Irene Gomez-Bethke Papers.

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AMERICAN INDIAN LITERATURE

Winter, 1986

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TEXTS: The Portable North American Indian Reader, edited by Frederick W. Turner III, Viking Press - paper, 1973

Black Elk Speaks, by John G. Neihardt, paper

Way to Rainy Mountain, by N. Scott Momoday, Ballentine, 1969

Love Medicine, by Loise Erdrich, Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1984

CLASS SCHEDULE:

January 8: Introduction; discussion of oral literature, films of myths and tales and storytelling; discuss semantics
-Assignment: write no more than one page paper describing what you hope to get out of the course; read North American Indian Reader, pp. 1-234; "Cultural Tradition and Traditional Culture," by N.O. Lurie (Handout).

January 15: Quiz on reading; Storytelling; discuss myths and tales, "Cultural Tradition and Traditional Culture."
-Assignment: Read NAIR, pp. 235-258, 375-484.

January 22: Quiz; Discuss poetry, songs and oratory; discuss autobiographies and the concept of Transitional Literature.
-Assignment: Read Black Elk Speaks; NAIR pp. 567-577; research paper topic due. 1-29-86 (453-484)

January 29: Quiz; Discuss Black Elk Speaks, Luther Standing Bear
-Assignment: Read Way to Rainy Mountain, NAIR pp. 578-625, paper outline due. P. 587-625 End

February 5: Quiz; Discuss Way to Rainy Mountain, other contemporary authors
-Assignment: Love Medicine

February 12: Quiz; Discuss Love Medicine
-Assignment: prepare oral and written reports.

February 19: Oral Reports in class.

February 26: Oral Reports, research papers due. 4-8 sheets

March 5: More in-class presentations; course summary/synthesis.
-Assignment: retire for a late night feast at a local feasting establishment.

March 12: Written final examination due. (take home exam) Mail in

Will I leave only this:
Like the flowers that wither?
Will nothing last in my name -
Nothing of my fame here on earth?

At least flowers!
At least song!

Songs of Huexotzingo (Aztec)

Quiz Class 50 90 participation
Paper 25 90 Final presentation 25 oral reports 10 90
4-8 papers

PSYCHOLOGICALLY DAMAGED GRAMMAR

The Problem	Examples
DON'T BE AWKWARDLY PASSIVE (AWK PASS)	Many characters were created that were interesting. Many memorable moments were shared. To have been reading this book is a pleasure for all concerned.
LEARN PARALLELISM PARKING (PARALLELISM)	The major character, Katoah, was an expert runner, while the minor characters ran all over the place.// On the one hand, liquor is a stimulant; on the other, depression can be caused by certain ingreeients.
DON'T DANGLE (DANGLING MODIFIERS)	Running as fast as he could, the door slammed in his face.
DON'T MODIFY LAZILY (LAZ ADJ)	The disco has real beautiful girls. They made the main character feel very good.
SEMICOLON SANDWICH (PUNCT)	Horatian satire goes for the laugh, however, Juvenalian goes for the throat.
STAY TENSE CONSISTENTLY (TENSE)	A device Rooney used in "Good Times" is confabulation. He writes fantastic hyperbole. He gave the reader lots of laughs.
YOU HAVE INADEQUATE ANTECEDENTS (ANTE)	In "Chairs," he discussed their history, purpose, types, etc. // In this story, a boy is looking for companionship from an old man who can guide them through their earlier years.
FLAWED TITLE	The short story, The Metterlink Lists, in Woody Allen's "Without Feathers," is full of comic reverses.
BE SHARP (PRECISE)	The thing about McMurtry is that he is not clear about his intentions. Still, the author gave us many things to think about.
LIFE IS TOO LONG (SIMPLIFY)	Another aspect if low comedy that can be found in McManus' writing are the use of descriptive names, his old man was Rancid Crabtree, a crusty old mountain man.
LIFE TOO SHORT (NO SENT)	The author reflects a view of the world as a place full of mysteries. A world full of indiscriminate people.
IT DO AGREE (AGREE)	Another aspect of low comedy that can be found in McManus' writing are the use of discriptive names.
CREEPING SLEEPY (PRECISE)	There are many reasons for this kind of thing to occur. It is not clear which one it is.
DON'T DO IT AGAIN, SAM (REDUNDANT)	Humorous characters, such as clowns, jesters, fools and so forth, are used extensively. // After reading it, he returned the book back to me.

Notes

The aim of the annotations in this bibliography is to give a brief summary of each book, mentioning in general its good points and its drawbacks. Whenever possible, annotations tell something about the author, his knowledge of his subject, and his general background if this seems relevant. When reviews by American Indian critics or annotations from Indian-sponsored bibliographies seem to evaluate or give important information about a book in question, portions of these are quoted in the paragraphs following the annotation. In some cases, it has seemed significant simply to cite the Indian-sponsored bibliography in which a book appears. Publication data on these sources of Indian opinion are given on pages 16-17. Generally, in individual annotations, these sources of Indian opinion are abbreviated, e.g., *American Indian Authors* for *American Indian Authors: A Representative Bibliography;* Sun Bear for Sun Bear's *Buffalo Hearts: A Native American's View of Indian Culture, Religion and History;* Gallup *Book List* for the *1970-71 Book List* of the Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonial Association.

In this bibliography, the citations of facts of publication are intended to direct readers to currently available editions of the works wherever possible. If a book is available in paperback, this is the edition for which publication data are given. When a book is not labelled "Paper," the price quoted is for a hardcover edition. Where appropriate, the publication year of the original edition is given in brackets.

The teacher of English may be a bit disconcerted to find variations in spelling of Indian tribes—Navajo and Navaho, Ojibwa and Ojibway, for example. The choice in each annotation has been to follow the spelling which the author of the book used.

Because many high schools and libraries today do not restrict students' individual choices of reading matter, the sections on fiction, biography, and autobiography for senior high school students incorporate many adult books, some of which deal with adult themes. When such themes are present, this fact is mentioned in the individual annotation.

In searching for materials, this bibliographer found that many lists emphasize historical, anthropological, and sociological books about the Indian. Since what the teacher of English needs most are legends, poetry, fiction, and biography, the emphasis is on these. The lists for anthropology and archaeology, history, modern life, and the arts are intended merely to suggest supplementary works.

Myth, Legend, Oratory, and Poetry

When looking for a collection of Indian myths and legends for use in the classroom, the teacher must make a number of choices. First of all, he will need to decide whether he wants a general collection or a collection of myths of a particular tribe. The teacher may want to choose the latter if he is in an area where there are many students from a particular tribe or where the tribe has played an important role in the regional culture.

In using myths, legends and poetry we are dealing with literature in translation, with all of its attendant problems. The earliest collections and translations of legends were done by people whose orientation was primarily that of the anthropologist. Their aim was to make the stories as accurately Indian as possible. More recently collectors with more literary or folklore orientation have been publishing editions. Sometimes the teacher must choose between the most literary collection and the most Indian collection. Certain characteristics of legend and poetry—excessive repetition, for example—were very Indian, but sound unnatural when translated into English. As Mrs. Anna Moore Shaw points out in her collection of Pima legends, the stories were changed as cultural traditions changed and as the tales were told in English. The teacher may also want to consider whether the translations were recorded while the people were still living in a tribal society or after the acculturation process had begun. Most early collections were made by white men and women, but many more recent collections have been done by Indians like Kilpatrick, Momaday, Nequatewa, Shaw, Vaudrin, and Vizenor.

It is quite impossible to set down any hard and fast guidelines. The individual teacher must consider his aims and the alternatives available, making his choices accordingly.

ARMSTRONG, VIRGINIA IRVING, ed. *I Have Spoken: American History through the Voices of Indians.* Swallow, 1971. Paper, $2.95. The Indian's tradition was oral until the white man began to record his words, usually in meetings or councils. Here is a collection of the words of Indians, many of them chiefs and leaders, presented in chronological order from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries. The emphasis is on Indian-white relations, on who owns the land, and on history and the future of the race. For a study of Indian rhetoric in a speech or English class this collection is invaluable.

ASTROV, MARGOT, ed. *American Indian Prose and Poetry: An Anthology.* [1946] Capricorn Press, 1962. Paper, $2.45. Songs, chants, and

legends of tribes from the Eskimos to the Incas of Peru are included in this collection. The introduction discusses the problems of collecting and translating Indian materials, the power of the word in Indian life, and the influence of Christianity on the cultures.

Said by some critics to be mainly the work of anthropologists and not truly Indian, this anthology is nevertheless listed in the supplement of *American Indian Authors: A Representative Bibliography*, and recommended as a collection "useful in developing some ideas of American Indian thought" by Dave Warren of the Institute of American Indian Arts, and as the "first anthology of prose and poetry from many tribes" by the Gallup *Book List*.

BIERHORST, JOHN, ed. *In the Trail of the Wind: American Indian Poems and Ritual Orations*. Illus. Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1972. Paper, $2.45. Translated from over forty Indian languages of North and South America, this collection contains creation songs, battle songs, love lyrics, orations, prayers, dreams, and incantations. Many of the selections come from rituals of birth, love, war, and death; others carry through themes of the Indian's love of nature, the foreshadowing of conquest, the resultant despair, and visions of a new life. Translations are done by well-known Indian specialists, such as Frank Russell, Paul Radin, D. G. Brinton, Alice Fletcher, and Frances Densmore. The editor includes a few carefully chosen explanatory notes and a glossary of tribes, cultures, and languages. Period engravings and good graphic design make this a very attractive publication.

BRANDON, WILLIAM, ed. *The Magic World: American Indian Songs and Poems*. Morrow, 1971. Paper, $2.50. The editor says that he has collected only those songs and poems which he feels are good literature. "My only criterion has been, do the lines feel good, moving." (p. xiv) He has given no attention to the works as ethnological information. His translations come from nineteenth and twentieth century collectors, including A. L. Kroeber, Frank Russell, Frances Densmore, Natalie Curtis, H. R. Roth, Ruth Benedict, Washington Matthews, Alice C. Fletcher, Francis LaFlesche, Henry Schoolcraft, and Arthur C. Parker.

BURLAND, COTTIE. *North American Indian Mythology*. Illus. Tudor, 1965. $3.95. A summary of the principal deities and heroes of Indian mythology by regions, this study also discusses the development of tribal life, the adaptation of different tribes to the environment, and the psychological adjustment of the people to their environment. The author sees the different tribes exemplifying societies with characteristics ranging from those typical of the late Paleolithic period to those

of an advanced Neolithic period. The book, beautifully illustrated with plates of Indian gods, art, and handicraft, is surprisingly reasonable in price.

CLARK, ELLA E. *Indian Legends from the Northern Rockies*. [1966] University of Oklahoma Press, 1967. $7.95. A collection of the legends, myths, personal narratives and historical traditions from the twelve tribes of Indians who have lived in the present states of Idaho, Montana, and Wyoming. The tales are arranged according to six linguistic groups: the Nez Perces, the Salishan, the Kutenais, Shoshonean tribes, the Algonquins, and the Siouan. The collector is professor emeritus of English at Washington State University. From 1950 to 1955 she listened to old Indians of the Northwest recount tales handed down to them. She then wrote them down for non-Indian readers. The collection is recommended for junior high school use as well as for adults.

COLEMAN, SISTER BERNARD, FROGNER, ELLEN, AND EICH, ESTELLE. *Ojibwa Myths and Legends*. Illus. by Ruth Maney. Ross & Haines, 1961. $4.50. In the late fifties the three collectors visited Minnesota Indian reservations to find storytellers who remembered hearing the old tales told around the fire when they were children. This collection contains the stories they heard. In some cases more than one version of the same story is told. The main categories of stories: Nanabozho, once-upon-a-time stories, legendary history, stories told to teach, and animal tales. The stories often do not read smoothly, but the collectors apparently tried to keep them as they heard them.

Exceptional Books That Promote True Indian Culture says, "Although poorly written, this is a useful collection of folk literature where few records have been written." The Gallup *Book List* says, "The result of extensive research among the Minnesota Ojibwa."

CORNPLANTER, JESSE J. *Legends of the Longhouse*, told to Sah-Nee-Weh (White Sister), Mrs. Walter A. Henricks. Illus. by the author. Ira J. Friedman, 1938. $6.75. These tales were written to Mrs. Henricks in letters from Cornplanter, between October 1936 and June 1937, from the Towanda Reservation where he lived. The English is quite good and at times poetical, but the writer is obviously a man more at home in another language. Mrs. Henricks did some editing but made no attempt to formalize some of the quaint expressions. The author's drawings of his people and the figures of their ancient tales add to the collection.

Carl Carmer in an introduction to the collection writes, "Jesse Cornplanter, six feet two of solid Seneca, soldier, craftsman, musician,

actor, tale-teller, is a fitting descendant of the ancestor of his, the Corn Planter who was a friend of George Washington."

American Indian Authors: A Representative Bibliography

CRONYN, GEORGE W., ed. *American Indian Poetry: An Anthology of Songs and Chants.* [1918] Liveright, 1970. Paper, $2.95. The editor, who originally published his collection in 1918, made an effort to choose songs with as little European influence as possible. The collection has songs and chants from the eastern woodlands, from the Southeast, the Great Plains, the Southwest, Northwest and Far North. Among them are love songs, work songs, funeral dirges, religious songs, and chants used at traditional feasts.

"Books," *Indian Historian,* Spring 1971: "The book is actually *about* Indian poetry and chants, and translations into English (an entirely different medium) from some native languages. It leaves much to be desired, but its value exists in the historical development of Indian poetry as seen by the non-Indian and as represented in this book, in comparison with the poetry and songs of the Native, as these are now emerging in current publishing by Indian editors and Indian publishers."

DAY, A. GROVE, ed. *The Sky Clears: Poetry of the American Indians.* University of Nebraska Press, 1964. Paper, $1.75. The editor has chosen more than 200 poems from about forty North American Indian tribes. The translations come from such students of Indian lore and life as Franz Boas, Daniel G. Brinton, Natalie Curtis, Frances Densmore, Alice Cunningham Fletcher, Washington Matthews, Frank Russell, Herbert H. Spinden and William Thalbitzer. As the editor says, the selections were chosen because the translations were literary rather than literal. The editor includes an introductory essay about Indian poetry and comments about the poetry of the tribes from various parts of the continent: Eskimos, Totem Pole Makers of the Northwest, Horse Nations of the Plains, Hunters of the Eastern Woodlands, Mayas and Aztecs. This volume was done by a collector mainly concerned about the literary values in English of the works.

Supplement of *American Indian Authors: A Representative Bibliography*

DE ANGULO, JAIME. *Indian Tales.* Illus. by the author. [1953] Hill & Wang, 1962. Paper, $2.25. A professional linguist, amateur anthropologist, and philosopher, the author lived among the Pit River Indians for forty years. He has this to say about his *Tales*: "I wrote these stories several years ago, for my children, when they were little. Some

of them I invented out of my own head. Some of them I remembered —at least, parts, which I wove in and out. Some parts I actually translated almost word for word from my texts." The stories are incidents which occur during the travels of a single family at a time when animals and humans were less distinguishable than they are now. Although the tales are written for children, adults and young people will find them charming.

EASTMAN, MARY. *Dahcotah: Or Life and Legends of the Sioux around Fort Snelling.* Illus. from drawings by Captain Eastman. [1849] Ross & Haines, 1962. $8.75. Mary Eastman was the wife of an army officer, Seth Eastman, who was stationed at Fort Snelling for seven years during the period of the Minnesota Territory. During those years she knew and studied Sioux customs and manners. She includes legends, stories of actual people such as Wabashaw and Shah-Co-Pee, and descriptions of ceremonies. Her writing is tinged with the feeling that Indians are uncivilized and that the tribe is vanishing, but she does show particular concern about the treatment of women.

EMERSON, ELLEN RUSSELL. *Indian Myths, or Legends, Traditions, and Symbols of the Aborigines of America, Compared with Those of Other Countries, Including Hindostan, Egypt, Persia, Assyria, and China.* [1884] Ross & Haines, 1965. $10.00. A scholarly and valuable study of Indian myths compared with those of other peoples. The work has some limitations because the author did not have available the work of more recent folklorists and ethnographers. The author did make use of the work of early scholars such as George Catlin, David Cusick, Mary Eastman, Albert Gallatin, George Copway, and Henry Schoolcraft. Myths of different nations are compared on such themes as God of Air, the four spirits of the winds, birds, star-worship, the sun, the origin of man, legends of the dead, language and animals.

Gallup *Book List* says: "Scholarly treatise on the Indian throughout the United States with comparisons of beliefs held by other ancient peoples."

FELDMANN, SUSAN, ed. *The Storytelling Stone: Myths and Tales of the American Indians.* Dell, 1965. Paper, $.75. The editor says that her purpose is to introduce the general public, as well as students of myth, psychology, and comparative literature, to some of the most characteristic tales of the North American Indian oral tradition. This collection of fifty-two myths and folktales is grouped by the type of tale, not by tribes or geographical region. The book contains three sections: (1) In the Days of Creation, (2) Trickster, and (3) Tales of Heroes, Supernatural Journeys and Other Folktales. The longest tales are not

included. One of the most useful collections for high schools. Reasonably priced and not quite so scholarly and encumbered by notes as Stith Thompson's collection. The selections are fairly short but representative.

Gallup *Book List* says, "They can be read as children's tales or for scholarly research."

GRINNELL, GEORGE BIRD, ed. *Blackfoot Lodge Tales: The Story of a Prairie People.* [1892] University of Nebraska Press, 1962. Paper, $2.25. The editor began collecting the tales of the Blackfoot Indians after he read columns in *Field and Stream* by J. W. Schultz, who lived among these Indians and married one. Grinnell heard the tales from venerable members of the tribe. Some of the stories were similar to those current among the Ojibwas and other eastern Algonquian tribes. One story, "Worm Pipe," parallels "Orpheus and Eurydice." Another is parallel to part of the *Odyssey.* The last part of the book is a history of the Blackfoot people.

Gallup *Book List:* "Authentic tribal tales gathered by the famed ethnologist."

———, ed. *By Cheyenne Campfires.* [1926] University of Nebraska Press, 1971. Paper, $2.25. After receiving his degree from Yale, Grinnell, a trained naturalist, made many trips to the "unmapped West." After 1890 the Cheyenne Indians became his favorite tribe. For the next forty years no summer passed when he did not visit them. As he shared their hardships, he listened to their tales. This collection is divided into war stories, stories of mystery, hero myths, the earliest stories, culture hero stories and Wihio stories (the trickster). The introduction to each section gives background material about Cheyenne life, customs and values.

———, ed. *Pawnee Hero Stories and Folk Tales,* with notes on the origin, customs and character of the Pawnee people. [1889] University of Nebraska Press, 1961. Paper, $2.25. Grinnell first became acquainted with the Pawnees in 1870. About one-half of the book contains their stories and folktales, and the other half, notes on the tribe —their relationships, origin and migrations, customs, warfare, religion, and late nineteenth century history.

Gallup *Book List:* "Pawnee stories related to a religion, rich in symbolism and poetic imagination."

HAMILTON, CHARLES EVERETT, ed. *Cry of the Thunderbird: The American Indian's Own Story.* Illus. [1950] University of Oklahoma Press,

1972. $7.95. This is a unique collection, containing selections from books either written by Indians or told by Indians to white men. Selections are arranged according to such themes as Around the Campfire, Game Trails, Wilderness Sports, the Great Spirit, On the Warpath, and the White Man's Road. Among the authors represented are Black Elk, Dr. Charles Eastman, Chief Luther Standing Bear, Don C. Talayesva, George Copeway, Wooden Leg, and William W. Warren. The collection contains illustrations by native artists and by George Catlin, information about Indian authors, and a bibliography of works by Indians or dictated by Indians. Since the collection was done originally in 1950, it contains nothing by or about the modern Indian generation.

Supplement to *American Indian Authors: A Representative Bibliography* says: "Illustrated entirely by Indian artists, this collection includes about 100 stories and speeches written or dictated by North American Indians."

KILPATRICK, JACK FREDERICK, AND KILPATRICK, ANNA GRITTS. *Run toward the Nightland: Magic of the Oklahoma Cherokees.* Southern Methodist University Press, 1967. $5.00. A Cherokee husband and wife discuss the place of magic in Cherokee life: magical incantations and rituals which bring success in hunting and fishing, control the wind and rain, help to grow corn, and bring success in marriage and war and good luck in lawsuits. There are also examples of dark magic, incantations which bring revenge by misfortune, insanity, and death. Music is included for all of the incantations.

Gallup *Book List:* "First public revelation of closely guarded secrets of witchcraft, charms and incantations, originally written in Sequoyah syllabary."

