force of 260. By decade's end the community was receiving almost no money from the federal government. Revenues from the farm and from Harrah's Ak-Chin Casino were funneled into housing, care for the elderly, and other projects rather than divided on a per capita basis. Leona Kakar, Delia Antone, and others provided the necessary leadership that enabled members of the Ak-Chin community to possess an optimistic view of its future. One of Ak-Chin's proudest achievements was its museum, a unique blending of building and surrounding environment that, its staff declared, "attempts to serve the community that owns it and to share the spirit of the community with the museum visitor."

The Turtle Mountain Anishinabe of North Dakota ran a multimillion-dollar business. This tribally owned data-entry firm, Uniband, employed 875 full-time people nationwide, with an annual payroll of \$18 million. Founded in 1987, the corporation was purchased by Turtle Mountain in 1990. The key to its expansion came with its status as a minority firm, which allowed it to bid successfully on federal contracts. Its chief executive officer was Bernardine Martin-Lufking (Navajo).

The ability of the Barona community in the San Diego area to open and operate a casino in the mid-1990s had dramatically changed its status. When this small community opened a new gas station thanks to proceeds from the Barona Casino, tribal chairman Clifford La Chappa asserted, "A few years ago no one would have dreamed that we would have the resources to open a successful tribal-owned business." He added, "With revenues from Barona Casino, we have been able to become self-sufficient, eliminate unemployment on the reservation and give more than one and a half million dollars to San Diego charitable organizations."

Community identity fueled drives for federal recognition waged by many Indian groups. Attorneys from the Native American Rights Fund often played an important role in this process. Between 1980 and 1994, the Grand Traverse Band of Ottawa and Chippewa in Michigan, the Jamestown Klallam Tribe in Washington, the Tunica-Biloxi Tribe of Louisiana, the Death Valley Timbi-Sha Shoshone Band of California, the Narragansett

Indian Tribe of Rhode Island, the Poarch Band of Creeks of Alabama, the Wampanoag Tribe of Gay Head in Massachusetts, the San Juan Southern Paiute Tribe in Arizona, the Snoqualmie Tribe in Washington, and the Mohegan Tribe of Connecticut were among those to gain recognition through the Branch of Acknowledgment and Research. In addition, between 1978 and 1991, Congress extended federal recognition to the Pascua Yaqui of Arizona, the Ysleta del Sur Pueblo in Texas, the Texas Band of Traditional Kickapoos, the Cow Creek Band of Umpqua Indians in Oregon, the Confederated Tribes of Coos, Lower Umpqua, and Siuslaw Indians in Oregon, the Lac Vieux Desert Band of Lake Superior Chippewa in Michigan, and the Aroostook Micmac Tribe of Maine.

Other groups continued to fight for federal recognition. The Miami Nation in Indiana had not reached that objective, but its approximately 6,000 members did have the satisfaction in April 1997 of observing unprecedented attention being paid to their history: the Eiteljorg Museum of American Indians and Western Art in Indianapolis had opened the largest exhibit it had ever attempted. "In the Presence of the Past: The Miami Indians of Indiana" was completed with the assistance of a Miami advisory panel, and included consideration of Miami efforts to persevere in their home country of north central Indiana.

For some communities, efforts to seek recognition became intertwined with ongoing dilemmas about tribal membership. The Lumbees of North Carolina had not yet achieved federal recognition (nor had they by 2013), and the long battle to gain it had taken its toll. Several segments had chosen to seek separate political recognition; the Lumbee Tribal Council and the Board of Directors of the Lumbee Regional Development Association were at odds. Such internal strife, political scientist David Wilkins suggested, did "not mean that the tribe is unclear about its core identity. This has never been disputed or questioned." Most Native people agreed with Wilkins, who wrote to the *Wall Street Journal* in 1995 in regard to the membership issue within his own tribe. "Who is a Lumbee," Wilkins declared, "is the business of the Lumbee people to decide."

Both the examples of those tribes that had been recently recognized and the dozens of other communities still fighting for recognition spoke to the determination of Native peoples to resist a disappearance that once seemed inevitable and to position themselves to achieve new development in the century to come. In Vermont, where the census takers had counted five Indians in 1900, the 1990 census total had increased to 1,696.

Rights

The 1980s and 1990s witnessed some clear victories in regard to Indian rights, but, as always, particular dimensions of Native sovereignty and jurisdiction became the subjects of litigation. The Supreme Court supported the ability of Indian tribes to tax and regulate Indians and non-Indians in decisions such as *Merrion v. Jicarilla Apache Tribe* (1982) and *Kerr-McGee Corp. v. Navajo Tribe* (1985). According to legal scholar Robert N. Clinton, in these decisions "the Supreme Court ruled that the inherent sovereignty possessed by Indian tribes permitted the tribes to impose mineral and oil and gas severance taxes and possessory interest taxes on natural resources extracted by non-Indian companies from leased Indian lands." In addition, *New Mexico v. Mescalero Apache Tribe* (1983) supported the right of the Mescaleros rather than the state to regulate non-Indian hunting and fishing on their reservation.

Other rights remained in question. Because of treaties or agreements and their status as aboriginal occupants of the land, Indians believed they were entitled to particular rights in regard to water and land use. In addition, they often confronted difficult issues relating to their legal status. In Wisconsin the different Anishinabe bands had signed treaties in 1837, 1842, and 1854 that had reserved the right for their people to spear fish in off-reservation waters. The state and the throngs of non-Indians in Wisconsin bitterly contested that right. These opponents carried signs that expressed such sentiments as "Save a walleye, spear an Indian." The protests persisted, even though in the

late 1980s the Anishinabeg were taking about 1 percent of the walleyes. The courts eventually ruled that the Anishinabeg were entitled to spear for walleye and to take half of the harvest. Bad River Band member Patty Loew concluded that the successful struggle yielded several key results, including a mandate from the Wisconsin state legislature that all public schools must teach about Indian cultures, histories, and sovereignty. But, she added: "Perhaps the most important legacy ... is the spiritual revolution it produced within the Anishinabe Nation," creating a cultural renaissance. As had been true throughout the twentieth century, conflict and harassment had produced a heightened rather than reduced sense of Indian identity.

In the western United States, the issue of water rights provoked countless lawsuits during this period. The issues at stake included quantification of the amount of water to which a particular Indian community was entitled, the kinds of uses tribes could have for this water, whether the tribes could sell or lease water reserved to them to other parties, and the kind of authority tribes could have in regard to managing their own water resources or water use by non-Indian successors to allottees. As the example of Ak-Chin indicated, some tribes ultimately chose to negotiate for a specific amount of guaranteed water. Others remained in court, fighting long, costly, and extremely complex legal battles.

Zuni Pueblo had already won two cases against the United States in regard to land claims and environmental damages. In a third case, this time with the assistance of the United States, they won access to Kolhu/wala:wa ("Zuni Heaven"), a sacred site in Arizona, to which they made a pilgrimage every four years. The Zuni religion taught that it was to this place that all Zunis went after they died. On their trek, historian E. Richard Hart explained, the Zunis "make offerings, say prayers, gather sacred paint pigments, and eventually reach Kolhu.wala:wa, where their religious activities and prayers are aimed at bringing peace, order, and prosperity, not only to the Zunis but also to the entire world." An Anglo rancher did not care what the Zunis were doing or how long they had followed the trail. He would not grant an easement to these intruders who dared to trespass on his land.

In 1990, the presiding judge eventually ruled in favor of Zuni Pueblo. As had been true with Blue Lake and Taos Pueblo, a way of life had been at stake, and the people had triumphed.

On the whole, though, Indian communities' rights to access and protect their sacred sites remained in jeopardy. Federal agencies and courts in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries were sometimes Indian allies. Such was the case in the late 1990s when federal courts supported a National Park Service voluntary ban asking rock climbers not to scale sacred Devil's Tower in Wyoming each June out of respect for Lakota and other tribal spiritual traditions. At other times, federal agencies and courts were Native peoples' primary opponents. The Supreme Court set a damaging precedent with its 1988 *Lyng v. Northwest Indian Cemetery Protective Association* decision. Arguing that Indian peoples' free exercise of religion rights only protected them from deliberate government prohibitions rather than incidental harms, the high court denied the Yurok, Tolowa, and Karuk tribes' effort to stop construction of a US Forest Service logging road in California's Six Rivers National Forest that threatened to desecrate a sacred landscape.

Alaska Native rights also remained in question. For these Native peoples who placed their highest priority on carrying on traditional subsistence activities, the money received from the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) of 1971 seemed unimportant. Antoinette Helmer of Craig explained, "Profit to non-Natives means money. Profit to Natives means a good life derived from the land and sea." "The land we hold in trust is our wealth," she added. "It is the only wealth we could possibly pass on to our children. ... Without our homelands we become true paupers." Federal acknowledgment of that priority had been halting, but in 1993 Assistant Secretary of the Interior for Indian Affairs (the altered title and status of the former Commissioner of Indian Affairs) Ada Deer included Alaska Native communities as federally recognized groups.

When Canadian jurist Thomas Berger traveled through Alaska from 1983 to 1985 to assess ANCSA for the Alaska Native Review Commission, a body sponsored by the Inuit Circumpolar

Conference and the World Council of Indigenous Peoples, he concluded that ANCSA had failed. Berger predicted that the regional corporations were likely to bring "minimal" benefit to Alaska Natives. He termed ANCSA a misguided attempt "to recreate Main Street on the tundra." A decade later, the jury remained out on the future of the 12 regional corporations and the 220 smaller village companies. Some of the corporations had fared better than they had initially and better than most had anticipated, given the different world they represented. There had been understandable hesitation about diversification of corporate investments, particularly in regard to investments in the lower forty-eight states. Some regional corporations, particularly Cook Inlet Region and Sealaska, fared well in the 1990s while others lagged behind.

Some of the worst fears regarding the settlement had not been realized. Amendments to ANCSA passed by Congress in 1987 permitted shareholders in the different corporations to vote to allow children born after 1971 to enroll and to provide special assistance to elders. The restrictions on stock alienation, due originally to expire in 1991, had been extended. However, ANCSA, even in its amended form, left unresolved the future of traditional subsistence activities and the status of individual Native communities in Alaska. A 1998 Supreme Court decision, *Alaska v. Native Village of Venetie Tribal Government*, denied tribal powers of territorial jurisdiction by determining that ANCSA lands did not qualify as "Indian country" under federal law. This was a significant blow to Alaska Native sovereignty, but federal and state courts in subsequent years upheld some other important rights of tribal self-governance in the state.

As the issue of gaming had revealed, Alaska was not alone in its attempts to block realization of sovereignty for Native Americans. The heightened efforts of state and local governments to assume expanded authority on Indian lands emerged as an especially vital concern. In New York, for example, Indians clashed with state officials over the proposed collection of state taxes on tobacco and gasoline. The sale of such products at lower prices had created lucrative Native businesses throughout the

United States. However, after the US Supreme Court concluded in 1994 that New York could collect such taxes on reservation sales to non-Indians, New York governor George Pataki decided to pursue such a course of action. Some Indian nations in New York tentatively agreed to raise the price of cigarettes, but others resisted. On the Cattaraugus Seneca Nation, there were continuing confrontations both with the state of New York and within Cattaraugus itself. Senecas staged protests by blocking highways through their lands. State troopers clashed with protesters, resulting in injuries and arrests. The governor then surprised tribal leaders by shifting his stance and announcing in May of 1997 that the state would no longer seek to collect the taxes. After the turn of the century, conflicts over state sales taxes would be lessened in some western states through state–tribal negotiations, but in New York, non-Indian retailers and state legislators would continue to stoke tensions over the issue.

Economies and Education

If the state or the federal government could pose obstacles to Indian economic development, so too could two other forces: outside private interests and internal conflicts. Indian economies had always relied considerably on the use of natural resources. Mineral, timber, farming and ranching, and other activities remained significant components of some tribes' overall economic strategies. In 1989, for example, 75 percent of all reservation land was used for farming and ranching, although on most reservations farming and ranching yielded a shrinking percentage of overall tribal and individual income. Native communities still struggled against private individual and corporate interests that sought to appropriate indigenous resources for their own benefit. The presence of the Native American Rights Fund, the Council of Energy Resource Tribes, and generally improved legal counsel increased the odds that tribes would gain better returns from

such resources. However, except when gaming or some other windfall provided a considerable influx of money, Indian nations usually lacked the capital needed to launch major enterprises. In the case of energy resources, the tribes with oil, gas, and other minerals leased rather than owned those extractive companies. Passage of the Indian Mineral Development Act of 1982 allowed for joint ventures, but a changing market discouraged such possibilities. In addition, federal agencies mismanaged royalties and contractors stole oil and gas from tribal sources. Even though these tribes did not receive what they should have, those who could invest some of their royalties over time reaped considerable dividends. The Jicarilla Apaches in the 1970s and 1980s invested 15 percent of their royalties from oil and gas and by 1991 had amassed a portfolio worth over \$200 million. But whether it was large-scale or small-scale business, internal hurdles also posed problems. The allotment era, especially in the northern Plains, had left a legacy of a quilted real estate, wherein individual Indian and non-Indian interests could stymie group designs. On many reservations, tribal councils meddled in the operation of tribally sponsored commercial enterprises to the detriment of these concerns. Native economic development potentially benefiting the group often had to be weighed against the particular rights or vested interests of an individual family or local area. Although by this time there were more Indian professional people, specific individual communities frequently lacked particular expertise.

However, there were some promising signs that the training and education of these professionals had entered a new stage. Despite their ongoing financial difficulties, the thirty members of the American Indian Higher Education Consortium played a vital role in this process. A few new tribal colleges had joined the consortium, and all those institutions in existence at the beginning of the 1980s remained in operation. Together they allowed a steadily larger number of Native students to attend college, with several institutions offering bachelor and master's degree programs. Public and private colleges and universities

were making a greater and more successful effort to recruit and graduate Indian students. As Anne N. Medicine (Mohawk), Director of Native American Recruitment and Retention at Stanford University, stated in 1993, "to successfully recruit and retain American Indians and Alaskan Natives as under graduate and graduate students, a program of support must be in place as well as a strong institutional commitment." Dartmouth College, for example, graduated over 350 Indian students from 1970 to 1995. Between 1989 and 1997, fifty-eight Indian students graduated with bachelor's degrees through the Evergreen State College's "Tribal Reservation-Based, Community Determined" program. The college offered classes in Makah, Quinault, Port Gamble S'Klallam, and Skokomish reservation communities on the Olympic Peninsula. The Navajo Nation entered into an agreement with Arizona State University in August 1995 to prepare Navajo teachers who already had bachelor's degrees to become administrators. On May 16, 1997, nine of the first Navajo Fellows received their master's degrees in educational leadership. They and others in the program would strive to incorporate the Diné philosophy of education in Navajo schools. One of the fellows, Debbie Jackson Dennison, explained that this philosophy of education encompassed spirituality, intellect, planning, and life skills. The schools should be informed, she said, by the "very beautiful, meaningful, and respectful principles that have allowed for a history of survival through great catastrophes for our people."

New and continuing programs offered essential assistance. The American Indian Science and Engineering Society, under the leadership of Norbert S. Hill, Jr. (Oneida), strove to increase the number of Indian scientists and engineers and to encourage future Native leaders to be more informed about contemporary technology. During the first two decades of its existence, this private, nonprofit organization awarded well over \$1 million in scholarships and developed chapters at colleges and universities throughout North America. In 1994, funding from the National Science Foundation permitted the creation of the All Nations

Alliance for Minority Participation, consisting of twenty-four tribal colleges and thirty-one state and private universities in nine midwestern and western states, with the headquarters of the consortium at Salish Kootenai College. Through this program, students were encouraged to seek degrees in science, beginning with summer bridge projects for high school graduates. The W. K. Kellogg Foundation implemented in the late 1990s another major initiative to bolster tribal colleges.

Here to Stay

At century's end, there were other battles to be fought over the status of Indians in their native land. Native peoples continued to protest the appropriation of Indian persons and symbols for a variety of non-Indian projects and products. Condemning sculptor Korzcak Ziolkowski's monument of Crazy Horse in the Black Hills of South Dakota, Dakota writer Elizabeth Cook-Lynn observed how Crazy Horse had been treated: "He has become a steak house in California and his name is used profanely to sell everything from beer to poetry magazines and third rate novels. And now they blow up a mountain to invent his image in the stone that he knew as sacred." The G. Heileman Brewing Company advertised Crazy Horse Malt Liquor as coming from the "land where wailful words whisper of Sitting Bull, Crazy Horse, and Custer." Companies profited from Indian imagery by concocting everything from Eskimo Pies and Sue Bee Honey to Big Chief Tablets and Heap Good Potatoes. The Atlanta Braves and Florida State Seminoles maintained their mascots; the boosters of these teams still delivered "tomahawk chops." Many Native Americans were also offended by the New Age movements' perhaps well-intentioned but often-times insensitive appropriation of Indian stereotypes. Historian Philip J. Deloria, son of Vine Deloria, Jr., considered the deeper meaning of non-Indian uses of Indian imagery and borrowing of their identities to serve

non-Indian purposes in the book *Playing Indian* (1998). "The self-defining pairing of American truth with American freedom," he wrote, "rests on the ability to wield power against Indians—social, military, economic, and political—while simultaneously drawing power from them."

There remained much to be angry about. Yet even with ongoing indignities and injustices, Native Americans looked to the year 2000 and beyond with very different perspectives than could have been mustered 100 years before. Edward Curtis and James Earle Fraser had missed the mark. Indians were here to stay. New leaders were emerging. In many communities, women were assuming new responsibilities. At Menominee in the late 1990s Beth Moses was serving as the county sheriff, Karen Neconish-Gardner as tribal chief of police, and Pam Gignon as county highway commissioner. Together with many other women from other tribes, Susan Crispen Shaffer of the Cow Creek Band of Umpqua, Deborah Doxtator of the Oneida Nation of Wisconsin, and Wilma Mankiller of the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma had been elected as political leaders of their communities. Mankiller had grown up in San Francisco, a member of a family who had participated in the relocation program. She participated in the Alcatraz occupation, eventually moved back to eastern Oklahoma in the mid-1970s, and served as Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma from 1985 to 1995. Her autobiography, *Mankiller*, commanded a considerable readership and her example inspired countless members of the next generation.

Indian women also tackled crucial tasks as educational leaders. In Shiprock, New Mexico, Glojean Todacheene (Navajo) moved from her teaching position at the high school to take on the challenges presented to any principal of Mesa School. Janine Pease Pretty on Top (Crow) assumed the presidency of her tribe's institution of higher education, Little Bighorn College, in 1982 and remained at the helm until 2000. A MacArthur fellowship provided one form of recognition for her abilities. After holding administrative posts at the University of California, Berkeley, and

the National Museum of the American Indian, Clara Sue Kidwell returned home to build the Native American Studies program at the University of Oklahoma in 1995.

At the local, regional, and national level, new strategies were being formulated. For example, technology, old and new, offered the promise of unprecedented opportunities for Indian individuals and institutions to express their own perspectives and to create their own images. In the northern Plains, KILI Radio, "The Voice of the Lakota Nation," could be heard over the 100,000-watt station; in the Southwest, the 50,000-watt KTNN of the Navajo Nation reached an untold number of listeners. Beginning in 1986, "National Native News" on the Alaska Public Radio Network provided daily coverage of important matters affecting Native peoples. Radio station WOJB from Lac Courte Oreilles won many awards and garnered considerable financial support from non-Indian as well as Native listeners. From its base in Lincoln, Nebraska, Native American Public Telecommunications had since 1977 produced and distributed programs. Through the Vision Maker Video Collection, American Indian Radio on Satellite (including the "Native American Calling" program), the Tribal Infrastructure Information Highway Project, and other endeavors, it took advantage of computer, telephone, and broadcast technologies to deliver information, education, and entertainment. In the late 1990s Native American web sites began to offer a tremendous amount of information to all who had access to a computer—the early stage of a dawning era when the internet would change the ways Native peoples, like other Americans, communicated, disseminated news, and developed their economies.

Just as they always had, Indians combined components of a new era with more established elements incorporated through the years. For American Indians in the late 1990s, knowledge gleaned from web sites could be combined with wisdom imparted from the elders. Familiarity with urban centers could be merged with strength drawn from the old landmarks on tribal terrain. There

"We Are All Indians," 1981–1999

were lessons to be learned from the traditional stories and from the tales of new storytellers. If life meant struggle in this day and age, the young people were reminded that it had never been easy, that it always had been difficult—and that, somehow, Native peoples persevered.

