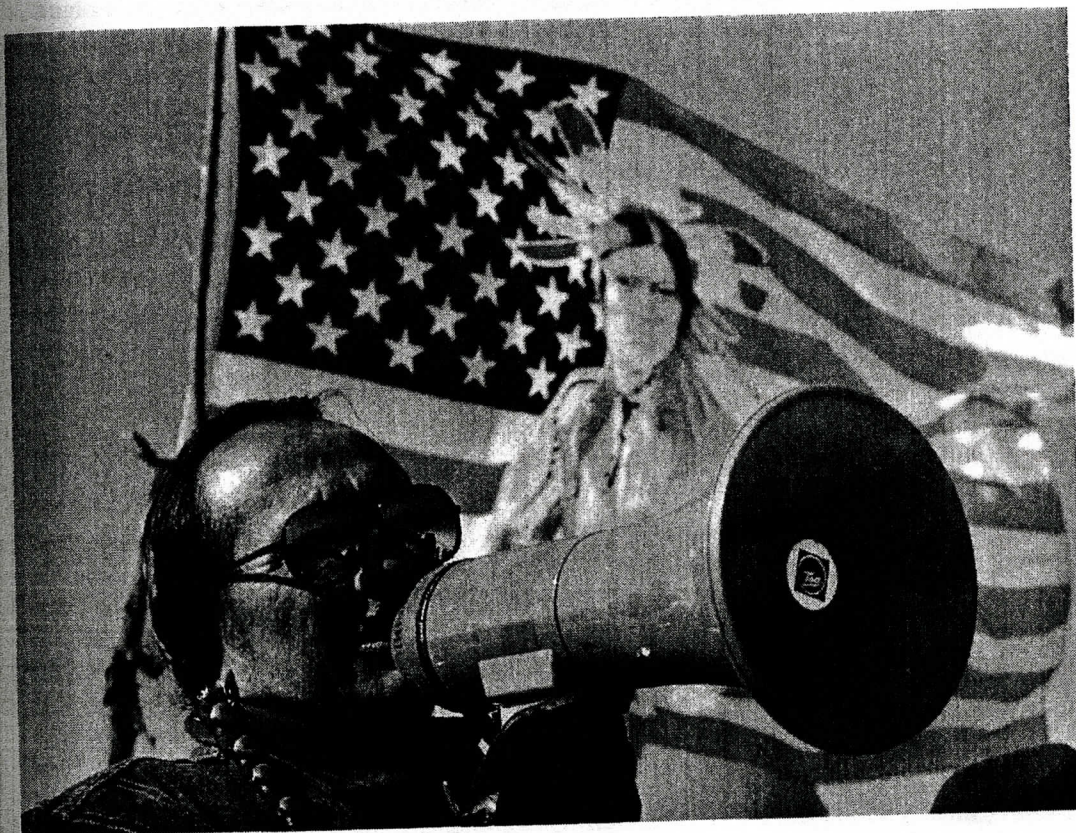
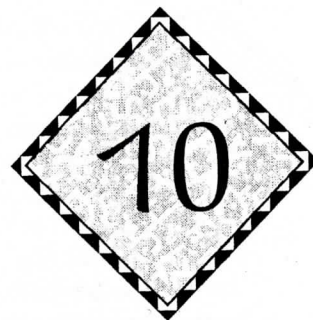
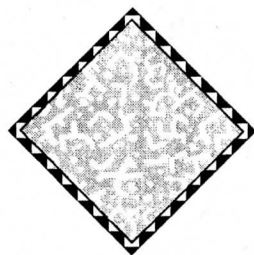


Native Americans

The First Americans



Many Native American leaders have contested the loss of native lands and have worked to maintain and promote the sovereignty of Indian tribes. The extent to which these goals illustrate or are compatible with pluralist ideology is a subject of intense controversy.



*We told you a little while ago that we had an uneasiness on our minds,
and we shall now tell you what it is; it is concerning our land.*

—Mohawk speaker, Albany Congress, 1754

The thinking Indian . . . asks that he be treated as an American.

—Society of American Indians

*For the sake of our psychic stability as well as our physical
well-being we must be free men and exercise free choices.*

—Clyde Warrior

The Indian people are going to remain Indians for a long time to come.

—Melvin Thom

They were called “the vanishing Americans.” After three centuries of contact with Europeans, the Indians who populated what is now the continental United States had declined in number from at least 2 million to less than one-eighth of that (Snipp 1989:10, 63). Diseases, bullets, alcoholic beverages, and industrial civilization had taken their appalling toll. Whole tribes, bands, or nations—perhaps 50 altogether—had disappeared (Spicer 1980a:58). Although the extent of the depopulation from the diseases brought to the New World varied considerably among different tribes and locations, McNeill (1976:190) estimated that, overall, more than 90 percent of the Indian population was decimated by epidemic diseases.¹ Deneven concluded in this regard that “the discovery of America was followed by possibly the greatest demographic disaster in the history of the world” (quoted by Snipp 1989:15).

At the time of the American Revolution, the Indian population still may have been large enough for a unified stand by the tribes to have brought the colonization effort to a halt; but the swelling population in Europe created an enormous emigration to America. The developments in machine technology radically altered the terms of the competition between the Americans and the Indians and set the stage for the military conquest of the West during the last half of the nineteenth century. This conquest seemed to spell the end for the Indians as bearers of distinctive cultures. In fact, as stated earlier, many tribes *have* vanished. But by 1996, the government of the United States still recognized 318 tribes in the 48 contiguous states (Nagel 1996:14) and 226 Alaskan tribes (*NARF Legal Review* 1994), while additional Indian groups sought official recognition. Hence, the American Indians have failed to “vanish” as anticipated. Instead, their population has *increased* rapidly so that today the Indians are one of the fastest growing groups within the United States. Their amazing increase during the twentieth century has produced a population that may be approaching in size the one existing in 1600.

The number of Native Americans increased eightfold from 1900 to 1990, with much of the growth occurring in the decades after 1960. From a low point in 1900 of

237,196, the Native American population grew to 523,591 in 1960 and to 1.88 million in 1990 (Nagel 1996:5). During this time traditional Native American culture, along with Indian popular culture, has thrived. Forty-eight Indian newspapers and newsletters are published by Indian tribes or organizations; and efforts are being made by tribal leaders to restore lost languages by encouraging the use of native languages (Nagel 1996:15, 47). Although many languages have completely disappeared, more than 150 Indian languages are still in use, not counting dialects (Stewart 1977a:501). Moreover, American Indians "were not and have not become a single . . . people justifying a single label . . . as most Americans believe" (Spicer 1980a:59). The tribes represent a great many people with different cultural backgrounds, different historical experiences, and different senses of identity. The tribes have, however, had to make numerous accommodations over time, which we will discuss in this chapter and in Chapter 12.

In Chapters 2 and 3, we examined briefly the relations between some of the coastal tribes and the English during the seventeenth century to help explain the origin of the Anglo conformity ideology and to illustrate the scope of its application. Now we enlarge our inquiry to trace in broad outline some of the key events, people, and social processes that help to explain the present circumstances of the diverse people called "Indians."

The English Penetration of the Continent

Decades before the English founded Jamestown and Plymouth, French explorers and fishermen were active along the St. Lawrence waterway and the eastern coast of Canada. The main interest of both the French and the English soon became the valuable pelts the Indians would trade for items such as guns, alcoholic beverages, clothing, and costume jewelry.

The French and Indian War

French fur trappers, explorers, and priests rapidly expanded their alliances with various Indian tribes and extended French claims to the entire Mississippi River Valley and portions of the Gulf Coast. The English at this time were making alliances with Indians such as the Iroquois who could supply pelts either as trappers or as "middlemen" between the English and the tribes still further west (Nash 1974:93, 99).

The relationship between the Iroquois and the English increased England's ability to compete for the western fur trade, but it also had other consequences. The Iroquois, in search of pelts, invaded the lands of rival Indian tribes, some of whom were the trade allies of the French. These invasions led to bloody conflicts among the Indians, to enormous changes in the relative sizes and strengths of various tribes, and to a wide variety of changes in the cultures of all the tribes in contact with the French and English. During most of the next 100 years, the English depended either on the assistance or the neutrality of some or all of the powerful Five Nations of the Iroquois.²

Even though the English traders frequently were "despised and held in great Contempt by the Indians as liars and Persons regarding nothing but their own Gain" (McNickle 1973:38–39), and even though the French government adopted as its official policy the view that interracial mixing was desirable (Nash 1974:104), the English had two advantages of dealing with the Indians: As they offered the Indians higher prices for their furs, their trade goods also were of a higher quality than those the Indians could get from the French.³ Nevertheless, the sharp business practices of the English traders and land speculators created frictions, and the Iroquois became ever more contemptuous of the English and their culture. For instance, in 1744 in answer to an invitation to send some of their young men to be educated in Virginia, the Iroquois replied, "If the English Gentlemen would send a Dozen or two of their children to Onondaga, the great Council would take care of their Education, bring them up in really what was the best Manner and make men of them" (Nash 1974:260).

The showdown between France and England came in the French and Indian War, which was fought mainly between 1754 and 1761.⁴ During the first years of this conflict, the Iroquois were primarily neutral, though the Mohawks sometimes supported the English and the Senecas sometimes supported the French. However, after the English attacked with a large fighting force, the Iroquois threw their full weight to the side of the English (Nash 1974:267–268). When the war ended, an avalanche of new settlers poured into the Ohio Valley.

At this moment, an Ottawa chief named Pontiac and an Indian evangelist called the Delaware Prophet attempted to convince the Indians that they should give up the White man's trade goods, return to the old ways, and create an intertribal military organization to combat the Whites (Josephy 1961:110–112). Pontiac gained the support of many tribes such as the Hurons, Potawatomis, and Chippewas. Starting with a siege of Fort Detroit in May 1763, warriors from many tribes commenced an attack against the English; and as the fighting spread, the frontier was hurled back toward the Atlantic coast. When Pontiac learned that the French, Spanish, and English had signed a treaty in Europe, he sued for peace.⁵

Anglo American–Indian Policies

The Proclamation of 1763

Pontiac's uprising failed to drive the English out of North America, but it did serve as a final argument for those in England who believed the colonies should be required to follow a uniform policy toward the Indians. Such a policy, the Proclamation of 1763, was promulgated by the king. This important proclamation declared that (1) all land west of the crest of the Appalachian mountains was "Indian Country"; (2) any settlers west of the Appalachians who had not acquired a legal title to their land from the Indians must return to the colonies; and (3) all future land purchases from the Indians must be conducted in public meetings attended by representatives of the king (McNickle 1973:43). This act recognized that the government of England was obligated to attempt to control

trade between the Indians and the colonists and, in particular, was obligated to prevent the swelling colonial population from invading Indian Country. But there were too many colonists and too few soldiers and Indians. There was no way for the English to prevent the colonists from moving onto Indian lands and taking possession of them by fair means or foul.

The proclamation nevertheless established a pattern that the Continental Congress later adopted. An early note from Congress to the Iroquois during the American Revolution stated, "Brothers! This is a family quarrel between us and Old England. . . . We desire you . . . not join on either side, but keep the hatchet buried deep" (McNickle 1973:49). Then, in 1787, the proclamation's lead was followed further in the famous Northwest Territory Ordinance, which promised that, "The utmost good faith shall always be observed toward the Indians; their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent: and their property, rights, and liberty, they shall never be invaded or disturbed, unless in just and lawful wars authorized by Congress" (Jackson and Galli 1977:3).