KROEBER, THEODORA. *The Inland Whale: Nine Stories Retold from California Indian Legends.* Drawings by Joseph Crivy. University of California Press, 1959. Paper, $2.45. The wife of the noted anthropologist A. L. Kroeber has chosen nine tales from California Indians to put, as Oliver LaFarge says in his introduction, "into a familiar idiom, with restraint and good taste. . . ." Mrs. Kroeber includes a discussion of the background of each story, the tribe it comes from, and use made of it. Within each story is the character of a woman, although some of the women are not very important. Many of the stories have themes which appear in literature the world over: "Tesilya, Sun's Daughter" is the Hamlet story; "Butterfly Man" has elements of the Fall of Man; "The Man's Wife" is the Orpheus and Eurydice story, and "Loon Woman" has the Achilles' heel story.

Gallup *Book List:* "Folklore of California Indians told in compassionate stories of Indian women, in poetic style."

McLuhan, T. C. *Touch the Earth: A Self-Portrait of Indian Existence.* Illus. Pocket Books, 1972. Paper, $2.95. In a selected collection of oral and written statements by Indians from the sixteenth to the twentieth century, T. C. McLuhan, a Canadian, shows the reader their feelings and relationships with the earth, nature's creatures, and their homeland as the "hairy man from the East" encroached upon their land. Over fifty photographs by Edward S. Curtis taken early in this century enhance the publication. The quotations and pictures are presented without editorial comment from the collector, yet the history, from the Indian's early desire to share what he had to his later desperation and anger at broken promises, is vivid.

Marriott, Alice. *Saynday's People: The Kiowa Indians and the Stories They Told.* [1947] University of Nebraska Press, 1965. Paper, $1.75. In 1934, 1935, and 1936, the distinguished ethnologist Alice Marriott lived among the Kiowas, collecting from the old people of the tribe information about a life which was past—their tribal organization, ceremonials, food, medicines, handicrafts—and their stories of old Uncle Saynday, their trickster hero. This collection combines two short books which came out of that study: *Winter-Telling Stories* and *Indians on Horseback.* The second work is a general study of Plains Indians. The stories are simply told and easily read. For a high school class which might want to make an in-depth study of the legends of one tribe of Plains Indians and a general study of Plains Indians and their life, this might be appropriate.

Marriott, Alice, and Rachlin, Carol K. *American Indian Mythology.* Illus. [1968] New American Library, 1972. Paper, $1.25. This collection of the myths of twenty North American tribes is done by two well-known anthropologists from their field data. The myths are arranged around themes such as the world beyond ours (creation stories), the world around us, the world we live in now, and the world we go to. Pictures of artifacts, designs, powwows and religious ceremonials add to the book. With each tale is a brief introduction to the tribe.

Gallup *Book List:* ". . . to be enjoyed as literature and for insights into the world of the Indian."

Supplement to *American Indian Authors: A Representative Bibliography*

Masson, Marcelle. *A Bag of Bones: The Wintu Myths of the Trinity River Indian.* Naturegraph, 1966. Paper, $2.25. Mrs. Masson's husband and his brothers grew up with Grant Towendolly, a Wintu Indian who had been chosen by his father to become the next chieftain of the northern Wintu of the Trinity River area in northern California. Although he attended an elementary school in the San Francisco Bay area, most of Grant's education came about through periods of fasting and being alone in the mountains, learning to recognize and use medicinal plants and to tell the myths and legends of his people. Fearing that the legends would die, he wrote them down. The stories are primarily in the English of a man who spoke Wintu in his family. Mrs. Masson made only a few changes in spelling and punctuation.

American Indian Authors: A Representative Bibliography

Milton, John R., ed. *The American Indian Speaks.* Illus. University of South Dakota Press, 1969. Paper, $3.00. The writings and paintings in this collection come from tribes mainly in the western half of the United States. The poems, prose, and paintings were solicited by the editor, and those artists who responded were published. Among the well-known Indian artists represented are poets James Welch, Simon Ortiz, Emerson Blackhorse Mitchell, and Patty Harjo; prose writers Louis Ballard, Kay Bennett, and Bea Medicine; and painters Oscar Howe and Jose Rey Toledo. This publication gives the teacher access to a number of modern Indian poets and prose writers whose works are otherwise difficult to find. The reproductions of Indian art are an added bonus. One is a bit surprised to find Frank Waters represented in a publication which purports to be works by Indians.

Momaday, N. Scott. *The Way to Rainy Mountain.* Illus. by Al Momaday. [1969] Ballantine, 1972. Paper, $1.25. On a pilgrimage to the grave of his grandmother, the author traveled the same route which his people, the Kiowa Indians, traveled three hundred years ago from the headwaters of the Yellowstone River to Oklahoma. In a series of sketches he recalls old Kiowa legends, stories of his family and of people they knew, and historical events of the tribe. Illustrations by the author's father add to the beauty of the book.

Textbooks and the American Indian: ". . . this Indian author and professor of comparative English literature at the University of California has the true gift of the epic in literature."

American Indian Authors: A Representative Bibliography

Gallup *Book List:* "A mystic telling of the history of the Kiowas recounted with love and humility by a sensitive young tribal member. . . ."

Momaday, Natachee Scott, ed. *American Indian Authors.* Houghton Mifflin, 1972. Paper, $2.50. [illegible] the first collection of works by

Indian authors compiled especially for the classroom. It contains a good balance of legends, poetry, biography, history, and short stories, all by Indians. The editor has added a minimum number of discussion questions for each selection. The collector is a well-known Indian teacher and author, the mother of Pulitzer Prize novelist N. Scott Momaday, and wife of Kiowa artist Al Momaday. The collection provides a ready-made unit of short selections for the classroom, the old represented by four legends, the words of Chief Joseph, and chapters from Two Leggings, Black Elk, and Charles A. Eastman; and the modern represented by Emerson Blackhorse Mitchell, Durango Mendoza, N. Scott Momaday, Vine Deloria, and James Welch.

NEIHARDT, JOHN G. *The Twilight of the Sioux: The Song of the Indian Wars; The Song of the Messiah.* [1925] University of Nebraska Press, 1971. Paper, $2.25. This is Volume II of the poet's *A Cycle of the West.* In the *Song of the Indian Wars* the poet tells in fourteen episodes the tale of the struggle for the bison pastures west of the Missouri, including the epic Battle of the Little Bighorn in 1876. The point of view shifts from the Indian camp to the white man's camp, showing heroism on both sides. *The Song of the Messiah,* which closes with the Battle of Wounded Knee, tells of the end of that last great dream, the Ghost Dance. The author, who spent six years as a youth among the Omahas and who also is the author of the prose biography, *Black Elk Speaks,* is most effective when he describes the moods of the times in an Indian village, in the soldiers' camp, or in a pioneer's cabin. For his *Cycle* he made use of printed sources and a number of old Indians who had experienced the wars. Volume I is titled *Mountain Men.*

Gallup *Book List:* "This legacy of inspiring and heroic literature . . ."

NEQUATEWA, EDMUND. *Truth of a Hopi: Stories Relating to the Origin, Myths, and Clan Histories of the Hopi.* Ed. by Mary-Russell F. Colton. Museum of Northern Arizona, 1967. Paper, $2.00. In this small book a Hopi Indian tells the origin, myths, and history of a group of Hopi clans, from how the people came out of the underworld through how Hotevilla and Bakabi were founded and how the clans were divided between the Friendlies and the Hostiles. The reader sees how, in the Hopi mind, legend and history run together. Useful to the student doing special work on the Hopi and their legends.

PARSONS, ELSIE CLEWS, ed. *American Indian Life.* Illus. by C. Grant LaFarge. [1922] University of Nebraska Press, 1967. Paper, $2.95. The editor collected a series of fictional tales written by well-known anthropologists, each of whom contributed a tale about the Indian

tribe he knew best. Some of the eminent names represented are Robert H. Lowie, Paul Radin, A. L. Kroeber, Edward Sapir, and Franz Boas. The quality of the sketches is uneven.

Gallup *Book List:* "Presentation in fictionalized form of 27 tales of Indian life contributed by famed anthropologists."

RADIN, PAUL. *The Trickster: A Study in American Indian Mythology.* [1956] Schocken, 1972. Paper, $2.95. Radin has studied the myth of the trickster, especially in Winnebago mythology but also in other mythologies. About one-half of the book contains Indian elaborations of the myth with special emphasis on the Winnebago version. The final section of the book discusses it in relation to Greek mythology and to psychology. In Indian myth the trickster is a creature who is neither good nor evil but can be blamed for the evil and praised for the good which occurs. He has some similarities to the white man's Punch and Judy and to the clown. In Indian myth he is often identified with animals such as the raven, coyote, hare, and spider. A specialized study useful for mature students who want to make a study of the trickster myth, or for the teacher.

REID, DOROTHY. *Tales of Nanabozho.* Illus. by Donald Grant. Walck, 1963. $4.75. Although probably intended for younger children, this collection of stories about the creator-magician, son of Wenona and the West Wind, grandson of Nokomis, and model for Hiawatha is nevertheless a useful collection. The Chippewa stories explain many natural phenomena, such as the marks on the trunks of birch trees, the flying V of the wild geese and some of the rocks which dot the landscape. The earth is remade by Nanabozho following the great flood, and in one story Nanabozho is swallowed, canoe and all, by a great sturgeon, in a story similar to that of Jonah and the whale. These tales are also available on records, read by the author.

ROTHENBERG, JEROME, ed. *Shaking the Pumpkin: Traditional Poetry of the Indian North Americas.* Doubleday, 1972. Paper, $3.95. Poems from many tribes are included in this collection. The title poems, "Shaking the Pumpkin," are sacred curing songs translated by the editor and Richard Johnny John, a Seneca songmaker. Some of the other poems in the collection are a pre-conquest Mayan play, a "sacred-clown" fertility drama of the Pueblo Indians, picture poems from the Cuna and Chippewa, a Zuni spoken narrative, and poems from the Netsilik Eskimos. The editor has chosen poems which most interest and impress him for their range of types and cultures. Although recognizing the difficulties of crossing the boundary of translation, he says in his preface, "The question for the translator is not

whether but how far we can translate one another." He sees the translator as one who "attempts to restore what has been torn apart." The editor has published ten volumes of his own poetry and several volumes of translations.

SANDERS, THOMAS E., AND PEEK, WALTER W. *Literature of the American Indian.* Glencoe Press, 1973. $9.95. This recent publication is certainly the most complete collection of Indian literature of all kinds which has yet been put together. In addition, the authors have provided scholarly comments on every possible aspect of Indian life, history, and religion from pre-Columbian days to the present. Sections of the book include pre-Columbian religions, heroes and folktales, pre-Columbian poetry, the history of the League of the Iroquois, oratory, native religions after the Christian invasion, biography and autobiography, and current voices in poetry, prose and protest. The editors are Indians, Sanders a Cherokee and Peek a Narragansett and Wampanoag. They are also scholars, Sanders at the University of South Florida and Peek at East Bay High School, Riverview, Florida. In addition to providing the English teacher with as wide and varied a selection of short works as possible, the collection also offers invaluable information about Indian literature and culture.

SCHWARZ, HERBERT T., ed. *Windigo and Other Tales of the Ojibways.* Illus. by Norval Morrisseau. McClelland, 1969. $3.50. Canadian Ojibway artist Norval Morrisseau told the native legends which inspired his paintings to Herbert Schwarz, a British Canadian medical doctor, who retells the tales. This is a beautiful publication. The tales are simple and short. Morrisseau's art work, which is reproduced in two colors, combines the characteristics of Indian rock painting and Eskimo art.

SHAW, ANNA MOORE. *Pima Indian Legends.* Illus. by Matt Tashquinth, Pima artist. University of Arizona, 1968. Paper, $2.50. Mrs. Shaw, a full-blooded Pima Indian, heard these tales in the early 1900s in the Pima tongue in her village, Gila Crossing, in Southern Arizona. Over the years they were modified as cultural traditions changed, and as the tales were told more and more in English, whole sections were reworded or dropped. Feeling the legends might disappear, she began recording them in the 1930s.

American Indian Authors: A Representative Bibliography: "Mrs. Shaw relates stories heard from her parents and grandparents, and combines ancient Pima history with more current happenings."

SLICKPOO, ALLEN P. *Nu Mee Poom Tit Wah Tit* (Nez Perce Legends). Illus. by Leroy L. Seth. Nez Perce Tribe, 1972. $13.00. This is a collection of the Nez Perce legends prepared by the tribe. The tales are set in a mythical time, before human beings roamed the world. The characters are animals, although they have human qualities and are sometimes called "people." The legends were first collected in the Nez Perce language and then translated into English. The collection includes tales to teach and tales primarily to entertain, and legends are organized under the following headings: how things came to be the way they are today, tales of disobedience, tales of vengeance, tales of shrewdness, tales of greed, and tales of bravery. Coyote, the trickster, is the principal character. The tales are fast moving and generally good humored. Since the collection is done by the tribe it is authoritative. The illustrations in black and white by Leroy Seth, a Nez Perce, are done in the same good-humored spirit as the tales.

"National Indian Education Association Checklist of Current Books," March 1972: "This book is highly recommended."

THOMPSON, STITH, ed. *Tales of the North American Indians.* Drawings by Franz Altschuler. [1929] Indiana University Press, 1966. Paper, $2.95. A carefully documented collection of tales taken from such sources as Boas, Schoolcraft, and the Bureau of Ethnology publications. It is organized according to the type of tale: mythological stories, mythical incidents, trickster tales, hero tales, journeys to the other world, animal wives and husbands, tales borrowed from Europeans, and Bible stories. Some of the tales are from collections recorded by Europeans in the seventeenth century. The editor, a well-known scholar of folklore, has included comparative notes, lists of motifs, and sources arranged by culture areas and tribes. Although this is a scholarly work, the tales themselves are simply told.

Supplement to *American Indian Authors:* "The arrangement is in accord with the compiler's theory that there are many recurrent patterns or types of tales which transcend geographic and linguistic boundaries."

Gallup *Book List:* "Reprinted classic collection of Indian myths and legends compiled by renowned folklorist."

VANDERWERTH, W. C., ed. *Indian Oratory: Famous Speeches by Noted Indian Chieftains.* Ballantine, 1971. Paper, $1.65. This collection of the most important orations of the greatest Indian chiefs demonstrates the importance the spoken word had around the council fires where tribal affairs were settled and where negotiations between tribes and white men were carried on. Each oration is preceded by a discussion of the orator and the situation at which the speech was delivered. The earliest of the speeches in the collection was delivered in 1758 and the

latest in 1910. The collection concentrates on the oratory delivered during the encroachment of the white man. The speeches are generally longer or more complete than in the Armstrong or the Witt and Steiner collections.

VAUDRIN, BILL. *Tanaina Tales from Alaska.* Illus. by Buck Hayden. University of Oklahoma Press, 1969. $4.95. The Tanaina are Indians of the Athapascan stock who live in Pedro Bay and Nondalton, villages not far from Anchorage, Alaska. These tales are *suk-tus* or legend stories, peopled with foxes, beavers, wolverines and porcupines, and used for entertainment. All animals in the stories have human desires and weaknesses, and some of them become humans for sinister purposes. The raven is the trickster which breaks the taboos of society. The editor and translator is a Chippewa from Minnesota who as a student at Alaska Methodist University wintered several years with the Tanaina Indians. The English of the tales is that of the editor with occasional English idioms used by the Tanaina people.

American Indian Authors: A Representative Bibliography

VIZENOR, GERALD. *Anishinabe Adisokan: Tales of the People.* Illus. with pictomyths. Nodin, 1970. Paper, $2.45. These tales of the Chippewa people, tales which explain creation, the naming of children, the coming of age, marriage, and religion were first published on the White Earth Reservation in Minnesota before the turn of the century, and are now told by a member of the tribe. Part II contains tales of Manabozho, the trickster folk hero. The illustrations in the collection are Ojibwa pictomyths, storytelling pictures.

———. *Anishinabe Nagamon: Songs of the People,* interpreted and re-expressed from the original Anishinabe song transcriptions. Illus. Nodin, 1965. Paper, $1.95. The author, a Chippewa, has included love songs, spring songs, dream songs, midewiwin, and war songs, along with extensive notes, interpretations, and explanations. This collection also contains Ojibwa pictomyths.

WELCH, JAMES. *Riding the Earthboy 40.* World, 1971. $6.95. This is the first collection of the poetry of James Welch, a Blackfoot Indian living and writing at Upper Rattlesnake, Missoula, Montana. The title of the collection comes from the years when he lived on the Fort Belknap Reservation near Harlem, Montana, where his father leased forty acres from the Earthboy family. Some of his subjects are Indian —the towns on or near the reservation, poverty, drunkenness, the disintegration of a way of life—but there are also other themes: nature, Montana, and life. Welch is a fine young poet who will force the literary world to recognize him first of all as a poet who just happens

to be Indian. His poems require a depth of experience and a willingness to concentrate and reread, which will make them most useful with mature, thoughtful students.

WITT, SHIRLEY HILL, AND STEINER, STAN, eds. *The Way: An Indian Anthology of American Indian Literature.* Vintage, 1972. Paper, $1.95. An Iroquois anthropologist and the white author of *The New Indians* collaborate on this collection of the ancient speeches of Indian leaders and orators as they were translated by Englishmen and Americans, and the contemporary speeches and articles of modern Indians on present problems. This is a most welcome addition to collections of Indian writing and oratory. The greatness of speeches by Chief Joseph, Pontiac, Black Hawk, and Tecumseh has long been recognized by historians. Here we have also the moving words of modern Indians in oratory, poetry and prophecy.

YAZZIE, ETHELOU, ed. *Navajo History,* Vol. I. Illus. by Andy Tsihnahjinnie. Navajo Community College, 1971. Paper, $6.00. This story of the unrecorded history of the Navajos has been the joint effort of many people, supervised by the Board of the Rough Rock Demonstration School in Chinle, Arizona. Here are the stories of the Four Worlds, of Changing Woman, Spider Woman, the Twins, Coyote, and many other personages from prehistory. The book is beautifully illustrated with full-page color paintings as well as with beautiful photographs of the Navajo Reservation area. A handsome publication, both the text and illustrations done by contemporary Navajos. Volume II, the recorded history, is in production.

ZUNI PEOPLE. *The Zunis: Self-Portrayals.* Translated by Alvina Quam. Photographs of the storytellers. University of New Mexico, 1972. Paper, $3.95. This collection contains forty-six stories of Zuni myth, prophecy, and history. It has stories not only of creation, religious rituals, and masked dances, but also of Zuni farming and hunting practices and of battles with their neighbors, the Navajo and the Apache. Some of the stories are intended for moral instruction but others are for entertainment. The stories are divided according to the following sections: society, history, fables, fables of moral instruction, religion, and war and defense. In 1965 the Zuni tribe began to record their oral literature, using funds from the Office of Economic Opportunity. Major storytellers of the tribe were asked to relate on tape the legends, myths, and history of the Pueblo. The project was aided by the Duke Indian Oral History Project at the University of Utah. Alvina Quam translated the stories, and Mrs. Virginia Lewis, wife of the Pueblo Governor, reviewed and edited them for publication. The final choices were approved by the Governor and the Council.

AUTOBIOGRAPHIES OF AMERICAN INDIANS

The best way into another culture is through the eyes and ears and lives of those who live or have lived it. The following is a list of the more prominant autobiographies of American Indians. They are the best source of holistic understanding.

Bibliography: American Indian Authors, a Representative Bibliography, compiled by Arlene Hirschfelder, NY., 1970.
An annotated bibliography including most of the titles below.

Barrett, S. M., Geronimo, His Own Story (Dutton, 1970)

Bass, Althea, The Arahapoe Way, A Memoir of an Indian Boyhood (Memoirs of Carl Sweezy) N.Y., 1966

Bennett, Kay (Navajo), Kaibah: Recollections of a Navajo Girlhood, N.M. 1964

Brandt, Charles S., Jim Whitewolf, The Life of a Kiowa Apache Indian, (Dover, N.Y., 1969) paper,

Copway, George (Chippewa Chief, 1818-1863), Indian Life and Indian History by an Indian Author, embracing the traditions of the North American Indians' regarding themselves, particularly of that most important of tribes, the Ojibways. (out of print)

Dyk, Walter, Old Mexican: A Navajo Indian (A Navajo Autobiography)

Dyk, Walter, Son of Old Man Hat: A Navajo Autobiography (1938), paper

Eastman, Charles A. (Lakota), Indian Boyhood, 1902

" " " The Soul of the Indian, 1911)

Jackson, Donald, ed. Black Hawk, An Autobiography (U. of Ill. Press, 1955, paper)

Katz, Jane, I Am the Fire of Time: Voices of Native American Women, (Dutton, 1977)

LaFlesche, Francis, The Middle Five, Indian Schoolboys of the Omaha Tribe, 1900

Linderman, Frank R., Plenty Coups, Chief of the Crows (U. Nebr. Press, paper)

" " " Pretty Shield, Medicine Woman of the Crows, 1932

Lurie, Nancy O., ed. Mountain Wolf Woman, Sister of Crashing Thunder (U. Michigan Press, 1961)

Marquis, Thomas B., Wooden Leg, A Warrior Who Fought Custer, (U. Nebr. Pr., 1962)
Mails. Thomas E., Fools Crow.