“Much Work Remains to Be Done,” 2000–2013

On the last day of summer, 2004, the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI), located on the National Mall in Washington, DC, opened its doors for the first time. Among the many thousands of visitors to the museum that day were 25,000 members of indigenous communities who took part in a Native Nations procession. Accompanied by the sounds of drums and applauding spectators, they made their way west to east from the Smithsonian Castle to the new museum standing at the foot of the Capitol building. On the Plains and elsewhere in Indian country, such processions had always provided an appropriate way to honor their people and celebrate momentous events. Although they may have hailed from different areas and had varying experiences, those in the procession greeted the new facility with a shared sense of pride and optimism. The founding director of the museum, W. Richard West, Jr., the son of a well-known Southern Cheyenne painter, expressed his hope that this place would reflect cultural vitality and continuation. Many Native Americans agreed that telling their story in such a way mattered. Some years earlier the Standing Rock Sioux activist and writer

“We Are Still Here”: *American Indians since 1890*, Second Edition.

Peter Iverson and Wade Davies.

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Vine Deloria, Jr. had articulated the challenge confronting Indian nations. "We must," he wrote, "bring historical consciousness of the whole Indian story to full light in order to regain the values we cherish and claim from the heroic past." For the present and future generations, Deloria added, "We can do no less... than to give them a sense of reality which can only come to people with a history."

In the fall of 2011, a much smaller group assembled in a very different setting. Hundreds of people walked or rode in vehicles in a procession through the streets of the small town of Browning in northwestern Montana, while hundreds more stood respectfully along the roadside. Many of those in attendance were Blackfeet, but members of other tribes and non-Indians were there as well. They had come to honor the life and celebrate the achievements of a remarkable person. Before cancer claimed her, Elouise Cobell had served as treasurer for the Blackfeet Nation. She had also helped found the Blackfeet National Bank, the first bank of its kind located on a reservation. She had been recognized through a "genius grant" from the MacArthur Foundation and an honorary degree from Dartmouth College. Although she had appreciated this kind of acknowledgment, Cobell no doubt would have especially treasured the honors she received from the Blackfeet Crazy Dog Society and her peoples' veterans as the procession carried her to her funeral in the Browning High School gymnasium. The people who paid tribute to Cobell that day fully understood the kind of courage it had taken for her to act upon the facts she had uncovered many years before. She had realized the gross mismanagement that the federal government had been guilty of in regard to Indian trust accounts. Working with attorney John Echohawk of the Native American Rights Fund (NARF) and other stalwarts, she had gained an unprecedented settlement for those affected.

In 2004 and 2011, then, Indian people strongly expressed confidence that their communities would endure. At the same time, they had ample reason for concern. Not all Indians were satisfied with the NMAI's presentation of their past, or their present. Not all were satisfied with the *Cobell* settlement. Even though the federal government hailed the museum and settlement as important

symbols, many Indians doubted the degree of its commitment to self-determination and sovereignty for Indian peoples.

The Museum on the National Mall

The new museum had been designed to show America's respect for its indigenous citizens. West and his colleagues had sought to explore what they termed the insights, perspectives, and voices of Indian peoples. The director wanted the museum to foster dialogue between indigenous and non-Indian peoples in order to discover "fresh points of beginning in cultural relationships that are newly and mutually understood, respected, and reconciled in ways that have proved elusive in the Americas heretofore." Some NMAI displays stressed the tragic history of colonization, more highlighted Native American self-determination and cultural survival. The exhibits emphasized the idea that Indians would remain—that they would always be an important element in American life.

The museum's location had intended significance. As Comanche writer and NMAI curator Paul Chaat Smith explained, "You don't get a new museum right next to the Capitol itself for making excellent jewelry, or for having stories and songs, or religious beliefs you wish to share with the world. You get the last open space on the National Mall because the country" decided it was "time, at last, to speak about the hard things, the painful things, the unspeakable things." For scholar Amanda Cobb (Chickasaw), the museum's placement allowed Native Americans to "symbolically and physically" reclaim the American capital "as Indian country."

The museum's design and operation served as testimony to how far Native Americans had come in determining how their stories were told to the public. They contributed on all levels to making it a reality. Connecticut and New York casino-owning tribes made donations toward the more than \$200 million cost of construction. Douglas Cardinal (Blackfoot-Métis) and other Native architects involved in its design emphasized Native



Figure 7.1 The entrance to the National Museum of the American Indian in the days just prior to the grand opening. The curving architectural elements of glass and limestone portray natural features. Source: Courtesy of PA Images.

philosophies and architectural traditions. They faced the main doorway to the east and planted its grounds to represent diverse indigenous landscapes. Over the years, its directors and many of the museum's boards of trustees were Indian—as were many of the curators who consulted with Native communities to establish the museum's vision and design its community-specific exhibits.

In an effort to portray American Indian perspectives, the NMAI chose a holistic and conceptual presentation style, reminiscent of Native storytelling traditions. Exhibits focused on the entire Western hemisphere, thus embracing a broad indigenous identity. A wall of video screens greeted visitors in 150 indigenous languages. There were documentary films produced by Indian filmmakers, eateries providing traditional foods, and spaces for temporary exhibits and live performances. The museum's permanent exhibits thematically highlighted Indian world views, histories, and twenty-first-century life. Through its "fourth museum" concept, the NMAI used traveling exhibitions, internet, and other media to share resources with educational institutions, tribal museums, and public groups. These innovative designs drew praise from many non-Indian visitors and reviewers, but also strong criticism from some who found its departure from more traditional museum norms to be confusing and lacking in scholarly rigor. The museum's defenders suggested that these critics had not tried hard enough to comprehend Native voices. However, some Native American scholars and political activists contended that the NMAI underemphasized the harsh realities of colonization's past and lingering effects for indigenous communities. They worried that as a national museum, it allowed the US government to express respect for Native peoples without taking responsibility for the past harms done to them.

The *Cobell* Settlement

Native Americans based their mistrust of federal intentions on past experiences and contemporary examples of federal mismanagement and neglect in carrying out its trust responsibilities

to tribes and individual Indians. These problems stemmed from failed past US Indian policies that continued to haunt both the federal government and Native American communities. As a legacy of land allotment policy, the departments of the Interior and Treasury bore trust responsibility for hundreds of thousands of Individual Indian Money (IIM) accounts, and were failing miserably at this task. Many lands allotted prior to the 1930s remained in federal trust status for individual tribal members, but over generations, ownership of these lands had fractionated through inheritance so that hundreds of people sometimes shared an original parcel. Revenues from leasing arrangements to outsiders producing oil, gas, grazing, timber, or other royalties were divided and deposited into IIM accounts for each owner. By the 1990s, the federal government had lost accounting records for or misappropriated billions of dollars belonging to the IIM account holders, many of whom it was unable to identify or reach with accurate addresses.

In 1996, NARF filed a class-action lawsuit in the US District Court for the District of Columbia against the Department of the Interior, alleging that the federal government was in breach of trust for its mismanagement of the IIM system and demanding corrective action. Elouise Cobell was listed as the lead plaintiff and continued to act as the leading voice throughout a prolonged and contentious struggle. In 1999, presiding judge Royce C. Lamberth agreed that the government had failed to uphold its trust responsibility, pointing out that he had "never seen more egregious misconduct by the federal government." However, another decade of court decisions, appeals, and failed attempts to reach legislative or mediated solutions followed without final resolution of the suit. The plaintiffs continued to fight despite their frustrations with a federal government that seemed resistant or unable to fix a problem of its own creation.

A final resolution at last seemed at hand in December of 2009 when the plaintiffs accepted a \$3.4 billion settlement, which became part of the Claims Resolution Act of 2010 and was approved by the supervising court in 2011. The settlement specified that more than \$1.4 billion would go to pay lawyer fees and



Figure 7.2 Elouise Cobell attends a December 17, 2009, Senate Indian Affairs Committee hearing on the class-action lawsuit *Cobell v. Salazar*. Source: Courtesy of PA Images.

settle the individual accounting and mismanagement claims, with more than \$1,000 going to each of the class members. Another \$1.9 billion would establish a ten-year Trust Land Consolidation Fund that the federal government would use to buy a portion of the over 2.9 million fractional interests in allotted lands, on a voluntary basis, to consolidate as tribal lands. The settlement also set aside \$60 million to establish Indian scholarships. After thirteen years, Cobell conceded that the settlement provided substantially less than the 500,000-plus class members were owed. Systematic problems would not be completely resolved, but she argued that “the sobering realization that our class grows smaller each day as our elders die and are forever prevented from receiving just compensation” required the plaintiffs to accept the offer.

The settlement drew mixed reactions from Indian country. Some people expressed a sense of relief that the long struggle

seemed near resolution, pride in what their efforts had accomplished, and optimism about what appeared to be improving relations with the federal government. Others suspected that the government had settled to protect itself from further liability. Many claimed that the money set aside for land consolidation was inadequate. Some believed that the terms were unfair to the majority of class members because consolidating fractionated lands would benefit tribes, but do nothing for individual Indian land owners. Some Indian people also believed that lawyers and lead plaintiffs were being paid more than their fair share. A small group of opposing class members filed petitions to appeal the settlement in the US Supreme Court in 2012. When it became apparent that the court would not respond favorably, the last of these petitions was withdrawn in November. Secretary of the Interior Ken Salazar subsequently announced that checks would begin to be mailed.

Evolving Relations

Two admissions from the national government promised important reconciliations and improved relations with American Indians. For many years, Indians had waited for a formal admission of guilt and an apology from the United States government for past injustices. The first significant statement came from the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). On September 8, 2000, Assistant Secretary of the Interior for Indian Affairs Kevin Gover chose a ceremony commemorating the BIA's 175th anniversary to speak on behalf of the bureau he oversaw. A Pawnee attorney from Oklahoma who served during the Clinton administration, Gover declared that the BIA had failed to prevent harmful US Indian policies and had actively "set out to destroy all things Indian" by promoting assimilation. "So many of the maladies suffered today in Indian country result from the failures of this agency," he said. "These wrongs must be acknowledged if the healing is to begin." Gover pledged that the BIA would accept "the moral responsibility of putting things right" and make a new commitment "to the cause of renewed hope and prosperity for Indian country."

Some tribal leaders sitting in the room were moved to the point of tears by Gover's words while others doubted those words would lead to meaningful reforms. The fact that a Native American "bureaucrat" had apologized to Native Americans on behalf of a bureau that was now 90 percent staffed by Native Americans made Gover's statement seem ironic to some, but it demonstrated that Natives had succeeded in influencing both sides of the federal–tribal relationship. Although many Indians still mistrusted a BIA they regarded as paternalistic, tribal leaders recognized that the BIA had begun to change in recent decades, exercising less coercive control over tribes than in the past and consulting with tribes more frequently.

Congress issued an official apology on behalf of the United States almost a decade later in a paragraph inserted in an unrelated appropriations Act for the Defense Department. The section entitled an "Apology to Native Peoples of the United States," signed into law by President Barack Obama in 2009, "recognized years of official depredations, ill-conceived policies, and the breaking of covenants by the Federal Government regarding Indian tribes" and apologized "on behalf of the people of the United States to all Native peoples for the many instances of violence, maltreatment, and neglect inflicted on Native peoples by" its citizens. The federal government dedicated itself to working on improved relations with tribes and encouraged states to do the same. Congress added a disclaimer to the apology, however, protecting the government from lawsuits based on this admission of past wrongdoing.

There were also more tangible signs that President Obama's administration would pursue improved relations with Indian country. Beginning in 2009, Obama invited hundreds of tribal leaders to Washington to discuss their concerns with him and his cabinet secretaries at an annual White House Tribal Nations Conference. The president assured attending leaders that he would maintain the federal government's commitment to tribal self-determination, explaining that "Washington can't—and shouldn't—dictate a policy agenda for Indian country. Tribal nations do better when they make their own decisions." He

pointed to increased funding for the Indian Health Service (IHS) and Indian education through the recently passed American Recovery and Reinvestment Act, which addressed the economic crisis known as the Great Recession. The president also promised to hold federal agencies responsible for consulting with tribal governments on actions affecting tribal interests, a process that had originated under President Clinton in 1994 but had not been implemented fully to tribes' satisfaction. Tribal leaders applauded these statements and expected Obama to make good on the promise that they would "not be forgotten as long as I'm in this White House."

The executive and legislative branches remained generally supportive of tribal sovereignty in the twenty-first century, while the judicial branch proved less supportive. For decades the US Supreme Court had been inconsistent on Indian law issues, tending to erode rather than affirm tribal sovereignty by favoring state and non-Indian private interests over tribal interests and sometimes deviating from established Indian law principles. Not all Supreme Court decisions affecting Indians in the 2000s went against them, but American Indians worried about an anti-Indian rights judicial bias. In 2011, NARF executive director John Echohawk confessed his concern that the high court would "reinterpret treaties and Indian law against us," forcing him to advise American Indians against pursuing justice there.

Two notable Supreme Court decisions in 2001 chipped away at tribal sovereignty by restricting tribal jurisdictional and regulatory powers over non-Indian activities within reservation borders. In *Atkinson Trading Company v. Shirley*, the court denied tribal powers to tax non-Indians on privately owned reservation lands, specifically deciding against the Navajo Nation's power to assess an occupancy tax on guests staying at the Cameron Trading Post hotel, a non-Indian business located within the reservation. In *Nevada v. Hicks* the court undermined tribal powers to regulate the activities of non-Indian state law enforcement officials entering their lands to investigate off-reservation crimes. The Fallon Paiute-Shoshone Tribal Court was found to lack jurisdiction in a lawsuit that a tribal member had filed against state game wardens

who he claimed had illegally searched his reservation residence for evidence of bighorn sheep poaching off-reservation.

Tribal leaders and legal scholars were also troubled by the court's 2005 *City of Sherrill v. Oneida Indian Nation of New York* decision which denied an Oneida assertion that a portion of their lands should be exempt from city and county property taxes. The parcel of land in question was a portion of Oneida traditional territory that had been lost to non-Indians in New York in 1805 but then purchased back by the tribe in 1997 and 1998. The Oneidas argued that these lands were part of their original reservation and were thus legally "Indian country," granting the tribe state tax exemptions. The court ruled that the Oneidas lacked the authority to unilaterally declare lands as "Indian country" and seemed to favor the rights of local non-Indians by deciding that altering the parcel's tax status would be unfair to a city and county that had taxed the property for many years. The Supreme Court drew more impassioned criticism from its *Adoptive Couple v. Baby Girl* ruling in 2013, deciding that the Indian Child Welfare Act (1978) did not apply to a Cherokee father seeking to reclaim a daughter that his non-Indian fiancée had given up for adoption.

American Indians realized that positive assurances from component parts of the federal government could not guarantee the continued integrity of Indian self-determination policy. Nonetheless, tribal leaders and multitribal organizations knew that federal relations were important and continued efforts to influence the existing American political and legal systems. The National Congress of American Indians (NCAI) remained a leading advocate of Native rights and promoted a nation-to-nation relationship between the tribal and federal governments. The NCAI's 2009 opening of the Embassy of Tribal Nations in Washington, DC, provided a new organizational headquarters and a home base for tribal leaders to advocate for their communities in the nation's capital. In 2010, NCAI president Jefferson Keel (Chickasaw) highlighted the benefits Native peoples had gained from improved federal-tribal relations and tribal initiatives during the self-determination era. "Today, federal laws and every federal agency are far more respectful of tribal authority,"

said Keel. "Tribes have vastly improved services on reservations and created hundreds of thousands of jobs. We have done the hard work of building tribal government institutions and enterprises, and we will pass this legacy to the next generation." Even so, he wrote, the federal government had failed Indians in significant ways.

The Supreme Court has undermined tribal authority with devastating results for public safety, tax and revenue generation, and basic civil jurisdiction. Our largest assets, tribal lands, remain fragmented and caught in a web of stifling BIA regulations and bureaucracy. There has never been enough federal funding or other revenue to provide adequate services or develop infrastructure, and economic development has been highly uneven with many reservations remaining in great poverty. Much work remains to be done.

American Indian organizations and tribal governments also looked for ways to improve relations with state and local governments. When necessary, tribes employed litigation to protect their sovereign authority against state intrusion. The courts, however, were not reliable supporters of their interests, and no matter which side won, lawsuits rarely offered final resolution of conflicts between tribal and state sovereignty. Negotiated agreements and cooperative ventures with state and local governments offered tribes an attractive alternative. In areas where they might have similar objectives, sometimes including natural resource management and crime reduction, cooperation between sovereigns could be more effective and efficient than were conflict and duplication. Some formal aspects of the tribal–state relationship were federally mandated, as was the case with the Indian Child Welfare Act and the 2005 reauthorization of the Violence Against Women Act, which required state courts to recognize and enforce tribal court judgments regarding Indian child custody issues and protective orders. Perceiving mutual benefits, some states and tribes engineered similar agreements regarding other types of court judgments without federal prompting. From 1999 to 2009, the NCAI encouraged this brand of tribal–state cooperation by collaborating with the National Conference of State Legislatures to provide helpful resource materials and guidelines.

The tribal strategy of negotiating agreements with state and local governments had its limitations. The evolving process was impeded by uncertainties in Indian law and a legacy of mistrust. Some state governments were less willing to negotiate than others, or failed to accept the inherent nature of tribal sovereign authority. Some tribal leaders worried that they might lock themselves into agreements that would prove detrimental to their sovereign authority or might give states the false impression that they were entitled to interfere in other tribal matters. Despite these obstacles, tribes and states in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries negotiated on a variety of fronts, including fisheries and air quality management. They also negotiated resolutions to jurisdictional disputes that hampered law enforcement on and bordering reservations. As the state of Nebraska offered to do with the Santee Sioux in 2001, some states agreed to relinquish, or "retrocede," their criminal jurisdiction on tribal lands derived from Public Law 280. The Pawnee Nation, more than a dozen Oklahoma tribes, and numerous tribes in other states brokered cross-deputization agreements with state and local law enforcement agencies. In addition to promising more efficient and effective law enforcement, cross-deputization allowed tribes to arrest non-Indians on their lands for prosecution by the partnering state and local authorities. These arrangements did not end all tribal–state tensions over law enforcement, nor did tribal–state cooperation in law enforcement always lead to broader cooperation. The Confederated Salish-Kootenai Tribes on the Flathead Reservation in Montana, for example, established cooperative criminal law enforcement agreements with the state and local governments in the late 1990s and early 2000s, but water rights, wildlife management, and taxation conflicts remained areas of contention.

Indigenous and International

In the new century, scholars and the international community increasingly supported tribal assertions of sovereignty. A new

generation of Native American academics and many of their non-Indian colleagues emphasized the importance of indigenous status as an enduring foundation for sovereignty. As the original inhabitants of the Americas, they argued, tribes' sovereignty pre-dated the limitations imposed by colonial governments. These scholars also focused attention on the fundamental ways in which indigenous values and US legal traditions clashed conceptually and practically. Many, but not all of them, agreed that tribal sovereignty was compatible with the American system so long as Native communities retained their indigenous identity and the United States respected treaty rights and its special nation-to-nation relationship with tribes.

This scholarship fit into a broader academic trend emphasizing connections between American Indian Studies and indigenous studies. Gaining inspiration from Linda Tuhiwai Smith's (Māori) writings in the late 1990s, academics in these fields placed greater emphasis on "decolonizing" scholarship by incorporating indigenous knowledge systems and voices into their writings and teaching, and strove to make their research relevant for contemporary indigenous communities. The Native American and Indigenous Studies Association provided them with an important forum. It grew from an idea by Robert Warrior that led to an initial gathering of 300 scholars at the University of Oklahoma in 2007 and the formal incorporation of a permanent organization in 2009.

Many Native writers, as well as legal professionals, leaders, and activists, believed that international law could provide increased protections for Native Americans, Alaska Natives, Native Hawaiians, and other indigenous peoples in a post-colonial world. To bolster the assertion that tribal sovereignty was inherent and inviolable, Native Americans had taken part in a worldwide indigenous effort since the 1970s, seeking official support from the international community. Numerous indigenous and Native American organizations participated in this effort, including the International Indian Treaty Council. On September 13, 2007, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP). Whereas international

law had previously focused on protecting individuals' human rights, the declaration affirmed the collective rights of specific indigenous communities. In forty-six articles, the declaration listed numerous rights that "constitute the minimum standards for the survival, dignity and well-being of the indigenous peoples of the world," including the rights to self-determination and to language, cultural, and spiritual preservation.