Congress, however, was no more successful in regulating contacts with the Indians than the English had been. George Washington lamented that the frontiersmen, "in defiance of the proclamation of Congress . . . roam over the Country on the Indian side of the Ohio, mark out Lands, Survey, and even settle them. This gives great discontent to the Indians" (Prucha 1962:35).

Enforcing the Treaties

As president, Washington set out to establish "a firm peace" based on the "principles of justice and moderation" (Prucha 1962:41). His main tool was a series of laws (Trade and Intercourse Acts) to enforce the treaties already concluded with the major tribes of the North and South, as well as all future treaties that might be made. The existing treaties with tribes such as the Iroquois, Delawares, Wyandots, Chippewas, Shawnees, and Choctaws were being widely violated. The basic problem was "the presence of . . . tribesmen in the path of aggressive and land-hungry whites" (Prucha 1962:3).

Consider, for example, some of the events following the Greenville Treaty of 1795 through which 12 Indian tribes ceded around 50 million acres of Ohio to the United States. As usual, the Indians received a certain quantity of goods and a promise of future annual payments for their land; and, also as usual, a line was drawn on the map to separate Indian Country from White Country. As the White population in the Ohio Valley grew, however, many traders and settlers tried to gain concessions from the Indians beyond the established frontier line; and, as in the past, one of their major trade offerings to the Indians was liquor. Huge quantities of liquor were given to the Indians in return for their land and other possessions. The effects were felt by the Indians throughout the Northwest Territory. Josephy (1961:147) stated that "almost overnight large segments of once proud and dignified tribes became demoralized in drunkenness and disease."

A new leader, Tecumseh, and his brother, Tenskwatawa (the Shawnee Prophet), came forward at this time to resume Pontiac's call for the Indians to turn away from the White man's way, reject the trade goods that destroyed their independence, and unite to prevent the Whites from acquiring any more land. In a meeting with Governor (later

president) William Henry Harrison, Tecumseh argued: "No tribe has a right to . . . Sell a country! Why not sell the air, the clouds and the great sea, as well as the earth? Did not the Great Spirit make them all for the use of his children?" (Josephy 1961:155).

Harrison flatly rejected Tecumseh's view of landownership and made it clear that he would continue to make treaties and acquire Indian lands.⁶ Tecumseh, therefore, continued to meet with the leaders of other tribes to urge them to join him in a pan-Indian uprising against the United States. Although Tecumseh was eloquent, most of the older chiefs were not convinced they should now become the allies of some of their traditional Indian enemies. Many also were receiving annual gifts from the Whites and were reluctant to give these up.

Soon after a battle between Tecumseh's warriors and Harrison's forces on Tippecanoe Creek, the War of 1812 between England and the United States began. Tecumseh threw all of his weight into the conflict on the side of the English. Perhaps if the English won the war, he reasoned, then the rights of the Indians would be respected; but if the United States won, he believed, "it will not be many years before our last place of abode and our last hunting ground will be taken from us, and the remnants of the different tribes . . . will all be driven toward the setting sun" (Josephy 1961:163). The English lost the war; Tecumseh lost his life in battle; and the Indians never again had the active support of a European power against the United States.

Indian Removal

Legal Issues

In 1802, the state of Georgia ceded the western portion of its lands to the United States in return for a promise that the federal government would extinguish the land claims of the Cherokee Indians in Georgia (Hagan 1971:54). To fulfill the agreement, the federal government, through a series of treaties, forced the Cherokees to give up almost 60 million acres of land. This pressure on the Cherokees was particularly ironic because these Indians were making a determined effort to adjust to the Whites' ways and were widely celebrated as one of the most "civilized" of all the tribes. The Cherokees were organized as a loosely federated republic. They had a written constitution, a bicameral legislature, and an appellate judiciary. One of their members, Sequoyah, devised a system based on syllables that permitted the Cherokee language to be written; and this invention led to the spread of literacy among them (Spicer 1980a:84). Nevertheless, in 1828–1829, on the basis of the agreement of 1802, Georgia annexed the Cherokees' land and tried to force upon them the laws of Georgia. The Cherokees protested Georgia's claim to jurisdiction over their tribe in two cases argued before the United States Supreme Court: *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1831) and *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832). The judgments in these cases, with Chief Justice John Marshall speaking for the Court, established the basic principles that have guided the Indian policies of the United States ever since (McNickle 1973:52).

These cases dealt with different aspects of a basic question: Are Indian tribes sovereign nations? The main issue in *Cherokee Nation* was whether an Indian tribe, like other

foreign nations, has the constitutional right to bring a court action against a state. The Supreme Court ruled that the Cherokee tribe was not a foreign nation and, therefore, could not sue Georgia. Chief Justice Marshall stated that Indians "are acknowledged to have an unquestionable . . . right to the lands they occupy" but concluded that Indian tribes "may more correctly . . . be denominated domestic dependent nations" (Chaudhuri 1985:24).⁷ This ruling, while agreeing that Indian tribes are sovereign nations, nevertheless placed limits on their sovereignty.

The main issue in *Worcester* was whether Georgia could pass laws that superseded the laws of the Cherokees. On this score the Court ruled in favor of the Indians. "The Cherokee Nation," Marshall wrote, "is a distinct community, occupying its own territory . . . in which the laws of Georgia can have no force" (Bordewich 1996:46). This decision established the principle that although tribal sovereignty has limits, the remaining sovereignty is great indeed. Tribal powers included the right to make treaties, to be protected from state encroachments, and to enjoy certain basic immunities with respect to the United States (Chaudhuri 1985:23, 26). Taken together, the *Cherokee Nation* and *Worcester* rulings conveyed an ambivalent view of the limits of tribal authority that has continued down to the present.⁸

The Indian Removal Act. Even though the Cherokees won in the *Worcester* case, they had the bad fortune to do so while Andrew Jackson was president. Jackson favored a policy of forcing the Indians to move west of the Mississippi, and as president he sponsored the Indian Removal Act of 1830. This act was designed to force all of the Indians in the southeastern states to move west of the Mississippi. Jackson ignored the Supreme Court's rulings and made it clear that he would enforce the Indian Removal Act.⁹ During the next 6 years, Jackson concluded 94 treaties with the Indians to induce them to move to new homes in Indian Territory (now Oklahoma) in order to make room for White settlers who were eager to move onto Indian lands. All of the usual tactics, including bribery, threats, and misrepresentation, were employed by the Whites to bring these treaties into existence. Even though many of the Indians' White friends saw removal as a way to help protect the Indians from the Whites, the Indians no longer believed the government's promises (Lurie 1982:138). When Jackson sent a message saying that the Indians were to receive "an ample district west of the Mississippi River . . . to be guaranteed to the Indian tribes as long as they shall occupy it," the leaders of the Choctaws replied: "The red people are of the opinion, that in a few years the Americans will also wish to possess the land west of the Mississippi" (McNickle 1973:72).

The Indians were given no choice. The removal process, which continued into the 1840s, is widely regarded as one of the most dishonorable chapters in American history. Removal shattered the lives of tens of thousands of Indians who owned their own homes, earned their living through farming, and sent their children to school as did their White neighbors. Despite this level of cultural assimilation, they did not receive the protection of the federal government. The Indians felt that the United States had violated its own principles of fairness and justice. One appeal to the conscience of the citizens of the United States read as follows: "Our cause is . . . the cause of liberty and justice. It is based upon your own principles, which we have learned from yourselves; for we have gloried to count your Washington and your Jefferson our great teachers" (Joseph 1961:179).

The Trail of Tears

Faced with the calamity of losing the last of their ancestral grounds, some Indians decided to fight; others sought protection through the courts; but in the end, nearly all of them were moved hundreds of miles along what has become known as "The Trail of Tears."¹⁰ The "Five Civilized Tribes" in the Southeast played the central role in a tragedy that "may well exceed in weight of grief and pathos any other passage in American history" (Mooney, quoted in Van Every 1971:30). After lengthy negotiations, further legal battles, promises of "perpetual" land grants in Indian Territory, and agreed annual payments, four of the Civilized Tribes—the Choctaws, Creeks, Chickasaws, and Cherokees—all agreed to move.¹¹ The ordeal of removal took about 20 years, during which more than 15,000 people died of famine and disease along the way (Spicer 1980a:84–86).

The fifth Civilized Tribe—the Seminoles—refused to move. The Seminoles had fought against the United States in the War of 1812 and again in 1818 when Andrew Jackson invaded Florida in a move against the Spanish. The Seminoles were angry over the deceptive practices that had been used in attempting to arrange their removal to the West. Another source of resistance stemmed from the fact that many Black slaves had fled from the United States and were now living among the Seminoles. Consequently, in 1835, after some Seminoles killed an Indian agent and attacked a group of soldiers, the Seminole War erupted. The war lasted nearly 7 years, led to the deaths of between 1,500 and 2,000 American soldiers, and cost the United States at least \$20 million (Joseph 1968:324).

By the early 1840s, approximately a hundred thousand Indian people had been moved from their homes east of the Mississippi into Indian Territory. Although most of these refugees had come from the southeastern portion of the United States, tribes such as the Delawares, Kickapoos, Miamis, Ottawas, Peorias, Potawatomis, Sacs, Foxes, Shawnees, and Wyandots also were removed from their homes in the North and East and sent to Indian Territory. The only large tribes of Indians to remain in the Northeast were members of the Iroquois League; however, even among the Iroquois, elements of the Cayugas, Oneidas, and Senecas were moved to Indian Territory (Spicer 1980a:61).

The great influx of people into Indian Territory created numerous new problems. The United States had pledged to provide rations, weapons, and tools; but these necessities frequently did not arrive or did not arrive in sufficient quantities. The United States had promised protection against the "wild tribes" who already lived in or near Indian Territory, and this promise also was not kept. The Comanches, Osages, and Pawnees, for example, were outraged that the newcomers were moving into their territory, competing with them for buffalo, and generally interfering with their established ways of living. As the buffalo became more difficult to find, these Plains tribes raided the livestock of the Indian refugees, and the newcomers were forced to defend themselves (Hagan 1971:85–87).

By the latter part of the 1840s, only scattered fragments of many tribes remained east of the Mississippi River; by this time, wagon trains from the United States were crossing Indian Country headed for Oregon. The soldiers garrisoned in a line of forts running from Canada to Mexico were expected to keep unlicensed traders and travelers out of Indian Country, and to protect the eastern Indians from the Indians of the Plains.

After gold was discovered in California, the tribes could not be protected from this westward movement. Finally, it was becoming clear that the idea of drawing a line on the map to give the eastern portion of the country to the Whites and the western portion to the Indians could not work. White traders, hunters, trappers, farmers, ranchers, and miners could not be kept on the eastern side of the frontier line. Nevertheless, many western Indian tribes still fought for control of their homelands. Their resistance has given modern people much of the imagery, romance, legend, and tragedy associated with the saga of "the winning of the West." But behind the saga lies the reality that already had been experienced by the Indians of the East in the previous 200 years. Treaties with individual tribes were followed by the encroachments of White frontiersmen. The encroachments led to attacks, and the attacks led to retaliation. No matter how valiantly the Indians fought, they were outnumbered and outgunned. In a span of less than four decades, the experience of the western tribes recapitulated that of the eastern tribes.