Momaday, N. Scott, The Names, A Memoir, (Harper and Row, 1976)

Mitchell, Emerson Blackhorse, and Allen, T.D., Miracle Hill, The Story of a Navajo Boy (U. Okla Pr., 1967)

Nabokov, Peter, ed., Two Leggings: The Makings of a Crow Warrior (T. Y. Crowell, 1967)

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Neihardt, John G., Black Elk Speaks, Being the LifeStory of a Holy Man of the Oglala Sious (1932)

Quyawayma, Poingaysi (Hopi), No Turning Back, (U. New Mexixo Pr., n.d.)

Radin, Paul, The Autobiography of a Winnebago Indian, (Dover, 1963, paper)

Scott, Lala, Karnee, A Paiute Narrative (U. Nevada Pr., 1966)

Sekaquaptewa, Helen (Hopi), Me and Mine: The Life Story of Helen Sekaquaptewa, as told to Louise Udall (U. Ariz. Pr., 1969)

Senungetuk, Joseph, Give or Take a Century: The Story of an Eskimo Family, (Indian Historian Press, San Francisco, 1970)

Sewid, James (Kwakiutl), Guests Never Leave Hungry: The Autobiography of James Sewid, A Kwakiutl Indian (Yale U. Pr., 1969)

Simmons, Leo W., ed., Sun Chief: The Autobiography of a Hopi Indian (Yale, 1963)

Stands-in-Timber, John, Cheyenne Memories (Yale, 1967)
Steiner, Stan, ed., SPIRIT WOMAN, The Diaries and Paintings of Bonita Wa Wa Calachaw Nuñez
Standing Bear, Luther (Dakota), Land of the Spotted Eagle, (1933) ny 1980

: : : My People, the Sioux (1928)

Underhill, Ruth, Autobiography of a Papago Woman (Maria Chino), 1936, o.p.

Webb, George, A Pima Remembers, (U. Ariz., 1959)

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AMERICAN INDIAN FICTION

(from American Indian Fiction, U. New Mexico Press, 1978, a critical appraisal of American Indian fiction writers)

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Bedford, Denton R. (Minsee.) *Tsali*. San Francisco: Indian Historian Press, 1972.

Chief Eagle, Dallas. (Sioux, b. 1925.) *Winter Count*. Colorado Springs, Colo.: Denton-Berkeland Printing Co., 1967. Reprint Denver: Golden Bell Press, 1968. Second Reprint Boulder, Colo.: Johnson Publishing Co., 1968.

Mathews, John Joseph. (Osage, b. 1895.) *The Osages*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961.

———. *Sundown*. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1934.

———. *Wah'Kon-Tah: The Osage and the White Man's Road*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1932.

McNickle, D'Arcy. (Flathead, 1904-77.) *Indian Man: A Life of Oliver La Farge*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1971.

———. *Runner in the Sun: A Story of Indian Maize*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1954.

———. *The Surrounded*. New York: Dodd, Mead, and Co., 1936. Paperback reprint Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1978.

———. *Wind from an Enemy Sky*. New York: Harper & Row, scheduled for publication in 1978.

Momaday, N. Scott. (Kiowa, b. 1934.) *House Made of Dawn*. New York: Harper & Row, 1968. Paperback ed. New York: New American Library, Signet Books, 1969.

———. *The Names*. New York: Harper & Row, 1976.

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———. *The Way to Rainy Mountain*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1969. Paperback reprint 1976.

Nasnaga [Roger Russell]. (Shawnee, b. 1941.) *Indians' Summer*. New York: Harper & Row, 1975.

Oskison, John M. (Cherokee, 1874-1947.) *A Texas Titan: The Story of Sam Houston*. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Co., 1929.

———. *Black Jack Davy*. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1926.

———. *Brothers Three*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1935.

———. *Tecumseh and His Times: The Story of a Great Indian*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1938.

———. *Wild Harvest*. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1925. Reprint Chicago: White House Book Club, 1925.

Pierre, Chief George. (Colville Confederated Tribes, b. 1926.) *Autumn's Bounty*. San Antonio: Naylor Co., 1972.

Pokagon, Chief Simon. (Potawatomi, 1830?-99.) *The Red Man's Rebuke*. Hartford, Mich.: C. H. Engle, 1893.

———. *Queen of the Woods*. Hartford, Mich.: C. H. Engle, 1899. Reprint Berrien Springs, Mich.: Hardscrabble Books, 1972.

Silko, Leslie Marmon. (Laguna, b. 1948.) *Ceremony*. New York: Viking Press, 1977. Paperback ed. New York: New American Library, Signet Books, 1978.

Storm, Hyemeyohsts. (Northern Cheyenne, b. 1933.) *Seven Arrows*. New York: Harper & Row, 1972. Paperback ed. New York: Ballantine Books, 1974.

Welch, James. (Blackfoot, b. 1940.) "The Only Good Indian: Section I of a Novel in Progress." *South Dakota Review* 9 (1971):55-74.

———. *Winter in the Blood*. New York: Harper & Row, 1974. Paperback ed. New York: Bantam Books, 1975.

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Hum-Ishu-Ma (Mourning Dove). (Okanogan, 1888?-?.) *Co-Ge-We-A, The Half-Blood: A Depiction of the Great Montana Cattle Range*. Boston: Four Seas Co., 1927.

———. *Coyote Stories*. Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, 1933.

Mockingbird, Jon. (Apache?, 1903?-?). *The Wokosani Road*. New York: Exposition Press, 1963.

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Highwater, Jamake, ANPAO: An American Indian Odessey, New York, 1977 (paper, Harper Colophon, $3.95)

Vizenor, Gerald, Darkness in St. Louis Bearheart, Bookslinger, St. Paul, Mn., 1978, pap.

————————, Wordarrows: Indians and Whites in the New Fur Trade, U. of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1978.

(from CONTEMPORARY NATIVE AMERICAN LITERATURE: A Selected, Partially Annotated Bibliography, by Angeline Jacobson, Scarecrow Press, 1977)

Part 8

ANTHOLOGIES

COLLECTIONS ANALYZED

1972. Allen, T. D., ed. Arrow. U.S. Dept. of Indian Affairs. Creative Writing Project. I-1969; II-1970; III-1971; IV-1972.
Each volume is small in size, but rich in content: the outstanding prose and poetry of each year's Creative Writing Project.

1973. _____. Arrows Four; Prose and Poetry by Young American Indians. Washington Square Press, 1974.
This title is a cumulation of the four separate Arrow titles in the above entry.

1974. _____. The Whispering Wind; Poetry by Young American Indians. Doubleday, 1972.
This collection is a product of the course in writing at the Institute of American Indian Arts, Santa Fe. It is a credit to the creative ability of the Native American in an art form other than painting, weaving and ceramics. The editor was the first teacher appointed to the position in Creative Writing. One-page biographical notes on each poet add interest to the collection.

1975. Angwamas Minosewag Anishinabeg. Poets in the Schools Program. St. Paul Council of Arts and Sciences, 1971- .
Perceptive prose-poems, and poems by children and young people.

1976. Carroll, Paul, ed. Young American Poets. Chicago: Big Table Pub. Co., 1968.
Ted Berrigan and James Welch are included in this general collection of Young American Poets published in 1968. Much has happened during the

last five years to bring out the American Indian voice. Today, a collection of this sort could include a substantial number of Native American poets.

1977. Dance with Indian Children. Wash., D.C.: Center for the Arts of Indian Children, 1972.
Brief, terse, descriptive, imaginative poems embellish this brochure on the dance as art. Photographs and drawings of American Indian dances with expressive detail make this a delight.

1978. David, Jay, ed. The American Indian, the First Victim. Morrow, 1972.
Essays and poems by Native Americans.

1979. Dodge, Robert K. & Joseph B. McCullough, eds. Voices from Wah'kon-tah: Contemporary Poetry of Native Americans. Foreword by Vine Deloria, Jr. International Publishers, 1974.

1980. Faderman, Lillian & Barbara Bradshaw, eds. Speaking for Ourselves: American Ethnic Writing. Scott, Foresman, 1969.

1981. Future Directions in Native American Art. Santa Fe, N.M.: The Institute of American Indian Arts, [1973].
Another brochure which describes in words, photographs and drawings the various art forms (including poetry) which are expressed by Native American students at the Institute of American Indian Arts, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

1982. Gooderham, Kent, ed. I Am an Indian. Toronto: Dent, 1969.
The first anthology of Indian literature published in Canada, written and illustrated by Indians.

1983. Gross, Theodore L., ed. A Nation of Nations. Macmillan, 1971.
Selections from the writings of American Indian authors.

1984. Haslam, Gerald W. Forgotten Pages of American Literature. Houghton Mifflin Co., 1970. pp. 1-70.

Includes Asian-American, Latin-American and African-American in addition to American Indian literature. Gives suggestions for more extensive reading.

1985. Henry, Jeannette, ed. The American Indian Reader: Literature. The Indian Historian Pr., 1973.

1986. Indian Arts and Crafts Board. Photographs and Poems by Sioux Children. An exhibition organized by the above board and the Dept. of Interior, 1971.
Perceptive, thought-provoking, 2-20 line poems, each related to a photograph on opposite page.

1987. Levitas, Gloria, Frank Robert & Jacqueline J. Vivelo, eds. American Indian Prose & Poetry: We Wait in the Darkness. Putnam, 1974.

1988. Lewis, Richard. I Breathe a New Song; Poems of the Eskimo. Simon, 1971.

1989. Lourie, Dick, ed. Come to Power; Eleven Contemporary American Indian Poets. Intro. by Joseph Bruchac. The Crossing Press, 1974.

1990. Lowenfels, Walter, ed. From the Belly of the Shark; a New Anthology of Native Americans. Vintage, 1973.

1991. Milton, John R., comp. The American Indian Speaks. Vermillion: U. of S. Dak. Pr., 1969.

1992. _____. American Indian II. Vermillion: U. of S. Dak., 1971.

1993. _____. Four Indian Poets. Dakota Press, 1974.

1994. Momaday, Natachee Scott, ed. (Cherokee) American Indian Authors. Houghton, 1971.
A representative cross-section of literature of the Native American, from Chief Joseph to Vine Deloria, Jr. Gives brief biographical information on each author in addition to an example or excerpt of his writing.

1995. Niatum, Duane, ed. Carriers of the Dream Wheel. Harper, 1975.

1996. Quasha, George, & Jerome Rothenberg, eds. America, a Prophecy: A New Reading of American Poetry from Pre-Columbian Times to the Present. Vintage Books, 1973.

1997. Rosen, Kenneth, ed. The Man to Send Rain Clouds; Contemporary Stories by American Indians. Viking Press, 1974.

1998. Sanders, Thomas E. (Cherokee) and Walter W. Peek. (Narragansett-Wampanoag) Literature of the American Indian. Glencoe Pr., 1973.
Designed to be used as a textbook. The eight chapters present, in a broad chronological fashion, the centrality of religion in the Native American's life; their unique relationship with nature; their oneness with it and dependence upon it; their great oral tradition, represented by the didactic tales, orations, songs and chants; and finally today's prose and poetry.

1999. Turner, Frederick W., III. The Portable North American Indian Reader. Viking, 1974.

2000. Tvedten, Benet, comp. An American Indian Anthology. Blue Cloud Abbey, Blue Cloud Quarterly, 1971.
To aid present-day Americans in the discovery of the prose and poetry produced by contemporary Native Americans and thereby obtain an appreciation of their culture and present day problems.

2001. Waubageshig, or Harvey McCue, ed. The Only Good Indian; Essays by Canadian Indians. New Pr., 1970.

2002. Western Apache Raiding and Warfare. From the notes of Grenville Goodwin. Ed. by Keith H. Basso, E. W. Jernigan, and W. B. Kessel. Tucson: U. of Ariz. Pr., 1971.
Six personal narratives make up Part I of this volume. Part II includes eleven chapters on topics Goodwin considered important on the general subject of raiding and warfare. These selections are also in the form of personal statements obtained from tribal members.

2003. Witt, Shirley H. (Iroquois) and Stan Steiner. The Way: An Anthology of American Indian Literature. Knopf, 1972.

Excerpts from traditional and contemporary Native American literature, which describe the path he has walked, the traditions and beliefs which have directed his life; the difficulties he has encountered, and the events which have brought him to this day.

BIBLIOGRAPHIES

Part 9

SOURCES: BIBLIOGRAPHIES AND INDEXES

2004. American Indian Index, no. 1, 1953. Chicago, Ill.: J. A. Huebner, 1953. [mimeo]

Comprehensive subject index including legends, music, religion, myths and mythology. Analyzes the U.S. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletins.

2005. Blew, Carol Van Antwerp Holliday, and others. Current North American Indian Periodicals. Washington, D.C., Smithsonian Center for the Study of Man, 1972.

Includes approximately one hundred and fifty newsletters, newspapers and other periodicals, which are current sources of information about or of interest to North American Indians, including literary selections by native contributors.

2006. Bush, Alfred L. & Robert S. Fraser. American Indian Periodicals in the Princeton University Library; a Preliminary List. Princeton U. Pr., 1970.

A study of 271 contemporary newspapers, newsletters and journals produced by and for Native Americans. For a non-Indian audience, with content of interest and value to the American Indian community. [preface]

2007. Byler, Mary G., comp. (Cherokee) American Indian Authors for Young Readers. New York: Association on American Indian Affairs, 1973.

Foreword emphasizes the fact that only a Native American can really convey what it means to be Sioux, Cheyenne, Apache or other tribal member. Books for "young readers" includes a wide span of reading level, including "adult" books, briefly annotated. Includes a list of publishers with addresses.

2008. Freeman, John F. A Guide to Manuscripts Relating to the American Indian in the Library of the American Philosophical Society. Phila., 1966. Includes Recordings [p. 60-66] of songs, stories.

2009. Haywood, Charles. A Bibliography of North American Folklore and Folksong. 2nd rev. ed. Dover, 1961. 2v.

Arranged by culture areas, each divided into studies related to: 1) Folklore; 2) Music. An alphabetic arrangement by tribe follows and is subdivided into: Folklore, Myths, Beliefs-Customs, Folk Art--Speech, Games, Music. Could be extremely useful in the study of American Indian Culture. Few if any imprints as late as 1950.

2010. Hirschfelder, Arlene B., comp. American Indian Authors; A representative bibliography. New York: Association on American Indian Affairs, Inc., 1970.

Alphabetically arranged by name of Native American responsible for the narration. Many titles are reprints of older versions. Includes autobiography, biography, fiction, folktales, history. Supplements include lists of: 1) Anthologies of folk tales, traditional poetry, oratory; 2) Periodical publications of Native Americans.

2011. _____. American Indian and Eskimo Authors. New York: Association on American Indian Affairs, 1973.

The Foreword states that this revised and enlarged edition is more than double the size of the 1970 edition. Includes traditional and contemporary works of both fact and fiction. Other features are a Tribal Index of the authors included, and a list of publishers and their addresses.

2012. Hodge, William. A Bibliography of Contemporary North American Indians; Selected and Partially Annotated with Study Guide. New York: Interland Publishing Inc., 1976.

Represents a labor of love for and understanding of Native Americans who were childhood friends of the compiler. Section XIX--Music & Dance, and Section XX--Religion are the two parts most

useful to the subject of my bibliography. Includes a list of "Current Newspapers, Newsletters, Magazines," and a Tribal Index.

2013. Index to Literature on the American Indian. Editorial board: Jeannette Henry, Helen Redbird-Selam, Mary Nelson, and Rupert Costo. Indian Historian Pr., Inc., 1970- .

Annual subject bibliography of books and periodicals by and about the Native American. Intensively classified. Includes poetry, literature, music and religion.

2014. Kluckhohn, Clyde and Katherine Spencer. A Bibliography of the Navaho Indians. J. J. Augustin, 1940.

Primarily for the anthropologist. Portions on Ceremonialism and Mythology, Music and Poetry, and Ceremonies.

2015. Murdock, George P. Ethnographic Bibliography of North America. 3rd ed. Human Relations Files, 1960.

By geographic region, and tribe within region. Includes traditional literature: ceremonial, legends, poetry. Imprint dates as late as 1958.

2016. National Indian Training Center. Indian Bibliography. 2nd ed. Brigham City, Utah, 1972.

Titles by and about American Indians, including autobiographies and collections of traditional narratives and poetry. Classified and partially annotated.

2017. Newberry Library. Dictionary Catalog of the Ed. E. Ayer Collection of Americana & American Indians in the Newberry Library. Hall, 1961. 16v.

Arranged by subject. Imprints as late as 1951 under subject, Indians of North America--Poetry.

2018. O'Brien, Lynne Woods. Plains Indian Autobiographies. Boise State College, 1973.

A bibliographical essay which is a good starting point for one interested in the subject. Momaday is the only contemporary included.

2019. Perkins, David & Norman Tanis, comps. Native Americans of North America; Based on Collections in the Libraries of California State University, Northridge. 1975. Reprinted, Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Pr.

Compiled for the students at the University. The areas which have some usefulness for my bibliography are Literature, Music, Dance and Religion. However, few recent titles are included. There are no annotations. Materials are arranged first by subject, then by tribe. There is also an author and title index.

2020. Stensland, Anna Lee. Literature by and about the American Indian; an Annotated Bibliography for Junior and Senior High School Students. National Council of Teachers of English, 1973.

Extremely useful, not only for the Junior and Senior High School levels but for the general reader interested in the subject. Pages 167-77 contain brief biographies of American Indian authors, which are sometimes difficult to locate.

2021. Tacoma Public Library and Tacoma Community College Library. A Selected Sample of Books by and about American Indians, with Special Emphasis on the Pacific Northwest. 1970.

Arranged especially for clients of the Tacoma libraries. Tribal affiliation of Indian authors is not given. Classified, but not annotated.

2022. Townley, Charles. American Indians; a Selective Guide to the Resources of the USCB Library. University of California, Santa Barbara, 1971.

Considers reference sources, general and specific, as possible resources for aspects of information on the American Indian. Of special interest: Music, Folklore.

2023. Trimble, Martha Scott. N. Scott Momaday. Boise, Idaho: Boise State College, 1973.

Lists Momaday's writings, including periodical sources.

2024. Ullom, Judith C., comp. Folklore of the North American Indians; An Annotated Bibliography. Washington, D.C.: Children's Book Section,

Gen'l Ref. & Biblio. Div., Library of Congress, 1969.

Attractively illustrated and printed text. More than a bibliography of folklore appropriate for children. It is a study of the folktale from its primitive origins among North American Indians. Arranged by cultural area, and subdivided into Sources and Children's Editions. Lengthy annotations.

Part 5

FICTION

1854. Bennett, Kay & Russ Bennett. Navajo Saga. Naylor, 1969.

The preface is devoted to imparting historical background, explicating the Navajo religion, and making some comparisons with world religions. The Saga is an historical novel depicting the life of the Navajos before, during and after their removal by U.S. government troops from their traditional homeland in present-day Northeast Arizona to Fort Sumner in Southwest New Mexico. It was a time of suffering, starvation, and death. The Federal government was lacking in knowledge of the Navajo people, of area geography, of the quantity of food, clothing, and numbers of horses and wagons needed to transport that number of people. The total unfitness of the area for agriculture and food production forced the U.S. to reverse its decision and return the people to their homeland. As a method of population decimation this procedure was extremely successful. One episode which contributes to the drama of the story is the retaliatory capture of Shebah, daughter of Grey Hat. After being a slave in a Mexican family for about 20 years, she escaped with her son, back to Navajo country.

1855. Eagle, Dallas. (Sioux) Winter Count. Denver: Golden Bell Press, 1968.

The story opens with preparations for and the marriage of Turtleheart and Evensigh (white captive who had known only the Indian way of life), who were one in heart and mind. As they were on the return journey from the traditional time Indian newlyweds spent together, they were attacked by three white men and a Santee Sioux.

Evensigh was taken captive and Turtleheart was left for dead. Before they were reunited a number of years later, Evensigh was adopted by a St. Louis white family. Turtleheart spent months in search of her before he returned to tribal life. Unhappiness sent him on a vision quest and participation in a Sun dance. He, together with Crazy Horse, Dull Knife and Gall, engaged in conflicts with other tribes and also skirmishes with the U.S. Army, including surrender at Wounded Knee (1890). The tale is one of deep love, bravery, loyalty and tragedy.

1856. Eagle Voice. (Sioux) When the Tree Flowered; the Fictional Autobiography of Eagle Voice, a Sioux Indian. As told to John G. Neihardt. U. of Nebr. Pr., 1970 [1952].

Eagle Voice recalls a better time for his people and himself: the history, legends, and outstanding personal events; the rigors of his vision quest, the satisfaction he found in being able to endure in the sun dance. There is a mutual understanding, a warmth of affection, kindness and a delicate sense of humor.