The UNDRIP had passed with 143 "yes" votes from member states, but the United States, Canada, New Zealand, and Australia had voted against. The United States insisted that it supported indigenous rights, but had been unable to vote for a "confusing" text that could undermine individual human rights and conflict with existing federal Indian law. Not persuaded by this explanation, Native Americans questioned the government's commitment to indigenous self-determination and demanded official acceptance of the UNDRIP. By 2010, the three other dissenting nations had announced support for the declaration. After consulting for months with Native American groups and government officials, President Obama announced at the second White House Tribal Nations Conference on December 16, 2010, that the United States would also change its position, but qualified its support for the UNDRIP with its own interpretation of the declaration language. Robert T. Coulter (Potawatomi), director of the Indian Law Resource Center and one of the original authors of the declaration, considered the announcement an important step, writing that "our work to ensure justice for Indian nations in this country begins in earnest with the United States' endorsement of the U.N. Declaration." It remained unclear whether or how the non-binding declaration would influence Indian policy, but NARF believed it had the potential to serve as "a roadmap to the reform of federal Indian law."

Past generations of Native Americans had demonstrated that maintaining indigenous identities did not keep them from identifying as Americans or from serving in common purpose alongside other Americans. Native Americans did so again during the tragedy of 9/11 and the "War on Terror" that followed. Immediately after the terrorist attacks, Indians sympathized

with the victims and demonstrated their solidarity with fellow Americans. Students at Whiteriver Middle School on the White Mountain Apache Reservation in Arizona joined members of the Morongo Band of Mission Indians in California, the Prairie Band Potawatomi in Kansas, the Coeur d'Alene tribe of Idaho, and thousands of other Native Americans in contributing money and gifts to the victims' families, giving blood, and conducting special prayer ceremonies. Within a week of the attacks, it was estimated that Indians had donated over \$2 million to 9/11 victims. As White Mountain Apache tribal chairman Dallas Massey declared, "We may often think we are separate from those [on] the east coast, both in distance, background and culture. But those boundaries dissolved in the terror and the aftermath. We are linked with the many thousands of people who were suddenly made victims on that day." The attacks also struck close to home for Mohawk ironworkers from Kahnawake, Quebec. They pulled bodies from New York City's collapsed Twin Towers that their tribesmen had helped build, and in 2013 they were there to raise the spire atop the new One World Trade Center they helped build on the site where the towers had once stood.

American Indians also continued a long military tradition by serving in the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq in the decade following 9/11. Although many Indians criticized America's motives for and conduct of these wars, they honored their warriors who served on the front lines. In March of 2012, a decade after the "War on Terror" had begun, a Pentagon report estimated that 22,248 Native Americans and Alaska Natives were on active duty in the military. Many of these men and women, including Army First Sergeant Lucien "Luke" G. Rice III (Southern Cheyenne-Arapaho), carried on family traditions. A career soldier serving in Iraq, Rice remembered his relatives who had served in all major American wars from World War I to Vietnam. Like many other Native Americans in the armed forces, he identified with a warrior tradition, fighting to defend his homeland and doing his duty "with a cultural purpose that is deeply rooted in tradition and pride." By 2012, sixty-four Native Americans had died in Afghanistan and Iraq, including Army Private Lori

Piestewa (Hopi) who was killed in 2003 when her 507th Maintenance Company was ambushed near Nasiriyah, Iraq. She was the first US servicewoman identified as a Native American ever to be killed in combat. Her community and Americans across the country mourned her and officially renamed Phoenix, Arizona's "Squaw Peak" as "Piestewa Peak" in her honor.

Community Well-Being

Native Americans' ability to secure their status as sovereign peoples also depended on their ability to secure the internal well-being of their growing communities. According to census figures, the Native American population continued to grow between 1990 and 2010. By 2000, 2.4 million Americans identified solely as Alaska Native or American Indian and an even larger total of 4.1 million identified themselves as having at least partial Native heritage. Those figures rose again during the first decade of the century, to 2.9 million (equaling 0.9 percent of the total US population) and 5.2 million, respectively, in the 2010 census. As had been the case with the 1990 census, the rising numbers reflected a combination of true population growth and peoples' still-increasing willingness to acknowledge their Indian ancestry, as well as improved census-taking practices.

Economic and health measures in the new century showed signs of improvement for American Indians, but also indicated how far Indian country still lagged behind the rest of the nation. During the 1990s Natives on average had experienced a greater increase in per capita income than other Americans, including a growth rate for reservation residents tripling the national average. Indian unemployment and poverty rates had also decreased, but these gains failed to eliminate a wide socioeconomic gap between them and other Americans. The 2010 census demonstrated that more than 28 percent of Native families lived in poverty, compared to a national rate of 15 percent, and that they had a median household income of \$35,062, compared to a national average of \$50,046. Indian peoples' average health had

improved by some measures since 1980, but they still suffered appallingly high mortality rates from certain causes that reduced their average life expectancy by five years in comparison to the national average. IHS statistics showed that, compared to the general population, an American Indian or Alaska Native in 2003 was twice as likely to be murdered, three times as likely to die in a vehicular accident or from diabetes, and four times as likely to die from diseases of the liver, including alcohol-related cirrhosis.

Indian America continued to become more urban during the new century, with more than two-thirds of Natives living in cities. Many urban Indians earned middle- or upper-class incomes and increasingly could be found among professional ranks. Although urban Indians had greater access to higher education and employment opportunities than most reservation populations, they experienced high poverty rates, in some large cities exceeding 30 percent. Thousands lacked medical insurance and had limited access to IHS health care, which was still overwhelmingly geared toward reservation residents. Non-Indians rarely recognized the growing Native population that tended to live scattered throughout American cities, nor were they commonly aware of the multitribal communities that Indians maintained within city limits. In Chicago, Minneapolis, Portland, and other cities American Indians drew practical and emotional support from both tribe-specific and multitribal community and service networks that continued to proliferate. Urban Indians were separated from reservation communities both by distance and by measures of social and economic status, but the two populations remained strongly connected. There were, of course, urban Indians who had little or no link to any specific tribal community beyond their city, but many thousands of them still maintained relationships with tribal homelands and frequently traveled back and forth. In addition to visiting in person or talking on the phone, they kept in touch with events on the reservation through internet social networking sites and internet versions of tribal and American Indian newspapers, like the *Indian Country Today Media Network*. For those living away from a reservation, it might be more difficult to vote in tribal elections, speak the tribal language, or

access reservation-based federal and tribal programs, but they could still share common concerns and a common identity and world view with friends and family "back home."

Both in cities and rural areas, substance abuse and crime still threatened Native Americans' physical and community well-being. Alcoholism continued to strain family relations and take a physical toll. Indians also suffered from high rates of illegal drug use, with methamphetamine abuse being one of the newest and most serious threats. The relatively inexpensive and noxious drug became widely available in poor Native communities, leading to addiction rates three times the national average. Testifying before a US Senate Committee on Indian Affairs hearing in 2006, San Carlos chairwoman Kathleen W. Kitcheyan said the rapid rise of meth abuse was "destroying my community—shattering families, endangering our children, and threatening our cultural and spiritual lives." This "plague," as she termed it, had contributed to spikes in reservation homicides, suicides, and birth defects.

Both urban and reservation Native communities were also confronted by a worsening problem with criminal youth gangs. Native gangs, modeled after non-Indian urban gangs, began to form in the late 1980s and early 1990s and grew rapidly through the turn of the century, with thousands of Native youths joining at least 400 different gangs by the early 2000s. Many Native communities experienced little or no gang activity, and even where gangs were prominent, most youths stayed away from them. A variety of factors, however, attracted some of their peers to join these groups, including economic distress, family strife, lost connections to tribal traditions and values, feelings of boredom and isolation, and the increasing influence of gang imagery in the media. Gangs on reservations and off-reservation rural areas were also established and perpetuated by Native American urban gang members who carried the gang culture back with them when they visited or relocated.

While crime rates fell for the US population as a whole during the 1990s, violent crime in Indian communities in the 1990s and 2000s remained high, occurring at more than twice the national

rate. A high frequency of violence against Native women could not be ignored. A Bureau of Justice Statistics study estimated that Native women were nearly three times more likely to be raped or sexually assaulted than were other American women and one in three Native women reported having been raped—statistics that underrepresented the frequency of crimes that often went unreported. Many incidences of sexual violence against women were cases of domestic partner abuse, often associated with alcohol and drugs, but a majority of these assaults were perpetrated by non-Indian partners or strangers. Law professor Sarah Deer (Muscogee) called attention to this “epidemic of victimization in Indian country,” linking violence against Native women to centuries of sexual assault and the “devaluation of women and girls in Native cultures” that had accompanied colonization. Federal authorities often failed to thoroughly investigate or prosecute these crimes and federal laws limited the power of tribal legal systems to respond. When perpetrators were tribal members, federal restrictions prevented tribal courts from issuing sentences proportional to the crimes and tribal courts lacked jurisdiction to prosecute non-Indian offenders.

Tribes worked to reduce the frequency of destructive behaviors that threatened their peoples’ well-being, but they confronted serious obstacles in doing so. Crime and substance abuse were long-standing problems linked in part to historical trauma. Within tribal governments and communities there were varying levels of commitment and opinions about how best to proceed. Economic difficulties both exacerbated destructive behaviors and limited tribal funding for law enforcement and treatment programs. Many determined reservation communities, however, were able to benefit from some new federal legislation. The 1994 Violence Against Women Act funded victim services and tribal law enforcement training and a 2013 reauthorization of the statute gave tribes authority to charge non-Indian abusers on tribal lands. Tribes and other Native organizations, helped by federal funding, initiated more than 700 programs to prevent violence against women and to assist victims. The 2010 Tribal Law and Order Act addressed sexual assault, as well as juvenile crime and other

forms of crime in Indian country, through measures bolstering tribal police forces and rehabilitation programs and improving coordination among federal, tribal, and state law enforcement agencies. The Act also granted tribal police greater arrest authority for felony crimes and increased tribal courts' sentencing powers.

Concerned that western justice systems based on different value systems than their own were not ideal means to address social ills in their communities, Native Americans also turned to their own culturally appropriate sources of community justice and healing. Extended families, elders, and spiritual leaders worked, as they always had, to maintain the integrity of Native communities, while newly organized efforts took on modern problems by accessing traditional sources of strength. Author Charles Wilkinson outlined how, in the early 2000s, the Tohono O'odham of Arizona drew on their traditions to fight social and physical illnesses. The tribe employed a holistic community-wide approach to confront its growing gang problem. The Tohono O'odham raised awareness of gangs and helped troubled youths by developing community forums and counseling programs, and their justice system provided detained juveniles with access to medicine men, known as *maka'i*. The tribe also worked to reintroduce traditional foods like tepary beans to combat diabetes, a disease that had plagued Native Americans since western foods had come to dominate their diets. "More and more," tribal chief justice Malcolm Escalante explained, "we're moving back toward our traditions. We're tapping into that strength."

Many tribes incorporated culturally appropriate values into their court systems and sought alternative venues for dispute resolution, placing increased emphasis on restorative rather than retributive forms of justice. Tribal leaders and law professionals were inspired by the Navajo Nation's well-established and ongoing efforts to blend traditional peacemaking concepts into their current justice system. Peacemaker courts worked in association with the Navajo trial court system, but used mediation to resolve criminal and civil cases by returning to the tradition of *nalyeeh*, which emphasized the long-term healing power of dialogue among wrongdoers, victims, family members, and traditional

community leaders. Through repairing relationships and restoring disrupted community harmony, peacemaking had proven an effective response to difficult problems on the Navajo Nation, including family violence and alcohol abuse. In the 1990s and 2000s, more than a dozen tribal nations developed peacemaking programs, which varied in procedural and conceptual ways to fit particular tribal needs and world views, but all of the programs emphasized restorative community justice. The Grand Traverse Band of Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of Michigan's peacemaker court (established in 1996) usually handled juvenile misdemeanor cases, including illegal possession of alcohol and drugs. Peacemakers who were knowledgeable about tribal traditions facilitated dialogue to help restore juvenile offenders' dignity and sense of responsibility. "They come up with solutions for what they have done," Grand Traverse peacemaker coordinator Paul Raphael explained to researcher Nancy A. Costello. "The peacemaker just keeps peace between the two parties."

Education and Revitalization

In 1997, Northern Cheyenne educator and future president of Chief Dull Knife College Richard Littlebear spoke about Native youths who were searching for "a sense of identity, importance, and belongingness." "It would be so nice," he said "if they would but look to our own tribal characteristics because we already have all the things that our youth are apparently looking for and finding in socially destructive gangs." American Indians, he said, must "teach our children about the positive aspects of American Indian life at an early age so they know who they are." During the 1990s and in the decades that followed, dedicated educators looked for more effective ways to incorporate Native American content into classroom teaching. Educators believed a culturally relevant education would instill Native youths with a sense of pride, better engage them in the classroom, and help them close an achievement gap that separated many Indian students from their non-Indian peers.

Statistics comparing student performance and achievement during the 2000s and early 2010s to preceding decades revealed that the state of Indian education had improved, but still had far to go. American Indian and Alaska Native K-12 students, on average, performed less well on standardized tests and other academic assessment measures than did other American youths. Between 1980 and 2010, their high school graduation rates had improved modestly, while the number of Indian students going to college and earning associate degrees quadrupled and those earning bachelor's and master's tripled. American Indians and Alaska Natives, though, were still less likely to finish high school than other Americans, as their rates of graduation lagged about 20 percent behind the national average, and their college attrition rates were significantly higher than for non-Indians. Indian education scholars offered a variety of explanations for student underperformance and retention problems, including inadequate K-12 education, intentionally or unintentionally racist educators and institutions, cross-cultural barriers, insufficient parental involvement, financial hardships, and feelings of social isolation.

By the 2010s, 90 percent of American Indian students were enrolled in public schools, where many of them struggled despite federal legislation during the 1990s and 2000s directed at improving the quality of Indian education. As part of the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 the federal government affirmed its "continuing trust relationship with and responsibility to the Indian people" for education, and directed government agencies to work with Indian tribes and educators to provide for "the unique educational and culturally related academic needs" of Indian children. Native critics of the statute argued that it was inadequately funded and could even undermine Indian education, including tribal language instruction, by relying too heavily on culturally biased, standardized testing. States varied in their level of commitment to Indian education, some doing little while others, like Washington and California, showed support by introducing tribal language classes into public schools and easing certain teacher certification requirements for Native-language speakers. The Montana legislature enacted the Indian Education for All Act in 1999,

requiring state educators to teach all students about "the distinct and unique heritage of American Indians in a culturally responsive manner." In collaboration with tribes, the state's Office of Public Instruction made appropriate learning materials available to teachers in K-12 classrooms, but after more than a decade of effort and improvement, many Montana schools still fell short of meeting the law's intent.

Among institutions of higher education, tribal colleges and universities remained leaders in developing culturally relevant courses, while also offering general education and job-training programs. Thirty-seven Indian institutions enrolled more than 18,000 college students each year by 2012, in addition to the broader tribal populations they served through community-based programs. These schools typically offered American Indian Studies programs or tribe-specific studies programs, as well as Native language courses. In doing so, the institutions hoped to increase student engagement and fulfill their missions to preserve and promote tribal cultural and linguistic integrity. Tribal colleges also forged new relationships with indigenous colleges in Canada, New Zealand, and other countries. In 2002, the American Indian Higher Education Consortium helped launch the World Indigenous Nations Higher Education Consortium, which developed accreditation standards for indigenous education initiatives and promoted the preservation of indigenous cultural ways through higher education.

Tribal colleges and universities also continued to prioritize efforts to increase student performance in science, technology, and mathematics. With assistance from the federal government and non-profit organizations, tribal colleges added new degree programs in these fields and provided Native students with opportunities to apply academic knowledge beyond the classroom. Tribal college students took part in NASA summer research programs and rocket-building competitions, studied agricultural techniques through Department of Agriculture-funded grants, took part in college projects to promote the cultivation of traditional, healthy food plants, and helped bring Native ecological perspectives to studies of climate change through NASA

and National Science Foundation-funded programs. Colleges that served specific tribes often catered job-training programs to best meet local needs, including some that offered degrees in forestry, casino management, tribal governance, education, and nursing. By doing so, these institutions acted as engines of tribal economic development and increased the likelihood that students would find careers in their home communities.

Tribal colleges and universities in the twenty-first century also expanded their degree offerings and reached out geographically. College of Menominee Nation (Wisconsin), Northwest Indian College (Washington), Salish Kootenai College (Montana), Sinte Gleska University (South Dakota), and others joined the ranks of tribal colleges offering bachelor's or even master's degrees. Tribal institutions better served Native students who lived in remote areas or were otherwise unable to travel regularly to a main campus by taking advantage of advances in broadcast and internet technology to deliver distance learning courses. Iḷisaḡvik College, for one, taught most of its students in classrooms, but relied on the internet to connect with Iñupiat students living across Alaska's North Slope. College president Pearl Brower explained in 2013 that "our elders, and those that have passed, worked really hard to make sure we are technologically as advanced as we can be," and as a result, isolated villages north of the Arctic Circle had gained the level of internet access necessary to make an online education possible.

Efforts to improve the general quality of Indian education dovetailed with growing Native American language-revitalization initiatives. In spite of the continued use of tribal languages in cultural contexts and past efforts to document them, most of them still faced extinction. According to estimates, less than two-thirds of the approximately 300 indigenous North American languages spoken in the nineteenth century survived into the twenty-first, and only a small number of those remaining were being naturally acquired by children as a first language. For these languages to endure, younger generations needed to grow up speaking them in daily life, but just over a quarter of people identifying as Indian in the 2010 census spoke any language other than English in

the home. As elder speakers died and younger generations failed to acquire fluency, tribal communities' primary languages were naturally, and perhaps irreversibly, shifting to English.

Tribal communities feared losing languages upon which their peoples' identities, spiritual ways, and cultural traditions relied. Having seen evidence that his language was headed toward extinction, Blackfeet educator Darrel Kipp had co-founded the Piegan Institute on the reservation in 1987. The institute continued its work into the twenty-first century as one of many Native American-run nonprofit organizations dedicated to language revitalization. In 2009, Kipp explained why a tribal Native language was worth fighting for. "My Blackfoot language is thousands of years old, the conduit of uncountable years of interaction between my people and the Creator. It is not composed of mere words, but instead embodies everything about us to the beginning of Blackfoot time."

Although drives for English-only laws in some states were troubling reminders of past language repression, the federal government now offered some support for tribal language revitalization. With guidance from Native peoples, Congress passed supportive legislation in the form of the Native American Languages Acts of 1990 and 1992 and the Esther Martinez Native American Language Preservation Act of 2006. In 2005, the National Endowment for the Humanities and National Science Foundation also made grants and fellowships available for Native language preservation.

Not all American Indians supported efforts to revitalize their tribal languages, some believing it was an impossible task and others accepting an English-only world as inevitable. But in numerous communities, groups of Indian parents, educators, and tribal leaders believed they had no choice but to act as their languages neared extinction. They adopted multiple approaches to saving their languages. Tribal governments promoted the use of Native languages in official capacities, some, like the San Juan Paiute, writing governing documents in their own language, and many tribes referring to themselves officially in their own languages instead of using commonly recognized

names that others had given them, like Tohono O'odham instead of "Papago." American Indian scholars and their non-Indian colleagues published books on language-revitalization strategies, convened in multiple academic conferences, and persuaded schools and colleges to add Native language classes. Fluent Comanche speakers taught entire families how to speak together and Lakotas from Cheyenne River attended a summer language- and culture-immersion camp. Native peoples also utilized their languages and expressed them in many ways—through ceremony and prayer, oral storytelling, literature, poetry, music, tribal newspapers, and even tribal road signage.

Although some American Indians were hesitant to propagate their languages in non-traditional ways, instructional CD-ROMs, Native language CDs and videos, radio and television broadcasts, internet resources, and interactive tablet and smart phone apps were all employed to document and teach Native languages. These technologies effectively engaged younger American Indians who were already accustomed to interacting with them. Scholar Neyooxet Greymorning and Wind River youths reached Arapaho children with a translated version of the Disney film *Bambi* that they had created in the early 1990s. In 2011, the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe and nonprofit Lakota Language Consortium translated episodes of the children's animated *Berenstain Bears* series for airing on public television and in 2013 Navajos issued a Diné language version of *Star Wars Episode IV: A New Hope*.

One of the most effective means to teach Native languages proved to be language-immersion instruction for younger children. Language-immersion operated on the principle that students could more effectively and quickly attain language proficiency if teachers conducted daily interactions with students and academic instruction in the language. These schools also incorporated extensive cultural content from their own tribes. Kipp's Piegan Institute employed language immersion on Montana's Blackfeet Reservation during the mid-1990s, including operating the Cuts Wood School for children between five and twelve years of age. Other nonprofit, community, and tribal government initiatives started immersion programs for other languages during the

1990s and 2000s, including among the Arapahos, Gros Ventres, Mohawks, Navajos, Anishinabeg, Salish, and Yupiit. Effective language-immersion programs were broad group efforts. The various tribal programs influenced each other and took inspiration from successful New Zealand Māori and Native Hawaiian programs. They received critical outside donor support and tribal and federal government funding, while tribal and mainstream colleges and universities developed necessary learning materials and trained teachers. Fluent parents and community members encouraged young learners and spoke in the indigenous language with them outside of the classroom. Immersion schools that obtained enough support to stay in operation graduated classes of fluent speakers who were generally well educated. In many cases, students who were fluent in their tribal languages academically outperformed their English monolingual peers in a variety of subjects and could draw on those tribal language skills to become more proficient English speakers at higher grade levels.