Plains Wars and Reservations

The Horse-Buffalo Economy

The Plains Indians who faced the forts and frontiersmen of the United States practiced a way of life that has captured the imagination of people throughout the world. Consider the familiar image of the Indian warrior: He is dressed in fringed and beaded buckskins, mounted on a dashing charger, wearing a war bonnet of flowing eagle's feathers. This image, which is frequently held of all Indians, derives principally from the cultures of the Plains tribes, especially those of the Sioux (Dakota or Lakota). Moreover, this complex of traits, also including certain styles of dancing and singing, has been most influential in the popular pan-Indian culture of modern Indian Americans (Wax 1971:149).

This exciting style of life, which has had such a profound influence on non-Indians and Indians alike, began to take shape near the beginning of the eighteenth century when the Indians acquired horses and firearms from the Spanish. Until then, the Plains had not been a very hospitable place to live, so the human population had been small.¹² As the Indians near the Plains learned the arts of horsemanship, two important cultural changes occurred. First, many tribes began to mold their entire way of life around the use of the horse and the buffalo. Mounted and with guns, the Indians now found the buffalo to be not only a reliable source of food but also a source of materials for housing, clothing, tools, and many other useful articles (Lurie 1982:133). Under these new conditions, many tribes deserted their previous localities to take up a nomadic existence. Some tribes were lured onto the Plains; others were pushed onto the Plains by the "domino effect" of the westward expansion of the French and English colonizers.

Increased Intertribal Warfare. The competition among the tribes for hunting grounds frequently led to conflict, while the scarcity of horses led to a conflict-filled pattern of raiding and theft. Fighting skill and prowess in war were highly valued as warfare became a central feature of the Plains culture. The young men clamored for opportunities

to "count coup"—to touch the living members of hostile tribes. The more numerous and daring the warrior's coup, the higher his social status in the tribe (Hagan 1971:106).

The development of the horse-buffalo and war complexes is well illustrated by the Arapahos, Blackfeet, Cheyennes, Comanches, and Crows, among others; but no tribes exceeded the Sioux as examples of the new life-style. At the end of the seventeenth century, three major divisions of the Lakota-speaking peoples (Teton Sioux, Yankton Sioux, and Santee Sioux) lived in the forests of what is now Minnesota. As the Chippewas, who were allied with the French in the fur trade, moved into the territory, the Lakotas moved westward to invade the lands of tribes such as the Cheyennes, Crows, and Pawnees. Spicer (1980a:92) noted that the Lakotas became the dominant peoples of the northern Plains and the most thoroughly adapted as horse-riding buffalo hunters. Various bands among the Tetons—for example, the Brulés, Oglalas, Miniconjou, and Hunkpapas—were particularly respected for their horsemanship and feared for their fighting abilities.

When the Whites began to cross the Plains, the tribes were "in the very midst of their great cultural florescence and were formidable and enthusiastic warriors" (Lurie 1982:139). But the Whites' diseases immediately took a terrible toll. In 1837, the population of the Mandans, one of the few farming tribes of the Plains, fell from around 1,600 to less than 100 (Hagan 1971:94; Wax 1971:32–33). Over a period of years, cholera and smallpox took about one-half of the Crow tribe's 4,000 people (Spicer 1980a:93); and in 1849, the Pawnees lost a fourth of their population to diseases (Hagan 1971:94). These catastrophes were intensified by the rapid depletion of the buffalo. White hunters slaughtered the herds, making it much more difficult for the Indians to maintain a proper diet.

Soon after the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Oregon, New Mexico, Utah, Kansas, and Nebraska were organized as territories, and California was admitted to the Union as the thirty-first state. Each of these steps stimulated traffic across Indian Country, bringing about increasing contacts and conflicts between Indian and White people. To regulate these interactions, the army quickly extended to the western Indians the tried-and-true system of treaties and reservations that had been so successful in dispossessing the Indians of the East. At Fort Laramie a treaty was signed in 1851 in which approximately ten thousand Plains Indians agreed to permit the wagon trains of the Whites to cross their territory (Brown 1973:68). In return, the United States agreed to make annual payments of food and other supplies and also to provide protection from the White people traveling west. In the same year, the Santee Sioux ceded most of their territory in return for a guaranteed reservation on the Minnesota River (Joseph 1968:336). Shortly thereafter, several other Plains tribes ceded over 90 percent of their lands and accepted reservations (Hagan 1971:98).

Violations of the Treaties

As had been true in the East, the government failed to prevent violations of the treaties by Whites and to provide the rations and supplies guaranteed to the Indians. These failures led to renewed and expanded conflicts. As a result, the 30-year period during and following the Civil War was a time of frequent, widespread warfare between Indians and Whites. The events of many of these conflicts were well publicized and dramatized both at the time of their occurrence and subsequently. The names of the Indian war chiefs and

their White opponents became well known. Chiefs such as Red Cloud, Sitting Bull, Gall, Crazy Horse, Spotted Tail, Chief Joseph, Little Crow, Cochise, Geronimo, Little Wolf, and Quanah Parker and White military leaders such as Kit Carson, Philip Sheridan, William Sherman, George Crook, Alfred Terry, O. O. Howard, John Gibbon, and George Custer are reminders of the blood that was spilled across the West during these years.

The end of the Civil War brought a renewed effort by the Whites to build roads and railroads across Indian Country. To protect caravans passing through the Sioux lands, the federal government attempted to complete a treaty with them that would grant a trainload of presents and an annual payment of supplies thereafter. At the very time the treaty was being negotiated, however, the army sent a regiment of troops into Sioux country to build a chain of forts along the Powder River. The Sioux, led by the Oglala Chief Red Cloud, were enraged by this action and broke off the negotiations. Red Cloud gathered the warriors of the various Sioux tribes and sought the assistance of the Arapahos, Cheyennes, and even his enemies, the Crows. After several months of guerrilla warfare, a small group led by Crazy Horse lured a detachment of soldiers under Captain William Fetterman into a trap. All 81 soldiers were slain.

After this battle, called the Fetterman Massacre by the Whites, the U.S. government sent several commissions to meet with Red Cloud and the other Sioux chiefs. Red Cloud refused to meet with the commissions. The Oglala chief demanded that the soldiers be withdrawn from the forts along the Powder River. Finally, in 1868, the forts were abandoned and both sides promised to keep the peace. The Treaty of 1868 established the Great Sioux Reservation, comprising most of what is now North and South Dakota.

The Battle of Little Bighorn. The peace did not last long. White miners violated the Treaty of 1868 by moving into the sacred Black Hills to mine gold. The Sioux were infuriated by this renewed invasion of their land and protested strongly to Washington. The government replied by offering to buy or lease the Black Hills so the gold could be mined. The Indians refused to permit mining on any basis; so the government decided to dispossess them by force. All of the tribes in the area were ordered to report to the reservation agencies; but large groups of Sioux led by Sitting Bull, Crazy Horse, and their allies refused to report. In addition, numerous "treaty" Indians left their reservations to join the "hostiles"; so in 1876, Generals Crook and Terry and Colonels Gibbon and Custer were ordered into Sioux country to "whip the hostiles" into submission (Brown 1972:367-372; Josephy 1968:340).¹³

On June 25, 1876 Custer marched on a Sioux and Cheyenne encampment. This advance may have been precipitated by Custer's belief that the Indians would flee as soon as they saw the approaching troops. His main concern was to prevent the Indians' escape. The Indians, however, had decided to make a stand and had amassed an army of between 1,000 and 2,500 warriors, depending on whose estimate one accepts.¹⁴ As his Seventh Cavalry units approached the village, Custer divided the cavalrymen into three groups and attacked.¹⁵ Custer's detachment was soon surrounded by warriors led by Crazy Horse, Two Moon, and Gall.¹⁶ Every member of Custer's group was killed, and the remaining two groups of the Seventh Cavalry suffered heavy losses.

The stunning victory of the Indians over the U. S. army on the Little Bighorn River was, in fact, one of the last gasps of a people fighting frantically to preserve their independence. Some of the warriors who helped to destroy Custer's units on the Little Bighorn

were survivors of one of Custer's earlier surprise attacks, the slaughter of a group of Southern Cheyennes on the Washita River. Still others were the friends or relatives of Indians who were murdered in a battle referred to as the Sand Creek Massacre—an event described by General Nelson A. Miles as the “foulest and most unjustifiable crime in the annals of America” (Hagan 1971:108).

Such atrocities by White people against Indians did nothing to still the outburst of anger among Whites as the news of “Custer's last stand” spread. The federal government claimed the Indians had violated the Treaty of 1868 and, therefore, must now cede to the Whites all rights to the Black Hills and the Powder River country. The Indians were told that if they did not agree, their rations would be discontinued and they would be sent south to Indian Territory. Without the rations supplied at the agencies, many Indians would starve, and none of them relished the thought of being forced to move far away from their beloved Black Hills. With great reluctance, Red Cloud and Spotted Tail signed the agreement and then were placed under virtual arrest on their reservations in Nebraska.

Gradually, the chiefs of most of the other Sioux tribes signed the new agreement to give up the Black Hills. Sitting Bull, however, had taken his people and fled to Canada. Crazy Horse's people spent the winter of 1876–1877 searching for food and fighting soldiers. When General Crook sent word to Crazy Horse that he could have a reservation in the Powder River country if he would surrender, the great Sioux war chief marched into the Red Cloud Agency in Nebraska to become a reservation Indian (Brown 1972:290–294).¹⁷

With the surrender of Crazy Horse and, later in the same year, the surrender of Chief Joseph and his Nez Percés, armed Indian resistance to American dominance in the territory acquired from Mexico had nearly ended. Several other famous confrontations occurred during the next 10 years, including an “escape” by the Northern Cheyennes from Indian Territory, the so-called Ute War, and the last-ditch efforts of the Apaches in the Southwest. Irresistibly, however, the forces of the rapidly industrializing American giant stripped away the means whereby an open fight could be sustained. After the buffalo had been slaughtered, the Indian population had declined precipitously, primarily as a result of disease and famine.¹⁸ Most of the surviving Indians had been assigned to reservations and, under military guard, were required to live on them. No further military resistance could be offered. The words of Chief Joseph's widely publicized surrender speech reflected the situation in eloquent, tragic phrases: “Our chiefs are killed. . . . It is cold and we have no blankets. The little children are freezing to death. . . . Hear me, my chiefs. I am tired; my heart is sick and sad. From where the sun now stands, I will fight no more forever” (Joseph 1961:339–340).