1857. Hale, Janet Campbell. (Coeur d'Alène) The Owl's Song. Doubleday, 1974.

The owl sang its song for the passing of a person. That was what Waluwetsu (the Old One) had said, and soon it would sing for the end of the Red Man. To Billy in his 14th year this appeared as a possibility when he graduated from the village school where he never seemed to belong. This is another story which depicts the cry of the young Native American in his struggle with a white world which fails to see him as a human and a person; a world where he needs a courage grounded in his native religious heritage, which again a white world has all but succeeded in obliterating. During a year in a big-city school he suffers continual degradation. The one ray of hope, the discovery of his artistic talent, is soon extinguished when he is deprived of the opportunity of exhibiting his work. As he returns to his father, he senses an unexpected warmth and satisfaction in his home environment which sustains in him hope for the future. He is

supported in this belief as he recalls a "vision" --his vision--but under unusual circumstances.

1858. Hum-ishu-Ma or Mourning Dove. (Okanagan) Co-ge-we-a, the Half-Blood: A Depiction of the Great Montana Cattle Range. As told to Sho-pow-tan. Boston: The Four Seas Co., 1927.

1859. McNickle, D'Arcy. (Flathead) Runner in the Sun; a Story of Indian Maize. Holt, 1954.

The corn was lacking in vitality; a new strain should be found, also a new source of water. Salt was 16, had received the turquoise ornament, and been admitted to the Kiva. Some of the elders were displeased with him for suggesting that corn be planted in the valley rather than in the upper fields. There was dissension in the tribe. His turquoise badge was removed, and his status of manhood. Humiliated at being called a child again, he visited Eldest Woman and the Holy One, who both gave hard advice but in love. He uncovered the secret route of the plotters, and the Holy One sent him on a mission to bring back a New Way, to the south, the Land of Fable: the source of their songs, dances and Mother Corn. If he is successful, the tribe will honor him as leader. Over a year later he returned. Even then he wasn't sure that he had been successful.

1860. _____. The Surrounded. Dodd, 1936.

Archilde was the youngest of the eleven children of Max Leon, non-Indian Spaniard, wealthy rancher, and Catharine, daughter of a Salish Chief. He was the first in his family to be educated through high school, and had just returned from Portland, where he had earned money playing the violin. On his arrival he was greeted with the news that his brother Louis had stolen fifty horses and that the Sheriff was out to get him. On a three-day hunting trip Catharine and Archilde encountered the hunted--Louis. The game warden unexpectedly walked into their camp. He fired at Louis and killed him. Catharine instinctively attacked and killed the warden. Archilde buried him and in Indian style concealed the grave. They brought the body of Louis home. The remainder of the story centers on the family

and racial tensions aroused by the two killings. Whether or not justice was served is not indicated.

1861. Markoosie. (Eskimo) Harpoon of the Hunter. McGill-Queen's U. Pr., 1970.

Tragedy stalks the lives of the Eskimos. Hunting the polar bear and crossing open water on ice floes are all extremely dangerous. Skill and bravery are required. Kamik, son of Suluk and Ooramik, holds out against the rabid polar bear after other village hunters lose their lives. Crossing the bay on ice floes compounds tragedy in his life. It is more than he can endure.

1862. Mathews, John Joseph. (Osage) Sundown. Longmans, 1934.

Given the name Challenge by his father was not significant to Chal. He could have met the challenges of white society, even at the University, where he was "courted" as good football material. Also, he could have made it in the classroom. The money from the Osage oil would have paid for it all. Many of his friends joined the gin crowd, and he tried it out. When the boom years were over, the Depression years sifted out the real values. For Chal, his heart provided the answers. They had been there all the time, fostered by his mother and for the most part unspoken. He cherished the memories of his childhood: riding his horse on the prairie, dreaming under the blackjacks and fishing in the streams. And now, watching his childhood friend, Sun-on-His-Wings, dance in the tribal dances, he wanted to be a part of it. He sensed a spiritual exhilaration after the sweat lodge purification rite, and a feeling of completeness in the fellowship of the festival.

1863. Momaday, N. Scott. (Kiowa) House Made of Dawn. Harper, 1969.

An effective and objective portrayal of the contemporary Native American's dilemma. The locale is a Southwest Pueblo, rich in its own cultural and spiritual heritage and with a dutiful respect to feasts and ceremonies brought by Spanish priests. The time is the close of World War II. Abelito has fought honorably but now is overwhelmed

by a great revulsion against the horrors of war. He expresses the revolt of his spirit by returning home to his well-loved grandfather in a drunken condition. Grandfather Francisco's deep love and understanding enable him to accept Abelito. The story emerges as a whole fabric by means of the author's weaving together flashbacks of Abelito's childhood in which he recalls his spiritual heritage in legend and myth. These are interspersed with unfortunate episodes in Abelito's struggle: six years in jail, on parole in the City and attempting to conform. His struggle seems controlled by sinister forces which leave him physically crushed. "Guardian Angels" who understand are Father Olguin, Angela, Milly, Tosomah, and Benally. Mentally and spiritually he finds release and reconciliation with himself as he catches the spirit of Benally's glimpse of the "House Made of Dawn." He returns to his dying grandfather, and spiritually joins the "Runners" in his own pursuit of the "House Made of Dawn"--where there is resurrection and new life. A story of great power and beauty, more fully appreciated if one has previously read The Way to Rainy Mountain, and Kiowan legends.

1864. Nasnaga. (Shawnee) Indians' Summer. Harper, 1975.

What might have happened on July 4, 1976 if the Navajo, Sioux, Mohawk, Apache and Pueblo nations had declared their independence from the U.S.A. On the New Mexico desert, Oklahoma and South Dakota plains, St. Regis on the New York-Quebec border, Indian sentries are stationed so many thousand feet apart; National Guard units are in full array; well-organized armed units approach the Posts. At the same time there is a hush, a quiet which is disconcerting. The Republic of India presents the new nation to the United Nations ... there are meetings in the Oval office ... meetings in the office of the Prime Minister of Canada. Congressman Small Wolf is asked by the President why he has let things go this far. The book reviews and presents the Native American cause in straightforward, clear-cut statements. And because the "President" was at the "last ditch" he had no choice; he acted favorably for

the Native American. The Bi-Centennial celebration went on--celebrated together by white and Native Americans.

1865. Oskison, John M. (Cherokee) Brothers Three. Macmillan, 1935.

Francis and Janet O'Dell began their married life as Oklahoma pioneer farmers in 1873. Their three sons, Timothy, Roger and Henry, better known as Timmy, Bunny and Mister, are each represented as a characteristic symbol of white American culture. Timmy is the wide-awake, opportunistic small town merchant. Bunny, also called the herdsman by his mother, invests in cattle and purchases grazing land. The well-kept farm of Pa O'Dell becomes an unwiedly ranch. Mister, the young man who is compelled to "get away" from home, loves to read, obtains an education, and becomes a writer in New York City. The three brothers, their wives and children are a strongly knit unit, with deep sentiments about the farm. By the mid-1920's the three brothers had each reached the pinnacle of success and were reeling from the revenues. The novel is an excellent evocation of the spirit of the roaring 20's, without cynicism. Family love and loyalty comes through--deep and sincere.

1866. _____. Wild Harvest; Novel of Transition Days in Oklahoma. Chicago: White House Pub., 1925.

A more-or-less contrived story of life in the early days of white settlement in Oklahoma Indian country. Indians play a very minor role. Nancy Forest, age fifteen, is the unselfish, kind, loving heroine, who hoes corn, repairs fences, rakes hay, assists her uncle, Billy Dines, in the barn, and aunt Susan Dines with the cooking and housekeeping. She hoped to attend college and become an elocutionist in the big city, where she would earn money to help her father, Chester, who was impatient and experimental. Uncle Billy and Aunt Sue Dines are the lovable, understanding, salt-of-the-earth folks. Tom Winger--not the typical cowboy, but a cowboy nevertheless--is the hero. Ruby Engel, rough, drinking, the antithesis of Nan in appearance, style and manner, is out to get Tom away from Nan--and almost

succeeds. Harvey Stokes, slow stodgy, obtuse, selfish, jealous, moneymaker, becomes engaged to Nan after Ruby succeeds in ensnaring Tom. There is sufficient shooting to maintain the Western atmosphere and dispose of characters as they prove dispensable.

1867. Pierre, Chief George. (Colville) Autumn's Bounty. Naylor, 1972.

A proper title for this satisfying heroic story. Alphonse, a chief for fifty years, poor in this world's goods, ill in health and bearing the wounds of World War I, suffers the reproach of the community and his granddaughter for his stand against the government policy of reservation termination. He is sustained by the love and devotion of his great grandson, and is respected by the hunters as a great hunter. It is time for the annual cougar hunt but he is delayed in joining it when he is attacked and injured by four children. But the spirit triumphs over the physical. As he rides his old horse into the mountains, the journey becomes in part a spiritual pilgrimage. In dream and reverie he reviews the past and comes to terms with himself, with life and with death. Warding off two packs of coyotes, he uses up his ammunition and loses his gun. A snare is his only weapon against the cougar, and the symbol of the tenacity of his will to live, and his desire for a better life for the boy.

1868. Sneve, Virginia Driving Hawk. (Brule Sioux) When Thunders Spoke. Holiday House, 1974.

Ten-year-old Norman Two Bulls discovers a Wakan (holy) coup stick on Thunder Butte, from which place the Plains Indians believed the Thunders spoke the message of the Great Spirit. Succeeding events, associated with the stick, bring an appreciation of the old Indian truths and values to him, his father and even his Christian mother and the white trader, and a better understanding between them and his grandfather, who lived in the Old Ways. When the white tourist wants to climb the Sacred Thunder Butte and dig for agates, they all agree that the answer is: "No."

1869. Tebbel, John. (Ojibwa) The Conqueror. Dutton, 1951.

A pre-French and Indian War story which takes place in what is now New York State. The reader's interest is easily sustained as the novel moves along over the early years of the career of William Johnson, Irish immigrant, nephew of Sir Peter Warren, a politically influential New York City businessman. William's Irish charm, strong ambition, rugged health, self-confidence, plus insight deepened and supported by his loyal assistant Mich, make him a worthy representative of his uncle in his dealings both with the chiefs of the Six Nations and with the Crown. He achieves great respect, wealth and power. However, his romances fail to give him the deep satisfaction he hopes to gain with Susannah, who seems to be always beyond his reach.

1870. Welch, James. (Blackfoot) Winter in the Blood. Harper, 1974.

He is thirty years old. There seems to be nothing for him on the reservation. He didn't want to be exploited by the city and its organizations to obtain its federal grants, so he returns home. There he was not satisfied, just as his father, First Raise, before him had not been satisfied. They found him frozen to death as he was returning from one of his city bouts. His brother Mose at 14 was killed in a highway accident during the return of the cattle from the mountains. Now he discovers they were the only two he loved. Around him and more especially within him there is only a feeling of distance from others, and from himself. He seems drawn at times to Yellow Calf, the supposed Gros Ventre, blind, aged one who lives three miles away in a rude log hut, among the willows. Yellow Calf's communication is with the creatures of nature and the elements. They "tell" him what is going on--and he knows that "things" are not right. And who was his grandfather? He recalls his grandmother's stories of her girlhood when she was a beauty, and Standing Bear's third wife for only a few years; how after his death she was deserted as the source of tribal ill luck and faced with starvation. After her death and another visit to Yellow Calf, he comes upon another meaningful link in his life. The hope for continuity exists.

1871. Williams, Ted C. (Tuscarora) The Reservation. Illus. by the author. Syracuse U. Press, 1976.

One needs to read large portions of this book at one sitting to see it as a whole. Each episode could be compared to a block in a quilted pattern. At the end one comes away with the feeling that a full rich life has been lived in which the traditions and wisdom of the Elders come through in an earthy humorous philosophy. The continuous encroachments of the white man these hundred years and more have left their imprint. He regrets not remembering more of the wisdom of the Elders. He asks the question: Will the generations coming carry on?

Part 6

PRESENT DAY REALITIES WHICH RECALL MEMORIES OF AN EARLIER AND BETTER TIME: Interviews, Letters, Stories, and Other Prose Selections

1872. Banyacya, Thomas [for Hopi Traditional Village Leaders]. "Letter to President Nixon to Protest Peabody Coal Company's Stripping Coal from 65,000 Acres Leased from Navajo-Hopi Tribes." In McLuhan, T. C., ed., Touch the Earth. New York: Outerbridge & Dienstfrey, 1970, pp. 170-71.

1873. Bennett, Kay. (Navajo) "Letter to the Editor." In Milton, John R., comp., The American Indian Speaks. Vermillion: U. of S.D., 1969, pp. 171-172.

Justifies her reason for writing: to preserve a dying culture, she tells her own story and that of her people's struggle against the invading white man and his culture.

1874. Big White Owl, or Jasper Hill. "The History of America Started with Us." Blue Cloud Quarterly. v. 16, no. 2.

1875. Carter, Caleb. (Nez Percé) "The Nez Percé" [at Christmas]. In Henry, Jeannette, ed., The American Indian Reader: Literature. The Indian Historian Pr., 1973, pp. 127-8.

The Christmas season is usually celebrated by both the "old time Indian" and the "Christian Indian." Many participate in both events, which are marked by the giving of gifts.

1876. Cohoe, Grey. (Navajo) "The Promised Visit." In Milton, John R., comp., The American Indian

ANALYSIS OF NATIVE AMERICAN CULTURE:

IMAGE AND ANTI-IMAGE.

BY

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ANALYSIS OF THE NATIVE AMERICAN CULTURE:IMAGE AND ANTI-IMAGE.

I. INTRODUCTION.

II. SACRED TEXT PRESENTATION.

III. POSITIVE IMAGE OF THE NATIVE AMERICAN: AS A SPIRITUAL AND HUMAN BEING.

IV. ANTI-IMAGE OF THE NATIVE AMERICAN: AS A STEREOTYPE.

V. SUMMARY.

ANALYSIS OF THE NATIVE AMERICAN CULTURE: IMAGE AND ANTI-IMAGE.

Introduction: Ethnic and racial diversity is a reality of American life. It is now, as it has been throughout our history a valuable resource, not only for the enrichment of this culture and this society, but also for reinforcing the rights of all based on the dignity of each individual.

Ethnic grouping provides the relationship which assures the diversity of our society. Caring about one's identity can enhance and support what it means to be an American.

Strong ethnic groups have been important in providing members with a sense of pride in their cultural heritage, with a sense of origin and a sense of belonging. Tools that are needed to make the transition to full access to the social and economic benefits of our pluralistic society.

All people should be able to have a sense of pride in their cultural heritage. This ethnic pride must serve as a basis in the assessment of how the materials affect the Indian person's image of self and how it would affect the non-Indian person's image of the Indian people.

An analysis of the class materials and other sources read regarding the Native American culture and view point presented create an image of the Indian as a spiritual and human being that is a positive one. This is in contrast to the stereotyped image of the Native American that predominates in the minds of many Americans and the media.

Creating a positive image need not mean the creation of a glorified one. On the other hand, the Native American has been reviled as a dirty, drunken, cruel and warring savage, as a stereotyped image, not that of a real human being.

The Cheyenne people were a specific example of inaccuracies and distortions. Tom Weist in A History of the Cheyenne People, 1. points out that "The Cheyenne were traditionally a peace loving people; their history is essentially the story of a particular group of human beings who, faced with a variety of human problems, tried to deal with them to the best of their ability. When they were pressured by other tribes and later, the encroachments of the white man, they could and did fight exceedingly well in defense of their land; however, they never were the militant super-warriors portrayed by Hollywood and the fiction writers."

1. Tom Weist, A History of the Cheyenne People. 1977, Montana Council for Indian Education. Billings, Montana. p. 16

Sacred Text was the subject discussed at a lecture that I had the privilege of attending at the Hubert H. Humphrey Institute on Public Affairs.Dr.Lou Casagrande is a cultural anthropologist who is with the Arts and Science museum of Minnesota and his presentation was about the Sacred Text and the Council of Forty Four from the Cheyenne Tribe.

The Cheyenne during a period of three hundred and fifty years were able to adjust to different enviroments and adapt to four modes of life. They were unique in having a political structure called the council of "Forty Four".

The Cheyenne were a tribe of Indians belonging to the same family as the Shawnies, Ojibways and the Blackfeet. They originally lived in the vast area between the Great Lakes and Hudson Bay. They lived on the Cheyenne River in South Dakota and in parts of North Dakota and also near the head waters of the Mississippi River and in Minnesota, near the Lake Superior area.

They were driven westward by the Sioux,where they became expert riders, after they obtained horses which changed their way of life. They had been seed gatherers, farmers, hunters and fishermen in Minnesota. The horse gave them freedom. They could now cover greater distances and therefore, the hunting of the buffalo was made easier.

The relentless encroachment by the whites for Indian lands and because of unjust treatment by the whites,caused the Cheyenne to become bitter enemies of the whites and the government, and they stubbornly resisted the government.

The Cheyenne were the leaders in the Northern tribes confederation; they had a stronger tribal organization and a more highly developed culture.Their political structure was based on a network of leadership in which the main person was a recognized hero of all the tribes.There were approximately four thousand Cheyenne which were subdivided into eleven bands. Each band was based on kinship and with about four hundred people in each band. Four leaders were selected by each band,thus, the council was comprised of forty four members.

The council members were called Peace Chiefs. Tenure was for ten years. The criteria for the selection of a chief was made on four qualities; they had to be altruistic, they had to have prestige and they had to be courageous and generous. One example of a hero was that of "Sweet Medicine", who was their spiritual leader. He believed that the truth of the world was how to live in harmony with the Creator and with creation as a whole. He brought the sacred ceremonies of the four arrows and the sacred hat. The four arrows stressed power over humankind; power over enemies; power over self and power over the buffalo.

Sweet Medicine's position was more than a spiritual leader, it was similar to that of a chief of staff. He could interpret the sacred text and handle the five sacred objects. There were six societies of the military and all military were subordinate to the Peace Chiefs or the civil authority.

Women had the Quilling society which produced grafic representation of the sacred text symbols and received prestige by how high they went in the Quilling society. Tom Weist in his book, A History of the Cheyenne People 2 states"Medicine men and medicine women were quite important, aided young men in vision quest, served as spiritual leaders during ceremonies and performed ceremonies that brought about victory in battle."

Positive image of the Native American; as a human and spiritual being. After reviewing the concepts of the council and the sacred text,a positive image emerges of the Native American. The sacred text had three components. The first, was beliefs, values and ideas. The second, were the five sacred objects. The third, were the symbols and rites. These concepts indicated that the Cheyenne were highly spiritual beings.

The council was an organized political structure. This was in contrast to the point made by Robert F. Berkhofer in his book Native Americans,3 he says "According to the hierarchical relationships thought normal and necessary to white society and the concept of national sovereignty held by those whites invading the continent,most Indian societies appeared to have little or no government. Freedom and equality, even anarchy,prevailed among most tribal peoples from the view of the whites because the degree of formalization, specialization and centralization of the political relationships was so low as to appear nonexistent."

This leads to an important question in evaluating the materials, is the Indian culture being evaluated in terms of its own values and attitudes, and not in terms of those of another culture? An excellent example is that of N. Scott Momaday in his book The Way to Rainy Mountain. A beautifully written book that is about a pilgrimage to his grandmother's grave. By a series of sketches he retells the myths and legends of the Kiowa and of the Indian life he knew as a child. This lyrical and sometimes mystical book is strong on imagery, discriptive detail and evocation of the natural world. The image presented is one of a real human being with strengths and weaknesses, acting in response to his own nature and to his own times.

2. Tom Weist, A History of the Cheyenne People.1977,Montana Council for Indian Education.Billings, Montana. p. 39
3. Robert F. Berkhofer, Native Americans, University of Kentucky Press. p. 122

Anti-image of the Native American: as a stereotype is another question to explore. On the stereotyping of the Native American are the images distortions or misconceptions? Regarding stereotyping, Alvin M.Josephy, in his book,The Indian Heritage of America 4 states "More common among most whites are false understandings and images which they retain about the Indians. For many, the moving pictures, television and comic strips have firmly established a stereotype as the true portrait of all Indians: the dour, stoic, war bonneted Plains Indian. He is a warrior, he has no humor unless it is that of an incongruous and farcial type, and his language is full of "hows,""ughs," and words that end in "um."

In the U.S.Senate Special Subcommittee on Indian Education Report of 1969,Indian Education:A National Tragedy, A National Challenge 5 says"The manner in which Indians are treated in textbooks,one of the most powerful means by which our society transmits ideas from generation to generation typifies the misunderstanding the American public as a whole has regarding the Indian, and indicates how misconceptions can become part of a person's mind-set. After examining more than a hundred history texts, one historian concluded that the American Indian has been obliterated, defamed, disparaged and disembodied."