As the new century progressed, there were many stories like that of the Alutiiq people in southern Alaska whose language had declined rapidly from an estimated 900 speakers in the early 1980s to 150 in 2012. During the 2000s, the Alutiiq Museum and a coalition of tribal groups worked, as scholar April "Isiik" Counciller (Alutiiq) expressed it, to "drag the Alutiiq language back from the brink of extinction." The community endeavor initiated a variety of language-revitalization activities, including a master-apprentice project in 2004 that teamed up small groups of learners with fluent elders. As the elders passed away, these new speakers of Alutiiq and other Native languages could carry their languages forward. It was uncertain how successful they could be over the long run, but intensifying and maturing language-revitalization initiatives offered genuine hope.

Economies

In the twenty-first century, most tribes faced an uphill climb in their efforts to address chronic economic underdevelopment.

Tribal governments and entrepreneurs searched for new forms of economic development while looking to maximize the benefits and minimize the negative consequences of existing forms. Some of the economic strategies that Native communities pursued failed financially or became embroiled in internal tribal political disputes, but successes and failures alike were inevitable consequences of economic self-determination. Understanding that not all ventures would succeed, Native communities placed increased emphasis on economic diversification.

Reservation economic growth had long been stunted by the restricted availability of credit and investment capital. Some help came from the proliferation of banks owned by Native individuals and tribes, including the Native American Bank, multitribally chartered in 2001. While some Native American-owned lenders made controversial high-interest payday loans to non-Indians over the internet, Native American banks extended essential credit to Indian country, helping fuel Native-owned business growth, from 102,000 businesses in 1992 to 236,967 in 2007, including ventures in manufacturing, retail, and construction. The Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma's electronics ("e-waste") recycling center, launched in 2011, demonstrated that new Indian businesses could be profitable and innovative while also expressing traditional environmental values.

Many tribal economies still relied heavily on developing their natural resources and therefore faced tough choices about balancing their economic, cultural, and environmental goals. It became even more difficult to strike this balance because of the coincidence of the Great Recession with increased awareness of the environmental consequences of climate change, both of which were felt disproportionately by some indigenous communities, including those on the Alaska coast.

Energy resources in particular continued to be a primary source of revenue for numerous southwestern and Great Plains tribes that, when taken together, controlled 10 percent of the country's fossil fuel deposits. Successful tribal assertions of sovereignty and application of federal laws like the 2005 Indian Tribal Energy and Development and Self-Determination Act gave some Indian

nations more control over energy resource development and larger shares of profits, but in most cases, energy resources alone could not sustain vibrant tribal economies. The Southern Utes of Colorado's story appeared to be an exception. The tribe benefitted from taking over its own energy resource operations rather than relying on royalty payments from outside companies. Through their Red Willow Production Company started in the early 1990s, the Southern Utes controlled production of their substantial natural gas deposits, reinvested large profits in real estate and other economic ventures to diversify their economy, and in doing so managed to reverse decades of poverty.

Tribal decisions to develop, or not develop, energy resources did not hinge on questions of profitability and control alone. Large factions within energy-resource-rich tribes opposed additional development of fossil fuels out of concerns for the health of tribal lands and peoples. These groups were often pitted against other tribal members and leaders who argued that their urgent need for jobs and revenue left them with little choice but to tap into the wealth that lay beneath their lands. The Navajo Nation acted to protect its lands and people from radioactive contamination by banning uranium mining in 2005, but remained divided over proposals to perpetuate the reservation's coal extraction industry and construct a new coal-fired power plant. Coal had been a primary foundation of the Navajo economy for decades, but its extraction, transport, and burning had taken what many Navajos considered to be an unacceptable toll on their environment (air quality, physical landscape, and aquifers) as well as that of the neighboring Hopis. The Northern Cheyennes in Montana similarly divided over whether to develop their ample coal and coalbed methane resources. Tribal president Leroy Spang and other proponents of development stressed the need for new jobs in the face of an unemployment rate of 80 percent and, in the words of tribal member Pat McMakin, argued that the proposed development was "the only option we have right now." Opponents like Phillip Whiteman, Jr. cautioned his people in 2006 to consider the consequences for the younger generations.

"We don't want to leave them with black water and grey skies and grey land."

Advancement in renewable energy technologies offered some opportunities for Native communities to reconcile tribal economic and environmental goals. Many western reservations had significant potential for the generation of solar and wind energy, and tribal governments and Indian entrepreneurs alike began to pursue the development of these resources from the 1990s onward. The Jicarilla Apaches and more than a dozen other tribes, many of them in the Southwest, initiated solar energy projects. The Rosebud Sioux Tribe in South Dakota initiated a long-term effort to develop wind energy with a single turbine in 2003 partially funded by a US Department of Energy grant. Ten years later, they and five other Sioux tribes announced plans to cooperatively develop a massive wind energy-exporting project linking hundreds of turbines. The Southern Utes began investing in an algae-based biofuel project in 2009 that promised to simultaneously produce energy and reduce carbon dioxide emissions from an adjacent natural gas processing plant. Tribal chairman Matthew J. Box viewed this project's combined respect for the environment and technological innovation as "a marriage of an older way of thinking into a modern time."

For many tribes, fishing remained a means to express their sovereignty and perpetuate valued social and ceremonial ways. Renewable resources did not yield substantial profits, but fishing and timber in particular remained important components of some tribal economies. Native fishing communities, like Great Lakes Ojibwe bands who took whitefish and other stocks from Lake Superior, maintained ancestral traditions while securing jobs and providing essential family income. Many Native fishing communities took action to preserve fish populations, not simply to maintain fishing as an economic option, but also to protect species that were fundamental to their cultural existence. To do so, tribes worked with multitribal organizations like the Great Lakes Indian Fish and Wildlife Commission and the Columbia River Inter-Tribal Fish Commission, and coordinated more of

their efforts with federal and state agencies. Native nations like the Nez Perces in Idaho opened new fish hatcheries as well as operating their own fisheries and resource management programs. Penobscots in Maine in 2008 and multiple Northwest tribes in 2009 secured agreements with government and private interests to plan the removal of certain dams across the Penobscot and Klamath rivers. Dams in Washington State were subject to similar agreements. For decades, dams had blocked the migrations of salmon and other fish and raised water temperatures, dramatically reducing fish populations. In 2013, long-time fishing rights advocate and chairman of the Northwest Indian Fisheries Commission Billy Frank, Jr. (Nisqually) discussed the annual First Salmon ceremonies taking place among the Native peoples of western Washington. He called for redoubling of efforts to maintain "the fish that sustains us as a people." "Despite everything that's thrown against them—dams, pollution, predators and much more, the salmon never stop trying to make it home. We can't stop either. We all need to work harder to make sure the salmon has a good home when he returns. We don't want to ever find ourselves contemplating a Last Salmon Ceremony."

Agriculture remained central to many American Indian lives and livelihoods for both cultural and economic reasons. Nearly 80,000 American Indians and Alaska Natives operated farms and ranches in the United States during the 2000s. These people carried on their communities' agricultural traditions, but the potential for those communities to build productive and profitable agricultural economies remained stunted because of land tenure issues. Large percentages of many reservations' crop and range lands were leased to, or owned by, non-Indians, or simply lay fallow because of the complications posed by fractionated ownership and difficulties acquiring credit.

In 1999, a group of ranchers filed a class-action lawsuit against the Department of Agriculture (USDA), alleging that they and other Native Americans had been discriminated against for more than a decade when applying for federal agricultural loans and technical assistance. In 2010 the federal government acknowledged this discrimination and its adverse effect on

Indian agricultural earnings. A \$760 million dollar settlement paid damages to those who had faced direct discrimination and included provisions to make the USDA more supportive of tribal agriculture. A lead plaintiff and long-time rancher, Marilyn Keepseagle (Standing Rock Sioux) hoped that the settlement would allow future generations to "have better opportunities than what we had." She did not know if her grandchildren would follow her husband, George, and her into ranching after hearing about their problems, but for Keepseagle and thousands of other Indian people, agricultural work had always been worth doing.

Tribal governments and multitribal organizations adopted multiple strategies to encourage agricultural development. Tribes bought back former lands and requested federal permission to place these tracts back into trust. Although with mixed results, during the 1990s and 2000s tribes such as the Cheyenne River Sioux in South Dakota established and managed bison herds, sometimes for monetary profit, but primarily to reaffirm reciprocal relations with the animals. The InterTribal Bison Cooperative represented fifty-six tribes in its mission to promote such efforts in a manner that would enhance "spiritual revitalization, ecological restoration, and economic development." Tribes also continued efforts to secure water resources for agriculture and other pursuits, both through litigation and negotiated settlements. Billions of dollars in federal spending helped facilitate negotiations between tribes and other concerned parties, including the federal and state governments. This process was neither easy nor always amicable, but a number of water compacts were concluded by 2013, including compacts funded by Congress in 2010 for the White Mountain Apache, Crow, and several Pueblo communities.

Gaming

Indian gaming continued to be a profitable industry for Indian country, but also one of the most contentious. Indian gaming had grown to account for one quarter of all US gaming revenues by 2004, and by 2008, more than 240 tribes operated over

400 casinos and bingo halls earning \$26.7 billion in annual gross revenues. Those revenues declined slightly in 2009 during the early years of the recession before rising again in 2011. Still fewer than half of federally recognized tribes operated casinos, but growing numbers of those eligible to do so under the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act (IGRA) of 1988 were entering the profitable industry. Even the Navajo Nation, which had initially rejected gaming in public referenda during the 1990s, changed course, approving limited gambling in 2005 and then opening the Fire Rock Casino near Gallup, New Mexico, in 2008.

Despite knowing that other American Indian communities had revitalized their economies and cultures through gaming, whether to join the industry was a difficult decision for non-gaming tribes. Many American Indians disapproved of forfeiting a degree of tribal sovereign authority by compacting with states and worried that tribal casinos could lead to some harmful social consequences, such as encouraging problem gambling among tribal members. For the Navajos, widespread poverty and unemployment rates exceeding 50 percent convinced the tribal council to finally take this controversial step. It was hard for economically struggling tribes to ignore statistics showing that per capita incomes, high school graduation rates, and employment figures had improved at significantly greater rates for tribes with casinos during the 1990s than for tribes without. During that decade, median household incomes for gaming tribes had risen 35 percent as opposed to only 14 percent for non-gaming tribes. It continued to be difficult for them to ignore a tribally controlled industry that supported over half a million jobs during the 2000s.

Tribes with one or more successful casinos often sought to increase profits through both economic diversification and expansion of their gaming activities. The Winnebago Tribe of Nebraska, Mississippi Band of Choctaws, and other tribes reinvested casino profits in a wide variety of non-gaming related business ventures on and off reservation. Some tribes also opened an array of service and entertainment businesses attached to their casinos,

including resort hotels, restaurants, golf courses, RV parks, and concert arenas. Often in the face of political and public opposition, tribes in California, New York, Wisconsin, and elsewhere sought to open casinos on off-reservation trust lands close to cities, where potential profits were much greater. This strategy required approval from the Secretary of the Interior, which had been difficult to obtain due to unfavorable Bush-administration interpretations of IGRA regulations and also restrictions resulting from the Supreme Court's 2009 *Carcieri v. Salazar* decision. Off-reservation casinos became more feasible when the Secretary of the Interior began to approve tribal requests more liberally from 2011 onward. Some tribes also made plans to tap into the multibillion-dollar potential of online gaming, should restrictive laws regulating that industry ever change.

The Seminole Tribe of Florida had led the tribal gaming revolution and continued to exemplify how an Indian community could remain vibrant by relying on gaming-related profits. Gaming operations had pulled them out of poverty by the 2000s. The Seminoles had done well enough by 2006 to make a successful \$965 million deal to acquire Hard Rock International's hotels, cafes, and casinos. New tribal government programs and casino-related jobs enabled the Seminoles to employ almost all tribal members seeking jobs on tribal lands. Gaming and related business profits, coupled with their non-gaming businesses, improved individual Seminole livelihoods and decreased their economic dependence on the federal government. Scholar Jessica R. Cattelino has demonstrated how Seminoles, like some other casino-owning tribes, used gaming money to help revitalize their traditional activities. "I think that all this money frees us to do more with our culture," remarked the Seminole Tribe's Cultural Education Department director, Madeline Tongkeamha. Casino and resort revenues funded Seminole language-revitalization efforts and were used to purchase culturally meaningful collections for the tribe's Ah-Tah-Thi-Ki museum. For Seminoles and many other tribes, gaming enabled members to reside on their

own lands and be year-round participants in vital social and cultural activities.

Gaming could thus empower and bind tribal communities more tightly together, but the dramatic economic transitions it brought about continued to bring difficult political and social challenges. In addition to ongoing internal debates about the morality of gaming, some tribes, including the Seminoles, grappled with controversies surrounding the alleged mishandling of funds by tribal leaders. Gaming also complicated some tribal enrollment processes. Successful casino tribes were overwhelmed by a flood of new membership applications that swelled along with their economic fortunes. Tribes had a sovereign right to maintain strict membership standards and turned away many requests, but tempers flared in California during the 1990s and 2000s when several gaming tribes disenrolled dozens or more of their existing members. Some journalists and Native American critics alleged that tribes were casting off members because of internal gaming disputes or to reduce the number of members dividing casino profits. Tribal leaders denied that gaming influenced membership determinations made to protect their peoples' cultural and societal integrity. Certainly gaming could not solely be blamed for the tribal membership controversies that proliferated throughout Indian country in the new century. Determining who was entitled to tribal membership, and thus access to tribal and federal services, remained one of the most difficult and important exercises of tribal sovereignty. For both gaming and non-gaming tribes struggling with enrollment decisions, lenient standards threatened to dilute tribal resources and, some argued, dilute a community's cultural integrity. Strict standards, people seeking tribal membership often countered, could be unfairly exclusionary or, when based on strict blood quantum requirements, threaten the future existence of tribes whose members continued to intermarry with outsiders.

In addition to potentially exacerbating internal tribal conflicts, gaming remained an uncertain economic proposition. In the

early years of the new century, the most successful 10 percent of tribal gaming operations accounted for more than half of all Indian gaming profits in the country while the bottom third of these operations accounted for only about 1 percent of the profits. Some gaming tribes had only earned meager profits or, during some years, their casinos had even lost money. Native communities in less populated areas were unlikely to transform their struggling economies simply by operating casinos, and some communities were barred from trying because they were ineligible under IGRA. Meanwhile, opposition from outside political, business, and community groups forced tribes to spend large sums on lawyers and lobbyists to protect their interests. As had been the case in the 1990s, surveys showed that a majority of informed Americans approved of Indian gaming, and more than 20 million of them visited Indian casinos each year. Nevertheless negative stereotypes of casino Indians unjustly getting rich at the expense of non-Indians were common fodder for opponents of tribal casinos, as well as for television sitcoms and late night comedians. Some non-Indian critics misrepresented the nature of tribal sovereignty, suggesting that gaming tribes had somehow forfeited their sovereign rights by becoming too economically successful or politically influential.

Indian gaming's supporters offered counter-arguments. They pointed to statistics proving that only a small percentage of casino tribes were "getting rich," and that Indian casinos and resorts benefitted many non-Indians as well. Although tribal gaming drew certain business investments away from off-reservation areas, they also had the reverse effect, attracting business development to economically depressed regions of states. Over half of the hundreds of thousands of tribal casino employees were non-Indians, gaming tribes annually contributed tens of millions of dollars to charities, and casino employees paid billions of dollars each year in federal income taxes. State and local governments also received direct payments, growing to approximately

\$1 billion dollars annually throughout the 2000s, to offset costs they incurred from handling tribal casino through-traffic.

Tribes that had once faced widespread opposition to their efforts to open casinos were now being approached by outsiders seeking a share of their wealth. As state budget deficits grew during the recession, some governors and state legislatures encouraged the expansion of tribal gaming in exchange for tribal–state revenue-sharing agreements. Such agreements benefitted tribes by helping them avoid costly political and legal battles with states and increased their gross profits through state grants giving certain tribes exclusive rights to operate casinos within defined regions. But these agreements were primarily driven by state interests and exemplified a trend toward greater state power in the compacting process

In California, where Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger was determined to compel gaming tribes to pay their “fair share” toward a state budget shortfall, controversial gaming compacts allowed some tribes to increase the number of slot machines they operated in exchange for paying percentages of profits to the state. In New York, Governor Andrew Cuomo and Oneida Nation representative Ray Halbritter announced in 2013 a pending agreement in which the tribe would pay a quarter of their Turning Stone Resort Casino’s net slot machine revenues (estimated to equal a payment of over \$12 million a year) in exchange for exclusivity rights in sections of upstate New York. The governor had compelled local counties to drop their opposition to Oneida efforts to place 17,350 acres of tribally owned fee land into federal trust in exchange for a share of the tribal payment. A similar revenue-sharing deal with the St. Regis Mohawks of New York had given that tribe exclusive right to operate gaming facilities in an eight-county zone.

Other tribes objected to revenue sharing in principal as an unwarranted state intrusion on their sovereignty and rejected the notion that states were entitled to shares of tribal casino profits. National Indian Gaming Association chair Ernest L. Stevens argued that tribes “did not create these budgetary

problems, and tribal governments should not be looked to as a way out." Many tribes nevertheless agreed to revenue sharing to maintain vitally important operations. Even as they were forced to make concessions to the states, their growing importance to regional economies gave gaming tribes more influence in state politics—an influence some tribes further cultivated through campaign donations to sympathetic non-Indian politicians.

Recognition

Native communities that lacked federal recognition could not operate casinos. They also were denied other sovereign rights and protections vital to an Indian peoples' social and economic well-being. By 2012, through positive determinations by what was now called the BIA's Office of Federal Acknowledgment (OFA), or alternatively through congressional or court actions, the number of federally recognized American Indian and Alaska Native tribes had increased to 566. The Cowlitz in Washington, Mashpee Wampanoags in Massachusetts, Shinnecocks in New York, and Tejons of California were added to this list during the new century. Hundreds of other self-identified tribes still lacked official acknowledgment. Many of them sought federal recognition, but had either been denied or had been waiting a decade or more for a government decision.

Since 1978, the federal government's acknowledgment process had screened out many hopefuls that fell far outside the established criteria with little controversy, but other denials had proven contentious. Unacknowledged groups and their supporters criticized the process as too expensive, too arbitrary, and too prone to political influence. Critics claimed the OFA's reliance on narrow definitions of what constitutes a "tribe" and a requirement that applicants provide documentation of their continuous existence failed to account for diverse Indian cultural and historical experiences. On the other hand, advocates for rigorous recognition standards, including OFA employees and

some tribal leaders, stressed the need to protect the legal meaning of tribal sovereignty and Native peoples' cultural integrity, and to restrict unqualified claims to fish and other natural resources. Some non-Indian groups, meanwhile, opposed recognition for *any* tribes that might threaten their own interests. Tribal gaming also made the recognition process more contentious. Not all groups seeking recognition in the twenty-first century had plans to open casinos, and those that did emphasized their community needs and sovereign rights. Numerous groups seeking acknowledgment, especially in Connecticut, nevertheless drew opposition from state and local politicians, neighboring communities, and even some current gaming tribes, all of whom opposed the proliferation of new tribal casinos. As tensions over tribal gaming increased, so did accusations by non-Indians and Indians alike that some unqualified groups were seeking recognition only because they wanted casinos.

In this atmosphere, petitioning groups commonly suffered agonizing defeats just as success seemed imminent. Connecticut's Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation in 2002 and Schaghticoke Tribal Nation in 2004 gained recognition only to have it taken away in 2005 through an official appeals process. Concerns about tribal land claims and casino development had galvanized opposition from politicians and property owners. The Schaghticoke were unable to convince a federal judge in 2010 that a well-publicized effort by Connecticut's attorney general, Richard Blumenthal, and other politicians had improperly influenced the government to rescind their recognition. Exemplifying how the quest for federal recognition could exacerbate internal strife, both the Eastern Pequots and Schaghticoke also experienced community splits that spawned competing claims for recognition. The Seattle-area Duwamish Tribe suffered the process's political twists of fate when the incoming Bush administration in 2001 reversed a recognition order granted by an outgoing Clinton administration official. They had begun to seek recognition twenty-four years earlier, in part to secure fishing rights. "It was a shock," tribal

chairwoman Cecile Hansen later recalled. "So, we whooped it up that evening. And then when Bush comes in, they put that decision on hold and then take it away." A federal judge's decision ordering that the petition be reconsidered revived Duwamish hopes in 2013, but after more than three decades fighting for her people's acknowledgment, Hansen met the prospect of a reenergized struggle with mixed emotions. "I always say now when I go around speaking," she said, "I just don't understand why any Native American tribe has to prove who they are."