From Separatism to Anglo Conformity

We have seen that from the earliest days of the American republic, the primary thrust of the official policy of the federal government embodied the idea that Indians and Whites should be kept apart. This policy was responsible for the sharp distinction that was cre-

ated between Indian Country and White Country. Ultimately, it also led to the great expansion of the reservation system. Throughout this time, however, many people had doubted the wisdom of separatism and had urged instead that the Indians be assisted to become "civilized"; consequently, a secondary, seemingly contradictory thrust of official policy embodied the idea that the Indians could "be absorbed into American society" if they were given the tools, animals, seeds, and information needed to become farmers (Prucha 1962:214). The Indian Trade and Intercourse Act of 1793 empowered the president to "promote civilization" among "friendly Indians" and to expend \$20,000 a year for 2 years for this purpose (Jackson and Galli 1977:63). Various additional laws continued this policy until 1819, after which time the amount of the annual "civilization fund" was reduced to \$10,000; but the payment was then placed on a permanent basis.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs

The actual work of administering these activities relating to the Indians had been entrusted to the Secretary of War in 1789. Secretary John Calhoun, in 1824, created a new agency that he named the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). Among the duties of the head of the bureau was "the administration of the fund for the civilization of the Indians" (Jackson and Galli 1977:43). The work of the BIA commenced immediately, although until Congress approved the plan, the duties assigned to the head of the BIA were still legally the responsibility of the Secretary of War. In the Trade and Intercourse Act of 1834, the BIA was authorized, and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs was placed atop an organization that has exercised "immense power . . . over the lives and property of the Indian people" from that time to this (Deloria 1972:52).¹⁹

At the bottom of the BIA's hierarchy of authority were the Indian agents and sub-agents. These were the employees who lived on the reservations and were responsible for distributing annuities (either in money or goods) and for carrying out the program to civilize the Indians. As increasing numbers of Indians became dependent on the BIA and its agents, the question of the relationship between the federal government and the Indian tribes grew more perplexing. The idea that the tribes were separate nations and could remain so began to give way to the idea that the Indians were "wards" of the government, and the government was their "guardian." Simultaneously, the idea that no further treaties should be signed with Indian tribes grew in popularity.

The End of Treaty Making

Whether new treaties should be signed with the Indians was decided, oddly enough, in the Appropriations Act of 1871. A rider to this act stated that Indian tribes would no longer be recognized as powers "with whom the United States may contract by treaty" (Hertzberg 1971:3-4). All treaties previously established would continue in force, but all new arrangements between the federal government and the tribes would be decided by Congress through legislation rather than by negotiation.

This sweeping change in the legal status of the Indian tribes greatly strengthened the hand of those who thought the government's traditional separatist policy should be discontinued. If Indian tribes were not sovereign nations and could not negotiate treaties, then why should they continue to live on reservations apart from other people? Land speculators and potential settlers wondered why the Indians should continue to occupy more land than they were "using"; political conservatives, forgetting the agreements to pay the Indians for their earlier land cessions, wondered why the government should continue to pay out "doles" to support the Indians; and reformers wondered if the "civilizing" process would not be hastened if the reservations were divided up so each family would have its own specific plot of land. Thus, both greed and humanitarian concern combined in support of legislation to break up the reservations, end the established policy of separatism, and institute a policy of Anglo conformity.

The legislative battle over this issue was heated and prolonged. Critics of the plan to divide the reservations into individual allotments of land argued that it would "despoil the Indians of their lands and . . . make them vagabonds" (McNickle 1973:81). Advocates of the plan, in contrast, argued that the allotment of reservation lands to individuals would help instill in the Indians a pride of ownership, encouraging them to give up their tribal past and adopt the American way of life.

The Dawes Act

The break with the past came in February 1887 with the passage of the General Allotment (Dawes) Act. The law provided for surveying the reservations and dividing the land into tracts, which then were to be allotted to the members of the tribes in parcels of various sizes. Any land left over after each tribal member had received his or her allotment would be declared "surplus" and could be sold to the United States. The money a tribe might receive for the sale of surplus land would be held in trust by the United States Treasury. The interest from the funds could be used to support activities that would hasten the movement of the tribes toward Anglo conformity. If, after a 25-year trial period, an individual allottee had proven to be capable of managing his or her own affairs, that person could receive a "certificate of competency," a title to his or her land, and citizenship. At this point, presumably, the Indian would have become a well-motivated, self-reliant farmer and, therefore, would be no longer a ward of the federal government (McNickle 1973:82-83). If the plan worked, the tribal life of the Indians would be disrupted, and the individual members of the tribes would be transformed into American citizens.²⁰

Did the Indians who received individual parcels of land adopt the White model and become self-sufficient farmers? Generally, they did not. The main effect of the Dawes Act was to transfer most of the plots of land held by individual Indians into the hands of White people. As the opponents of the act had feared, the desire of the Whites for land and the Indians' ignorance of American law led to widespread deceit and fraud in real estate transactions. During the period 1887-1934, the Indians lost over 87 million acres of land—approximately two-thirds of their collective holdings before the passage of the Dawes Act (Jackson and Galli 1977:95). Most of the land that remained to the Indians was arid and barren. It was predominantly land that White people did not want.

Another important effect of the Dawes Act was to increase the power of the BIA and its control over the Indian people. To carry out the provisions of the act, the BIA had to hire more people and have them intrude in unprecedented detail into the lives of the Indians. For instance, the BIA was charged with developing membership rolls for the recognized tribes to determine who was and was not eligible for government services (Snipp 1989:33). For the allottees to farm their lands, for example, irrigation systems sometimes were needed; so the BIA entered into the contracting business. Some allottees were physically unable to farm their lands; so the BIA arranged for the lease of the lands and for the investment of the collected funds. In doing these and many other things, the agents of the BIA exercised decision-making powers that traditionally had been the prerogatives of the chiefs and the tribal councils. Even the rations to which the Indians were entitled could be withheld if BIA agents felt the Indians were not moving satisfactorily toward Anglo conformity.

The Dawes Act was the centerpiece of the general effort to bring the Indians into the mainstream of American society. Recall that this was the early period of the second immigrant stream, with its heightened nativism and renewed emphasis on the importance of the Anglo conformity assimilation of foreign elements within the American population. The Dawes Act strengthened various policies that were designed to force on the Indians the culture of the dominant group and, at the same time, to destroy their cultures.

Indian Education

The forces that helped move the U.S. government to adopt an Indian policy favoring Anglo conformity were also at work in the field of education. The attempt to "civilize" the Indians had always included educational programs. Schools for this purpose had already been established in colonial times. But as the nineteenth century advanced and the Indians increasingly were confined to reservations, building and operating Indian schools became an important function of the BIA. At first, the BIA established two kinds of reservation schools—day schools and boarding schools. Students who did well in the day schools, which were located near the students' homes, became candidates for "advancement" out of their homes and into the boarding schools. The boarding schools removed Indian children from their families and increased their exposure to the English language and Anglo American ways of thinking and acting. Yet, in time, the conviction grew that something further was needed "to equip the Indians with necessary competencies and to update them to their changed situation in the world" (Jackson and Galli 1977:75). The Indian child, it was argued, needed to be removed not only from the family but from the reservation as well. To accomplish this, the off-reservation boarding school came into existence.

The BIA authorized Richard H. Pratt, an army officer, to convert an abandoned army barracks at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, into a boarding school for Indians. The Carlisle School, thus founded in 1879, definitely was based on the Anglo conformity ideology. Pratt believed the Indians' heritage should be replaced with the skills and attitudes of the larger society; and the best way to do this, he thought, was permanently

to remove Indian children from their tribal surroundings (Hertzberg 1971:16-17; Hoxie 1984:54-60). Pratt also developed the "outing system." Under this system, students from Carlisle attended the public schools while living in the homes of selected American families. In this way, each Indian child might be separated not only from his or her family and tribe, but from all other Indians as well.

In the decades following the passage of the Dawes Act, the BIA expanded the off-reservation boarding school system. The curriculum at the off-reservation schools was mainly a mixture of the "three Rs" and a number of vocational arts and crafts. These schools represented an intensive effort to transform Indian children into assimilated citizens of the United States.

The Ghost Dance and Wounded Knee

The attempt to "civilize" the Indians through education was intimately bound up with various programs to Christianize them. Beginning with the early contacts among the English and the Indians, missionary schools were established and supported by various Christian groups. By 1819, the missionary effort was so well established that when Congress appropriated the "civilization fund" the president approved grants of money to some missionary societies to assist in their educational work (Jackson and Galli 1977:69). The primary effort of the missionary schools was not simply to teach the Indians but to convert them; and to be satisfactorily converted, the Indians were expected to give up all vestiges of their native religious beliefs and practices. This goal of the missionary schools also was adopted by the government-supported schools as a part of their general Anglo conformity policy. Any sign that reservation Indians were not accepting Christianity or, worse yet, were retreating from Christianity, was viewed with suspicion.

The Whites' fear of a resurgence of Indian religious beliefs and practices was revealed by a tragic and infamous episode in the winter of 1890. During the latter part of the 1880s, a spiritual revival called the Ghost Dance religion swept over the Plains. This religion, like several others of the time, promised the Indians that by practicing certain rituals, dances, and songs, they could harness the supernatural power of their ancestors and thereby cause the White people to vanish from the earth. The dead people of all Indian tribes would be resurrected, the buffalo would return to the Plains, and the land would resume its original splendor.

The Messiah of the Ghost Dance religion, Wovoka, was a member of the Paiute tribe of Nevada. He urged Indians of all tribes to participate in the Ghost Dance, to lead good lives, and to await peacefully the promised day of the resurrection of the ancestors. The rituals and ideas of the Ghost Dance combined Christian and indigenous elements. For example, the Messiah taught that "you must not fight. Do right always" (Brown 1972:409). At the same time, the Indians wore special Ghost Shirts that many believed to be bulletproof.

The Ghost Dance reached the Sioux in the fall of 1890 and quickly spread on the reservations. Ghost dancing rapidly became so common that "almost all other activities came to a halt" (Brown 1972:409). The strange behavior of the Indians frightened the Whites. Calls went out for military protection and the arrest of the Ghost Dance leaders. One of the leaders to be arrested was Sitting Bull, the famous medicine chief of the

Hunkpapa Sioux. Sitting Bull had returned to the United States from Canada almost 10 years earlier, had become a celebrity while touring with "Buffalo Bill" Cody's Wild West Show, and was now living with his people at the Standing Rock Reservation. Shortly after the order went out, Sitting Bull was arrested and, in a tragic sequence of events, was killed by two of the Indian officers who took him into custody.

Another leader to be arrested was a Miniconjou named Big Foot. When the news of Sitting Bull's death reached Big Foot, he and about 350 others, most of whom were women and children, fled toward Red Cloud's Pine Ridge Reservation. On the way, he was apprehended by units of the Seventh Cavalry (Custer's former regiment) and was ordered to go to an army tent camp at Wounded Knee Creek, South Dakota. The Indians camped that night at Wounded Knee. The soldiers were deployed all around the Indian camp, with their big guns placed on high ground overlooking the entire area. The next morning the army commanders ordered the warriors, most of whom wore Ghost Shirts, to turn in their guns and other arms. According to some reports, one young warrior raised his rifle over his head and fired. The reaction of the soldiers was immediate. A withering blast of rifle fire, soon followed by the shells of the big guns, cut through the surrounded and practically defenseless Indians (Brown 1972:413-418). At the end of the "battle," at least 40 percent of the Indians were dead (Spicer 1980a:93).

The death of Sitting Bull and the U.S. army's actions at Wounded Knee snuffed out the Ghost Dance religion and, with it, the hope of the rebirth of tribal independence. It became clear to the Indians that the Ghost Shirts could not stop bullets. The carnage at Wounded Knee, which occurred in the year that the frontier officially was declared closed, has served ever since as a symbol of the appalling quality of European-Indian relations in the period from 1607 to 1890. For almost three centuries, the White people had encroached upon the Indians' lands and had insisted either that the Indians be driven away or be made over in the image of White people. The Indians' resistance to either of these demands frequently had led to attempts to annihilate them.