Futhermore, in The Portable North American Indian Reader 6 Fredrick W. Turner III suggests that the white man"Developed contrasted images of the Indian as a child of the Golden Age and as a blood red savage.The trouble, of course, was that neither image had much to do with the Indian himself, though they had a great deal to do with the image-makers. Both images were, essentially, deeply derogatory and demonstate in yet another way the Western habit of looking at the world and its different peoples only in the light of their potential use."

Summary of the materials that were read in class and externally from the class, indicated that some texts books have been inaccurate, that American Indian studies have been omitted from the curriculum (in some cases) and that some Native Americans have identity problems. The class materials were a good balance of fair, realistic and culturally sympathetic in their treatment of the Native American.

In particular, the inclusion of other areas of study were beneficial because music and art are special means of cultural awareness. The audio-visual presentations were enjoyable and it was fascinating to see the extreme patience the Eskimo demonstated in creating his works of art.

4.Alvin M.Josephy,Jr. The Indian Heritage of America.Knopf,1968,p.8.
5. U.S.Senate Subcommittee Report,1969,Indian Education:A National Tragedy, A National Challenge. p.23.
6.Fredrick W.Turner III,The Portable North American Indian Reader, Viking Press,Inc. 1974 p.485

While there was a predominance of materials on how Indian people lived historically and traditionally, the novel by Louise Erdrich, Love Medicine as a part of the readings has merit. The story of an extended family on and around a North Dakota Reservation from 1934 to 1984 evokes the culture and the acculturation of the contemporary Native American.

Literary materials of the Indian people of today are lacking. Too many people today hold an image of how the Indian was and have no concept of how the Indian lives today. Love Medicine is a powerful story that is rich in the humanity of the different characters.They are real,they hurt, they betray, they love. There will probably be some contradiction to the novel because of some of the negative aspects of some of the characters, as there was to the novel,The Color Purple. However, considering the inaccuracies and the distortions which have characterized much of the telling of the story of the Indian in America, it is especially important to be able to evaluate materials from an Indian frame of reference, that a culture be viewed in terms of itself.

Criteria used would be on whether materials respected the differences between the Indian cultures and other cultures, presenting those differences within the context of the particular culture being depicted, and not in the terms of another culture. All people should be able to have pride in their cultural heritage. This ethnic pride must serve as a basis in the assessment of how the materials affect the Indian person's image of self and how it would affect the non-Indian person's image of the Indian people.

Ethnic and racial diversity is the reality of American life,it is a valuable resource for the enrichment of this culture and this soceity, but also for reinforcing the rights of all based on the dignity of each individual.

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Press.

2. Dr. L.C.:

American Indian Political Structure.

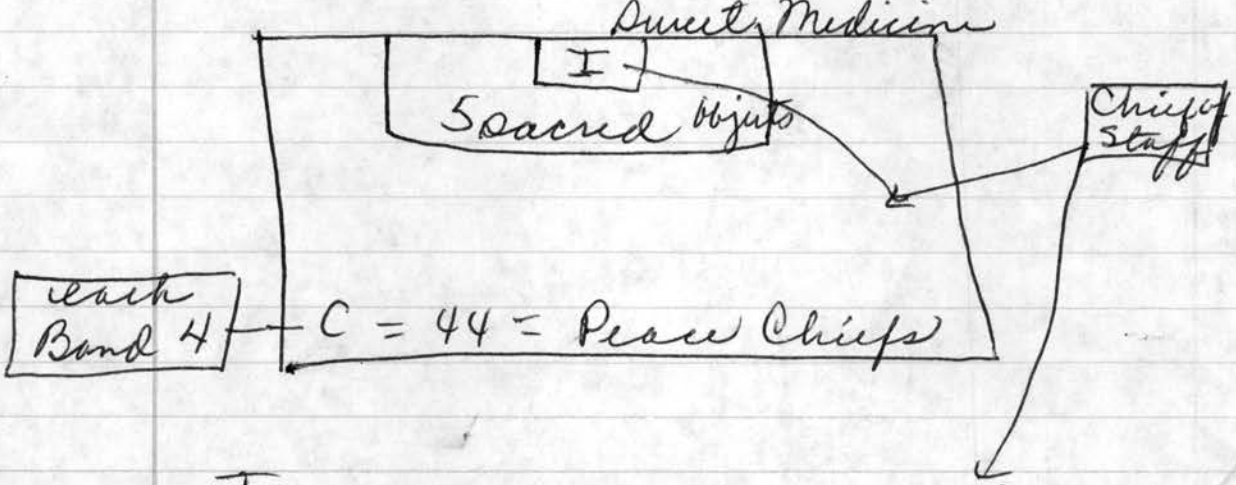
Network of Leadership.

- Hero ~~in ~~ ~~~~. Sweet Medicine
- 4,000 Cheyenne
- 11 Bonds: 400 in each bond based on Kinship
- Each selected 4 leaders. Thus,
- Council comprised of 44 members.

- Council members were called Peace Chiefs - tenure was for 10 years.

Criteria for ~~a~~ Chief

- Altruistik - Prestige
- Courageous
- Generous



To interpret the sacred text all military ~~may~~ subordinate to peace Chiefs or civil authority.

a.) six societies of the military

There was six societies of the military and all military was subordinate to peace chiefs.

B. ~~A.T.C.~~

Men and Women could sponsors and could Renew the sacred text and objects
- Sundance ceremony or vision quest.

Women had the quilling society.
- Grafic representation of sacred text symbols.
- Prestige by how high they went in the quilling society.

Sacred Text: 3 components
1.) Beliefs and values and ideas.
2.) Sacred objects.
3. Symbols and rites.
- 4 corners of the world
- arrows of light.

Leadership is the ability to re-interpret the sacred text for the people. The Charismatic leadership was identified by the three traits
- Ultruistic
- Courageous
- Generous

} in action.

In addition have 5 characteristics
- endure a great journey.
- access to knowledge not available to the others.
- must understand the symbols and rituals of spo
- has a personal symbol that marks pursuas
- has tremendous respect of majority and unique. Can convince people.

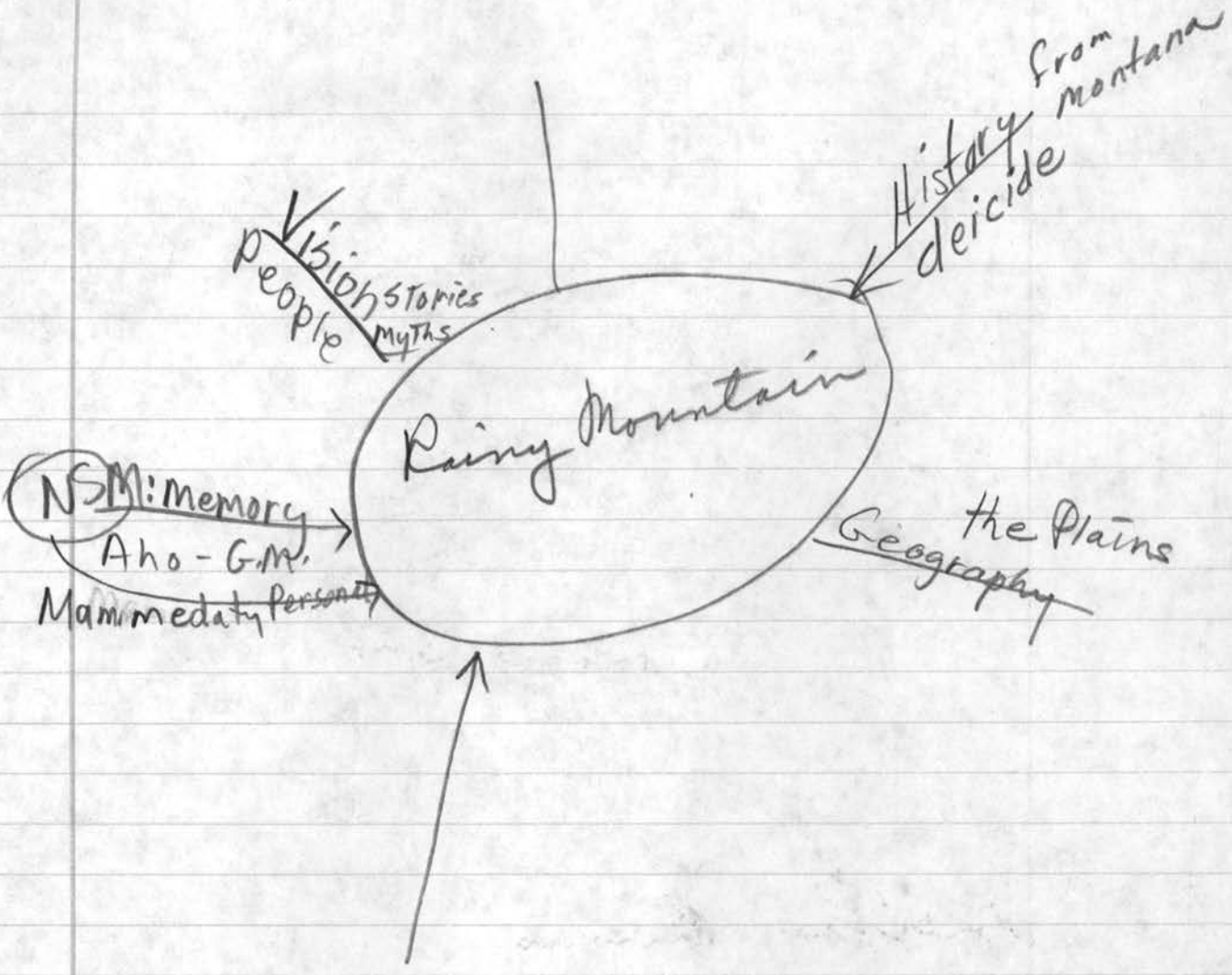
Policies 30's 70's
FDR
Reservation
Wounded Knee

40's 80's
WW II

50's

Terminated 60's
Indian Reservation

Feb. 4, 1986


History from montana
deicide
Vision
people
stories
myths
Rainy Mountain
N.M.: memory
Aho - G.M.
Mammedaty
Personality
the Plains
Geography

Vocabulary

Polyphemus

transmogrified

redounds

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etiological

inferentially

Transactional literature

M[illegible]ate
Lenn[illegible]stey

AMERICAN INDIAN LITERATURE

TERMS TO CONSIDER:

Definitions:

culture

myth

legend

tale

folktale

story

short story

novel

cycle

song cycle

song

chant

poem

narrative

history

fiction

truth

word

folklore

literature – film

mythology

oral tradition

primitive

religeous

complex

sacred

spiritual

holism

tribalism

way

Silent Language
Edward T. Hall
Anthropologist

art / music

oral literature

AMERICAN INDIAN LITERATURE

Metro State
Manifestey

Some Definitions:

MYTH: ": "the actions and counteractions of supernatural beings."

LEGEND: "Its supernatural counterpart: the recording of the deeds and doings of earthly heroes

LORE: "applies to everyday happenings."

Marriot and Rachlin,
American Indian Mythology, pp. 15-16.

MYTH: a usu. trad, story of ostensibly historical events that serves to unfold part of the world view of a people or explain a practice, belief, or natural phenomenon.

- a person or thing having only an imaginary or unverifiable existence.

- 3.b. an ill-foundedbelief held uncritically esp. by an interested group..

Websters Collegiate Dictionary

MYTH: "is an unverifiable and typically fantastic story that is nonetheless felt to be true and that deals, moreover, with a theme of some importance to the believer

TALE: "stories based upon real experiences that are at least partly verifiable; stories devoid of fantastic elements and therefore strictly mundane; and stories that may indeed be fantastic, and also safe from the harsh light of verification, but that are recognized as fictitous or trivial."

John Bierhorst, The Red Swan, page 3.

MYTH: "a narrative recognized by the teller as ancient and probably sacred."

TALE: "a more contemporary narrative whether actual or completely imaginary."

Frederick W. Turner III, North American Indian Reader, page 21.

POETRY: "songs, prayers, orations, visions, dreams, etc." p. xxii

POEM "Indian Poem: many dispense entirely with words;" there are many "elements" in addition to the words, "elwments, I mean, like music, non-verbal phonetic sounds, dance, gesture & event, game, dream, etc., along with all those unstated ideas and images the participants pick up from the poem's context."

Jerome Rothenberg, Shaking the Pumpkin, p. xxi

MYTH: that which someone else holds sacred.
RELIGION: that which you hold sacred.

WORD: "I hold the word tight to my breast." Old Torlino, Navajo (in Astrov, p. 3)
WORD: "In the very earliest time,..., that was the time when words were like magic./ The human mind had mysterious powers./... What people wanted to happen could happen -/all you had to do was say it./ Nobody could explain this:/ That's the way it was." Eskimo, in Shaking the Pumpkin, p. 45

WORD: "... the Indian's relation to the"word" as the directing agency that stands powerfully behind every "doing," as the reality above all tangible reality. It is the thought and the word that stand face to face with the conscience of the native, not the deed." ..."the native feels deeply responsible for using the word as a tool designed not only to perpetuate but to actuate, to bring about change, and to create...."

Margot Astrov, The Winged Serpent, pages 3 and 4.

ORAL TRADITION: "The anishinabe did not have a written history. The past was a visual memory and oratorical gesture of dreams plaiting an endless woodland identity between the conscious and unconscious worlds of the people."

Gerald Vizenor, anishinabe nagamon, page 13.

TALES/STORIES: "The tales of the anishinabe are not an objective collection and interpretation of facts. Stories are a circle of dreams and oratorical gestures showing the meaning between the present and the past in the life of the tribal people of the woodland."

Gerald Vizmor, anishinabe adisokan, page 2.

*****

CLASSIFICATIONS:

Myth Stories, Myth Incidents, Trickster Tales, Hero Tales, Journeys to the Other World, Transformations.

Stith Thompson, Tales of the North American Indians

Setting the World in Order;
The Family Drama;
Fair and Foul;
Crossing the Threshold:
- passage from unconsciousness to consciousness;
- the ordeal of puberty;
- passage into and out of the animal world;
- passage into and out of death;
- transition from nature to culture.

John Bierhorst, The Red Swan

*****

PRIMITIVE: "these /'primitive'/ peoples... are precisely 'technicians' where it most concerns them - specifically in their relation to the 'sacred' as something they can actively create or capture. That's the only way in fact that I'd hoped to define 'primitive:' as a situation in which such conditions flourish & in which the 'poets' are (in Eliade's phrase) the principal 'technicians of the sacred.'

Jerome Rothenberg, Technicians of the Sacred, pp. xx-xxi.

Notes
#=Codetta Resources.
#3.

p. 25 The Dakota or Sioux Dominated central Minnesota and the prairies to the West. The corpse site in Mille Lacs-Kathio State Park was an Eastern Sioux village. etc — a
(1680 yrs)
There is also a record of the presence of the Cheyenne, who were at that time, according to tradition, a farming people living on the western fringes of the central area.

#7- When pressured by other tribes and the later encroachments of the white man, they could and did fight exceedingly well in defense of their land; however, they were not the militant super-warriors portrayed by Hollywood and the fiction writers. Left-Hun.-1700 p. 16

#7 Since the Cheyennes placed great value upon female chastity, boys / girls carried on courtship from a distance, older women or mothers chaperoned unmarried girls - p. 37

#7 Council of 44 — 40 chiefs - 4 from each of 10 bands. (A band usually 300-350 members.) tenure 10 yrs. At end of tenure each could select their successor. (often son) The 4 Old Man Chiefs - performed religious functions p. 38

and were considered the wisest men of the tribe. Chiefs provided example of Proper Cheyenne behavior. They were always to be Generous, Kind, even of temper, brave and wise in making major tribal decisions. When / when tribe should move etc. Council of 44 worked closely with the men's society. p. 33

(7) Men's Societies

Primarily social groups however also military organizations: 4 societies 2 of them founded by Sweet medicine. p. 38

(7) Medicine Men/Women.

were quiet important, aided young men in vision quest, served as spiritual leaders during ceremonies and performed ceremonies that brought victory in battle. p. 39

(7.) Sweet Medicine: spiritual leader brought the Sacred ceremonies Arrows and the Sacred hat. Concept of living in harmony with the Creator and with Creation as a whole - p. 24

(7)

p. 138 In 1889 Wovoka Paiute medicine man lived near Pyramid Lake in Nevada.

CULTURAL TRADITION AND TRADITIONAL CULTURE[1]

Excerpts from a lecture delivered June 15, 1964, at Eau Claire State University as part of Midwest Indian Youth Leadership Seminar.

Nancy Oestreich Lurie, Associate Professor, Department of Anthropology, University of Wisconsin - Milwaukee

Confusion often exists in understanding the difference between cultural tradition and traditional culture. The two are confused by non-Indian people and some Indian people, or, when Indian people are aware of the distinction, they find it difficult to explain. I think a good illustration of the distinction can be found in one of my favorite Indian jokes. There was a young man, an Indian, who held a good job, was well educated, lived in a nice house, drove a good car, and so on. But he grew a bit tired of his co-workers, well-meaning White people, who would say to him: "Well, you really aren't a Blackfeet Indian any more. You don't wear buckskins or feathers or ride around on a horse." He finally thought of an answer to this kind of statement: "Well, you really can't consider yourself an American. After all, you're not wearing a powdered wig or knee breeches and silver buckles like the people who signed the Declaration of Independence." In each case, the White man and the Indian were talking about traditional cultures. Confusion lies in the erroneous idea that in order to be identified for what you are you have to be some kind of living antique. Actually, of course, people only know about their traditional cultures, their histories. Cultural tradition is the thread of continuity that allows the Blackfeet to identify very logically with the people who did wear buckskins and did ride horses, that allows any American to also identify very logically with people who signed the Declaration of Independence.

To carry this illustration of cultural tradition a little further, some of you may have already heard this story. But that possibility did not bother me because I was telling it as an Indian joke to a primarily Indian audience. Those of you who are at all familiar with Indian humor know very well that it does not matter whether a joke has been heard a dozen times or not. If it is funny once, somehow it is funnier the oftener it is told, and told, and told, and told! In contrast, as you doubtless well know, non-Indian people usually start a joke with: "Stop me if you've heard this." And they will stop you if they have heard it whether or not you have asked them to do so! This is just a tiny example illustrating different traditional views of humor, and, I might add, politeness. I might mention another matter of cultural tradition - Indian time. What intrigues me about Indian time is that so often people think it is just being late. You might be interested to know that Indians do not have a mortgage on this concept. Another very strong cultural tradition that has perpetuated itself despite many material changes is that of the Jewish people. They talk about Jewish time and they mean anywhere from half an hour to two hours after the clock time. But if you look at Indian time, it means lateness but it also can mean anywhere from two days before the time appointed. Such differences show up in many things such as attitudes toward material goods, decision making processes, generosity, and inter-personal obligations. Cultural tradition is a matter of feeling, of living, of being; a matter of values. It is a guide to behavior, a guide to ways in which you can express your individual creativity to make it meaningful to others. It is something to use.

Traditional culture is something to know, to learn. It is a matter of historical developments, the kind of facts that ethnographers and historians collect and

1. These are my terms for a distinction sometimes designated as culture and history, social identity and cultural history, etc.

publish. You can learn about your traditional culture from books, but your cultural tradition must be experienced. Nobody is saying that you must remain or become involved in your cultural tradition. If you want to, that is fine. But if you are going to make any kind of Indian identity at all and find yourself in a position of leadership, non-Indians are going to ask you questions about Indians. You must be prepared to either answer intelligently, which takes study, or admit, "I don't know the answer to your question." If you guess and are caught in factual errors about your traditional culture, it will be that much harder to be considered reliable in stressing respect for your cultural tradition which you may know very well indeed.

No one should feel that because he lives within his cultural tradition that this automatically qualifies him as an expert historian of his traditional culture. Furthermore, nobody carries all historical knowledge around in his head. It takes study, particularly if you are concerned with the whole scope of Indian history beyond your own tribe. You must learn this from books and from talking to older, informed people in your own group. Furthermore, you ought not believe everything you hear or read but try to find the most reliable and unbiased authorities, and learn to distinguish fact from opinion. To think that you are an expert on the history of your people because you have always lived among them is like saying, "I know all about obstetrics because I have had a baby." Very obviously, a male doctor cannot really know what it feels like to have a baby, but he can recognize symptoms and prescribe medicines and procedures which may spell the difference between life and death for the mother. But it still takes mothers to have babies and they do so all the time without the slightest knowledge of the science of medicine.

There is a difference between things that are experienced and things that are simply known. Very often, however, your experience in your cultural tradition includes the sharing of knowledge of your traditional culture. Augmenting such knowledge consciously can be exciting and rewarding. All we can do in this seminar covering only two weeks is to simply give you a taste of knowledge of traditional Indian cultures. We will try to bring the story from prehistoric days right up to the present moment. Even the history and policy of the Indian Bureau which will be dicussed are part of traditional culture. If a thing happened yesterday, it is now part of history, of traditional culture. Obviously, we cannot tell you everything. Nobody know everything. We can only point out what kind of information exists and raise the kind of questions one must be concerned about to fill out his knowledge.