For those tribes that secured federal recognition, there was elation followed by the difficult task of transitioning to a new political existence. For unacknowledged tribes, there continued to be hope that officially proposed revisions in 2013 would streamline the federal process and make their road forward easier. Native communities such as the state-recognized but landless Little Shell Tribe of Chippewa Indians in Montana were determined to endure as politically coherent tribes while pursuing federal status. With help from elected state officials, Little Shell tribal chairman Gerald Gray and volunteers from the tribe of almost 5,000 worked toward a legislative solution to end a struggle for recognition that had begun in the late 1970s. "To me," said Gray, "the fire burns so passionate because when you're talking to our senators or representatives, they know it and I know it, and it's like this isn't going to die out until something is done about it. So we just keep fighting it."

In the final years of the nineteenth century most Americans had assumed that Indians were about to disappear. However, the many decades that followed reflected, instead, another chapter of an ongoing story. The continuation of Native America had to be acknowledged. "We're always there," Onondaga-Micmac poet Gail Tremblay reiterated in "Indian Singing in 20th Century America," "singing round dance/songs, remembering what supports/our life—impossible to ignore." As the twentieth century ended, Wilma Mankiller observed that the past 500 years had

brought "utter devastation among our people," but still they remained hopeful. "Five hundred years from now," she declared, a person like herself would proclaim the continuation of Native languages and ceremonies.

Upon that occasion, as that person considers the approach of the twenty-sixth century, she will say again: "We are still here."

Appendix

American Indian Communities

What follows is a less than comprehensive listing of American Indian communities within the United States. All of the communities mentioned in this book and other federally and state-recognized tribes are listed below. Some alternative names by which tribes or groups are known are also shown. The list includes names of tribes and bands and names of specific reservation and non-reservation communities (although multitribal urban communities are not listed). Alaska Natives are also listed, but without reference to specific villages.

Abenaki: Significant presence in Canada, but with communities also in Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont.

Acoma: Pueblo community between Grants and Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Agua Caliente: Reservation near Palm Springs in southern California.

Ahtna: Southeastern Alaskan group with villages in the Copper River valley area.

"We Are Still Here": American Indians since 1890, Second Edition.

Peter Iverson and Wade Davies.

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American Indian Communities

- Ak-Chin: Reservation community southwest of Phoenix, Arizona; members are of Pima and Tohono O'odham heritage.
- Akwesasne (St. Regis): Mohawk reservation in northern New York.
- Alabama-Coushatta: Divided into three groups in Louisiana (Coushatta), Oklahoma (Alabama-Quassarte), and Texas (Alabama-Coushatta).
- Aleut: See Unangan.
- Allegany: Seneca reservation in western New York.
- Alutiiq (formerly Eskimo): western Alaskan communities of the lower Kenai peninsula, Kodiak Island, and Prince William Sound.
- Anishinabe (also Chippewa or Ojibwa): In addition to a significant population in Canada, the Anishinabe reside on reservations in Michigan (Bay Mills, Burt Lake Band, Grand Traverse Band, Keweenaw Bay, Lac Vieux Desert, Saginaw, Sault Sainte Marie); Minnesota (Bois Forte, Fond du Lac, Grand Portage, Leech Lake, Mille Lacs, White Earth); the state-recognized landless Little Shell in Montana (also some are of Cree descent); North Dakota (Turtle Mountain); and Wisconsin (Bad River, Lac Courte Oreilles, Lac du Flambeau, Red Cliff, Sokaogon, St. Croix). Residents of the Rocky Boy Reservation are Chippewa-Cree.
- Apache: Reservations in Arizona (San Carlos, White Mountain); New Mexico (Jicarilla, Mescalero); and communities in Oklahoma (Apache Tribe of Oklahoma, Fort Sill).
- Arapaho: The Southern Arapahos reside in western Oklahoma, with tribal offices in Concho, while the Northern Arapahos live on the Wind River Reservation in central Wyoming.
- Arikara: Part of the Three Affiliated Tribes (Arikara, Hidatsa, Mandan), who live on the Fort Berthold Reservation in west central North Dakota.
- Aroostook Band of Micmacs: Community in northern Maine (federal recognition: 1991).
- Assiniboine: Tribal population resides in Canada and in Montana (Fort Belknap and Fort Peck).
- Bad River: Anishinabe reservation in northern Wisconsin.

- Battle Mountain: Western Shoshone reservation in Nevada.
- Big Cypress: Seminole reservation in southern Florida.
- Blackfeet: In addition to the Blackfeet Reservation in northern Montana, there are Blackfeet communities in Canada.
- Brighton: Seminole reservation in southern Florida.
- Brothertown: Tribal members live primarily in Fond du Lac, the Fox River valley, and Gresham in central Wisconsin.
- Caddo: The Caddo Nation of Oklahoma has its offices in Binger, in the southern part of the state.
- Cahto: Laytonville Rancheria in northern California.
- Cahuilla: Tribal members reside on the Agua Caliente, Augustine, Cabazon, Cahuilla, Los Coyotes, Morongo, Ramona, Santa Rosa, and Torres-Martinez reservations in southern California.
- Catawba: Tribal members reside on a state-recognized reservation in South Carolina.
- Cattaraugus: Seneca reservation of western New York.
- Cayuga: One of the Six Nations of the Iroquois. Members now reside primarily on the predominantly Seneca reservations in New York and in the Seneca-Cayuga community in Oklahoma.
- Chehalis: Part of the Confederated Tribes of the Chehalis Reservation in southwestern Washington.
- Chemehuevi: Southern Paiute peoples who reside on two reservations bordering the Colorado River: Chemehuevi in California and Colorado River in Arizona.
- Cherokee: One of the Five Tribes. Tribal members live in eastern Oklahoma (the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma and the United Keetowah Band both have tribal offices in Tahlequah) and western North Carolina (Eastern Band of Cherokee).
- Cheyenne: The Southern Cheyenne reside in communities in western Oklahoma, while the Northern Cheyenne occupy the Northern Cheyenne Reservation in southeastern Montana. The Southern Cheyenne tribal offices are in Concho.
- Cheyenne River: One of the western Lakota reservations, situated in central South Dakota.
- Chickahominy: State-recognized tribe, whose members reside primarily in the area of Charles City, Virginia.

- Chickasaw: One of the Five Tribes. Tribal members live in southern Oklahoma communities; tribal offices are in Ada.
- Chippewa: See Anishinabe.
- Chiricahua: One of the Apache bands, represented at Fort Sill and Mescalero.
- Chitimacha: Reservation community in St. Mary Parish of southern Louisiana.
- Choctaw: One of the Five Tribes. Tribal members live in central Mississippi (Mississippi Band of Choctaws) and eastern Oklahoma (Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma).
- Chumash: Tribal members live on the Santa Ynez Reservation in Santa Barbara County, California.
- Cochiti: One of the Pueblo communities located along the Rio Grande in north central New Mexico.
- Cocopah: Tribal members live in several reservation enclaves in Yuma County in southwestern Arizona.
- Coeur d'Alene: Tribal members live primarily on the Couer d'Alene Reservation in northern Idaho.
- Coharie: Members of the tribe live in Sampson and Hartnet counties of North Carolina.
- Colorado River: Reservation community bordering the river in southwestern Arizona, comprised of Mojave, Chemehuevi, Hopi, and Navajo.
- Colville: Reservation in northeastern Washington; the home of the Confederated Tribes of the Colville.
- Comanche: Tribal members live in communities in southwestern Oklahoma (tribal offices are in Lawton).
- Coos: Part of the Confederated Tribes of Coos, Lower Umpqua, and Siuslaw, with a land base in southwestern Oregon (federal recognition: 1984).
- Coquille: Tribal members reside in the Coos Bay area of west central Oregon.
- Cow Creek Band of Umpqua: Tribal members possess a land base at Canyonville in southern Oregon (federal recognition: 1982).
- Cowlitz: tribal members reside on reservations in Washington (federal recognition: 2002).

Cree: Group primarily residing in Canada, but represented as well in the Chippewa-Cree community on the Rocky Boy Reservation in Montana.

Creek: See Muscogee.

Crow (Absaroka): Tribal members live on the Crow Reservation in southeastern Montana.

Crow Creek: Yanktonai reservation in South Dakota.

Cupeno: Represented on the Pala Reservation in southern California.

Dakota (Santee or Eastern Sioux): The four bands of Mdwekanton, Wahpekute, Sisseton, and Wahpeton are included in the Dakota. Dakotas live on reservations in Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, and South Dakota. The Yankton and Yanktonai are generally considered Dakota, although some scholars consider them as a separate "Nakota" group.

Delaware (Lenape): The main population is in Canada, but tribal members also reside in western and eastern Oklahoma (tribal offices in Anadarko and near Copan).

Diné: See Navajo.

Duck Valley: Western Shoshone and Northern Paiute reservation on the Nevada-Idaho border.

Duckwater: Western Shoshone reservation in Nevada.

Duwamish: Community in Puget Sound area of Washington.

Edisto: Tribal members live in Colleton and Dorchester counties of South Carolina.

Elko: Western Shoshone colony in Nevada.

Esselen: Tribal members reside in Monterey County, California.

Flathead: Reservation in northwestern Montana, home of the Confederated Salish and Kootenai.

Fort Belknap: Reservation in northern Montana, home of the Assiniboines and Gros Ventres.

Fort Berthold: Reservation of the Three Affiliated Tribes in west central North Dakota.

Fort McDowell: Yavapai reservation north of Phoenix, Arizona.

Fox: See Mesquakie; Sac and Fox.

American Indian Communities

- Gila River: Reservation community of Pima and Maricopa in southern Arizona.
- Goshute: Division of Western Shoshones, with community members living on the Goshute Reservation in eastern Nevada and western Utah and the Skull Valley Reservation in western Utah.
- Grand Ronde: Reservation in northwestern Oregon for the five Indian tribes comprising the Confederated Tribes of the Grand Ronde.
- Gros Ventre: One of the two tribes occupying the Fort Belknap Reservation in northern Montana.
- Haida: Primarily residing in Canada, but also living in the Hydaburg community of southeastern Alaska.
- Haliwa-Saponi: Tribal base is in Halifax and Warren counties of northeastern North Carolina.
- Havasupai: Tribal members live on the Havasupai Reservation, which borders the Grand Canyon in northern Arizona.
- Hidatsa: One of the Three Affiliated Tribes of Fort Berthold in west central North Dakota.
- Ho-Chunk (Winnebago): Tribal members live in two reservation communities, one in eastern Nebraska and the other in western Wisconsin.
- Hoh: tribal members live on the Hoh Reservation on Washington's Olympic Peninsula.
- Hollywood: Seminole reservation in southern Florida.
- Hoopa Valley: Reservation of the Hupa people in northern California.
- Hopi: Tribal members live on the Hopi Reservation in northeastern Arizona.
- Houlton Band of Maliseet: Community in northern Maine (federal recognition: 1980).
- Houma: Tribal members reside in Terrebonne and Lafourche parishes of southeastern Louisiana.
- Hualapai (Walapai): Tribal members live on the Hualapai Reservation in northwestern Arizona.
- Hunkpapa: One of the divisions of the Lakotas.

Hupa: Tribal members live on the Hoopa Valley Reservation in northern California.

Ingalik: West central Alaskan community whose members live in the Yukon and Kuskokwim river basins.

Inuit: See Alutiiq; Iñupiat; Yup'ik.

Iñupiat (formerly Eskimo): communities of northwestern and northern Alaska; also centered in Canada and Greenland.

Iowa (Ioway): Divided into the Iowa Tribe of Kansas and Nebraska, situated in northeastern Kansas; and the Iowa Tribe, located in central Oklahoma.

Iroquois: The Iroquois nations are located in Canada and upstate New York. The six nations are the Cayuga, Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Seneca, and Tuscarora.

Isleta: Pueblo community in Rio Grande area of northern New Mexico.

Itapzico (Sans Arc): One of the divisions of the Lakotas.

Jamestown S'Klallam: Klallam community in Washington (federal recognition: 1981).

Jemez: Pueblo community in Rio Grande area of northern New Mexico.

Jicarilla: A division of the Apaches, with tribal members living on the Jicarilla Reservation in northern New Mexico.

Kalispel: Reservation in eastern Washington; the people are also included in the Confederated Salish and Kootenai on the Flat-head Reservation.

Karuk: Tribal members live in northern California.

Kaw: The Kaw Nation is situated in the Kaw City area of central Oklahoma.

Kewa (formerly Santo Domingo): Pueblo community in Rio Grande area of northern New Mexico.

Keweenaw Bay: Anishinabe reservation in the upper peninsula of Michigan.

Kickapoo: Divided into three communities: the Kickapoo Tribe of Kansas, north of Topeka; the Kickapoo Tribe of Oklahoma, in

- the center of that state; and the Kickapoo Traditional Tribe of Texas (federal recognition: 1985), in the Eagle Pass area. The Texas group is also linked to Kickapoos residing in Mexico.
- Kiowa: Tribal members live in communities in southwestern Oklahoma, with tribal offices in Carnegie.
- Klallam: Three reservation communities (Jamestown, Lower Elwha, and Port Gamble) bordering the Straits of Juan de Fuca in northern Washington.
- Klamath: A community of southern Oregon, terminated but now restored to recognized status without its former land base.
- Kootenai: Part of the Confederate Salish and Kootenai Tribes on the Flathead Reservation in Montana. See also Kutenai.
- Kumeyaay: Residing in multiple San Diego area reservations.
- Kutchin: Residing primarily in Canada with additional settlements in northeastern Alaska.
- Kutenai: One of the Kootenai bands, with a community today in northern Idaho near Bonners Ferry. See also Kootenai.
- Lac Courte Oreilles: Anishinabe reservation in northwestern Wisconsin.
- Lac Vieux Desert: Anishinabe reservation in the upper peninsula of Michigan (federal recognition for the Lac Vieux Desert Band: 1984).
- Laguna: Pueblo community between Grants and Albuquerque, New Mexico.
- Lakota (Western or Teton Sioux): Divided into seven bands: Hunkpapa, Itapzico (Sans Arc), Mnikowoju (Minneconjou), Oglala, Oohenunpa (Two Kettles), Sicangu (Brulé), and Sisasapa (Blackfeet). Lakotas reside on the Standing Rock Reservation bordering North Dakota and South Dakota and on Cheyenne River, Crow Creek, Lower Brule, Pine Ridge, and Rosebud in South Dakota.
- Lenape: See Delaware.
- Lipan: Division of the Apaches, some of whom live on the Mescalero Reservation in southeastern New Mexico. A state-recognized group in Texas is headquartered in McAllen.
- Lower Brule: Lakota reservation in South Dakota.

Lower Umpqua: Part of the Confederated Tribes of the Coos, Lower Umpqua, and Siuslaw of southern Oregon (federal recognition: 1984).

Luiseno: Southern California people who reside on the La Jolla, Pala, Pauma-Yuima, Pechanga, and Rincon reservations.

Lumbee: Tribal members live primarily in Robeson County, North Carolina.

Lummi: Tribal members live on the Lummi Reservation near Bellingham in northern Washington.

Maidu: Peoples of northern California, including Maidu, Konkow, and Nisenan (Southern Maidu).

Makah: Tribal members live on the Neah Bay Reservation bordering the Straits of Juan de Fuca in northern Washington.

Maliseet: Primarily residing in Canada, but also including the Houlton Band of Maliseet in northern Maine.

Mandan: Part of the Three Affiliated Tribes of Fort Berthold in west central North Dakota.

Maricopa: Represented on the Gila River and Salt River reservations in Arizona.

Mashantucket Pequot: Community in Connecticut (federal recognition: 1983).

Mashpee: A Wampanoag community on Cape Cod in Massachusetts (federal recognition: 2007).

Mattaponi: State reservation in King Williams County of Virginia.

Mattole: Bear River Band of the Rohnerville Rancheria in northern California.

Mdewakanton: One of the divisions of the Dakotas.

Menominee: Tribal members live on the restored Menominee Reservation in north central Wisconsin.

Mescalero: Division of the Apaches, whose members live today on the Mescalero Reservation in southeastern New Mexico.

Mesquakie (Fox, Sac and Fox): A tribally owned settlement near Tama, Iowa.

Miami: Divided into the Miami Nation of Indiana, whose members live in the north central part of the state, and the Miami Tribe of Oklahoma, in northeastern Oklahoma.

American Indian Communities

- Miccosukee: Tribe in south Florida, separate from the Seminoles; tribal offices are 25 miles west of Miami.
- Micmac: Residing primarily in Canada, but including the Aroostook Band of Micmacs in northern Maine.
- Mille Lacs: An Anishinabe reservation located in north central Minnesota.
- Miwok: Peoples of north central California, including the Coast Miwok, north of San Francisco; and the Lake Miwok and Sierra Miwok of the Sierra Nevada foothills.
- Mnikowoju (Minneconjou): One of the divisions of the Lakotas.
- Modoc: Divided between the Oregon–California border country and the Modoc Tribe of Oklahoma in eastern Oklahoma.
- Mohawk: One of the Six Nations of the Iroquois. Community members reside in Canada and on the Akwesasne (St. Regis) Reservation in northern New York.
- Mohegan: Tribal members live in New London County, Connecticut (federal recognition: 1994).
- Mojave: Tribal members reside on the Colorado River and Fort Mojave reservations, both bordering the Colorado River in Arizona.
- Monacan: State-recognized community in Amherst County, Virginia.
- Mono: Situated in the Central Valley of California on the Big Sandy, Cold Springs, and North Fork Rancherias and also the Tule River Reservation.
- Muckleshoot: Tribal members live on the Muckleshoot Reservation in the Puget Sound area of Washington.
- Muscogee (Creek): One of the Five Tribes. Tribal members live in Oklahoma, the Poarch Band lives in Alabama, and the Creek Nation of Oklahoma is headquartered in Okmulgee.
- Nambe: Pueblo community of the Rio Grande area of northern New Mexico.
- Nansemond: State-recognized community in Chesapeake, Virginia.
- Nanticoke: Tribal members live near Millsboro, Delaware.

Narragansett: Tribal members reside in the Charlestown and Waverly areas of Rhode Island (federal recognition: 1983).

Navajo (Diné): The largest of the US reservations, the Navajo Nation is situated in northern Arizona, northwestern New Mexico, and southeastern Utah.

Nez Perce: Tribal members live on the Nez Perce Reservation in northern Idaho, with others residing on the Colville Reservation in eastern Washington.

Nisenan: See Maidu.

Nisqually: Tribal members live on the Nisqually Reservation in Thurston County of western Washington.

Nooksack: Tribal members reside on the Nooksack Reservation, near Bellingham in northern Washington.

Northern Cheyenne: Reservation home for the Northern Cheyenne people, located in southeastern Montana.

Oglala: One of the divisions of the Lakotas.

Ohkay Owingeh (San Juan): Pueblo community in Rio Grande area of northern New Mexico.

Ojibwa: See Anishinabe.

Omaha: Tribal members live on the Omaha Reservation in eastern Nebraska.

Oneida: One of the Six Nations of the Iroquois. Tribal members live in Canada, the Oneida Nation of central Wisconsin, and the Oneida Reservation in upstate New York.

Onondaga: One of the Six Nations of the Iroquois. Community members reside on the Onondaga Reservation, near Syracuse, New York.

Oohenunpa (Two Kettles): One of the divisions of the Lakotas.

Osage: Tribal members live in Osage County in north central Oklahoma; mineral resources held in trust in an "underground reservation."

Otoe-Missouria: Tribal members live in Noble County of north central Oklahoma.

Ottawa (Odawa): In addition to Canada, tribal members reside in Michigan (Burt Lake, Grand River, Grand Traverse, Little River,

Little Traverse Bay) and in northeastern Oklahoma (Oklahoma Ottawa).

Owens Valley: See Paiute.