Cycling between Anglo Conformity and Cultural Pluralism

As the twentieth century approached, the policy of Anglo conformity was in full sway. The Indian population had declined to less than 240,000, their lands were being allotted and sold, and many thought the end of the "Indian problem" was in sight; however, one conspicuous legal barrier still prevented the Indians from participating fully in the mainstream. Since few Indians were citizens, they were in legal limbo; they "were prisoners of war when no state of war existed" (McNickle 1973:91). As a show of gratitude to the thousands of Indians who had volunteered to fight in the American armed forces in World War I, Congress passed the Indian Citizenship Act in 1924. Many Indians feared, however, that this was yet another of the Whites' tricks to escape their treaty obligations and detribalize the Indians.

Some Indian voters, nevertheless, soon became involved in political matters. Their activities helped to initiate a thorough analysis of the effects of the federal government's

trusteeship of the Indian people. The results of this analysis, known as the Meriam Report, were published in 1928.²¹ The report showed in detail that the land allotment policy had failed in its basic purpose. Individual allotments had not aided the Indians to overcome the problems of ignorance, poverty, and disease and to move into the American mainstream. On the contrary, by the time the Meriam Report was undertaken, most of the Indian allottees had lost control of their lands and, in the process, their best chance to become self-sufficient. In the meantime, the tribes that had continued to live on unallotted reservations actually had been fairly successful in giving individuals the responsibility of using specified plots of land for their own support. Paradoxically, the "magic" of individual ownership appeared to be working best among the Indians who owned their lands communally. This difference may have arisen because, unlike the allottees, the individual proprietors of tribal lands could not sell them (Jackson and Galli 1977:99).

The Indian Reorganization Act

The Meriam Report came at a time when many people were calling for a radical change in the government's approach to Indian affairs. This call was answered by the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA), or Wheeler-Howard Act, of 1934. By this act, the federal government abandoned the effort to require the Indians to adopt the dominant group's lifestyle and embraced instead a pluralist policy. Generally speaking, the new policy sought to assist (not force) the Indians to "lead self-respecting, organized lives in harmony with their own aims and ideals, as an integral part of American life" (McNickle 1973:93). More specifically, the IRA restored the right of the Indian tribes to govern themselves *provided* they were willing to adopt the American model of representative democracy. The IRA also permitted the Indian tribes to organize themselves as corporate business enterprises.²²

In addition to stimulating democratic self-government and an active participation in the American business economy, the IRA also aimed to encourage Indians to maintain and develop their identities as Indians. Under the policies of the Dawes Act, all things Indian had been denigrated or suppressed. Indian children in the government schools had not been permitted to wear long hair, to dress in their tribal costumes, to engage in tribal rituals, or to speak their native languages. There was a constant fear that the newly civilized youngsters would "go back to the blanket" (Hertzberg 1971:18). The new policy no longer viewed Indian tribal life as something totally incompatible with contemporary American life. Instead, the Indians were encouraged to develop their languages, renew their skills in arts and crafts, revive and have the opportunity to transmit their ancient rituals and ceremonies, and participate in community life on an equal footing with other Americans.

The reorganization of most of the Indian tribes under the provisions of the IRA did not launch a dramatic increase in their educational level and standard of living; however, the management of Indian affairs definitely took a new direction. Programs were initiated to enable the Indians to recover some of their lost lands. Loan funds were estab-

lished to help finance a college education for qualified Indian students and to help new Indian corporations to develop and market new products or exploit the reservations' natural resources. More than in any previous period of their lives on the reservations, Indians began to participate in the planning and execution of the various programs that were intended to assist them.

Throughout this period of reform, however, the BIA was still very much in control of reservation life. The Bureau still received the annual appropriations from Congress, of course; and its scope now was expanded to include certain new duties such as assisting the tribes to organize representative governments, some of which appeared to represent the interests of the BIA more than those of their respective tribes. The BIA also continued to play a strong role in the determination of tribal memberships and the administration of justice; consequently, many Indians disliked the IRA and did not approve of the way it was administered. Despite the efforts of many people, a large discrepancy was maintained between the ideals of the IRA and the realities of Indian life.

The "Termination" Policy

The champions of the Anglo conformity policy regained the upper hand during the two administrations of President Eisenhower. In 1953, Congress adopted a resolution, House Concurrent Resolution 108, declaring that the Indians "should be freed from Federal supervision and control" (Bahr, Chadwick, and Day 1972:485). To set the Indians "free," HCR 108 suggested that all laws and treaties then binding the United States to the Indians should be nullified. This new policy, which became known as "termination," seemed to be a direct assault on the idea that the Indians were entitled to payments and services for the land they had ceded to the government through treaties.²³ The Indians viewed this change as another shocking example of a unilateral action by the government to avoid completing its part of the treaty bargains (Svensson 1973:32).²⁴

Congress hoped the termination policy would get the government "out of the Indian business" (Spicer 1980b:119). The termination of the services to a tribe could occur only if the tribe were sufficiently assimilated, willing to sever its ties with the federal government, and able to survive economically with local and state help. Few tribes were found to meet these standards.

The termination experience of the Klamath tribe of Oregon illustrates why the policy was so unpopular among Native Americans. The Klamaths, with a tribal membership of around 2000 people, owned nearly 1 million acres of land containing forests valued at approximately \$50,000 per person (McNickle 1973:106). The government's plan gave the tribal members, many of whom did not understand the alternatives, no more than 3 years to decide what to do with their collective wealth. They could either form a corporation to manage their property or they could sell the land and timber and divide the money among the members of the tribe. Either way, the government's trusteeship would be terminated.

The issue was settled by a tribal vote in favor of selling and dividing the money. It was understood by the Klamaths that the federal government would buy their land,

establish a national forest, and pay each member of the tribe \$43,500. As matters developed, the government disbanded the Klamath Tribal Council and ended the trust relationship but certified only a fraction of the tribe's members as "competent." Ten years later over one-half of the members had not received their payments and continued to be wards of the government. The main result of termination for them was the destruction of tribal government and the disorganization of tribal life (Spicer 1980a:106). This policy, according to a U.S. Senate report, created a high level of personal disorganization among the Klamaths (McNickle 1973:107). It also increased poverty and deepened further the Indians' distrust of the federal government in general and the BIA in particular. The experience of many other tribes that were terminated paralleled that of the Klamaths (Peroff 1981).²⁵

By the end of the second Eisenhower administration, it was apparent that the termination policy, as had been true of the earlier allotment policy, would not liberate the Indians to participate fully in the mainstream of American life. Both of these policies sought to end abruptly the special relationship of the Indians to the U.S. government; they served, in fact, only to take away from the Indians the resources they needed to create the very independence the policies tried to enforce.

It is vital to note here that the resistance of the American Indians to the termination policy did not mean they wished to continue forever as dependents of the federal government. Most Indians endorsed the IRA goal of "the ultimate disappearance of any need for government aid or supervision" (McNickle 1973:93), and they surely wished to be free of the interference and regulation of the BIA. But, in addition to the understandable fear that termination would deny them their treaty entitlements, there was the even greater fear that an abrupt end to their special status would mean an end to tribal life and their existence as Indians. The policy of termination did not take into account the strong wish among American Indians to fashion a mode of participating in American society that would not sacrifice their distinctiveness as Indians.

Governmental actions to effect termination had been brought to a standstill by 1961.²⁶ As the War on Poverty came into being, the termination policy, in Deloria's (1985c:251) words, "simply evaporated." Indians began to participate in various new government programs designed to expand their role in planning and controlling their own destiny. Near the end of the decade, President Johnson affirmed the right of Indians "to remain Indians while exercising their rights as Americans" (McNickle 1973:124); and in 1968, the Indian Civil Rights Act was passed. President Nixon, in 1970, attacked the idea that the federal government had the right to terminate unilaterally its special relationship to American Indians. The goal of national policy, the president said, must be to encourage self-determination among the Indians and "to strengthen the Indian's sense of autonomy without threatening his sense of community" (Jackson and Galli 1977:134). He also called for the renunciation of HCR 108. The intent of this presidential message was enacted into law by Congress in 1975 with the passage of the Indian Self-Determination and Educational Assistance Act. This act established a new relationship between the tribes and the federal government that, Olson and Wilson (1984:204) stated, represents "the greatest victory for pan-Indian activists in American history." A Federal Acknowledgment Program, under which terminated and unrecognized tribes may apply for federal recognition, was adopted in 1978.

Pan-Indian Responses and Initiatives

Protest Organizations

After the federal government terminated its Anglo conformity policy and returned to the pluralist policy implicit in self-determination, American Indian political organization and activity reached an unprecedented level. Throughout historic times, as we have seen, the basic social unit in Indian life has been the tribe. The Indians generally were not organized at a level above the tribe, and when they were—as in the Powhatan, Wampanoag, and Iroquois Confederations—the organizations were loose. Loyalty to the tribe was still primary. The Indians, nevertheless, did realize the advantages of acting together in broader groups. The efforts of men such as Metacom, Pontiac, Tecumseh, and Sitting Bull serve to remind us that the idea of organizing to resist the common foe is not new. As noted earlier, however, intertribal enmities and factionalism within the various tribes helped to prevent any of these efforts from achieving lasting success. Gradually, the Indians were divided, defeated, and concentrated on reservations. By the time the Indians' treaty-making powers were revoked in 1871, the federal government had assumed complete control of their lives.

As the last pitiful remnants of the previously proud and self-sufficient tribes were forced onto the reservations, various "friends of the Indians," most of whom represented Christian groups, began to agitate in their behalf. The early 1880s produced a number of actions intended to ameliorate the conditions among the Indians. The Women's National Indian Association was formed to protest the forced removal of the Ponca Indians to Indian Territory. A stinging indictment of the way the United States had treated the Indians, *A Century of Dishonor*, was published by Helen Hunt Jackson. When the Indian Rights Association was formed, a series of annual conferences to coordinate various efforts to assist the Indians also was instituted at Lake Mohonk, New York (Hertzberg 1971:20). Since all of these groups were formed by White people, their ideas, of course, of what would be good for the Indians molded the various programs and projects that were undertaken by them.

Recall that the activities of such well-meaning groups and individuals were partly responsible for the passage of the Dawes Act in 1887. At a time when the question of how to dissolve foreign elements into the main body of American society was becoming ever more pressing and the Anglo conformity ideology was gaining greater strength, the idea that the Indians could best be assimilated by forcing them to abandon their ancient heritages and adopt the culture of the dominant society seemed to many of the White supporters of the Indians to be quite humane and sensible. Few Whites thought to consult the Indians to see what *they* thought or wanted. Nevertheless, the Indians did have opinions and, as mentioned earlier, the Five Civilized Tribes led a lobbying effort to prevent the passage of the Dawes Act, which managed to limit its application for a time.²⁷

The Society for American Indians. The various strategies of the Whites, whether friends or foes, to civilize the Indians gradually helped to create a comparatively large group of Indians who were highly educated in the White fashion. These Indians moved

easily between the White and Indian worlds. They also usually had friends and acquaintances in more than a single tribe. Many Indians in this bicultural position believed that their people must recognize that the White-dominated industrial American society would destroy all things Indian unless the Indians joined together, accepted the reality of the changed conditions, and attempted to fashion a new "Indian identity beyond the tribe and within the American social order" (Hertzberg 1971:300). Representatives from this Indian elite came together during the early years of the twentieth century to attempt to devise a plan through which Indians could become full participants in American society. In 1911, on Columbus Day in Columbus, Ohio, an organization was founded exclusively by and for Indians. The Society for American Indians (SAI) adopted a constitution to promote "the advancement of the Indian in enlightenment," "citizenship among Indians," and "the right to oppose any movement which may be detrimental to the race" (Hertzberg 1971:80).