If you are going to fill the role of an Indian leader, it is a good idea to become acquainted with your history in order to be able to answer questions or say frankly, "I don't know the answer in this case, but try this or that source of information." As a matter of fact, any informed American, whether or not he is an Indian, should now about traditional Indian culture as an important and influential factor in the total history of the nation.

Now, in regard to our two basic topics, traditional culture and cultural tradition, in order to understand cultural tradition, it is necessary to discuss some basic concepts of anthropology. Both cultural tradition and traditional culture were talked about during the Conference which preceded this seminar, but the stress was actually on cultural tradition. Although nobody had to define it as such, various Indian leaders spoke about the things that Indian people are doing at present in terms of the stimulus and inspiration they find in their cultural traditions. I would like to discuss some of our understandings of this general matter in terms of the nature of culture and how it persists and changes at the same time.

As Indian people living today in the twentieth century you are exposed to many cultural traditions, many ways of doing things, many outlooks, many attitudes. You and your immediate and remote ancestors have been under tremendous and continuing pressure to give up Indian cultural traditions and become identified with, learn to use, and live exclusively within the cultural tradition of people whose traditional culture originated largely in Europe. For years non-Indians and some Indian people have expected this is what would happen inevitably. Europeans brought a good deal of ethnic arrogance with them and, believing their culture superior, expected it to prevail over all others. But Indian people proved to be as stubbornly committed to their own ideas. Much to the surprise and embarrassment of some of the predictors, they find that the "superior" culture has not really prevailed. It is interesting to go through the history of such groups as the Hopi who have been reported on regularly. One finds that one hundred years ago somebody wrote, in effect, "In ten years there will be no more Hopi culture. We are bringing them education, we are doing this and that and the other thing for them." Ten years passed and though many of the new things were accepted, the Hopi persisted as Hopi. So the observer said, "Well, it is taking a little longer than we expected, but in another ten years...." Here it is, 1964, and some people are still saying of the Hopi and others, "In another ten years..." We have been constantly misled by the fact that while Indians learned to drive automobiles, work in factories, eat canned goods and dress like other Americans, these replacements of items of traditional culture did not automatically result in replacement of cultural tradition. Cultural tradition was simply adapted to changing external circumstances.

Thoughtful people are now forced to say, "Indian groups are not going to disappear in any foreseeable future. They may disappear eventually but at this point we simply and humbly admit we do not know enough about the nature of cultural persistence to make sweeping predictions." People can change, they do change through time, but there is also continuity of identity, of feeling, of attitude, of outlook, of pride; and this continuity is not easily stamped out. Indian people have simply dug in their heels that much more deeply when they felt they were being dragged off in directions they did not want to go. The sad thing is that often when Indians managed to avoid what they did not want to do, they were unable to do what they wanted to do and Indian affairs reached an impasse. Hopefully, young leaders will be able to find ways out of the present difficulties.

Perhaps an understanding of the nature of culture will be of help. I must mention, however, that our understanding of the nature of culture is a very recent and incomplete thing. The social sciences are the newest upon the academic scene. Mathmatics has been around for a long time; chemistry began as alchemy in the Middle Ages; people began studying botany a long time ago; the Greeks were speculating on the processes of biological evolution long before the time of Christ. But the social sciences--psychology, sociology, anthropology and the like--are Johnny-come-latelies. They are newcomers clamoring for attention and they are apt to be very noisy--upstart children usually are, but they are maturing. We are at least reaching the point where we can admit that there are many questions we cannot answer but we are becoming aware of our limitations and learning to ask questions in such a way that we stand a chance of finding some answers.

A very wise anthropologist named Ralph Linton once made an observation about the nature of culture, that is the way people live, behave, act, think and survive in social groups. He said of the study of culture that it is as if we lived at the bottom of the sea, because if we lived at the bottom of the sea, the last thing of which we would be consciously aware would be sea water. This is the way with culture. We cannot live without it. We take it for granted. We even begin to

feel it is something we are born with because it is so automatic. We only become aware of the fact that our responses to the world and people around us are learned when we have the opportunity to see that other peoples have other ways of meeting the same human problems--common, universal problems every group must deal with. Every group must decide what jobs must be done and how they are to be done so that everybody in the group gets enough to eat, is sheltered, and that the group as a whole survives. We have to make sure that children are produced with a minimum of competition among adults in finding mates, and we have to make sure that these children will be cared for and brought safely to maturity. This can be accomplished with a family structure which stresses only the mother and father or an extended family structure which involves grandparents and other relatives in the care and training of children. All the universal problems can be met in a variety of ways. Making a living can be done by agriculture, by hunting, by fishing, by industrialization. The problem of economic survival is universal; there are simply different ways of solving it. This is true of all aspects of life. However, when a group has determined upon given ways of doing things, they must make sure that everybody is fully informed to permit effective cooperation, and that everybody is convinced this is the way to do things. A group cannot have too many people hold back and not want to take part or question the part they take. On the other hand, a group must be flexible in order to meet changing conditions. For any group to survive it must inculcate its beliefs and values, that is, its culture, in all its members.

Oddly enough, it is only recently that anthropologists have become fascinated with the study of child care and training and the insights psychology has to offer on individual behavior. Fifty years ago, anthropologists went out--most of them were men to begin with--and collected all the information they could on different groups' religion, social organization and economics. Maybe their publications might include a picture of a cradle board, but very little was said about children. During the last twenty years, many people have been going out to do re-studies to obtain all the neglected information. How do Chippewa Indians get to be Chippewa Indians? Or, why do Winnebago think of themselves as Winnebago? What are the influences in childhood and adulthood which are brought to bear to perpetuate cultural traditions despite marked changes through time in traditional cultures? We are not too sure of many answers, but al least we are aware of what we should study in addition to our long standing interest in cultural change.

And the fact is that cultures are constantly changing. The talks* dealing with traditional cultures will bring out in detail the fact that the Indians, who are often thought of as just sitting here doing nothing but being Indians, were changing their cultures constantly and were in the process of changing when Europeans first arrived. All that European contact did was to re-channel changes and in some cases oppose what would have been the logical nature of events had the Indians continued unchallenged by Europeans in the courses they had already embarked upon. Any culture is always changing, whether it comes in contact with other cultures or invents new things for itself. It has been said that man is the only animal with a capacity for boredom. We cannot help it; we keep on creating. It does not necessarily mean that we are always getting better or progressing in any absolute sense, but we do tend to make our lives more complicated, and sometimes for no really pressing reason of survival. We just keep noodling around, playing with ideas, experimenting. Part of building a better mousetrap is simply a matter of interesting noise. It may not catch any more mice, but it is our own, distinctive mousetrap. When any two groups come in contact, history has shown that inevitably they borrow items and ideas from one another and changes occur in both groups. Here I would like to point out that changes, whether from within or from outside a group, seem to follow two different forms which I will call Type I and Type II. Type I changes are the kind that are made most readily. A group takes on a new thing,

* Dr. Robert Ritzenthaler - Milwaukee Public Museum
Dr. John James Bodine - Marquette University, Milwaukee

an innovation, chops off the rough edges, pushes it into a slightly different shape, or adds little details or new meaning or usages to the item. In short, the group makes the innovation fit the existing scheme of things. They make it part of their own culture. They have improved upon or elaborated their culture; they are the same people they always were. Let us now consider Type II innovations and then we will illustrate both types. The second kind of change is one in which a group has to change itself in order to accept or live with a new thing or new circumstances This too may be thought of as improvement or elaboration or even a means of maintaining the status quo under new conditions.

By way of illustration, in the midwest during the early period of the fur trade, the traders came with all kinds of goods that the Indian people could very readily accept as Type I innovations. They quickly substituted iron kettles for clay pots, guns for bows, textiles for tanned hides. However, when people copy, even in borrowing actual items, they never make exact duplicates. There is always some little creativity, some little change that is going to occur to make the copy a little bit different in its new setting. The borrower's traditions keep impinging on the innovation. For example, a very popular item in the trader's stock was ordinary thimbles. But the Indians' method of sewing was to use an awl to punch holes and draw a stiff sinew through the holes rather than sew with an eyed needle and soft thread. When the Indians looked at thimbles, they did not suggest sewing to the Indians at all, they suggested rattles or bells. The Indians took their thimbles home, punched holes in the tops, drew knotted cords through the holes, and made dangling ornaments which tinkled pleasantly when they bumped against each other. You have probably seen such thimbles as decorations on cradleboards or clothing, or you may have seen conical adaptations of the same idea made of tin or silver.

While walking around the library here at the university, I noticed another example of Type I Innovation, there is an Indian dress and some other clothing on display made of textiles which were acquired from the traders. They are ornamented with floral designs. Anthropologists have argued about these floral designs and where they came from. They have become so much a part of Indian tradition in this region that the fact that there have been influences from the French altar cloths, laces and brocades has been hard to pin down. Apparently this type of floral design has a dual source. In this part of the country and further east there were both straight line geometric designs and what they call a double curve motif, that is a design that is bi-laterally symmetrical, the same on each side. They did not represent flowers or leaves or anything of that sort, but they were simply experiments with abstract curvilinear forms. Given this tradition, when the Indian people saw the designs that the French brought, they borrowed the French floral patterns, but adapted them to their own double-curve patterns. We now have double curve Indian design which has been made more elaborate by the addtion of conventionalized flowers and leaves.

On the other hand, you are also doubtless aware of items non-Indians have taken over from Indians. Things are combined in ways which an Indian person, who is familiar with the details of tradition from which the things came, would not think of doing. For example, consider popular songs where lists of tribes are rattled off. To the borrower, these are simply interesting sounds and they make an interesting song. Or consider the various designs which might have ceremonial or special significance to an Indian group but are merely artistically attractive creations to the non-Indian. Sometimes utilitarian objects from Indian cultures, such as pottery from the Southwest, are carried home by tourists and proudly displayed on the mantle shelf as knick-knacks or art objects and never put to any utilitarian use.

General American culture has included far more from various Indian cultures than we are often aware of. Throughout the United States we have towns and cities and rivers and states and counties named with Indian words. There must be thousands of these words that make the geography of this country unique and distinctive. But, in being borrowed, these words have been made to fit the patterns of the English language. I happen to be familiar only with Winnebago, a Siouan language, and I note that throughout central Wisconsin there are many places with Winnebago names. They are not pronounced quite as they are in Winnebago but they can still be recognized. Necedah, is from nizira, Yellow River. In English we do not have a single trill sound designated by r, so we substitute d and work other changes in the rest of the word. Nekoosa, referring to the river bed, is also pronounced slightly differently by English speakers compared to proper Winnebago pronunciation. The same is true of towns and lakes near Eau Claire which come from Ojibwa or Chippewa, one of the Algonkian languages. Pokegama, for example. Milwaukee and Wisconsin both derive from Algonkian origins.

When we take on such things and make them part of our own culture we are not frightened that we are losing our identity or destroying our own culture. We are expanding and enriching our culture. We are picking out of the great cafeteria the world and filling up our own little tray to suit ourselves. This kind of change occurs all the time. It is natural, inevitable, and helps to make life interesting. However, what a people select from another culture and the ways in which they use their selections are determined by their own cultural traditions and the analogies they can make to their traditional culture to make the new item meaningful. Thus, in this part of the county, Indian people have exchanged canoes for ponies, and ponies for automobiles, but retain many of their own distinctive attitudes about vehicles for travel and the purposes of travel itself.

Sometimes, it is necessary to change ourselves to accomodate new objects or new ideas and this is what I call Type II innovation. When this is done voluntarily, it usually does not create confusion in the culture but, in fact, is considered as improving it. In effect, a group agrees by the act of accepting such an innovation, that it is doing what it wants to do in increasingly satisfying ways. At the time of White contact, for instance, the Chippewa and Ottawa and other northerly Algonkian speaking tribes had begun experimenting with an innovation which had come in from the south, agriculture.[2] Somewhat further south, tribes such as the Winnebago, Sac, Fox, Kickapoo, Miami, Shawnee and others were already more strongly committed to agriculture. The northern Algonkians could not depend very heavily on their gardens because Indian corn requires 120 consecutive, frost-free days in the growing season. The line of 120 frost-free days runs through Wisconsin just about along the Fox, Wisconsin, and Black River route. Raising Indian corn north of the line is a bit chancey. Newer varieties of corn, themselves altered forms of an item borrowed from the Indians, do not require such a long growing season. However, even prehistorically, corn had been diffusing to northern Indians and was changed along the way. Each more northerly tribe took over hardier seeds that survived their shorter summers and gradually natural selection resulted in corn requiring fewer days in the growing season. Corn actually moved up north of the St. Lawrence River but it was pretty pathetic corn with little nubby ears.

In addition to the experimentation that went into making corn fit the needs of more northerly tribes, a Type II innovation began to be involved in the addition of gardening to the custom of simply gathering wild plants. Agriculture provides the opportunity for a larger population to occupy a smaller amount of space and for longer periods of time than is the case with hunting and gathering. More

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2. Some anthropologists feel the term agriculture should be restricted to plow farming and that gardening with stick or hoe should be designated horticulture. By this definition, Indians practiced horticulture but I will use the term agriculture as the more familiar word for planting.

people in each generation survive because they are less subject to the hazards of starvation and accident that are attendant upon a hunting and gathering culture. People are usually interested in survival, so Indians began taking on agriculture and began changing themselves from namadic to more sedentary ways.

When the fur trade became important, Indian people in the north not only took over guns and kettles and thimbles and textiles as Type I innovations, but they also abandoned their gardening experiments or maintained small gardening at the simple state it had reached by that time. They had new economic opportunities to experiment with: expanded trade. Trapping for peltry encouraged seasonal roaming rather than permanent village life that results in increased commitment to agriculture. Changes that had been set in motion earlier were simply deflected along other channels. Even groups such as the Winnebago, who had begun to plant very large gardens, became less agricultural, in order to take advantage of materials available through trapping for the fur trade.

These materials gave them more leisure time. If you could buy an iron kettle, you did not have to spend time making pottery, and furthermore the kettle lasted longer than a clay vessel. Likewise, if you could trade for textiles, you saved the time of tanning hides. From the immediate point of view of the Indian people, these innovations were advantageous. They found more efficient ways of surviving and enjoyed the leisure provided in elaborating their art work and ceremonials during this period. People changed their habitual ways to accept this Type II innovation. The patterns that were moving in the direction of greater agriculturism were deflected by increased trapping and a new Type II pattern was based on trade, business, if you will. This was done by choice and throughout the early period of contact Indian people demonstrated adaptive ability and interest in change. It is when other people try to impose Type II and even Type I changes and say, "You have to do it my way!" that resistance is likely to arise.

However, this raises an important point in terms of the nature of culture. Is it possible to really live indefinitely within more than one cultural tradition? Very frankly, some anthropologists say, "No," but others say, "Yes," and yet others want to study more before saying anything. This is what makes meetings such as the Eau Claire Conference so exciting. Indian people have been saying, "Yes" to the question and it is up to them to prove their contention. There is actually a good deal of evidence for the argument that it is possible, as long as you know which tradition you are living in at any given time. Apparently people can switch gears and find their lives considerably enriched by having more than one cultural tradition to draw upon. But when interacting with one group, you are not likely to get the response that you will with people in another group and it is finding your way in this kind of world that is sometimes difficult.

I believe there is a valid analogy, a valid comparison, to people who speak more than one language. They do not mix their languages. They may in the early states of learning another language, but children who grow up in bi-lingual families speak two languages without even an accent from one to the other. They have no trouble because each language is a self-contained, logical system and when they speak one language they speak within the system of that language. Some people control three, four and more languages in this fashion and, at least it has been my experience in knowing such people, they are not confused by all those languages. If anything, they have a much broader grasp of the nature of the world than those of us who have to stumble along with only one language.

In regard to being able to live in a dual cultural tradition, there are certainly many people who do just that and do it very well, so it cannot be said that it cannot be done at all. On the other hand, we also know there are many groups

which have not perpetuated their identity and have lost their own traditions in assimilating to another. Each instance seems to have its own reason and one concern of social scientists is to see if any generalization can be drawn about the differences in cultural persistence and change. The continued identity of Indian people is a matter of their own choice. It will require explicit realization of points on which confusion develops. Sometimes the smaller tribal traditions and the larger Euro-American tradition are diametrically opposed. I would like to mention by way of example the tapes I listened to recently of some educational broadcasts featuring Ruth Underhill, a well known anthropologist. At one point she talks with the director of one of the Indian schools on the Navaho reservation. It was pointed out that one of the big difficulties, once they got young people into school at all, was educating them in White social skills. Although well trained for various jobs, certain ideals of politeness, simple good manners among the Navaho, worked against their best interests in dealing with White society where they would be seeking employment. Navaho consider it very impolite, as do many other Indian groups, to look someone directly in the eye. This is prying, it makes people uncomfortable. In a situation in which a Navaho would be trying to find a job, the White employer would be made equally uncomfortable by the Navaho's averted gaze and be apt to consider it evidence of shifty-eyed nervousness. The Indian Bureau man expressed the view that in making small talk, looking directly at people and, in the case of girls, carrying purses or walking with high heels, young Navaho people could simply learn to use these skills where they were appropriate but not necessarily abandon their own cultural tradition where it applied. The broadcasts were made in 1950 and represented a slowly changing attitude on the part of the Indian Bureau. For almost 100 years the policy had been to insist that Indians give up their own tradition entirely.

There are many examples of the difficulties encountered in social contacts between peoples of different traditions, both on a specific tribal level and on the level of certain general Indian traits common in many tribes. Rosalie Wax and Robert Thomas in the article included in your readings provide an excellent discussion of these matters.[3] They note that Indian people usually do not waste words. This makes non-Indians uncomfortable because they have been brought up to abhor silence. White people generally expect conversational noise even if it is not very meaningful. They figure that sooner or later someone will pick up something in all the random talk as a basis of real conversation. Wax and Thomas also point out that Indian people usually do not offer unasked for advice. In small talk among non-Indian people, no matter what you say you will do, somebody will offer advice. You say, "I'm going to buy a Ford," and someone is sure to say, "You ought to buy a Chevy!" What happens in social situations is that the White person becomes uncomfortable when the Indian person does not respond to all the cues of small talk and opportunities to express opinions. He begins to think the Indian person sullen or surly or strangely withdrawn and this drives him to greater efforts to throw out more conversational cues. The Indian person then has even more to ponder in figuring out what is expected, what the situation demands, and may grow even more thoughtful and silent.

The school director mentioned felt that the solution is for Indian people to shift gears, learn the social skill of samll talk in situations requiring it. I was very interested that at the recent Conference some of the Indian speakers saw another solution. They felt it was necessary to learn new social as well as vocational skills, but that non-Indians should also be willing to respect Indians for what they are. They hope to make non-Indians aware that Indian still have distinctive

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3. Reprint from Phylon, Vol. XXII, No. 4 (Winter, 1961), pp. 305-317. AMERICAN INDIANS AND WHITE PEOPLE by Rosalie H. Wax and Robert K. Thomas.

ultural traditions which contain much to be admired and even utilized by the larger society beyond borrowing costumes and learning dance steps and prizing other items of traditional culture going back 100 years. They claim that there is a living, being, real, honest-to-goodness cultural tradition as deserving of respect as the antique past. And the fact is that sometimes it is very good to have people around who think before they open their mouths when everyone else is filling the air with meaningless noise. A well defined sense of personal dignity, respect for the sensitivities of other people and a lesser commitment of materialism, are values the larger society can well learn to appreciate, rather than expect Indian people to always copy White social behavior.

In summary, then, cultural tradition is something you live with and use. You have the choice whether you want to remain within your cultural tradition. The option to drop it and assimilate is always yours. Nobody can make you "Be an Indian," if you do not want to do so. But if you want to retain your Indian identity, it can be exciting, enriching and rewarding. Your appreciation and understanding of your cultural tradition can be greatly enhanced by familiarizing yourself, through study, with your traditional culture, your history. As an educated person, whether Indian or not, you do not understand the totality of the history of this country if you are not aware of the nature of things from the Indians' side of the picture.

Native Americans

Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr.

FISH-INS AND RED POWER SLOGANS, the occupation of Alcatraz and the takeover of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Washington, the second battle of Wounded Knee and the rise of urban Indian guerillas all demonstrate a new militancy among American Indians and their leaders. The spectacular sales of Vine Deloria's *Custer Died for Your Sins* and Dee Brown's *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*, the popularity of the teachings of Don Juan, the Yaqui sorcerer, the advocacy by Marlon Brando of Indian rights, and President Nixon's return of Blue Lake to the Taos Indians all appear to indicate a new sympathy for and even understanding of the first Americans by white Americans in general and a drastic change in government policy. At the same time the very complaints of Indian leaders about new land grabs, lack of consultation with them about the future of Indian peoples, and the dominant society's apathy to the murder of Indians and the denial of their civil rights all point to the persistence of longtime white attitudes and official policies. Reports upon the conditions among Indians issued by government agencies and foundations in the 1960s and 1970s catalogued the same problems of health, education, housing, economy, and federal administration detailed in the famous Meriam Report of 1928. For fifty years, evidently, the basic plight of the Indian has remained much the same.[1] On the Indian side, factionalism within tribes looks as great as ever; the Indians as an ethnic group appear as little united as always. But the rise of new organizations such as the American Indian Movement, the survival of the National Congress of American Indians for over three decades, and the rhetoric of pan-Indianism and Indian nationalism suggest a new day has dawned in American Indian leadership.