Paiute: Generally divided among Northern, Owens Valley, and Southern. Northern Paiute communities include Bridgeport, Cedarville, and Fort Bidwell in California; Fallon, Fort McDermitt, Lovelock, Pyramid Lake, Reno-Sparks, Summit Lake, Walker River, Winnemucca, and Yerington in Nevada; and Burns and Warm Springs in Oregon. Owens Valley Paiute communities in California include Benton, Big Pine, Bishop, Fort Independence, and Lone Pine. Southern Paiute communities include Kaibab and San Juan in northern Arizona; Las Vegas, Moapa, and Pahrump in Nevada; Cedar Band, Indian Peaks Band, Kanosh Band, Koosharem Band, Paiute Tribe of Utah, San Juan, and Shivwits Band in Utah.

Pamunkey: State reservation community in King Williams County, Virginia.

Papago: See Tohono O'odham.

Passamaquoddy: Tribal members live on the Pleasant Point and Indian Township reservations in Maine.

Pawnee: Tribal members reside in the area of Pawnee in north central Oklahoma.

Penobscot: Tribal members live on the Indian Island Reservation near Old Town in central Maine.

Peoria: Community members live in the Miami area of northeastern Oklahoma.

Pequot: Two communities in Connecticut: the Mashantucket and the Paucatuck.

Picuris: Pueblo community in the Rio Grande area of northern New Mexico.

Pima (Akimel O'odham): Community members live on the Gila River and Salt River reservations in Arizona.

Pine Ridge: Oglala Lakota reservation in western South Dakota.

Pit River (Achumawi and Atsugewi): Northern California people who reside on various rancherias in the state.

Poarch Band of Creeks: Community in southern Alabama (federal recognition: 1984).

Pojoaque: Pueblo community in the Rio Grande area of northern New Mexico.

Pomo: Includes the various geographical divisions, centered in Lake, Mendocino, and Sonoma counties of northern California.

Ponca: Divided into the Northern Ponca and Southern Ponca. The Northern Ponca Tribe of Nebraska is centered in Knox County in eastern Nebraska; the Ponca Tribe of Oklahoma is situated in north central Oklahoma, with tribal offices in White Eagle.

Potawatomi: Divided into the Prairie Band of Potawatomi in Kansas (west of Mayetta); the Hannahville Potawatomi (upper peninsula), Huron Potawatomi (south central), and Pokagon Potawatomi (southwest) of Michigan; the Citizen Band Potawatomi of Oklahoma (Shawnee); and the Forest County Potawatomi of Wisconsin.

Puyallup: Tribal members reside on the Puyallup Reservation near Tacoma, Washington.

Quapaw: Tribal members live in northeastern Oklahoma, in the community of Quapaw.

Quechan (Yuma): Tribal members reside on the Fort Yuma Reservation, primarily in California, but also in Arizona.

Quileute: Tribal members live in La Push on the western Olympic peninsula in Washington, but also are included in the Quinault Reservation.

Quinault: Tribal members reside on the Quinault Reservation of the Olympic peninsula in Washington.

Rappahonnock: State-recognized tribe in Virginia.

Red Lake: Anishinabe reservation in northern Minnesota.

Rocky Boy: Chippewa-Cree reservation in northern Montana.

Rosebud: Sincangu Lakota reservation in western South Dakota.

Sac and Fox (Sauk, Mesquakie): Divided into the Mesquakie Settlement near Tama, Iowa, and the Sac and Fox Nation in central Oklahoma (tribal offices south of Stroud).

- Salish: Included in the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes on the Flathead Reservation in northwestern Montana.
- Samish: enrolled as members of the Samish Indian Nation and residing in various Washington communities (federal recognition: 1996).
- San Carlos: Western Apache reservation in central Arizona.
- San Felipe: Pueblo community in Rio Grande area of northern New Mexico.
- San Ildefonso: Pueblo community in Rio Grande area of northern New Mexico.
- San Juan: See Ohkay Owingeh.
- Sandia: Pueblo community in Rio Grande area of northern New Mexico.
- Santa Ana: Pueblo community in Rio Grande area of northern New Mexico.
- Santa Clara: Pueblo community in Rio Grande area of northern New Mexico.
- Santa Ysabel: Reservation community in southern California.
- Santee: See Dakota. The Santee Sioux Reservation is in northeastern Nebraska.
- Santo Domingo: See Kewa.
- Sauk-Suiattle: members primarily live near Darrington in northwest Washington.
- Schaghticoke: Recognized by the State of Connecticut with members living near the New York border.
- Seminole: One of the Five Tribes. Tribal members live on the Big Cypress, Brighton, Hollywood, and Tampa reservations in Florida and in Seminole County in eastern Oklahoma.
- Seneca: One of the Six Nations of the Iroquois. Its members live in Canada, on the Allegany, Cattaraugus, and Tonawanda reservations in New York, and in the Seneca-Cayuga community of Oklahoma.
- Seneca-Cayuga: The Seneca-Cayuga Tribe is located in Ottawa County, Oklahoma.
- Serrano: Tribal members live on the San Manuel and Morongo reservations in southern California.

Shawnee: Divided into three groups in Oklahoma (Absentee Shawnee, Eastern Shawnee, and Loyal or Cherokee Shawnee) and one in Ohio (Shawnee Nation United Remnant Band). The Eastern Shawnee of Oklahoma tribal headquarters is in Seneca, Missouri.

Shinnecock: Tribal members live on the Shinnecock Reservation on eastern Long Island in New York (federal recognition: 2010).

Shoalwater: Tribal members live on the Shoalwater Reservation south of Aberdeen in western Washington.

Shoshone: The Eastern Shoshones live on the Wind River Reservation in central Wyoming; the Western Shoshones (Newe) are located in Duck Valley (bordering Idaho and Nevada) and in the additional Nevada colonies and reservations of Battle Mountain, Elko, Fallon, Ruby Valley, South Fork, Wells, Timbisha, Yomba, Duckwater, Ely, and Te-Moak.

Shoshone-Bannock: Group members reside on the Fort Hall Reservation in southeastern Idaho.

Sihasapa (Blackfeet): A division of the Lakotas.

Siletz: Terminated community, now restored as the Confederated Tribes of Siletz, with a land base near Newport, on the north central coast of Oregon.

Sioux: See Dakota; Lakota; Yankton; Yanktonai.

Sisseton: A division of the Dakotas.

Siuslaw: Part of the Confederated Tribes of Coos, Lower Umpqua, and Siuslaw in Oregon (federal recognition: 1984).

Skokomish: The Skokomish Indian Tribe is situated on the Skokomish Reservation in the lower Puget Sound area of Washington.

Snohomish: Tribal members live on the Tulalip Reservation of the Puget Sound area of Washington.

Snoqualmie: Tribal members live in Richmond, Washington (federal recognition: 1999).

South Fork: Western Shoshone reservation in Nevada.

Spirit Lake (formerly Devils Lake): Dakota reservation in east central North Dakota.

American Indian Communities

- Spokan: Tribe situated on the Spokane Reservation of eastern Washington.
- Squaxin Island: Reservation community near Shelton, Washington.
- Standing Rock: Lakota reservation community bordering North and South Dakota.
- Stillaguamish: tribal members live in northwest Washington.
- Stockbridge-Munsee: A band of the Mohicans, now living in a reservation community in north central Wisconsin.
- Suquamish: Tribal members live on the Port Madison Reservation on the Kitsap peninsula in Washington.
- Swinomish: Tribal members reside on the Swinomish Reservation near LaConner, Washington.
- Tanaina: Southwestern Alaskan community in the Cook Inlet area.
- Tanana: Eastern Alaskan community in the Tanana River area.
- Taos: Pueblo community in Rio Grande area of northern New Mexico.
- Te Tsu Geh (Tesuque): Pueblo community in Rio Grande area of northern New Mexico.
- Tejon: Tribal members living in Kern County, California (federal recognition: 2012).
- Teton Sioux: See Lakota.
- Three Affiliated Tribes: The Arikaras, Hidatsas, and Mandans form the Three Affiliated Tribes on Fort Berthold in west central North Dakota.
- Timbi-Sha: Western Shoshone community in Death Valley, California (federal recognition: 1983).
- Tlingit: Tribal members live in southeastern Alaska.
- Tohono O'odham (Papago): Tribal members live on the Gila Bend, San Xavier, and Tohono O'odham reservations in southern Arizona.
- Tolowa: Tribal members live on the Smith River Rancheria and other rancherias in northern California.
- Tonkawa: Community members live in the area of Tonkawa in Kay County, Oklahoma.

Tsimshian: Primarily in Canada, but including the Tsimshian of Metlakla, situated on the Annette Island Reservation south of Ketchikan.

Tulalip: The Tulalip Reservation in Washington is the home for several tribes who now call themselves the Tulalip.

Tunica-Biloxi: Tribal members live on a reservation in Avoyelles Parish in southern Louisiana (federal recognition: 1981).

Turtle Mountain: Anishinabe reservation in North Dakota.

Tuscarora: Part of the Iroquois Confederacy. Community members live in Canada and on the Tuscarora Reservation in upstate New York.

Uintah and Ouray: Northern Ute reservation in Utah.

Umatilla: The Cayuse, Umatilla, and Walla Walla form the Confederated Tribes of Umatilla on the Umatilla Reservation in eastern Oregon.

Umpqua: Included in the Confederated Tribes of Coos, Lower Umpqua, and Siuslaw in Oregon (federal recognition: 1984). See also Cow Creek Band of Umpqua.

Unangan (Aleut): Community members live on the Aleutian, Pribilof, and Shumagin islands of Alaska and the western Alaskan peninsula.

Unkechaug: Tribal members live on the state-recognized reservation of Poosepatuck on Long Island in New York.

Upper Skagit: Tribal members live in the Skagit Valley of northern Washington.

Ute: Divided into three communities: the Northern Ute in Utah and the Southern Ute and Ute Mountain in southwestern Colorado.

Waccamaw: State-recognized tribe in Bladen and Columbus counties of southern North Carolina.

Wahpekute: A division of the Dakotas.

Wahpeton: A division of the Dakotas.

Wailiki: Community members live on the Round Valley Reservation of northern California.

Wampanoag: Tribal members live in the community of Gay Head (federal recognition: 1987) and the community of Mashpee in Massachusetts (federal recognition: 2007).

- Warm Springs: Reservation for the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs (Warm Springs, Wasco, and Northern Paiute).
- Washoe: Communities in the Lake Tahoe area of California (Woodfords) and Nevada (Carson, Dresslerville, and Stewart).
- White Earth: Anishinabe reservation in northern Minnesota.
- White Mountain (Fort Apache): Western Apache reservation in central Arizona.
- Wichita: Tribal members live in western Oklahoma, with tribal offices in Anadarko.
- Wind River: The Eastern Shoshone and Northern Arapaho occupy the Wind River Reservation in central Wyoming.
- Winnebago: See Ho-Chunk.
- Wintu: Community members live in northern California.
- Wiyot: Community members reside in the Blue Lake, Rohnerville, Table Bluff, and Trinidad rancherias of northern California.
- Wyandot (Wyandotte): The Wyandotte Tribe is situated in north-eastern Oklahoma (tribal offices in Wyandotte).
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- Yahi: Northern California tribe to which Ishi belonged.
- Yakama (Yakima): The Yakama Nation is situated in central Washington.
- Yankton: Part of the Dakota or Eastern Sioux. Group members live on the Yankton Reservation in eastern South Dakota.
- Yanktonai: Part of the Dakota or Eastern Sioux. Group members live on the Crow Creek Reservation in central South Dakota, on the Spirit Lake (Devils Lake) Reservation in North Dakota, and the Fort Peck Reservation of northern Montana.
- Yaqui: Primarily residing in Mexico, but also present in Arizona, mainly on the Pascua Yaqui Reservation near Tucson and the Guadalupe community near Phoenix.
- Yavapai: Tribe divided into the reservation communities of Camp Verde, Fort McDowell, and Yavapai-Prescott in Arizona.
- Yavapai-Apache Nation: Comprised of two distinct people located in multiple communities in the Verde Valley of central Arizona.
- Yokuts: Tribal members live on three federally recognized rancherias (Picayune, Santa Rosa, and Table Mountain) and one federal reservation (Tule River) in northern California.

Yomba: Western Shoshone reservation in Nevada.

Ysleta del Sur: Pueblo community near El Paso, Texas (federal recognition: 1987).

Yuchi: Associated historically with the Muscogeans, but separate today, with community members living in Creek County, Oklahoma.

Yuki: Tribal members reside on the Round Valley Reservation of northern California.

Yuma: See Quechan.

Yup'ik (formerly Eskimo): Community members live in the Yukon and Kuskokwim deltas of Alaska.

Yurok: Tribal members reside on the Big Lagoon, Trinidad, and Yurok reservations of northern California.

Zia: Pueblo community of the Rio Grande area of northern New Mexico.

Zuni: Pueblo community south of Gallup in western New Mexico; "Zuni Heaven," or Kolhu/wala:wa, is in eastern Arizona.

Bibliographical Essay

This essay offers a brief overview of some important publications in the rapidly expanding field of twentieth- and twenty-first-century American Indian history. For reasons of space, other than a listing of journals and newspapers, this consideration is limited to books. With only a few exceptions, it emphasizes recent scholarship and therefore excludes most noteworthy books published prior to 1980.

Bibliographies and General References

Among the many useful bibliographies dealing with American Indian authors and topics are Colin G. Calloway, editor, *New Directions in American Indian History* (Norman, OK, 1990) and Jay Miller, Colin G. Calloway, and Richard A. Sattler, editors, *Writings in American Indian History, 1985–1990* (Norman, OK, 1995). Initiated in 1980, the Scarecrow Press bibliographical series numbers over thirty volumes and offers extremely thorough listings of materials relating to Native groups, areas, and other

"We Are Still Here": American Indians since 1890, Second Edition.

Peter Iverson and Wade Davies.

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topics. The series includes Wade Davies and Richmond L. Clow, *American Indian Sovereignty and Law: An Annotated Bibliography* (Lanham, MD, 2009). Frederick E. Hoxie and Harvey Markowitz, *Native Americans: An Annotated Bibliography* (New York, NY, 1991) is very useful as is Philip M. White, *Bibliography of Native American Bibliographies* (Westport, CT, 2004). On Indian women, see Gretchen M. Bataille and Kathleen M. Sands, compilers, *American Indian Women: A Guide to Research* (New York, NY, 1991). Two pioneering volumes by Francis Paul Prucha on Indian–white relations provide thorough coverage of older scholarship: *A Bibliographical Guide to the History of Indian-White Relations in the United States* (Chicago, IL, 1977) and *Indian-White Relations in the United States: A Bibliography of Works Published, 1975–1980* (Lincoln, NE, 1982). In recent years, the most efficient means to locate publications on American Indian history has been to use a variety of online databases, such as *Bibliography of Native North Americans*. General references containing a wealth of information include Duane Champagne, editor, *Native America: Portrait of the Peoples* (Detroit, MI, 1994); Mary Davis, editor, *Native America in the Twentieth Century* (New York, NY, 1994); Frederick E. Hoxie, editor, *Encyclopedia of North American Indians: Native American History, Culture, and Life from Paleo-Indians to the Present* (Boston, MA, 1996); and Barry M. Pritzker, *A Native American Encyclopedia: History, Culture, and Peoples* (New York, NY, 2000). The Smithsonian Institution’s *Handbook of North American Indians* has published essential volumes on Indian–white relations; Indians in contemporary society; environment, origins, and population; Native languages; and multiple volumes dedicated to Indian peoples of specific regions.

General Overviews

A number of textbooks provide good coverage of American Indian history from pre-European-contact to the present, including Colin G. Calloway, *First Peoples: A Documentary Survey of American Indian History* (4th ed., Boston, MA, 2012); R. David

Edmunds, Frederick E. Hoxie, and Neal Salisbury, *The People: A History of Native America* (Boston, MA, 2007); and Michael Leroy Oberg, *Native America: A History* (Malden, MA, 2010). Daniel Cobb has updated William T. Hagan's overview, *American Indians* (4th ed., Chicago, IL, 2012) to include events in the early twenty-first century. Frederick E. Hoxie and Peter Iverson have edited a volume, *Indians in American History: An Introduction* (2nd ed., Wheeling, IL, 1998), while Albert L. Hurtado and Peter Iverson have edited a collection of essays and documents, *Major Problems in American Indian History* (2nd ed., Boston, MA, 2001). Writings by Native American authors consider a wide variety of issues in a volume edited by Susan Lobo, Steve Talbot, and Traci L. Morris, *Native American Voices: A Reader* (3rd ed., Upper Saddle River, 2010). Peter Nabokov offers a carefully selected sampling of Native voices in *Native American Testimony: A Chronicle of Indian-White Relations from Prophecy to the Present, 1492–1992* (revised ed., New York, NY, 1999). Alvin M. Josephy, Jr. links past and present in *Now That the Buffalo's Gone: A Study of Today's American Indians* (New York, NY, 1984). *Native Americans in the Twentieth Century* (Provo, UT, 1984) by James S. Olson and Raymond Wilson is an earlier synthesis of its subject, with a greater emphasis on federal policy. Donald L. Parman, *Indians and the American West in the Twentieth Century* (Bloomington, IN, 1994) focuses on the impact of federal policies. A wide-ranging study has been authored by James J. Rawls, *Chief Red Fox Is Dead: A History of Native Americans since 1945* (Fort Worth, TX, 1996). Charles Wilkinson, *Blood Struggle: The Rise of Modern Indian Nations* (New York, NY, 2005) stresses successful Native actions since the 1950s to overcome adversity. Donald Lee Fixico touches on similar themes and issues in *American Indians in a Modern World* (Lanham, MD, 2008). Bruce E. Johansen's two-volume *The Praeger Handbook on Contemporary Issues in Native America* (Westport, CT, 2007) has chapters covering selected topics, including language and economic revival. Paul C. Rosier also provides a contemporary overview in *Native American Issues* (Westport, CT, 2003).

Journals and Newspapers

Among the leading scholarly journals that regularly publish significant articles relating to American Indians in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries are *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, *American Indian Quarterly*, *Ethnohistory*, *Pacific Historical Review*, *Western Historical Quarterly*, and *Wicazo Sa Review*. Law journals such as the *American Indian Law Review* also provide important analyses of Indian rights, sovereignty, and economic development. *Native Peoples*, a quarterly magazine devoted to “the arts and lifeways of native peoples of the Americas,” has been published since 1987. *Ethnic NewsWatch* is a useful online database for locating full-text versions of articles from many American Indian and tribal newspapers. Founded by Lakota journalist Tim Giago in 1981, *Indian Country Today* (now known as *Indian Country Today Media Network*) remains the leading contemporary Indian newspaper. It is now available online. Another major newspaper offered in both print and online is *News from Indian Country*. From 1964 to 1982, *The Indian Historian*, a journal, and from 1972 to 1984, *Wassaja*, a newspaper, were published by Rupert Costo and Jeannette Henry Costo of the American Indian Historical Society. Tribal newspapers such as the *Char-Koosta News*, the *Navajo Times*, the *Tribal Tribune*, and the *Ute Bulletin* are also important sources of news about contemporary developments. The *Tribal College Journal*, published by the consortium of Indian colleges and universities, discusses subjects related to education and the future of Native communities.