Among the leaders of the new organization were several people who were well known and respected in both the Indian and White worlds. Dr. Charles Eastman (Ohiyesa), a Sioux, learned to read both English and Lakota as a child. He later graduated from Dartmouth and Boston University Medical School and was a physician at the Pine Ridge Reservation at the time of the Wounded Knee Massacre. Dr. Carlos Montezuma (Wassaja), the fiery Apache, worked his way through the University of Illinois and the Chicago Medical College. He practiced medicine at several Indian reservations, at Carlisle, and in Chicago. Dr. Arthur Parker (Gawasowannah), a Seneca, graduated from high school in White Plains, New York, and was educated as a Presbyterian minister and as an anthropologist. He became famous for his studies of the Iroquois. Although the leaders of the SAI shared the stated objectives of the organization, they differed in certain ways that later led to friction among them. Like many other Americans of the period, the SAI leaders spoke in terms of the melting-pot metaphor. Their opinions ranged, in fact, between pluralism and Anglo conformity (Hertzberg 1971:39-57, 63, 156, 195).

The active life of the SAI was approximately 13 years. The organization gradually came to represent two principal goals: the abolition of the BIA and the extension of citizenship to all Indians. The first of these seemed so nearly impossible to many of the members that it became a point of vigorous disagreement. The latter goal, as we have seen, was attained in 1924. The importance of the SAI, however, went beyond its specific accomplishments. The SAI demonstrated that some Indians were interested in organizing to pursue Indian goals within the framework of American society. The idea that Indians could adjust to the dominant society was now seen as a foundation on which to erect intertribal cooperation and to build a pan-Indian identity.

After the decline of the SAI and the passage of the IRA, the impulse to construct a pan-Indian organization at the national level was weakened. As a part of President Franklin Roosevelt's "New Deal," the IRA promised the American Indians a new set of options, including various opportunities to take command of their own tribal affairs. Further organizational efforts seemed unnecessary. The experiences of many Indians during World War II, however, and the gradual rise in congressional opposition to the pluralist philosophy underlying the IRA, led once again to the formation of a national pan-Indian organization.

The National Congress of American Indians (NCAI). The NCAI was formed in 1944 by a group of World War II veterans. Like the Mexican American and Black veterans of the war, these men were exposed to many different influences as they traveled around the country and abroad. They came to believe that, as citizens of the United States who had risked their lives defending the country, they were entitled to equal treatment and a "fair shake" in economic matters. They were unwilling simply to return to the reservations to live under the authority of the BIA or to be relegated quietly to the slums of the cities. The NCAI wished to promote the interests of all Indians but, simultaneously, to permit each tribe to pursue its own particular objectives within the framework of its agreements with the United States. When the termination policy was initiated, the NCAI was in the forefront of the opposition. They certainly did not like the BIA's interference in their lives, yet they feared that any marked change was likely to make matters worse. The fight against termination, therefore, became a focal point of NCAI activities during the 1950s.²⁸

This was a time of intellectual and spiritual ferment among American Indians. Many war veterans and their children were completing high school and entering college in unprecedented numbers (Steiner 1968:31). As had been true a half-century earlier for the men who founded the SAI, these new young intellectuals were uncertain of their place in American society. Were they leaving their tribal lives irrevocably behind to enter the American mainstream? Were they to return to the reservations when their formal education had ended? Or were they to shuttle back-and-forth in a kind of no-man's land?

The New Tribalism

A young Navajo, Herbert Blatchford, and some of his friends at the University of New Mexico invited their parents to visit with them in 1954 to consider their questions. The elders told the students that they should complete their education in White ways and then bring their knowledge back to the reservations (Steiner 1968:33). From this beginning, a small group of American Indian university students commenced to organize and struggle to formulate a new policy in Indian affairs. The new policy they created—variously called the new **tribalism**, tribal nationalism, or Red Power—was given its first full expression in 1961 following a very influential gathering, the American Indian Chicago Conference. As a part of the new policy, the underlying issue of Indian sovereignty has been debated in many court cases relating to tribal land claims, water rights, fishing and hunting rights, religious and burial rights, and contract disputes (*NARF Legal Review* 1991, 1992). In some cases the Indians have won; in other cases they have lost; and many cases are still in the courts.

The Chicago Conference. The American Indian Chicago Conference, attended by representatives from more than 60 tribes, started as a convention of the "Indian establishment" comprised of influential tribal leaders and noted students of Indian life (Olson and Wilson 1984:158–159). Several uninvited young intellectuals also were there. In addition to Herbert Blatchford, Mel Thom (Paiute), and Clyde Warrior (Ponca), nine others were present. These young people grew increasingly impatient with what they saw

as the excessive caution of their elders. They formed a Youth Caucus, began to participate actively in various committee meetings, and finally played a major role in drafting the Declaration of Indian Purpose issued by the conference. Shortly after the conference, the Youth Caucus met again—this time in New Mexico—and established a new pan-Indian organization, the National Indian Youth Council (NIYC). The NIYC, made up mostly of young, urban Indians, became the first of the Indian activist organizations formed during the civil rights era. The group's slogan "For a Greater Indian America" reflected its intertribal and Indian nationalist stance (Nagel 1996:129).

The Declaration of Indian Purpose stressed the Indians' "right of sovereignty," their agreement with Chief Justice Marshall's view that treaties with Indian tribes are binding, their determination to maintain their identity, and their need for technical assistance to regain "the adjustment they enjoyed as the original possessors of their native land" (Bahr, Chadwick, and Day 1972:485–486). These points represented a broad base of agreement between the members of the older NCAI and the newer NIYC. The two organizations diverged, however, on the matter of tactics. The NIYC wished to become more active in pressing Indians' claims; but the older leaders opposed any direct confrontation, such as a sit-in, because such behavior was "un-Indian." They did not consider American Indians to be just another minority group demanding to be treated like all other Americans. The younger leaders, however, considered their fight to be in some ways a part of the larger fight between the dominant society and all other oppressed groups; and they argued that, along with the other non-White groups, "Indians must exercise their rights" (Steiner 1968:304).

Fish-ins. In 1964, the young militants got their first chance to apply their ideas. The Supreme Court of the State of Washington nullified 11 federal treaties that had guaranteed the fishing rights of the Indians in that state. The Makah tribe, which included Bruce Wilkie, a founder of the NIYC, called on the NIYC to organize a protest concerning the loss of these fishing rights. The NIYC's president, Mel Thom, agreed to lead a nonviolent protest action.

At first the conservative leaders of the 26 tribes in Washington did not favor a protest. They feared that by violating the court's order they might go to jail, which is "undignified" and not "the Indian way." Nevertheless, in March 1964, several hundred Indians representing different tribes gathered for a fish-in on the Quillayute River. The fish-in idea spread rapidly. American Indians from all over the United States rushed to the Northwest to support the Washington State tribes. The idea also was elaborated. There were "Treaty Treks," "Canoe Treks," and war dances to protest restrictions on Indian fishing rights. The fish-ins were the precursors of the national Red Power movement, and the legal issues protested in fish-ins continued into the 1990s in court battles. In addition to forcing an eventual legal victory for Native American fishing rights, the fish-in movement provided a training ground for Red Power activists in other parts of the United States. The movement also taught the Indian activists that an alliance of tribal and pan-Indian organizations and collective action could be quite powerful in redressing grievances (Nagel 1996:162).

The next several years were marked by a sharp increase in organized Indian actions to protest various conditions or violations of civil rights. Most of these actions were con-

ventional, nondisruptive efforts to improve the lives of American Indians; however, the number of actions involving direct nonviolent confrontations increased dramatically. For example, in 1969, a group of 89 young Indians, identifying themselves as "Indians of all Tribes,"²⁹ seized Alcatraz Island in an effort to "hold on to the old ways" (*Indians of All Tribes* 1971:200; James 1986:230). They took this action on the basis of a federal law that gave the Indians the right to reclaim lands that were no longer being used. The number of protesters on the island ranged from 1,000 to the 15 that federal marshals removed in June 1971. Although the demonstration did not achieve the avowed purposes of establishing title and a pan-Indian cultural center, the occupation of Alcatraz did succeed "in dramatizing the Native American demand for self-determination, tribal lands, and tribal identities" (Olson and Wilson 1984:170). Many Indians saw the occupation of Alcatraz and the steps that followed as a major turning point in awakening Indian ethnic pride and restoring dignity to a people who had been depicted as powerless and subjugated victims of history (Nagel 1996:133).

The American Indian Movement. Propelled by the events at Alcatraz, the American Indian Movement (AIM) was established in Minneapolis, Minnesota, in 1970. This militant new body quickly grew into a national organization that argued for Indian sovereignty, insisted on the protection of the Indians' treaty rights, and challenged the validity of the tribal governments formed under the IRA (Bonney 1977:215). AIM's first major action, organized in 1972 in cooperation with some other Indian groups, was a protest march in Washington, D.C., called "The Trail of Broken Treaties." This protest climaxed with a 6-day seizure and occupation of the BIA's offices (Olson and Wilson 1984:171). Then, in 1973, to protest violations of the Sioux Treaty of 1868, AIM members led by Russell Means and Dennis Banks seized Wounded Knee village on the Pine Ridge Reservation. The occupation of Wounded Knee, which lasted for 70 days, led to an armed face-off that attracted widespread media attention. The occupation ended when federal officials agreed to send a team of investigators to discuss the problem of broken treaties (Kifner 1979; Olson and Wilson 1984:172-174).³⁰ In the next few years there were several long- and short-term occupations. Many of these occurred on reservations and involved tribal factions associated with AIM or urban tribal members (Bonney 1977:215-217). Throughout the 1980s and into the 1990s, AIM remained a force in American Indian activism, organizing and participating in protests over land and grazing rights, the rights of tribes to sell cigarettes without state or federal taxes, and over athletic team Indian mascots, gestures, logos, and slogans. Although the tradition of active protest fostered by AIM has remained a salient force in the struggle for Indian civil rights, many of the AIM leaders either have been repressed by local and federal law enforcement agencies or their proposals have been incorporated into official policies. The result has been less direct-action protest and more attention to legal action.

Games of Chance. An illustration of the jurisdictional conflicts between particular Indian tribes and outside legal entities concerns the operation of games of chance. During the past two decades, Indians increasingly turned to gaming as a source of income (*Americans Before Columbus* 1992:3); and as matters developed, by 1994 there were more than 160 tribes throughout the country with gambling businesses that were generating

an estimated 6 billion dollars per year (Bordewich 1996:108). The gaming industry thus has become a very important source of money and jobs on many Indian reservations and has been referred to as "the new buffalo economy."