These recent events and actions raise fundamental questions about continuity and change in American Indian leadership. Have tribal and

intertribal organization and leadership changed sufficiently to demonstrate that a new stage of American Indian history has been entered, or are the old factionalism and tribalism merely wearing new labels? Have state and federal policies and general white American attitudes and practices modified enough to assert that a new era of enlightened white approaches to Indian survival has dawned? Do Indian leaders as a result have new options in seeking those ends they think best for their peoples, instead of accepting what government bureaucrats and white do-gooders maintain is best for "Indians"? In other words, are white Americans willing to assist Indian leaders with the problems of American Indians as the latter see and understand their condition? Will the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), for example, allow the Indians self-determination without determining the bases upon which Indian leaders must accept that boon or what they must do to court the continued favor and funds of the "great white father" under such a policy?

Scholarly monographs and articles upon the history of white attitudes and goals abound in comparison to the dearth of scholarship of the goals and policies of Indian leaders over time, the changing nature of tribal governments and leadership, and the history of tribal divisions and factions.[2] Although the specific genealogy of modern Indian leadership cannot therefore be traced readily, the overall evolution of political organization in tribal socieities is known sufficiently to suggest the persisting problems facing American Indian leadership in general. The histories we do possess reveal that most tribal societies changed in order to survive under altered conditions and that adaptation produced internal conflict within the society about the methods of survival. Leaders and factions formed about the various strategies of survival and change. Modifications therefore occurred in Indian political systems for internal as well as external reasons. The basic divisions and strategies in the past provide the background of the factionalism that disunites Indian leaders and their followers today.[3]

As a result of this factionalism, no one Indian or group of Indians can speak for all residents of a reservation or all members of a tribe, let alone for all Indians. While schism is common to the history of all ethnic groups in the United States, it is especially complicated for Indians by the unique relationship many of them bear to federal and state governments. Because Indians were the original Americans and therefore the first inhabitants of this nation's territory, Indian tribes were once treated as separate political entities under the laws and treaties of the United States. Although factional divisions often prevented tribal leaders from acting in a unified fashion, white laws and political practices in regard to the first Americans demanded nothing less. Thus at the same time as white pressures upon tribal peoples partly caused and certainly exploited factionalism, the legal and diplomatic customs designed to foster land

sales and assimilation presumed that these divisions could and should be overcome in favor of white goals and policies.

The consequences of this special legal connection and status constitute the problems and opportunities peculiar to Indian leadership as opposed to that of other ethnic groups. This unique heritage underlies the repeated references by Indian leaders to tribal sovereignty and their demands for self-government. The differences among leaders in defining these terms and what constitutes their proper exercise reveals the continuing factional divisions among Indians.[4]

The conditions that produced and have sustained factionalism can only be suggested through a brief schematic history of tribal political developments. From the perspective of present-day Indian politics, one historic trend seems paramount to all others: the changing balance of power between various tribal governments and white governments over time. As the balance of power shifted from one side to the other time and time again, the issues facing tribal members and the strategies they attempted changed in roughly similar ways for many tribal societies. Under these transformed circumstances, the number and types of leaders, the nature of tribal government itself, and even the size of the political community altered.

Scholars dispute whether or not factionalism existed in aboriginal Indian societies, but political anthropologists and historians of tribal government agree with nativistic-minded, traditional leaders that subsequent political developments and tribal factionalsm must be measured against the (presumed) nature of tribal governments before or shortly after contact with whites. The numerous peoples living in the area now the United States never established a state comparable in extent or organization to that of the Aztecs or the Incas. Although a few tribes approached statelike governments, for most tribal peoples the effective political community was far smaller than the cultural or linguistic areas and even less than the tribal territories shown on modern maps. In other words, ethnic and cultural similarities like feelings of in-group identity did not coincide with political jurisdiction in most so-called tribes. Political decision-making extended to a territory and group of people no larger than a few villages or bands at best. Even in the renowned League of the Iroquois, for example, political activity mainly occurred at the village rather than the tribal or confederation level.[5] As a result, aboriginal political systems generally embraced few people, and the ratio of leaders to people was low. Moreover, chiefs, whether the position was inherited or achieved, possessed authority on the basis of influence and continued efficacy more than upon power and hierarchy as the whites understood these conceptions.

According to the hierarchical relationships thought normal and neces-

sary to white society and the concept of national sovereignty held by those whites invading the continent, most Indian societies appeared to have little or no government. Freedom and equality, even anarchy, prevailed among most tribal peoples from the view of the whites, because the degree of formalization, specialization, and centralization of the political relationships was so low in most Indian societies as to appear nonexistent. Although most tribes probably had some conception of socioeconomic strata, they lacked the words for the power relationships presumed normal in white societies. Tribal peoples were vitally concerned about power, but their conception of it was so different that modern-day scholars may wonder whether the white conception of government and politics is cross-culturally applicable and therefore conceptually valid in the discussion of most Indian societies. Tribal peoples did not differentiate power into religious, political, or economic categories. They saw unity where whites, particularly modern ones, compartmentalize the sectors of human life. This ideal of life's unity, whether always real or not in the past, shapes Indian political consciousness even today, particularly among those persons claiming to represent the old, traditional ways in Indian politics and religion.[6]

Not only did the Indian peoples presumably exhibit a nonhierarchical, nonbureaucratic, nondifferentiated sociopolitical unity compared to white societies, but they also professed to believe and to practice unanimity or consensus in decision-making. According to many scholars and Indian leaders, native political units before the coming of whites decided upon a course of action through consensus of the whole group or left the thing undone. Voting was presumably as unnecessary as it was undesirable. If factionalism existed and if it could not be contained through traditional methods of social control, dissenting leaders and their families and followers could remove to another place within the tribal territory and therefore restore political consensus in both the old and the new community under the rule of local autonomy that prevailed in most tribal societies. The ideal of consensus remains today like the ideal of unity—a principle espoused by many Indians, especially traditionalists, as the most desirable state of tribal political affairs. Even as such goals increasingly recede from any possible practice by Indian political units, some leaders espouse them ever more eagerly.

Most tribal histories subsequent to white contact can be divided for analytical purposes into four or five generalized phases: (1) the period of indirect contact with white trade goods, diseases, and ideas introduced into a tribal society through Indian intermediaries; (2) the early years of direct contact with various types of Europeans or Americans with their ways of life and values as well as material artifacts; (3) a time of intensive large-scale interaction between a tribe and whites who

demand diplomatic alliances, land cessions, and adoption of white religions and ways of life, leading to warfare, disruption of tribal life, and dispossession of lands; (4) an era of a relatively stabilized conquest society usually marked by the continued cession of lands, placement upon one or more reservations, and a more intensive demand for social and cultural change according to white models; and, lastly, (5) a modern period that varies in length according to whether it is measured by a "new" federal policy or by degree of change within a tribal society. Of course, not all tribes passed through all phases or in such strict sequence. Moreover, times varied for entrance into a phase and for the duration of a phase in different tribes. Furthermore, for those tribes long beyond the reservation stage, the modern period must be differentiated into additional phases.[7] In spite of these conceptual problems, however, such a schematic periodization still makes sense in discussing political change in a tribe, because it calls attention to the parity of power between a tribe and the encroaching white society in each phase and the resultant implications for self-determination and political autonomy for the tribal society.

As the balance of power, or the real foundation of sovereignty, changed, the usual social controls that supported the decision-making process failed to contain factionalism. As the balance of power tilted in the direction of white society, the urgency of coping with white demands for cession of land and the adoption of Christianity and "civilization" increased. But the ability to agree upon any one strategy declined under the ever-larger number of white interests and the ever-stronger presence of white force in tribal affairs. Traditional methods of social control became harder to apply as factions formed around different options, and some tribal leaders and their followers received white approbation and, more importantly, support of funds or force at the expense of other leaders and followers. Factionalism therefore flourished as tribal power vis-à-vis white power diminished, partly because of the inherent nature of tribal political systems and partly because of the increasing effectiveness of the whites in controlling the overall framework of Indian decision-making. Traditional native governments based as they generally were upon local autonomy and consensus rather than hierarchy and force appeared particularly fertile ground for increasing factional division in these changing circumstances.

Containment upon a reservation represented (some would say represents) the height of white political power in relation to a tribal society and forms the immediate background to the modern period in many tribes. The classic reservation originated as the federal government's solution to the Plains Indians' lifestyle, but the power relationship embodied in the concept of the reservation stretches back to colonial times.

Essentially the reservation subjected the basic direction of tribal affairs as well as residence to outside white decisions and control. Ultimately, white officials determined who would live upon a reserve, where, and how. Depending upon the time, they also decided upon the sale and leasing of tribal lands and other resources, the overall economic development of the reserves, the nature of educational facilities, and even at times the churches and religions, as well as whether or not to recognize tribal governments. The line of command stretched from officials and politicians in Washington to the BIA agents on the reservations who were expected to put these policies in effect and so were given power to call out the military to enforce their powers, to exercise judicial authority at times, to control rations and trust funds, to lease and sell lands, water rights, minerals, and forests, to remove children from their parents in order to send them to school, and to recognize or to sidestep traditional tribal political systems—all to further decisions made in the capital. Thus Indians became at best clients patronized by the agents sent to rule over them. So complete was the agents' legal authority that some analysts have likened the reservation to a colony; others have gone so far as to depict the reserves as the equivalent of concentration camps.[8]

Actual white control on the reservations was never so sweeping, however, as to destroy opposition to white policies or to suppress traditional religions and lifestyles. Various lifeways coexisted (and survived) in spite of white discouragement or encouragement. Previous factions coalesced or new factions formed around the divisions between newer and older ways of life. Such differences often were reflected in the place of residence on the reserve. Around the agent's buildings on larger reservations in the classic period grew up a small town composed of a school, churches and missions, perhaps a hospital, and the homes of white and Indian employees dependent upon white institutions for favor and power. Those Indians who chose assimilative lifestyles gathered there also for psychological support, while those traditional Indians who strove to retain the native ways resided in the more remote backcountry of the reservation. The locus of power and factional lines assumed on some reservations, therefore, a geographical form.[9]

As treaty negotiations shifted from diplomacy and alliance to land cessions and removal and/or concentration upon a reservation, as religious contact changed from isolated missionaries to concerted efforts to stamp out native religions, as the pressure to adopt white ways changed from exhortations to forced schooling and to manipulation of tribal monies and resources, the issues and options presented by whites switched from the periphery of tribal decision-making and politics to the center of the stage. As whites gained increasing control of the framework in which tribal existence had to be lived, their intervention became all the more persuasive and resistance to them all the more difficult. Nevertheless, two or more sides continued to exist on most issues. Should white wishes be resisted at the risk of warfare or retaliation with possible victory, or should they be acceded to in the hopes of gaining long-term benefits from agreeing to what some Indians saw as inevitable? If resistance was chosen, then what was the best strategy for obtaining the desired end and how far should such reistance go with what means? Was survival as a tribe better achieved through capitulation to some white demands or by resisting all white demands tooth and nail?

What the issues and strategies were that divided the people of a tribe changed over time as the parity of power between them and the whites altered. Accordingly, sides formed at first in favor of and against treaties of cession, conversion to Christianity, and the introduction of white agriculture, schools, and other acculturative elements into tribal life. To whites at that stage, these divisions became known as the friendlies and the hostiles, the pro- and antitreaty factions, or Christians and pagans. Further demands for cessions and concentration or removal, the coming of additional Christian denominations, and the establishment of more schools and other acculturative practices created new factions, divided old ones, or transformed the issues and strategies of previous factions. Upon the reservations, BIA agents saw these new factional developments in terms of progressives who favored the religions and ways of the whites versus the conservatives who retained the native religion and older ways. Sometimes they viewed these factions as dividing along lines of mixed "breeds" or mixed "bloods" versus full "breeds" or "bloods." From the viewpoint of the agent, these divisions indicated not only the degree of acculturation but also their receptivity to his policies.

How pervasive these factions were in how many areas of life in a tribe and how permanent their personnel over time is generally unknown because both historians and anthropologists have usually neglected tribal political genealogy. Did these factions form along hereditary lines, and did political association, religious affiliation, reserve residential location, and family connections correlate to a large degree? Or, were factions loose floating coalitions of interests rather than of persons that changed according to the circumstances? Were ends always in dispute, or just means? Although, we do not know the specific answers to these questions, we do know that factionalism has a long history in many tribes.[10]

Moreover, we know that what passed for traditional as well as progressive lifestyles and beliefs changed over time. Some conservative religions today, for example, originated as revitalized or syncretic faiths in the historic, reservation period, such as the Long House religion of the Iroquois or the Peyotism of the Plains. Thus what was defended by some tribal factions as traditionalist modified throughout the course of a tribe's history.

With this history in mind, the question of who was a tribal leader and

to whom can be surveyed briefly from early contact times through the reservation period as prelude to the modern-day problem. Even before white contact in the so-called protohistoric period, widespread death from the diseases that swept through many tribes may have opened up leadership positions to those not normally eligible for such office in a tribe and may have raised the issue of legitimacy and authority of newcomers in those offices. During the early phases of contact, those who dealt with officials from white governments were frequently the war chiefs, who normally acted as go-betweens with outsiders, rather than the hereditary leaders. As white officials learned more about a tribe's political system, they might still have chosen to treat with those they designated chiefs rather than the legitimate leaders. The question of who was a chief became increasingly disputed, therefore, as white pressures for diplomatic alliances, land cessions, and conversion to white religions and ways increased. The treaties that whites demanded required signatures of Indian leaders from a specific tribe controlling a specific territory. Just as white negotiators often designated certain Indian groups as tribes without fully understanding the actual political community as opposed to the ethnic territory, so too white negotiators chose those Indians friendly to their demands or liable to coercion or bribery who would sign the treaty or grant the concession, regardless of their actual status in the tribal political system.

On the other hand, the problem of who was a chief to whom may have become an issue because of internal tribal politics also. Rivalry between traditional leaders and those who sought leadership positions without the proper family connections or other background considered correct according to customary rules may have determined who sided with white demands for cessions and for assimilation or who led the resistance to such demands. Richard Metcalf hypothesizes in a recent article that those in positions of authority according to traditional ascription coped with white leaders through reconciliation of their fellow tribespeople to their policies, while the opposition to white requests came from those tribesmen who coveted leadership positions for which they could qualify only by resistance to white demands.[11] Certainly those whom the whites recognized as friendly to their demands might benefit their followers as well as themselves. Such recognition discriminated between those who would lose and who would retain lands in cessions, who would have power through the control of political affairs in a newly emerging political arena, and whose authority would be enhanced through control of annuity distribution. Chiefs benefited personally from emoluments and prequisites that went with accession to white demands. In brief, factionalism in many a tribe may have represented a struggle of ins versus outs, animated by the promise of patronage and personal benefits.

Although nearly every tribe went through a reservation phase, its effects on political organization, size of political community, amount of factionalism, and number of leaders varied from tribe to tribe. Partly the variation occurred because reservation boundaries restructured tribal relationships in so many divergent ways. Some tribes retained part of their native lands, while others were removed to areas distant from their ceded homelands. Sometimes the various political communities of a tribe were consolidated upon one reserve, while at other times they were distributed among various reservations. Or, in still other cases, political communities of more than one tribe were concentrated upon the same reservation. Since reservation formation was usually not a single event in a tribe's history, members of a tribe experienced more than one of these variations over time.

Each variation had different implications for the identification of chiefs and the shape of factionalism. Consolidation of bands and villages upon a reserve located upon original tribal lands meant the loss of lands by some tribespeople in favor of others, and the consequent movement of the losers into the traditional political jurisdiction of the other tribespeople. Relocation and consolidation upon lands distant from the ceded territory meant either the reestablishment of political communities along territorial or jurisdictional lines of old or the formation of new ones in the new locale. The scattering of bands, villages, or fractions of a tribe to different reservations preserved political autonomy of local political units in a sense. The combination of villages or bands from different tribes upon the same reserve fostered either conflict or separation along tribal lines. In some cases, tribal factions informally split reserves through residence; in other cases, one or more factions removed to new reserves, often at quite a distance from the old locale, to the glee of land-hungry local white citizens.

On some reservations and in some tribes, reservationwide or tribalwide political organizations formed for the first time in response to internal and external pressures. Factionalism fostered such a development in many cases because the progressive or acculturative faction frequently tried to establish a more centralized and formalized government upon a territorial basis in place of the traditional kinship system. Usually such a government borrowed white ideas of structure and power. Constitutions, law codes, and elections all indicated the new drift in political organization. In theory these governments asserted more power and authority over the members of a tribe than had the traditional political system in most cases. Traditional or conservative leaders, in opposing tendencies to a newer and wider political arena, counterorganized upon a reservationwide or tribal basis. Political decision-making was thereby transferred from the more localistic political community so traditional in most tribes

to a structure embracing a larger population and usually emphasizing a more formal and specialized approach to power. White governmental agents or philanthropists often aided in this development through advice or through working with the faction promoting new tendencies in governance. Some agents from the Bureau of Indian Affairs, for example, treated the reserve as a whole and sought tribal approval for their policies from the faction favorable to their ideas and wishes or created a group of leaders outside the traditional political system. Traditional leaders might organize more formally to oppose this threat to their authority as well as to protect old ways of life, thought, and faith.

Continued factionalism frustrated the effective working of new political systems. It led to persistent, even formally institutionalized sides, which usually refused to recognize each other's authority and legitimacy. As a result the selection process for leaders was disputed as much as their jurisdiction; the method of arriving at rules and decisions for the tribe or reserve as whole was as unsettled as the rules themselves. To what extent this institutionalized but nonlegitimated conflict followed old politics of ins and outs, patronage distribution, and family affiliation remains to be discovered in most cases. Before the modern period very few tribes or reserves achieved a party system in which factional opposition became formally organized into competing parties operating within an electoral framework considered legitimate by the people it embraced.[12] The Indian Reorganization Act passed under the New Deal had as its purpose the organization or reorganization and election of such tribalwide governments. From the viewpoint of this chapter, the Indian Reorganization Act therefore tried to force many Indian tribes into the modern period. But such a new kind of government ran counter to ideas of proper leadership in many tribes; and that has produced the latest phase in their factional divisions.

To speak of the modern period of tribal history introduces an ambiguity. Is the modern period a phase in our generalized analytical schema, or is it the current status and very recent past of tribes regardless of their political evolution? In terms of the analytical scheme, the modern phase is the late reservation or postreservation period of detribalization. Under this definition, some tribes are just entering the modern phase while others passed that point long ago. The discrepancy between the modern phase of generalized tribal history and the modern day condition of specific tribes spotlights the diversity of tribal societies and political organizations among Indians today. Even when the modern period is given an absolute chronological beginning, a problem of dating the starting point remains. Should the point be seen in the context of white policy or in the light of Indian nationalism? Should the modern period,

for example, commence with the general allotment of tribal lands in the late nineteenth century, when so many tribal membership rolls were constructed, or should the period begin with the Indian Reorganization Act with its reestablished tribal corporations and governments? Still other analysts suggest the period after World War II, when so many Indian veterans and factory workers returned to the reservations and when the United States government pursued a policy of terminating federal trust status for Indian lands and ending federal services based upon that relationship. In looking at Indian political and cultural developments, anthropologist Eleanor Leacock dates the modern period from "the emergence of a new sense of national consciousness and common purpose and by attempts to achieve effective political organization and viable social and cultural reintegration of Indian institutions within the context of contemporary industrial sociey."[13] Why each of these different criteria is significant for understanding the contemporary situation can be seen in the history of two quite different tribes.

The Narragansett entered the postreservation phase well over a century ago but still retain a sense of tribal identity. They occupied approximately the southern half of Rhode Island when the Puritans began settlement of New England in the seventeenth century. Conflict over white expansion led to the conquest of the tribe in King Philip's War (1675–76). In 1709 the chief sachem deeded all tribal land in Rhode Island to the colony, except for a reserve of sixty-four square miles. In the mid-eighteenth century a church and a school were built upon the reserve and marked the acculturative familiarity of the Narragansett with the economy, religion, language, and social institutions of the whites. By that time the authority of the traditional head chief was being replaced by that of a council, and when the last head chief died during the American Revolution he was not replaced. In 1792, the Rhode Island legislature specified the composition of the council, provided for annual elections, and stipulated the voting requirements.