Tribal Histories

Using oral histories, tribal records, and other data, scholars in recent decades have produced tribal histories that extend into the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Not just ethnologies or

discussions of federal Indian law, these studies emphasize Native communities' political, economic, and cultural adaptability. They also delve into the complex, and sometimes controversial nature, of internal community dynamics. Some examples are David R. M. Beck, *The Struggle for Self-Determination: History of the Menominee Indians since 1854* (Lincoln, NE, 2005); Richard O. Clemmer, *Roads in the Sky: The Hopi Indians in a Century of Change* (Boulder, CO, 1995); Steven J. Crum, *Po'i Pentum Tammen Kimmappéh: The Road on Which We Came: A History of the Western Shoshone* (Salt Lake City, UT, 1994); John R. Finger, *Cherokee Americans: The Eastern Band of Cherokees in the Twentieth Century* (Lincoln, NE, 1991); Matthew L. M. Fletcher, *The Eagle Returns: The Legal History of the Grand Traverse Band of Ottawa and Chippewa Indians* (East Lansing, MI, 2012); Morris W. Foster, *Being Comanche: A Social History of an American Indian Community* (Tucson, AZ, 1991); Loretta Fowler, *Arapahoe Politics, 1851–1978: Symbols in Crises of Authority* (Lincoln, NE, 1982); Loretta Fowler, *Shared Symbols, Contested Meanings: Gros Ventre Culture and History, 1778–1984* (Ithaca, NY, 1987); Frank Gelya and Carol E. Goldberg, *Defying the Odds: The Tule River Tribe's Struggle for Sovereignty in Three Centuries* (New Haven, CT, 2010); John W. Heaton, *The Shoshone-Bannocks: Culture and Commerce at Fort Hall, 1870–1940* (Lawrence, KS, 2005); Frederick E. Hoxie, *Parading through History: The Making of the Crow Nation in America, 1805–1935* (New York, NY, 1995); Peter Iverson, *The Navajo Nation* (Albuquerque, NM, 1983) and *Diné: A History of the Navajos* (Albuquerque, NM, 2002); Harry A. Kersey, Jr., *An Assumption of Sovereignty: Social and Political Transformation among the Florida Seminoles, 1954–1979* (Lincoln, NE, 1996); Clara Sue Kidwell, *The Choctaws in Oklahoma: From Tribe to Nation, 1855–1970* (Norman, OK, 2007); Malinda Maynor Lowery, *Lumbee Indians in the Jim Crow South: Race, Identity, and the Making of a Nation* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2010); Melissa L. Meyer, *The White Earth Tragedy: Ethnicity and Dispossession at a Minnesota Anishinaabe Reservation, 1889–1920* (Lincoln, NE, 1994); Paul C. Rosier, *Rebirth of the Blackfeet Nation, 1912–1954* (Lincoln, NE, 2001); Joe S. Sando, *Nee Hemish: A History of Jemez Pueblo* (Albuquerque, NM, 1982); Mark R. Scherer, *Imperfect Victories: The Legal Tenacity of the Omaha Tribe, 1945–1995*

(Lincoln, NE, 1999); Jeffrey P. Shepherd, *We Are an Indian Nation: A History of the Hualapai People* (Tucson, AZ, 2010); Gerald M. Sider, *Lumbee Indian Histories: Race, Ethnicity, and Indian Identity in the Southern United States* (New York, NY, 1993); Edward H. Spicer, *The Yaquis: A Cultural History* (Tucson, AZ, 1980); Veronica Velarde Tiller, *The Jicarilla Apache Tribe: A History, 1846–1970* (Lincoln, NE, 1983); C. A. Weslager, *The Nanticoke Indians—Past and Present* (Newark, DE, 1983); and Charles Wilkinson, *The People Are Dancing Again: The History of the Siletz Tribe of Western Oregon* (Seattle, WA, 2010).

Histories of Confederacies, Groups, Regions, and Urban Indians

Historians also have examined confederacies such as the Iroquois, groups such as the Pueblo Indians, and other Native peoples of distinct geographical areas. Laurence M. Hauptman's analyses of the Iroquois, *The Iroquois and the New Deal* (Syracuse, NY, 1981) and *The Iroquois Struggle for Survival: World War II to Red Power* (Syracuse, NY, 1986), are noteworthy for their use of oral history. Some other pertinent volumes are Elizabeth Ebbott, *Indians in Minnesota* (Minneapolis, MN, 1985); David Edmunds, editor, *Enduring Nations: Native Americans in the Midwest* (Urbana, IL, 2008); Donald L. Fixico, editor, *An Anthology of Western Great Lakes Indian History* (Milwaukee, WI, 1987); Joseph B. Herring, *The Enduring Indians of Kansas: A Century and a Half of Acculturation* (Lawrence, KS, 1990); Peter Iverson, editor, *The Plains Indians of the Twentieth Century* (Norman, OK, 1985); J. Anthony Paredes, editor, *Indians of the Southeastern United States in the Late Twentieth Century* (Tuscaloosa, AL, 1992); Joe Sando, *Pueblo Nations: Eight Centuries of Pueblo Indian History* (Santa Fe, NM, 1992); Rennard Strickland, *The Indians in Oklahoma* (Norman, OK, 1980); Stephen Trimble, *The People: Indians of the American Southwest* (Santa Fe, NM, 1993); Gerald Vizenor, *The People Named the Chippewa: Narrative Histories* (Minneapolis, MN, 1984); and Charles Wilkinson, *Fire on the Plateau: Conflict and Endurance in the*

American Southwest (Washington, DC, 1999). Recognizing that the majority of American Indians now live in urban areas, scholars have devoted much needed attention to their histories in Donald L. Fixico, *The Urban Indian Experience in America* (Albuquerque, NM, 2000); James B. LaGrand, *Indian Metropolis: Native Americans in Chicago, 1945–75* (Urbana, IL, 2002); Susan Lobo and Kurt Peters, editors, *American Indians and the Urban Experience* (Walnut Creek, CA, 2001); Nicolas G. Rosenthal, *Reimagining Indian Country: Native American Migration and Identity in Twentieth-Century Los Angeles* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2012); Coll-Peter Thrush, *Native Seattle: Histories from the Crossing-Over Place* (Seattle, WA, 2008); Myla Vicenti Carpio, *Indigenous Albuquerque* (Lubbock, TX, 2011); and Joan Weibel-Orlando, *Indian Country, L.A.: Maintaining Ethnic Community in Complex Society* (Urbana, IL, 1991).

Biographies, Autobiographies, and Life Histories

Biographies, autobiographies, and life histories can make vital contributions to our understanding of Indians in this century, but these genres remain underutilized. The best works on twentieth-century subjects reveal something about personal values and priorities and provide a context in which to better understand an individual's significance. William T. Hagan, *Quanah Parker, Comanche Chief* (Norman, OK, 1993) is a case in point. Other biographies include Peter Iverson, *Carlos Montezuma and the Changing World of American Indians* (Albuquerque, NM, 1982); Sarah Eppler Janda, *Beloved Women: The Political Lives of LaDonna Harris and Wilma Mankiller* (DeKalb, IL, 2007); Carolyn Niethammer, *I'll Go and Do More: Annie Dodge Wauneka, Navajo Leader and Activist* (Lincoln, NE, 2001); Dorothy R. Parker, *Singing an Indian Song: A Biography of D'Arcy McNickle* (Lincoln, NE, 1992); Greg Sarris, *Mabel McKay: Weaving the Dream* (Berkeley, CA, 1994); Michael F. Stoltenkamp, *Black Elk: Holy Man of the Oglala* (Norman, OK, 1993); and Raymond Wilson, *Ohiyesa: Charles Eastman, Santee Sioux* (Urbana, IL, 1983). Collections of bibliographical

essays that include portraits of Indian men and women of the twentieth century are Margaret Connell-Szasz, editor, *Between Indian and White Worlds: The Cultural Broker* (Norman, OK, 1994); R. David Edmunds, editor, *American Indian Leaders: Studies in Diversity* (Lincoln, 1980) and *The New Warriors: Native American Leaders since 1900* (Lincoln, NE, 2001); and L. G. Moses and Raymond Wilson, editors, *Indian Lives: Essays on Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Native American Leaders* (new ed., Albuquerque, NM, 1993). Frederick E. Hoxie includes portraits of several modern activists, including Vine Deloria Jr., in *This Indian Country: American Indian Activists and the Place They Made* (New York, NY, 2012). The work of contemporary attorney Raymond Cross is discussed in Paul VanDevelder, *Coyote Warrior: One Man, Three Tribes, and the Trial that Forged a Nation* (New York, NY, 2004). Billy Frank, Jr. is the focus of Charles Wilkinson, *Messages from Frank's Landing: A Story of Salmon, Treaties, and the Indian Way* (Seattle, WA, 2000). Many Indian autobiographies can more properly be called life histories, in that they are initiated by another person who assists in asking questions, recording oral accounts, and organizing the material. Two widely praised life histories are Margaret B. Blackman, *Sadie Brower Neakok: An Iñupiaq Woman* (Seattle, WA, 1989) and Madonna Swan, "as told through" Mark St. Pierre, *Madonna Swan: A Lakota Woman's Story* (Norman, OK, 1991). Other examples of autobiographies or life histories are Dennis Banks, with Richard Erdoes, *Ojibwa Warrior: Dennis Banks and the Rise of the American Indian Movement* (Norman, OK, 2004); Peter Blaine (edited by Michael Adams), *Papagos and Politics* (Tucson, AZ, 1981); Charles A. Eastman: *From the Deep Woods to Civilization: Chapters in the Autobiography of an Indian* (Lincoln, NE, reprint, 1977); Janet Campbell Hale, *Bloodlines: Odyssey of a Native Daughter* (New York, NY, 1993); LaDonna Harris (edited by H. Henrietta Stockel), *LaDonna Harris: A Comanche Life* (Lincoln, NE, 2000); Woody Kipp, *Viet Cong at Wounded Knee: The Trail of a Blackfeet Activist* (Lincoln, NE, 2004); James McCarthy (edited by John G. Westover), *Papago Traveler: The Memories of James McCarthy* (Tucson, AZ, 1985); Wilma Mankiller and Michael Wallis, *Mankiller: A Chief and Her People* (New York, NY, 1993);

Russell Means with Marvin J. Wolf, *Where White Men Fear to Tread* (New York, NY, 1995); Reuben Snake and Jay C. Fikes, *Reuben Snake, Your Humble Serpent: Indian Visionary and Activist* (Santa Fe, NM, 1997); Alma Hogan Snell (edited by Becky Matthews), *Grandmother's Grandchild: My Crow Indian Life* (Lincoln, NE, 2000); and Fred W. Voget, *They Call Me Agnes: A Crow Narrative Based on the Life of Agnes Yellowtail Deernose* (Norman, OK, 1995).

Perceptions and Identity

Amid the rapid pace of cultural, social, and economic change of the past 125 years, Indians and students of their histories have examined the question of identity. Gender, a culturally constructed category, generally is a central element in this examination. The issues of language, residence, race, and mixed ancestry are other crucial concerns. Scholars have also considered how outsiders have defined "Indian" identity in stereotypical ways that serve non-Indian material or cultural interests, including Sherry L. Smith, *Reimagining Indians: Native Americans through Anglo Eyes, 1880–1940* (New York, NY, 2000) and Alan Trachtenberg, *Shades of Hiawatha: Staging Indians, Making Americans, 1880–1930* (New York, NY, 2004). Philip J. Deloria considers white appropriation of Indian identities and expectations of Native people in *Playing Indian* (Lincoln, NE, 1998) and *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence, KS, 2004). Other works that discuss Native participation in evolving definitions of "Indianness" are Eva Marie Garrouette, *Real Indians: Identity and the Survival of Native America* (Berkeley, CA, 2003); Alexandra Harmon, *Indians in the Making: Ethnic Relations and Indian Identities around Puget Sound* (Berkeley, CA, 1998); Paige Raibmon, *Authentic Indians: Episodes of Encounter from the Late-Nineteenth-Century Northwest Coast* (Durham, NC, 2005); and Circe Sturm, *Blood Politics: Race, Culture, and Identity in the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma* (Berkeley, CA, 2002) and *Becoming Indian: The Struggle over Cherokee Identity in the Twenty-First Century* (Santa Fe, NM, 2011). Creeks are one group considered in David Chang, *The Color of the Land: Race, Nation,*

and the Politics of Landownership in Oklahoma, 1832–1929 (Chapel Hill, NC, 2010), which explores the connections between land conflicts and racial identities. For an example of photography as a means to portray Indian identity, see Jim Hubbard, editor, *Shooting Back from the Reservation: A Photographic View of Life by Native American Youth* (New York, NY, 1994). An imaginative and perceptive interpretation is L. G. Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians, 1883–1933* (Albuquerque, NM, 1996). Two studies of representations of American Indians in film are Jacquelyn Kilpatrick, *Celluloid Indians: Native Americans and Film* (Lincoln, NE, 1999) and Peter C. Rollins and John E. O'Connor, editors, *Hollywood's Indians: The Portrayal of the Native American in Film* (Lexington, KY, 2003). In recent years, scholars have considered contested definitions of the term “tribe” and considered ways in which distinct Native communities have defined themselves, as in Jack Campisi, *The Mashpee Indians: Tribe on Trial* (Syracuse, NY, 1991) and Andrew H. Fisher, *Shadow Tribe: The Making of Columbia River Indian Identity* (Seattle, WA, 2010). Considerations of “tribal” identities are intertwined with analysis of the federal-recognition process in Bruce G. Miller, *Invisible Indigenes: The Politics of Nonrecognition* (Lincoln, NE, 2003) and Mark Edwin Miller, *Forgotten Tribes: Unrecognized Indians and the Federal Acknowledgment Process* (Lincoln, NE, 2004). Leslie Marmon Silko mixes in stories about her relatives in *Storyteller* (New York, NY, 1980). John Gattuso, editor, *A Circle of Nations: Voices and Visions of American Indians* (Hillsboro, OR, 1993) presents poignant personal essays by important Indian authors and photographers. A pioneering study, with some material on the twentieth century, is Patricia Albers and Beatrice Medicine, editors, *The Hidden Half: Studies of Plains Indian Women* (Lanham, MD, 1983). Nancy Shoemaker, editor, *Negotiators of Change: Historical Perspectives on Native American Women* (New York, NY, 1995) offers several chapters related to identity. *Reinventing the Enemy's Language: Contemporary Native Women's Writings of North America* (New York, NY, 1997), edited by Joy Harjo and Gloria Bird, is a path-breaking anthology of poetry, fiction, personal narratives, prayers, and testimonials. Also significant are Paula Gunn Allen, *The Sacred Hoop: Recovering*

the Feminine in American Indian Traditions (Boston, MA, 1986); Laura F. Klein and Lillian A. Ackerman, editors, *Women and Power in Native North America* (Norman, OK, 1995); and Marla Powers, *Oglala Women: Myth, Ritual, and Reality* (Chicago, IL, 1986). Cultural traditions are presented with particular understanding in Keith H. Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language among the Western Apache* (Albuquerque, NM, 1996) and Ann Fienup-Riordan, *Boundaries and Passages: Rule and Ritual in Yup'ik Eskimo Oral Tradition* (Norman, OK, 1994).

Policy Histories and Indian–White Relations

Francis Paul Prucha, *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indian* (Lincoln, NE, 1984) remains the central study of federal policy; volume 2 analyzes the period from 1880 to 1980. Other standard accounts include Vine Deloria, Jr., editor, *American Indian Policy in the Twentieth Century* (Norman, OK, 1985) and Kenneth R. Philp, editor, *Indian Self-Rule: First-Hand Accounts of Indian-White Relations from Roosevelt to Reagan* (Salt Lake City, UT, 1986). Thomas Biolsi, *Deadliest Enemies: Law and the Making of Race Relations on and off Rosebud Reservation* (Berkeley, CA, 2001) explores Indian–white relations at the local level. Other studies focus on federal policies and Native American responses during specific policy eras. On assimilation policy and moves toward reform, notable works are Frederick E. Hoxie, *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880–1920* (Lincoln, NE, 1984) and Janet A. McDonnell, *The Dispossession of the American Indian, 1887–1934* (Bloomington, IN, 1991). Recent studies of land allotment and Indian responses include Emily Greenwald, *Reconfiguring the Reservation: The Nez Percés, Jicarilla Apaches, and the Dawes Act* (Albuquerque, NM, 2002); William T. Hagan, *Taking Indian Lands: The Cherokee (Jerome) Commission, 1889–1893* (Norman, OK, 2003); and Nicole Tonkovich, *The Allotment Plot: Alice C. Fletcher, E. Jane Gay, and Nez Perce Survivance* (Lincoln, NE, 2013). Cathleen D. Cahill discusses lower-level federal employees, Native and non-Native, and their role in

implementing policy in *Federal Fathers and Mothers: A Social History of the United States Indian Service, 1869–1933* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2011). Tom Holm stresses the role that Native resiliency played in the transition away from assimilation policy in *The Great Confusion in Indian Affairs: Native Americans and Whites in the Progressive Era* (Austin, TX, 2005). There are numerous studies discussing the Indian New Deal and specific tribes, but for broader studies on this policy era and John Collier's role as Indian commissioner, see Lawrence C. Kelly, *The Assault on Assimilation: John Collier and the Origins of Indian Policy Reform* (Albuquerque, NM, 1983); Elmer R. Rusco, *A Fateful Time: The Background and Legislative History of the Indian Reorganization Act* (Reno, NV, 2000); and Graham D. Taylor, *The New Deal and American Indian Tribalism: The Administration of the Indian Reorganization Act, 1934–1945* (Lincoln, NE, 1980). Overviews of policy and Indian responses during the termination era include Donald L. Fixico, *Termination and Relocation: Federal Indian Policy, 1945–1960* (Albuquerque, NM, 1986) and Kenneth R. Philp, *Termination Revisited: American Indians on the Trail to Self-Determination, 1933–1953* (Lincoln, NE, 1999). Roberta Ulrich offers a broad approach in *American Indian Nations from Termination to Restoration, 1953–2006* (Lincoln, NE, 2010). Three recent studies that consider complex tribal responses to termination policy are Laurie Arnold, *Bartering with the Bones of Their Dead: The Colville Confederated Tribes and Termination* (Seattle, WA, 2012); David R. M. Beck, *Seeking Recognition: The Termination and Restoration of the Coos, Lower Umpqua, and Siuslaw Indians, 1855–1984* (Lincoln, NE, 2009); and Warren R. Metcalf, *Termination's Legacy: The Discarded Indians of Utah* (Lincoln, NE, 2002). Thomas Clarkin focuses on the transitional 1960s in *Federal Indian Policy in the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations, 1961–1969* (Albuquerque, NM, 2001), while George Pierre Castile traces the development of self-determination policy in *To Show Heart: Native American Self-Determination and Federal Indian Policy, 1960–1975* (Tucson, AZ, 1998) and *Taking Charge: Native American Self-Determination and Federal Indian Policy, 1975–1993* (Tucson, AZ, 2006).

Wartime policies and Native American military participation have been well documented. Alison R. Bernstein, *American*

Indians and World War II: Toward a New Era in Indian Affairs (Norman, OK, 1991) paved new ground in this regard. In addition to specific studies of individuals and units, wartime overviews include Thomas A. Britten, *American Indians in World War I: At War and at Home* (Albuquerque, NM, 1997); Al Carroll, *Medicine Bags and Dog Tags: American Indian Veterans from Colonial Times to the Second Iraq War* (Lincoln, NE, 2008); Jeré Bishop Franco, *Crossing the Pond: The Native American Effort in World War II* (Denton, TX, 1999); and Kenneth William Townsend, *World War II and the American Indian* (Albuquerque, NM, 2000).