A conflict developed when federal legislation, the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act, stated that certain types of gambling could be offered on the Indian reservations only if they were legal in the state outside of the reservation; details were to be worked out with the state government. One of the difficulties the Indians faced was that in many instances the state officials were unwilling to grant the permission that was needed to operate specific games; and matters grew worse after new federal rules went into effect in 1992. For example, the new rules placed electronic gambling machines in the category that required the Indians to gain the approval of state officials. Officials in the state of Arizona refused to permit the Yavapai-Apache Indians to continue offering some popular games that had been producing an estimated 1.4 million dollars per year in revenue for the tribe. The Indians refused to discontinue the games on the ground that the state had refused to negotiate in good faith (*Americans Before Columbus* 1992). The day after the new rules took effect, agents of the FBI raided several reservations across Arizona to seize game machines; but at one of the sites, they were blockaded by a group of Indians, and a 5-hour standoff ensued. The governor of Arizona negotiated an agreement with the tribal chairman, and declared a 10-day "cooling-off" period (*New York Times* May 13, 1992). The FBI raids triggered angry reactions throughout the Indian nations. Mr. Tim Giago, the editor of *The Lakota Times*, was quoted as saying, "The Indian nations are sick and tired of being treated like children. . . . Why in hell should these lands need the state's permission[?]" (Johnson 1992).

A similar dispute occurred in New Mexico when 11 tribes continued to operate casinos despite the fact that the State Supreme Court and three federal appeals judges had ruled that the gambling pacts the tribes signed with a former governor were illegal. Two Indian pueblos threatened to block federal and state highways through their land if they were forced to close the casinos. The Indian leaders argued that as sovereign nations³¹ the tribes should deal directly with the U.S. government; they insisted that the gaming act gave too much power to the states. Nine of the tribes signed an agreement with U.S. Attorney John J. Kelly, in which the tribes agreed not to block federal projects and the government agreed the casinos could remain open. A female Hispanic judge of the Federal District Court, Martha A. Vazquez, ruled in 1996 that the agreement was invalid but that gambling could continue while the case was appealed (Johnson 1996:A12). These jurisdictional conflicts, and other similar events, illustrate the efforts of the tribes to define and enlarge the area within which they may determine the direction of their own lives.

Sovereignty for Alaskan Tribes. For three decades, the Alaskan Indians, with the legal assistance of the Native American Rights Fund, tried to convince the federal government that Alaskan Indians should have tribal status, as do many other U.S. Indians. The state of Alaska and various oil companies opposed this designation claiming that Indian Country was terminated by the passage of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act in 1971. The Alaskan Indians sought tribal status because it would allow them to tax non-members and corporations on tribal land and give the tribes the authority to exercise the

governing powers needed to provide social services and keep the peace. It also would entitle them to a government-to-government relationship with the United States and eligibility for various federal services. The Alaskan Indians had little doubt that the 226 tribes in Alaska could provide proof that they are "modern-day successors to historically sovereign bands of Native Americans," which is required for tribal status. To do so individually, however, would have meant hiring lawyers, historians, and anthropologists on a tribe-by-tribe basis, which would have been prohibitively expensive. Since the U.S. Supreme Court has ruled repeatedly that when either the executive branch or Congress has recognized a tribe, the courts must defer to their judgment, an official of the executive branch decided to act. All that was required was for an authorized person to publish a list that recognized that Alaskan tribes had the same status as Indian tribes in the other 48 states. The Assistant Secretary of the Interior for Indian Affairs, Ada Deer, a Menominee Indian woman, did precisely that. In October 1993, Deer published a list of federally recognized tribes in Alaska, which was a critical step toward eliminating discrimination against Alaskan Indians and in promoting tribal sovereignty in Alaska (*NARF Legal Review* 1994).

Issues and incidents such as these have served to heighten the American Indians' awareness of their shared characteristics and, thus, to promote the emergence of a new concept of "Indianness." An important, but in some ways fragile, framework of agreement has developed from these beginnings. On the one hand, this framework sometimes appears to be "only a thin veneer over reservation communities deeply divided by competing groups who often work at cross purposes" (Buffalohead 1986:270);³² but, on the other hand, it has enabled the Indians to act in concert to protect their treaty rights and enlarge the powers of their tribal governments. Many of the reservations hold some of the richest resources in the United States, including coal, oil, gas, forests for logging, and water rights. In the past, the tribes have gotten only minimal profits from leases or contracts negotiated on behalf of the Indians by the BIA for rights to these resources. Many tribes have banded together to hire their own lawyers, to negotiate more profitable contracts, or to form companies of their own to extract the resources on their reservations themselves. In 1976, 22 tribes formed the Council of Energy Resource Tribes (CERT), which has grown in membership to 43 tribes. CERT advised the Laguna Pueblo to decline \$191,000 for a pipeline right of way and then helped the tribe negotiate a \$1.5 million dollar contract (Snipp 1986:469).

Immigrant or Colonized Minority?

As noted in Chapters 7 and 8, the Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans originally entered the United States as a conquered group in their own homeland. In Chapters 9 and 10 we saw that although Black Americans did not remain in their homeland, they nonetheless may be described as a conquered group. American Indians clearly entered American society as members of conquered groups; and like the Mexican Americans, their homelands were invaded and occupied by outsiders. The colonization of their lands was followed by political and economic domination and by numerous efforts to exploit their labor (Jacobson 1984).

In our consideration of the contemporary Mexican Americans, we argued that the large migration of Mexicans to the United States since 1900 affords a basis for applying the immigrant model to that group. Similarly, our consideration of Black Americans focused on their large twentieth-century migration since 1915 from the rural South to the urban-industrial North. In both cases—while acknowledging the earlier condition of these groups as conquered peoples—one may make the case that applying the immigrant model to them advances our understanding of contemporary events. Given the special relationship of the American Indians to the federal government and the continuation of reservation and tribal life, however, is there any basis whatsoever for considering American Indians to be similar to the immigrant minorities?

An attempt to apply the immigrant model to Indians may be farfetched. The possibility of such an application rests on the consequences of rural-to-urban migrations. In 1887, when the Dawes Act was passed, nearly all Indians lived on the reservations or in rural communities. By 1980, more than half of the Native Americans had left the reservations and were living in cities and towns. By 1990, however, all of the 15 largest reservations, with the exception of Pine Ridge (which is one of the poorest places in the nation), had experienced increases in population growth that exceeded what is possible from natural increases. Some of the largest reservations experienced substantial growth—with the Navajo reservation up almost 37 percent, Fort Apache up 43 percent, the Osage and Blackfeet reservations up 38 percent each, and Fort Peck up 35 percent (Snipp 1992:19). These population increases suggest in-migration to the reservations. The net result is that there are still proportionally fewer Americans in Indian Country—reservations, trust lands, Alaska Native villages and lands near reservations—than there are in cities and urban areas; but the patterns suggest that an increasing number of Indians are returning to their cultural heritage.

As we saw, many “friends of the Indians” argued that the passage of the Dawes Act would help the Indians to become independent farmers; but we saw also that the law actually caused many Indians to lose their land, frequently leaving them with no alternative but to move to nearby towns or more distant cities. In the process, their ties with those who remained on the reservations were weakened, they were forced to take urban jobs, usually as unskilled workers, and they were required to take into account in their daily lives the language, ideas, manners, and ways of acting that predominated in the urban centers. Under such circumstances, some Indians, especially those who attended the boarding schools, moved rapidly in the direction of cultural and secondary assimilation. Many others clustered together in small enclaves where they clung uncertainly to the bottom rung of the economic ladder. In both cases, however, the urban Indians were subjected to the same broad forces of modernization as their contemporaries who were reaching the cities from Europe, Asia, Mexico, and the rural South.

Until the onset of World War II, the proportion of the Indians who lived mainly or permanently in urban centers was comparatively small; however, during the war, the number of Indians moving to towns and cities increased sharply. Approximately 40,000 Indians were attracted to the cities, primarily on the West Coast, by the new employment opportunities created by the war. The migration was stimulated, too, because many of the approximately 25,000 Indians who were drafted into the armed forces were stationed

in or near cities (Stewart 1977b:524).³³ At the end of the war, approximately 80,000 Indians lived in urban places (Spicer 1980b:110).

The primary surge in the urban Indian population, however, came after that time. Despite the hopes aroused by the IRA, at the war's end most reservation Indians were still living under conditions of grinding poverty. Their populations were increasing more rapidly than their economies could support, while unemployment on the reservations was extremely high. These were among the circumstances that helped to move the federal government toward the policy of termination, with its underlying ideology of Anglo conformity. Rather than attempting more vigorously to develop the reservations and strengthen tribal life, the BIA launched a new program to help Indians "relocate" in cities. This kind of assistance to Indians was by no means new, but the effort became much more important after 1950 when Dillon S. Meyer, the man who directed the program to relocate the Japanese and Japanese Americans during World War II, became the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (Officer 1986:122). In 1952, the relocation idea became the foundation for a greatly expanded nationwide effort called the Voluntary Relocation Program.

The relocation program included various types of job training, counseling, and job creation. Indians who were selected for the program were provided transportation to a designated Employment Assistance Center in cities such as Chicago, Los Angeles, and Denver; and since the program's directors wished to make it difficult for the Indians to return home, they usually were sent to cities fairly far from their reservations. The idea of solving the "Indian Problem" by forcing the Indians into the mainstream again became dominant; so the relocation program and the termination program reflected, to some extent, the same general ideological climate. The message communicated to the Indians was "either conform to the Anglo way and move several hundred miles away from the reservation or stay . . . and live at substandard levels" (Bahr 1972:408). Between 1953 and 1972, more than 100,000 American Indians were settled in American cities under the relocation program. In addition, during the same period of time, more than 200,000 other Indian people moved away from their reservations without help from the program.

The tremendous growth of the urban American Indian population within the last five decades affords a basis for arguing that, like Mexican Americans and Black Americans, Indians too are now on the road to higher levels of assimilation. Implied also is the belief that as Indians become more urbanized they will move more fully into the mainstream. Price (1972:438) stated the case in this way: "Conditions in the city lead the Indian away from tribal patterns. The reservation offers a very narrow range of occupational, religious, political, and recreational alternatives. The range of possible choices is vastly increased in the city."

The urban areas offer many more opportunities for Indians to assimilate than do the rural reservations; however, one additional point concerning the urban experience of Indian Americans should be mentioned. Many Indians who *reside* in cities do not, in a certain social sense, *live* there. Some Indians, as Bahr (1972:408) expressed it, are only temporary migrants who "raid" the city, "take" city resources, and then return to the reservation or small off-reservation community to "live." This practice resembles that of the "birds of passage" and "sojourners" we noted among various American immigrant groups, but the nearness of the reservations and the strength of the tribal ties may mean that the intention to return home is more easily put into practice by Indians than by the

members of most other groups. This particularly may be the case of the urban Indians who plan to return to the reservations when they retire from their city jobs. Even Indians who are not temporary migrants or do not plan to return to the reservation permanently may still maintain a strong sense of Indian identity and may do everything in their power to relate themselves to urban life as Indians.