Legal Status, Questions of Sovereignty, and Rights

Many authors have examined the nature of tribal sovereignty, tribal governance, and Native American rights. David H. Getches, Charles F. Wilkinson, Robert A. Williams, and Matthew L. M. Fletcher, *Cases and Materials on Federal Indian Law* (6th ed., St. Paul, MN, 2011); Stephen L. Pevar, *The Rights of Indians and Tribes* (4th ed., New York, NY, 2012); and David E. Wilkins, *American Indian Politics and the American Political System* (3rd ed., Lanham, MD, 2010) discuss the development and contemporary status of Indian law and tribal sovereignty. Wilkins also collaborates with K. Tsianina Lomawaima to stress tribes' sovereign status in *Uneven Ground: American Indian Sovereignty and Federal Law* (Norman, OK, 2001). John R. Wunder has contributed *"Retained by the People": A History of American Indians and the Bill of Rights* (New York, NY, 1994), which contains an extended discussion about Indian rights in the twentieth century. Francis Paul Prucha, *American Indian Treaties: The History of a Political Anomaly* (Berkeley, CA, 1994) devotes three chapters to this century. Other valuable considerations are Joanne Barker, editor, *Sovereignty Matters: Locations of Contestation and Possibility in Indigenous Struggles for Self-Determination* (Lincoln, NE, 2005); Stephen Cornell, *The Return of the Native: American Indian Political Resurgence* (New York, NY, 1988); Vine Deloria, Jr. and Clifford

Lytle, *American Indians, American Justice* (Austin, TX, 1983); Vine Deloria, Jr. and Clifford Lytle, *The Nations Within: The Past and Future of American Indian Sovereignty* (New York, NY, 1984); N. Bruce Duthu, *American Indians and the Law* (New York, NY, 2008); Troy R. Johnson, editor, *Contemporary Native American Political Issues* (Walnut Creek, CA, 1999); Frank Pommersheim, *Braid of Feathers: American Indian Law and Contemporary Tribal Life* (Berkeley, CA, 1995) and *Broken Landscape: Indians, Indian Tribes, and the Constitution* (New York, NY, 2009); and Charles Wilkinson, *American Indians, Time, and the Law: Native Societies in a Modern Constitutional Democracy* (New Haven, CT, 1987). Daniel M. Cobb's *Native Activism in Cold War America: The Struggle for Sovereignty* (Lawrence, KS, 2008) considers the connections between Indian activism and international anti-colonial movements, and Paul C. Rosier touches on similar themes in *Serving Their Country: American Indian Politics and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, MA, 2009). Bradley G. Shreve, *Red Power Rising: The National Indian Youth Council and the Origins of Native Activism* (Norman, OK, 2011) presents portraits of several key figures of the recent past, including Gerald Wilkinson. Other recent studies of multitribal reform and activist organizations include Daniel M. Cobb and Loretta Fowler, editors, *Beyond Red Power: American Indian Politics and Activism since 1900* (Santa Fe, NM, 2007); Adam Fortunate Eagle with Tim Findley, *Heart of the Rock: The Indian Invasion of Alcatraz* (Norman, OK, 2002); Troy R. Johnson, *The Occupation of Alcatraz Island: Indian Self-Determination and the Rise of Indian Activism* (Urbana, IL, 1996); Troy R. Johnson, Joane Nagel, and Duane Champagne, editors, *American Indian Activism: Alcatraz to the Longest Walk* (Urbana, IL, 1997); and Paul Chaat Smith and Robert Allen Warrior, *Like a Hurricane: The Indian Movement from Alcatraz to Wounded Knee* (New York, NY, 1996). Scholars analyze the ongoing evolution of tribal governments in Laura E. Evans, *Power from Powerlessness: Tribal Governments, Institutional Niches, and American Federalism* (New York, NY, 2011); James J. Lopach, Margery Hunter Brown, and Richmond L. Clow, *Tribal Government Today: Politics on Montana Indian Reservations* (revised ed., Niwot, CO, 1998); Sharon O'Brien, *American Indian Tribal*

Governments (Norman, OK, 1989); and Steve Russel, *Sequoyah Rising: Problems in Post-Colonial Tribal Governance* (Durham, NC, 2010). Jean Dennison studies Osage governmental reform in *Colonial Entanglement: Constituting a Twenty-First-Century Osage Nation* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2012). There are several studies of tribal legal systems, tribal interactions with state and federal courts, and important twentieth-century Supreme Court cases affecting tribal sovereignty. Some more recent examples are Raymond Austin, *Navajo Courts and Navajo Common Law: A Tradition of Tribal Self-Governance* (Minneapolis, MN, 2009); Blue Clark, *Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock: Treaty Rights and Indian Law at the End of the Nineteenth Century* (Lincoln, NE, 1995); Walter R. Echo-Hawk, *In the Courts of the Conqueror: The 10 Worst Indian Law Cases Ever Decided* (Golden, CO, 2010); Bruce G. Miller, *The Problem of Justice: Tradition and Law in the Coast Salish World (Fourth World Rising)* (Lincoln, NE, 2001); Marianne O. Nielsen and James W. Zion, editors, *Navajo Nation Peacemaking: Living Traditional Justice* (Tucson, AZ, 2005); Justin B. Richland, *Arguing with Tradition: The Language of Law in Hopi Tribal Court* (Chicago, IL, 2008); Robert A. Williams, Jr., *Like a Loaded Weapon: The Rehnquist Court, Indian Rights, and the Legal History of Racism in America* (Minneapolis, MN, 2005); and David E. Wilkins, *American Indian Sovereignty and the U.S. Supreme Court: The Masking of Justice* (Austin, TX, 1997). Tribal efforts to secure their rights through negotiation is the topic of Jeffrey S. Ashley and Secody J. Hubbard, *Negotiated Sovereignty: Working to Improve Tribal-State Relations* (Westport, CT, 2004) and Brad A. Bays and Erin Hogan Fouberg, editors, *The Tribes and the States: Geographies of Intergovernmental Interaction* (Lanham, MD, 2002). Native land claims are weighed in Thomas R. Berger, *Village Journey: The Report of the Alaska Native Review Commission* (New York, NY, 1985); Paul Brodeur, *Restitution: The Land Claims of the Mashpee, Passamaquoddy, and Penobscot Indians of New England* (Boston, MA, 1985); R. C. Gordon-McCutchan, *The Taos Indians and the Battle for Blue Lake* (Santa Fe, NM, 1991); E. Richard Hart, editor, *Zunis and the Courts: A Struggle for Sovereign Land Rights* (Lawrence, KS, 1995); Christian W. McMillen, *Making Indian Law: The Hualapai Land Case and the Birth of Ethnohistory* (New Haven, CT, 2007);

Imre Sutton, editor, *Irredeemable America: The Indians' Estate and Land Claims* (Albuquerque, NM, 1985); and Christopher Vecsey and William Starna, editors, *Iroquois Land Claims* (Syracuse, NY, 1991). Volumes relating to Indian fishing and water rights include Daniel L. Boxberger, *To Fish in Common: The Ethnohistory of Lummi Indian Salmon Fishing* (Lincoln, NE, 1989); Lloyd Burton, *American Indian Water Rights and the Limits of Law* (Lawrence, KS, 1991); Fay G. Cohen, *Treaties on Trial: The Continuing Controversy over Northwest Fishing Rights* (Seattle, WA, 1986); Bonnie G. Colby, John E. Thorson, and Sarah Britton, *Negotiating Tribal Water Rights: Fulfilling Promises in the Arid West* (Tucson, AZ, 2005); Robert Doherty, *Disputed Waters: Native Americans and the Great Lakes Fishery* (Lexington, KY, 1990); Daniel McCool, *Native Waters: Contemporary Indian Water Settlements and the Second Treaty Era* (Tucson, AZ, 2002); Thomas R. McGuire, et al., editors, *Indian Water in the New West* (Tucson, AZ, 1994); Larry Nesper, *The Walleye War: The Struggle for Ojibwe Spearfishing and Treaty Rights* (Lincoln, NE, 2002); John Shurts, *Indian Reserved Water Rights: The Winters Doctrine in Its Social and Legal Context, 1880s–1930s* (Norman, OK, 2000); and Roberta Ulrich, *Empty Nets: Indians, Dams, and the Columbia River* (Corvallis, OR, 1999). Among the scholarship dealing with tribal rights to protect and reclaim material items and human remains are Kathleen S. Fine-Dare, *Grave Injustice: The American Indian Repatriation Movement and NAGPRA* (Lincoln, NE, 2002) and Devon A. Mihesuah, editor, *Repatriation Reader: Who Owns American Indian Remains?* (Lincoln, NE, 2000).

Economy

Studies of tribal economic development have multiplied over the past two decades. Many authors have argued that modern economic development can reinforce rather than compromise tribal traditions. Some useful overviews are Stephen Cornell and Joseph P. Kalt, *What Can Tribes Do? Strategies and Institutions in Indian Economic Development* (Los Angeles, CA, 1992); Donald L. Fixico, *The Invasion of Indian Country in the Twentieth Century:*

American Capitalism and Tribal Natural Resources (Boulder, CO, 2011); The Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development, *The State of the Native Nations: Conditions under U.S. Policies of Self-Determination* (New York, NY, 2008); Brian Hosmer and Colleen O'Neill, editors, *Native Pathways: American Indian Culture and Economic Development in the Twentieth Century* (Boulder, CO, 2004); and Robert J. Miller, *Reservation "Capitalism": Economic Development in Indian Country* (Santa Barbara, CA, 2012). Alexandra Harmon, *Rich Indians: Native People and the Problem of Wealth in American History* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2010) looks at the ways in which acquiring wealth influences perceptions of "Indianness." Studies that emphasize earlier decades and that also examine social and cultural change are Brian C. Hosmer, *American Indians in the Marketplace: Persistence and Innovation among the Menominees and Metlakatlans, 1870–1920* (Lawrence, KS, 1999); Peter Iverson, *When Indians Became Cowboys: Native Peoples and Cattle Ranching in the American West* (Norman, OK, 1994); and David Rich Lewis, *Neither Wolf Nor Dog: American Indians, Environment, and Agrarian Change* (New York, NY, 1994). James H. Barker furnishes text and photographs to document a traditional economy in *Always Getting Ready Upterrlainarluta: Yup'ik Eskimo Subsistence in Southwest Alaska* (Seattle, WA, 1993). Robert H. White, *Tribal Assets: The Rebirth of Native America* (New York, NY, 1990) offers illuminating contemporary sketches of the Ak-Chin, Choctaw, Passamaquoddy, and Penobscot communities. Colleen O'Neill gives deserved attention to Native wage workers in *Working the Navajo Way: Labor and Culture in the Twentieth Century* (Lawrence, KS, 2005). Two important considerations of energy development's promises and problems are Marjane Ambler, *Breaking the Iron Bonds: Indian Control of Energy Development* (Lawrence, KS, 1990) and Sherry L. Smith and Brian Frehner, editors, *Indians and Energy: Exploitation and Opportunity in the American Southwest* (Santa Fe, NM, 2010). The question of oil development and its impact upon Native groups is explored by Kathleen P. Chamberlain, *Under Sacred Ground: A History of Navajo Oil, 1922–1982* (Albuquerque, NM, 2008); Joseph P. Jorgensen, *Oil Age Eskimos* (Berkeley, CA, 1990); and Terry P. Wilson, *The Underground Reservation: Osage Oil* (Lincoln, NE,

1985). Sebastian Felix Braun discusses the resurgent efforts of tribes and Native individuals to raise bison in *Buffalo Inc.: American Indians and Economic Development* (Norman, OK, 2008). Essays in Richmond L. Clow and Imre Sutton, editors, *Trusteeship in Change: Toward Tribal Autonomy in Resource Management* (Boulder, CO, 2001) attest that tribal natural resource development questions are not merely economic. A number of recent books have dealt with Indian gaming, some of which are journalistic exposés criticizing casino tribes. More scholarly accounts include Jessica R. Cattellino, *High Stakes: Florida Seminole Gaming and Sovereignty* (Durham, NC, 2008); Steven Andrew Light and Kathryn R. L. Rand, *Indian Gaming and Tribal Sovereignty: The Casino Compromise* (Lawrence, KS, 2005); and W. Dale Mason, *Indian Gaming: Tribal Sovereignty and American Politics* (Norman, OK, 2000).

Education

Studies of Indian education examine attempts to assimilate Indians and Native efforts for self-determination. Margaret Connell-Szasz, *Education and the American Indian: The Road toward Self-Determination* pays attention to both themes. Brenda J. Child, *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900–1940* (Lincoln, NE, 1999); Sally Hyer, *One House, One Voice, One Heart: Native American Education at the Santa Fe Indian School* (Santa Fe, NM, 1990); and K. Tsianina Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light: The Story of Chilocco Indian School* (Lincoln, NE, 1994) emphasize Native abilities to influence their overall educational experiences. Devon A. Mihesuah, *Cultivating the Rosebuds: The Education of Women at the Cherokee Female Seminary, 1851–1909* (Urbana, IL, 1993) primarily deals with an earlier period. Other major analyses of Indian boarding schools include David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875–1928* (Lawrence, KS, 1995); Clyde Ellis, *To Change Them Forever: Indian Education at the Rainy Mountain Boarding School, 1893–1920* (Norman, OK, 1996); Jacqueline Fear-Seagel, *White Man's Club: Schools, Race, and the Struggle for*

Indian Acculturation (Lincoln, NE, 2007); Scott Riney, *The Rapid City Indian School, 1898–1933* (Norman, OK, 1999); Clifford E. Trafzer, Jean A. Keller, and Lorene Sisquoc, editors, *Boarding School Blues: Revisiting American Indian Educational Experiences* (Lincoln, NE, 2006); Robert A. Trennert, *The Phoenix Indian School: Forced Assimilation in Arizona, 1891–1935* (Norman, OK, 1988); and Myriam Vucković, *Voices from Haskell: Indian Students between Two Worlds, 1884–1927* (Lawrence, KS, 2008). Stephen Kent Amerman focuses on the majority of Native Americans attending off-reservation public schools in *Urban Indians in Phoenix Schools, 1940–2000* (Lincoln, NE, 2010). Former Navajo Nation president Peterson Zah addresses the importance of education in his life and the Navajo future in Peterson Zah and Peter Iverson, *We Will Secure Our Future: Empowering the Navajo Nation* (Tucson, AZ, 2012). Additional useful studies on different dimensions of Indian education are Colin G. Calloway, *The Indian History of an American Institution: Native Americans and Dartmouth* (Hanover, NH, 2010); Julie L. Davis, *Survival Schools: The American Indian Movement and Community Education in the Twin Cities* (Minneapolis, MN, 2013); Estelle Fuchs and Robert J. Havighurst, *To Live on this Earth: American Indian Education* (2nd ed., Albuquerque, NM, 1983); K. Tsianina Lomawaima and Teresa L. McCarty, *To Remain an Indian: Lessons in Democracy from a Century of Native American Education* (New York, NY, 2006); Henrietta Mann, *Cheyenne-Arapaho Education, 1871–1982* (Niwot, CO, 1997); John Reyhner and Jeanne Eder, *A History of Indian Education* (Norman, OK, 2004); and Wayne J. Stein, *Tribally Controlled Colleges: Making Good Medicine* (New York, NY, 1992).

Health Care, Healing, and Religion

Because the maintenance of one's own mental and physical health is so intertwined with spiritual ways and the question of healing and curing, students of Indian health care and Native American religions must read overlapping works. Traditional Native healing practices as well as the Native American Church

have been vitally important in a great many Indian communities. The attempts to introduce Anglo-American models of medical care have often conflicted with indigenous models. Books dealing with Native American health and healing on the Navajo Nation and elsewhere include Wade Davies, *Healing Ways: Navajo Health Care in the Twentieth Century* (Albuquerque, NM, 2001); Jean A. Keller, *Empty Beds: Indian Student Health at Sherman Institute, 1901–1922* (Lansing, MI, 2002); Maureen Trudelle Schwarz, *“I Choose Life”: Contemporary Medical and Religious Practices in the Navajo World* (Norman, OK, 2008); and Robert Trennert, *White Man’s Medicine: Government Doctors and the Navajo, 1863–1955* (Albuquerque, NM, 1998). The standard overview of the Native American Church is Omer Stewart, *Peyote Religion: A History* (Norman, OK, 1987). Two other studies of the peyote religion and efforts to guarantee the freedom to practice it are Carolyn N. Long, *Religious Freedom and Indian Rights: The Case of Oregon v. Smith* (Lawrence, KS, 2000) and Thomas C. Maroukis, *The Peyote Road: Religious Freedom and the Native American Church* (Norman, OK, 2010). David Aberle, *The Peyote Religion among the Navajo* (Chicago, IL, 1966) analyzes the incorporation of peyote into Navajo life. Fred W. Voget, *The Shoshone-Crow Sun Dance* (Norman, OK, 1984) shows how this important ceremony was brought from one Indian community to another. Raymond J. DeMallie and Douglas Parks, editors, *Sioux Indian Religion: Tradition and Innovation* (Norman, OK, 1987) presents valuable perspectives on continuity and change. Vine Deloria, Jr., *God Is Red: A Native View of Religion* (2nd ed., Golden, CO, 1994) is a work of great importance. Also significant is James Treat, editor, *Native and Christian: Indigenous Voices on Religious Identity in the United States and Canada* (New York, NY, 1996). Christianity and Native traditions are not incompatible in Jack M. Schultz, *The Seminole Baptist Churches of Oklahoma: Maintaining a Traditional Community* (Norman, OK, 1999). Tisa Wenger, *We Have a Religion: The 1920s Pueblo Indian Dance Controversy and American Indian Religious Freedom* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2009) considers the consequences of using a non-Indian definition of “religion” to defend tribal spiritual practices. Tribal efforts to protect sacred sites are covered in Andrew Gulliford,

Sacred Objects and Sacred Places: Preserving Tribal Traditions (Boulder, CO, 2000) and Klara Bonsack Kelley and Harris Francis, *Navajo Sacred Places* (Bloomington, IN, 1994).

Literature, Expressive Culture, and Athletics

Individual Native writers and their work are mentioned in the text. There are also many excellent anthologies that furnish important examples of Native writings. In addition to *Reinventing the Enemy's Language*, other major anthologies include Paula Gunn Allen, editor, *Song of the Turtle: American Indian Literature, 1974–1994* (New York, NY, 1996); Joseph Bruchac, editor, *Songs from this Earth on Turtle's Back: Contemporary American Indian Poetry* (New York, NY, 1983); Geary Hobson, editor, *The Remembered Earth: An Anthology of Contemporary Native American Literature* (Albuquerque, NM, 1981); and Craig Lesley, editor, *Talking Leaves: Contemporary Native American Short Stories* (New York, NY, 1991). For insights into twentieth-century Indian literature, one should consult Kimberley M. Blaeser, *Gerald Vizenor: Writing in the Oral Tradition* (Norman, OK, 1996); Susan Berry Brill de Ramírez, *Contemporary American Indian Literatures and the Oral Tradition* (Tucson, AZ, 1999); Joseph Bruchac, editor, *Survival This Way: Interviews with American Indian Poets* (Tucson, AZ, 1987); Louis Owens, *Other Destinies: Understanding the American Indian Novel* (Norman, OK, 1992); and Brian Swann and Arnold Krupat, editors, *I Tell You Now: Autobiographical Essays by Native American Writers* (Lincoln, NE, 1987). Greg Sarris succeeds in “seeing beyond what things seem to be” in his brilliant discussion of Indian oral and written texts, art, and religion, *Keeping Slug Woman Alive: A Holistic Approach to American Indian Texts* (Berkeley, CA, 1993). Lawrence Abbott, editor, *I Stand in the Center of the Good: Interviews with Contemporary Native American Artists* (Lincoln, NE, 1994) and the National Museum of the American Indian's *This Path We Travel: Celebrations of Contemporary Native American Creativity* (Golden, CO, 1994) present introductions to leading artists. *A Zuni Artist Looks at Frank Hamilton Cushing: Cartoons by*

Phil Hughte (Zuni, NM, 1994) and Milford Nahohai and Elisa Phelps, *Dialogues with Zuni Potters* (Zuni, NM, 1995) are two examples of books published by a particular tribe. In *Where There Is No Name for Art: The Art of Tewa Pueblo Children* (Santa Fe, NM, 1996), “art coach” Bruce Hucko offers an appealing look at its subject, graced by the art and voices of children from five Indian communities. Charlotte Heth, editor, *Native American Dance: Ceremonies and Social Traditions* (Washington, DC, 1992) brings forth vivid images of her subject. Two useful volumes on Native American song are Virginia Giglio, *Southern Cheyenne Women’s Songs* (Norman, OK, 1994) and Judith Vander, *Songprints: The Musical Experience of Five Shoshone Women* (Urbana, IL, 1988). The evolving and enduring importance of powwow is the focus of Clyde Ellis, *A Dancing People: Powwow Culture on the Southern Plains* (Lawrence, KS, 2003). John W. Troutman, *Indian Blues: American Indians and the Politics of Music, 1879–1934* (Norman, OK, 2009) demonstrates how non-Indian music can be employed both to promote assimilation and Native resiliency. Among the many other helpful books on Indian fine arts are Lillian A. Ackerman, editor, *A Song to the Creator: Traditional Arts of Native American Women of the Plateau* (Norman, OK, 1996); Margaret Archuleta and Rennard Strickland, *Shared Visions: Native American Painters and Sculptors in the Twentieth Century* (Phoenix, AZ, 1991); Rick Dillingham, *Fourteen Families in Pueblo Pottery* (Albuquerque, NM, 1994); Rick Hill, et al., *Creativity Is Our Tradition: Three Decades of Contemporary Indian Art at the Institute of American Indian Arts* (Santa Fe, NM, 1992); Bill Holm, *Spirit and Ancestor: A Century of Northwest Coast Indian Art at the Burke Museum* (Seattle, WA, 1987); Zena Pearlstone, et al., *About Face: Self-Portraits by Native American, First Nations, and Inuit Artists* (Santa Fe, NM, 2006); W. Jackson Rushing, III, *Native American Art in the Twentieth Century: Makers, Meaning, Histories* (London, 1999); Robert Fay Schrader, *The Indian Arts and Crafts Board: An Aspect of New Deal Indian Policy* (Albuquerque, NM, 1983); and Richard L. Spivey, *Maria* (revised ed., Flagstaff, AZ, 1989). Amy Lonetree and Amanda J. Cobb, editors, *The National Museum of the American Indian: Critical Conversations* (Lincoln, NE, 2008) critiques that

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institution's efforts to portray Native cultures and identities. In addition to multiple biographies written on Jim Thorpe and other Native American athletes, broader studies of Indian sports history include Jeffrey Powers-Beck, *The American Indian Integration of Baseball* (Lincoln, NE, 2004); John Bloom, *To Show What an Indian Can Do: Sports at Native American Boarding Schools* (Minneapolis, MN, 2000); C. Richard King, editor, *Native Athletes in Sport and Society* (Lincoln, NE, 2005); and Joseph B. Oxendine, *American Indian Sports Heritage* (Lincoln, NE, 1995). All of the topics in this category, as well as Native American filmmakers, receive good coverage in two volumes by Elizabeth DeLaney Hoffman, editor, *American Indians and Popular Culture* (Santa Barbara, CA, 2012).

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"We Are Still Here": American Indians since 1890, Second Edition.

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