Although research has shown shifts to English language usage, growing urbanization, and rising levels of education and income—all classic indicators of assimilation—researchers have reported evidence of ethnic resurgence. There has been an increase in the extent to which people select an Indian ethnic identification in U.S. Bureau of the Census counts; Indian ethnic organizations have grown in number and have been increasingly active in civil rights litigation; and there have been social and cultural revitalizations on the reservations as well as in urban Indian communities. These points and others are amplified in our consideration in Chapter 12 of the extent to which American Indians have been affected by the main subprocesses of assimilation.

Discussion Questions

What key factors account for the resilience of Native Americans as an ethnic group?

Why have U.S. government policies toward the Native Americans cycled between assimilation and separation?

Why did the General Allotment (Dawes) Act fail?

Why did Native Americans allow their children to attend boarding schools? In what ways did these schools promote assimilation?

Was the "Termination" policy positive or negative for Native American tribes?

Which form of Native American protest has been most effective? Why?

In what ways will gaming change the lives of Indians? What are the arguments for and against gaming on the reservations?

Should the Native Americans who have moved to urban areas be considered an immigrant or a colonized minority?

Key Ideas

1. France, England, Spain, and Holland each attempted to gain control of portions of North America. Prior to the American Revolution, the conflict was waged mainly

between France and her Indian allies, England and her Indian allies, and the Indian tribes that at any given moment refused to form an alliance with either of these European powers. The greater numbers of the English and the timely support of the Iroquois led to the defeat of France and her allies.

2. Pontiac's uprising was an intertribal effort to stop the westward expansion of Anglo American society. It showed the power of a concerted Indian resistance and led the King of England to issue the Proclamation of 1763. This important document laid the foundation for the separatist Indian policies adopted later by the new American republic.
3. Land-hungry traders, settlers, and politicians devised numerous methods to persuade the Indians to sell or cede their lands. Although many land transactions were conducted in "the utmost good faith," many also involved deception, fraud, bribery, and threats of violence. The pressure of the Whites on the Indians led to continuous friction and the transfer of enormous tracts of land to the Whites.
4. Like Pontiac before him, Tecumseh attempted to form a pan-Indian military alliance to stop the advance of the Whites. Tecumseh's plan included many more tribes spread over a much larger area. It was the most ambitious military effort ever attempted by the Indians.
5. The Indian Removal Act led to the forced evacuation to Indian Territory of most of the Indians east of the Mississippi River.
6. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Plains Indians had developed a way of life based on the horse, the buffalo, and raiding. The removal of the eastern Indians to Indian Territory and the movement of White Americans across the Plains precipitated several decades of bitter, tragic, and widely publicized warfare between the western Indians and the Americans.
7. The U.S. government continued the system of making treaties with Indian tribes until 1871. In that year, Congress declared that the United States would honor all existing treaties but would no longer recognize the tribes as treaty-making powers. By this time, most of the tribes had been assigned to reservations and placed under the direct supervision of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.
8. Through the General Allotment (Dawes) Act of 1887, the federal government abandoned its long-standing policy of separatism and adopted a policy of Anglo conformity. The Indians were to be forced to accept "civilization" and enter the mainstream of American life. The Meriam Report showed that few Indians became independent, self-sufficient farmers under the provisions of the Dawes Act. The main effects of the act were to place most of the Indians' lands in the hands of White people and to increase the levels of poverty among the Indians.
9. The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, which replaced the Dawes Act, was based on the ideology of cultural pluralism. The Indians were encouraged to remain Indians and to participate as fully as they wished in the life of the broader society. The "termination" policy of the 1950s represented a brief return to the Anglo

conformity policy. The Indian Self-Determination Act of 1975 marked the resumption of a policy of cultural pluralism.

10. A number of national pan-Indian organizations have been formed to promote the interests and welfare of American Indians. These organizations have been based on varying ideologies of adjustment, and some have taken on active protests; but in general they have expressed the wish that the American Indians be permitted to retain their cultural heritages.
11. Many groups of Native Americans have actively worked to renew their status as recognized tribes and have taken legal steps to affirm their tribal sovereignty. The sovereign status of the Alaskan tribes has been recognized. The emphasis on sovereignty and self-determination has resulted in conflicts between tribal and state governments over the power to control fishing rights, taxes, gaming, and liquor trafficking.
12. Since the middle of the twentieth century, American Indians have migrated in large numbers to urban areas, and they are now predominantly an urban people. The urban Indians appear to be moving more rapidly toward cultural assimilation than are those on the reservations. This observation affords a basis for attempting to interpret the contemporary experience of the Indians in terms of the immigrant model; however, among both reservation and off-reservation Indians, cultural addition is more conspicuous than cultural substitution.

Key Terms

- allotment** The process of assigning parcels of Indian community land to individual land owners.
- gaming** A broad term that encompasses a number of forms of gambling including such things as Bingo, slot machines, card games, and dice games.
- relocation** A voluntary program initiated by the BIA in 1952. The aim of the program was to encourage Indians to move from the reservations to the cities and to adopt Anglo conformity.
- removal** U.S. government policies that forced Indians to move from the lands they had originally inhabited to assigned reservations in Indian Territory.
- reorganization** The Indian Reorganization Act (1934) that reaffirmed tribal autonomy and encouraged Indian tribes to form their own democratic governments, organize tribal business enterprises, and revive tribal religions, languages, and cultures.
- sovereign nations** The Indian tribes have a government-to-government relationship with the U.S. government. Possessing sovereignty gives Indian tribes special privileges, such as making tribal laws, not paying federal or state taxes, establishing their own schools, and forming their own governments. Court rulings have limited

tribal powers, and conflicts have arisen over relationships between tribal governments and state governments.

termination The process by which the U.S. government declared that Indian groups that were sufficiently assimilated would no longer be considered Indian tribes. Terminated tribes no longer qualified for payments and services for the land they had given up to the government under treaties.

tribalism Identification with an individual Indian tribe. Tribalism may also refer to efforts to gain greater tribal autonomy and stronger tribal governance and self-sufficiency.

Notes

1. The Indian population of the United States may be defined as people who identified their race as American Indian, Eskimo, or Aleut in the 1990 census (Snipp 1989:58). There were 1.96 million people in this category of whom 1.88 million were classified as "American Indian."

2. During this period, the Tuscaroras were driven out of the South and were accepted into the Iroquois League. The League then became the Six Nations of the Iroquois.

3. Of special significance in this regard was the higher quality of English rum (Nash 1974:252-255).

4. In Europe this conflict was known as the Seven Years' War.

5. In 1769, Pontiac was killed by a Peoria Indian whom he believed to be a friend (Joseph 1961:128).

6. During the entire treaty-making period, which lasted for nearly a century, the White Americans concluded 645 treaties with various Indian tribes (Jackson and Galli 1977:26).

7. Justice Marshall went on to describe the relation of the Indians to the United States as "that of a ward to his guardian" (Jackson and Galli 1977:59). The use of the term *ward*, with its implication of dependency and close supervision, later created numerous problems for the Indians.

8. A third, earlier, ruling by Marshall (*Johnson v. McIntosh*) denied that Indians had

title to the land they occupied, confusing matters still further (Chaudhuri 1985:24-25).

9. Legend insists that on hearing about the decision in *Worcester*, Jackson retorted, "John Marshall has made his decision. Now let him enforce it!"

10. The term *The Trail of Tears* originally applied specifically to the removal experience of the Cherokees. Since then it has become generalized to describe the entire removal process.

11. About a thousand Cherokees fled from Georgia to North Carolina where they established a separate tribe. The contemporary Eastern Band of the Cherokees, their descendants, still live in North Carolina.

12. Some of the sedentary farming tribes, such as the Mandans and Hidatsas, lived along Plains rivers before the rise of the horse-buffalo complex.

13. Although Custer was at this time a Lt. Colonel, he had held the rank of brevet (temporary) Major General during the Civil War. He continued thereafter to expect people to address him as "General" and, in fact, most did. The literature on Custer and his conduct of the battle of the Little Bighorn is large and controversial. See Connell (1984), Graham (1953), and Scott and Connor (1986).

14. Dr. Charles Eastman (Ohiyesa) estimated the former figure and Lieutenant (later General) Godfrey estimated the latter (see Graham 1953:97, 151).

15. Custer's command included about 650 cavalrymen, 145 infantrymen, and 40 "Ree" (Arikara) Indian Scouts (Connell 1984:383).

16. Some other chiefs present at the battle were Low Dog, Crow King, Hump, and Iron Thunder. Sitting Bull was a medicine chief rather than a war chief; so he was not on the battlefield.

17. The government showed no sign of keeping its promise to Crazy Horse, and he soon became unhappy and troublesome. General Crook attempted to have him arrested. Crazy Horse resisted and was killed on September 5, 1877 (Joseph 1961:306-309).

18. In 1860, it was estimated that there were approximately 20 million buffalo on the Plains. In 1890 there were fewer than six hundred.

19. The BIA was transferred in 1849 from the War Department to the Department of the Interior.

20. The Five Civilized Tribes organized Indian protests against the Dawes proposal. As a result, the Dawes Act was not applied to the Five Civilized Tribes, the tribes of Indian Territory, or to the New York Indians (Hoxie 1984:72). Later, in the Curtis Act, the government dissolved the governments of the tribes that had refused allotment. Thereafter, tribal chiefs were appointed by the president.

21. Meriam et al. (1928).

22. At first, about two-thirds of the tribes that held elections voted to accept the IRA (Wax 1971:57). Later, the right of self-government was extended even to the tribes that voted against the IRA.

23. The ominous word *termination* does not appear in the resolution (Officer 1986:114).

24. Public Law 280, passed during the same summer, also had an important effect on the status of American Indians. PL 280 extended to certain states jurisdiction over civil and criminal matters on federal Indian reservations, thus attacking the principle of sovereignty established in *Worcester* (Svensson 1973:33-34).

25. The Menominees were restored to their tribal status in 1974 through the passage of the Menominee Restoration Act.

26. One hundred and nine bands and tribes had been terminated by this time (O'Brien 1985:44).

27. A council of Indians representing 19 tribes in Indian Territory sent to the president of the United States a resolution attacking the Dawes Act as follows: "Like other people, the Indian needs . . . some governmental organization of his own . . . in order to make true progress in the affairs of life. This peculiarity in the Indian character is elsewhere called patriotism, and the wise and patient fashioning . . . of which alone will successfully solve the question of civilization" (Hertzberg 1971:9).

28. An important legislative victory for the NCAI was the establishment of an Indian Claims Commission in 1946 to hear cases involving damages to Indian tribes. By the time this program ended in 1978, 285 tribal claims had been settled (among 850 filed; Olson and Wilson 1984:137, 142).

29. See Nagel (1996:131-141).

30. Most discussions of this event have interpreted it as an Indian-White confrontation. Some scholars, however, view it primarily as a struggle between traditional and nontraditional Indians (Holm 1985:137-144).

31. The issue of sovereignty has raised concerns about individual rights. Bordewich (1996:314) quoted Ramon Roubideaux, a lawyer who is a member of the Rosebud Sioux Tribe, as arguing that sovereignty "is just a mask for individuals who rob people of their rights as U.S. citizens."

32. In the matter of gambling casinos, for example, there is intertribal and intratribal conflict as well as conflict between the tribes and state and federal officials (*Americans Before Columbus* 1992).

33. The most famous of the veterans were the "code talkers" (most of whom were Navajos) whose native languages were not understood by enemy interceptors (Jacobson 1984:167).