By the 1880s the detribalization of the Narragansett was complete except for ethnic identification and an annual powwow. The reserve had dwindled to only a thousand acres of land held in common by the tribe. Apparently at the behest of the tribal members all but two acres of this reserved land was sold by the Rhode Island legislature, which passed an act abolishing the tribal status of the Narragansett under state law. To divide the sales money from the land, a legislative commission faced the perplexing problem of determining who was a tribal member, for membership was in dispute among the Narragansett themselves because of intermarriage, residence elsewhere, and nonparticipation in tribal affairs. After that decade, Narragansett tribal identification continued through the Indian church on the two acres of ground, the annual

powwow, and the persistence of some kind of tribal organization which became incorporated under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. As of 1970, 424 Narragansett survived.[14]

The history of the Navajo contrasts in almost every way with that of the Narragansett. During the nominal jurisdiction of the Spanish and Mexican governments, the Navajo maintained almost complete independence. Although their culture was influenced by Spanish as well as Pueblo ways, they remained free of white military, political, and ecclesiastical control. Subjugation, however, came rapidly after the United States took over the area in the 1840s. At that time seven to ten thousand Navajo resided in small communities of ten to forty families scattered about the present-day states of Arizona and New Mexico. The power of the United States government and army became manifest in the still vividly remembered "Long Walk" and incarceration of most of the tribe at Fort Sumter from 1864 to 1868. During this period United States military officers tried to redirect the life of the tribe. As part of the experiment, the commander divided the tribe into twelve divisions with the headman of each division composing a council. Deeming the whole experiment unsuccessful, the whites permitted the Navajo to return to a reservation about a quarter of the size they had previously inhabited.

Release brought a return to the traditional decentralization of authority and decision-making as well as dispersion of the population to areas outside the official reserve boundaries. Over the years lands were added to the reserve. In 1915 the BIA divided the reserve into five separate jurisdictions, each with its own superintendent and staff. These superintendents soon after encouraged the formation of local community councils, called chapters. In 1923 the BIA set up a council of two Navajo from each of the five jurisdictions to advise on or to consent to mineral leases on tribal lands. Usually selected by the superintendents, these "advisors" constituted the Navajo Council. This council was enlarged in 1936 to seventy-four delegates elected from federal land management districts within the tribe. Though the Navajo never organized under the Indian Reorganization Act, the tribal council functioned like those established according to its guidelines. It too worked under a written constitution through elected representatives. Not until the 1950s, however, did this imposed tribal government structure become representative of the tribe in any real sense, for only during that decade was an effort made to integrate the chapter organization on the local level with the council on the tribalwide level. The Navajo Nation, as the tribe calls itself today, has a population of over 130,000 on a reserve the size of West Virginia, and its government functions with a large budget in new buildings at its capital in Window Rock. Thus the Navajo passed from local autonomy to nationalistic government only in the post-World War II period.[15]

The dissimilarities between the Navajo and the Narragansett hardly begin to suggest the great diversity among tribal groups today in size of population, place of residence, degree of acculturation, and the nature of tribal government. The Navajo are by far the most numerous tribe with the largest unitary reservation in the United States. The two next most populous tribes, the Sioux or Dakota and Chippewa or Ojibwa, do not together equal the Navajo in numbers and are scattered upon numerous reserves and throughout the general American society. For example, the over 50,000 members of the Sioux constituting the four Eastern Dakota bands or tribes, the two Middle Dakota tribes or bands, and the seven subbands or tribes of the Teton or Western Dakotas live on many reserves located mainly in the states of Minnesota, North and South Dakota, and Montana (and in the provinces of Manitoba and Saskatchewan) as well as in large and small cities throughout the United States (and Canada). The almost as numerous Chippewa live on reserves in Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, North Dakota, and in cities and towns throughout the upper Midwest and elsewhere in the United States and in Canada as well.

The fourth largest tribe, the Cherokee, divide between North Carolina and Oklahoma primarily, although these people too can be found in cities throughout the United States. The Eastern band of Cherokee in North Carolina descend from those of the tribe who escaped forced removal under Andrew Jackson and numbered perhaps five thousand in 1970. The larger population of Cherokee in Oklahoma possess no reserved land in federal trust status, because all their property was divided in severalty and allotted in 1906 when the tribal government was dissolved. The so-called tribal or traditional Cherokee cluster in five counties of Oklahoma, while many other Cherokee live acculturated lives elsewhere in the state. The officially recognized Cherokee Nation represents the interests and activities of the latter more than the former, and the Principal Chief is appointed by the President of the United States. These four tribes constitute about a third of all Indians in the United States. Another eight to ten tribes may have as many as eight thousand members according to 1970 figures, but on the whole most tribal memberships are small.[16]

Reservation populations are also small, and as many Indians live off as on reserved lands these days. The BIA estimated in 1969 that of 255 reservations, for which it claimed some responsibility in the lower forty-eight states, seventy-eight (30.5 percent) contained less than one hundred people, another seventy-five (29.4 percent) had less than five hundred residents, and twenty-five (9.8 percent) accommodated less than a thousand persons. Only twenty-two reservations of the whole number had over five thousand residents, while fifty-five, or 21.5 percent, held from one to five thousand Indians.[17] Those Indians who reside off reservations

may live in nearby rural areas, smaller cities and towns in the general area, or in large cities far away. Many Indians off and on the reservation live in rural circumstances. One authority estimated that in 1960 in the twenty-three states with the vast majority of the Indian population as many as 95 percent of the Indian population in North Carolina and Mississippi and 90 percent in Arizona, Wyoming, and North Dakota were rural but only 17 percent of the Iowa and 30 percent of the Kansas Indian population lived in rural areas. All of Arizona's rural Indian population he estimated lived on reservations, but only a mere 2 percent of California's rural Indian population resided upon reserves.[18]

Although the actual population figures of rural Indians probably rose since then, the proportion of rural to urban Indians has probably declined since 1960. Many Indians live in the towns and cities near reservations—Rapid City, South Dakota, and Gallup, New Mexico, come to mind immediately—or in the large industrial cities throughout the United States. Although urban Indian migration was already noted in the Meriam Report, the great movement from reservation to city began after World War II, partly at the behest of the BIA relocation program but more so on individual initiative. According to the 1970 census, nearly one-third of all Indians live in cities of over ten thousand inhabitants and another 15 percent dwell in towns of from twenty-five hundred to ten thousand population. For instance, the second largest aggregation of Indians in the United States outside of the Navajo reservation today is presumably in Los Angeles, but this Indian aggregation is composed of over one hundred different tribal affiliations, with Navajo, Sioux, and Cherokee believed most numerous.[19] Most of these urban Indians live in poorer dwellings and circumstances, but some reside in suburbs with middle-class attributes. Some of them are members of the many urban Indian centers that have arisen in recent decades, but others remain unattached to their fellow Indians. City life enhances the sense of tribe as well as being Indian for many of these urbanites, but others prefer to live as whites in the mainstream culture with little or no attachment to tribal heritage or pan-Indian association.[20]

Such statistics only hint at the diversity of location, lifestyle, and economic and political interests prevailing among present-day Indians. Perhaps half live on or near federal reservations and have close ties with the BIA and its services. Official figures on such affiliated tribes and reservations vary somewhat according to definition and service but no less than 270 groups seem included. Far fewer Indian groups live in some special relationship to state governments.[21] Many Indians do not live on reserve lands at all because they emigrated from them, lost such lands and services through termination at one time or another, or belong to groups who never had such recognition in their history. Some Indians live on

lands once a part of their ancestors' native territory; others reside in places far removed from ancestral homes. Many reservations lie in isolated rural regions, but still others stand adjacent to urbanized areas. Along with the variety of location and residence goes a diversity of lifestyle on and off reservations, in and out of cities. Within as well as among tribes, individual cultures range from the traditional to the fully "assimilated." On reservations, differences in outlook as well as outer lifestyle exist between the traditional Indians, often called "country" or "full bloods," and the more acculturated "progressive" or "mixed blood" Indians living in reserve towns and working for the BIA or staffing the tribal government. Even in the cities, customs and attitudes range from the thoroughly assimilated middle-class suburbanites to the poverty-stricken Indians having difficulty with the English language as well as other general American habits and institutions.

Some Indians still speak only their ancestral tongue, while many others know only English. For some the regular everyday language is ancestral, but many more use English mainly and their tribal language but on occasion.[22] Educational levels vary greatly, with some having almost no formal training in white-type schools and some few others having college degrees. The vast majority among the young are in school today, but their chances of graduating from high school are slim but increasing. Religious faith among Indians on and off reservations exhibits the same diversity found in other areas of Indian life. On many larger reservations, churches for the standard Catholic and older Protestant denominations coexist with newer Protestant fundamentalist missions and the Native American Church or other nativist-oriented faiths. Some reserves have a population primarily younger, older, or more female and incapacitated than is typical of the Indian population in general. On some reservations and in the city, much intertribal marriage has taken place and even more outmarriage with white Americans. Whites, through intermarriage or through lease and sale of allotted lands, predominate over the tribal population on some reservations.[23] From such a variety of outlooks and residences comes the diversity of economic, political, social and cultural interests that constitute the internal problems of modern Indian leadership within tribal governments and within intertribal, or what some call pan-Indian, organizations.

Before considering how the diversity of interests among Indians today affects tribal political systems, a brief examination of the possible relationships between ethnic entities called tribes and those governments termed tribal is necessary. As a consequence of historical circumstances some ethnic tribes have more than one tribal government located in different places as a result of federal or state policies of relocation and consolidation upon reservations, while some tribal councils recognized by

the federal government today represent a constituency comprised of peoples from more than one ethnic tribe. Some Sioux tribes or bands, for example, have a reservation and a council of their own, but some reservations are shared by Sioux from more than one band but with only one government.[24] The Seneca tribe basically divided after the Revolution into Canadian and New York segments. During a removal fight in the 1830s and 1840s, the New York Senecas further divided into two groups that both now possess tribal governments. The Seneca Nation of New York governs two Seneca reserves and the Tonawanda Band of Seneca live and have a council of their own for a third reservation. Those Cayuga who did not go to Canada after the Revolution are organized as the Cayuga Nation but live on one of the reserves of the Seneca Nation.[25] Members of three ethnic tribes were placed upon the Fort Berthold Reservation in Montana, and they now constitute the officially recognized Three Affiliated Tribes Council. Some small tribes have no government at all or not one that is officially recognized under federal or state law. Therefore tribal councils are usually reservation governments representing parts of the ethnic tribe, or a whole ethnic tribe, or members from several ethnic tribes. To the extent that such tribal councils are reservation governments recognized under federal law, then its members are under its jurisdiction in addition to those of local, state, and federal governments to which they are also subject as citizens of the United States.[26]

Given the history of tribal factionalism, small wonder that dispute still surrounds who are the legitimate leaders upon a reserve and what is the proper government for the tribe-reservation. Traditional or country Indians refuse to recognize the legitimacy or authority of the officially recognized tribal council in many instances, because they declare the council a creation if not also the creature of the BIA and surely not the descendent of the traditional manner of tribal governance. In some cases their boycott of the tribal council arises from the belief that the new tribalwide or reservationwide bureaucratic government asserts power that violates both the traditional allegiance to local autonomy and to equality of decision-making. In other cases, their boycott stems from the origins of the tribal government under the Indian Reorganization Act with its real or implied connection to the BIA. Often the persons running the official tribal councils are those progressive or mixed blood members of the reserve who have the more general outlook if not interests of the BIA in their vision of reservation policy. Thus the division over the legitimacy of the tribal council reflects different acculturative attitudes and vested interests, varying approaches to what is proper government for a reserve, and different persons claiming to represent the majority opinion upon a reserve.[27] Traditionals frequently abstain from voting or participating in tribal government at all in protest. Progressive leaders distribute among their followers the patronage of government programs, particularly under the Office of Economic Opportunity and other poverty programs in the last decade, or they decide how income from leases or other sources will be spent. Tribal election results are frequently disputed, for the different sides refuse to recognize that the other side represents a majority opinion. Still too often tribal politics seem governed in attitude if not in reality by the ideal of aboriginal consensus rather than the idea of party system and conflict.[28]

Off-reservation members of a tribal government may not question the legitimacy of the official tribal council so much as its policies and beneficiaries. Here the question is who will share in the tribal or corporate estate and how. Should the monies arising from leases or from successful claims litigation be distributed among the members of the tribe-reservation, or should the monies be invested in the long-term development of the reservation? Many off-reservation people have favored the immediate division of income and other tribal dollars on a per capita basis so they will benefit, while tribal council leaders wish to promote employment and resource development on the reservation for the benefit of those who remain (and presumably for their own reelection). Such disputes over the fate of the tribal income and estate have raged between off- and on-reservation factions among the Spokane, Flathead, and Blackfeet tribes. The fight on the Colville Reservation in Washington has been particularly bitter, for the off-reservation faction even went so far as to advocate the sale of the entire reservation and the distribution of the proceeds on a per capita basis to the members of the tribe no matter where they were located. Traditionals on many reservations, on the other hand, adjure claims awards from the Indian Claims Commission, for they argue that acceptance of these monies constitutes tribal recognition of the legitimacy of the fraudulent treaties of the past upon which the successful litigation was based or forestalls "reparations" for larger and more important claims against white governments. Leasing not only diminishes the land base of the tribe in their opinion but also encourages white economic practices violative of the sacred mother earth. Naturally, the sale of the reservation appears most heinous of all in their eyes, because it destroys the physical-spiritual foundations of the religious and cultural community that comprises the essence of the tribe in their belief. From their viewpoint, no tribal government possesses the legal authority to negotiate such a sale.

Such internal conflicts lead inevitably to disputes about who are the legitimate members of the reservation-tribe. Who is entitled to vote for the tribal council which decides these matters? Who can legally share in the tribal estate and assets? Who, in short, are the rightful members of the tribe-reservation and by what or whose criteria? Is membership meas-

ured by descent from officially registered members on a tribal roll constructed at the time of removal or allotment, or by blood quanta, by self-proclaimed tribal identity, by cultural affinity, or by interest in and residence on or near the reservation? All these criteria possess different implications for membership, hence benefits and responsibilities accuring to different persons. Should off-reservation as well as on-reservation members be allowed to vote for the tribal council or to decide the future of the reservation and its resources? Who will share in the tribal estate and in what form all rides on these criteria, and the problem of differential advantage and changing residence of tribal members produced the problem in the first place.

Allied to these conflicts and their implications for tribal governance is the contention over the tribe's relationship to the BIA and the federal government as a whole. Traditionals all too often want nothing to do with the agency they hold responsible for wrecking their lives and culture and for supporting the progressives at their expense. Outright assimilationists see no need for any special relationship with the federal government not applicable to all United States citizens. But the vast majority of those people claiming to be Indians probably prefer some special relationship, although they may disagree upon its exact form. Tribal council leaders, beyond their vested interest in the relationship, see more advantages than disadvantages accruing to the tribe from its connection to the federal government and the services of the BIA. While they feel that the white government must always be suspected, they also recognize that benefits do come from vigilance. As the Governor of the Zuni Pueblo commented:

> Indian individuals and communities must work together with the local, State and Federal governments. We at the Zuni Pueblo in New Mexico have developed a Zuni Comprehensive Development Plan with the help of local, State, and private agencies. In this development we were aided by what some refer to as the "old time bureaucrats." These so-called bureaucrats are the best hope of the Indian tribes in obtaining the progress the tribes need through new programs and new policies.[29]

Traditionalists and militants see the tribal council members as too acquiescent in BIA policies even if these appeared to help the tribe.[30] Official tribal leaders themselves do not want to share BIA services and funds with off-reservation, particularly urban, Indians of the tribe, for fear that those services and funds will provide help for even fewer reservation people than at present. Urban Indians, on the other hand, feel discriminated against just because they have chosen to leave the reservation. The BIA, caught between the two sides, has increasingly come to recognize the claims of the urban Indians as their numbers rise in proportion to reservation residents.[31]

A new division over tribal governance may be arising as women claim formal office in tribal government. Although women possessed influence in many traditional tribal political systems, they did not have chieftanships as such. Among the Iroquois, for example, clan matrons had the power to bestow and remove the antlers of office on the hereditary sachems. In the actual modern government of the Seneca Nation, however, women did not receive the right to vote until 1964 and to hold office until 1966.[32] The conflict over women's role in tribal government came to a head among the Menominee after restoration of tribal status to them in 1973. The Menominee Restoration Committee was headed by a woman and contained a majority of female officers, which disturbed the male traditionals. In the occupation of the Alexian Brothers Novitiate in Gresham, Wisconsin, in early 1975, one of the demands of the Warriors Society of the Menominee was the reestablishment of the Menominee male's traditionally dominant leadership role in tribal affairs.[33] How much such conflict portends the future remains to be seen, but increasingly women are assuming leadership positions, particularly in urban Indian affairs.

Differing opinions about tribal political systems naturally transferred to efforts establishing intertribal political organizations upon a national scale. Could any one organization embrace all shades of the Indian political spectrum? Could on- and off-reservation, rural and urban, traditionalist and progressive, militant and moderate, young and old Indians join in the common cause to seek the welfare of all Indians as Indians? Or would they divide along the same lines as they had over tribal governments? Could land-based and non-land-based, Alaskan and continental, Eastern and Western, large and small tribes agree upon a joint program beneficial to all? Should an intertribal association work with the BIA, or even against the BIA but within the American political system, or should such an organization repudiate the whole white system and pursue goals disruptive of national and state governments? Could most Indians even be persuaded to see issues beyond those of immediate interest to their own reservation or tribal situation for ones faced by all Indians as Indians? Would different tribal peoples even recognize each other as Indian, or would they argue over the racial, cultural, and social characteristics of who was more truly Indian and who could more accurately represent all Indians? The answers to these questions are not yet in, but suggestions of possible answers come from the recent history of intertribal political organizations.

Although Indian nationalists of today point out the inspiration for such intertribal organization in the political confederacies of the Iroquois and other tribes or the diplomatic confederacies led by Pontiac, Tecumseh, and other famed Indian leaders, the modern phase of pan-Indian political association came only with the formation of the Society of Amer-

ican Indians (SAI) in 1911. The society was the first national Indian organization run by Indians in the name of Indians. Previous associations working for the benefit of the Indian were run by white philanthropists and reformers for the welfare of the Indian as they understood it. Although the SAI spoke for the Indian, most of its leaders had little or no connection to the tribal governments or peoples of the time. They were acculturated professionals who had achieved position in the white society, and as result often favored the assimilation of the Indian as the long-run solution to the problems foisted upon tribal people by the general allotment act. In other ways, however, they worked on issues that would command attention in later pan-Indian organizations: the status of Indians under law, the opening of the United States Claims Commission to tribal appeals, the reorganization of Indian education, the improvement of health conditions, and, after World War I, self-determination. Soon after that time, the society membership divided badly over assimilation, the relation between the SAI and the BIA, the peyote religion, and the place of tribal causes vis-à-vis pan-Indian welfare. The society faded away in the 1920s as new attitudes and approaches appeared in the formation of Indian policy. The movement toward cultural survival and tribal self-determination became part of the Indian New Deal under Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier.[34]

If the Society of American Indians was a response to the allotment act and Indian policy of the 1890s and early twentieth century, then the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI) arose from the policies of the 1930s. Founders of the NCAI, like those of the SAI, were young professionals from the BIA, religious bodies, anthropology, but, unlike the SAI, also from the tribes. Although acculturated, they saw value in the Indian way of life, and they sought leadership from the tribes. Since the leaders of the tribes frequently came from the newly organized and recognized tribal councils created under the IRA, the NCAI tended to look out for the interests of federally recognized and landed tribes, and so the congress came to be dominated by people from the Oklahoma and Plains tribes. The NCAI monitored federal legislation affecting the tribes as well as the policies of the Department of Interior and the BIA. As a result of this purpose, the NCAI moved from watchdog to advocate and lobbyist. Since the preservation of tribal status was foremost in the interests of the congress as set up, it particularly opposed termination of federal trust and services for the reserves during the 1950s. The congress tried to undo the whole termination program announced by House Concurrent Resolution 108 and in Public Law 280, both passed in 1953. (The latter authorized individual states to assume unilaterally jurisdiction over crimes committed on reserves.) Both policies destroyed the foundations of tribal government and eroded the last vestiges of treaty rights

from the Indian point of view. Essentially NCAI sought to improve the position of Indians from within the given structure of federal relationships, and as a result tribal leaders and councils came to work against the BIA through working with it and knowing its ways. More and more issues came to be formulated narrowly in terms of tribal lands and treaties for the benefit of the landed tribes. By the end of the 1950s opponents of the established NCAI leadership saw them working too closely with the very persons and bureau they were supposed to fight so vigorously. The dissent from within spilled over into the 1960s as new rhetoric, new tactics, and new organizations.[35]

Many educated Indian youth finally found their formal organized voice in the National Indian Youth Council in 1960. Although these youth had been meeting throughout the previous decade, their dissatisfaction with the Indian "establishment" reached a head in the conflict over a "Declaration of Indian Purpose" that was to issue from the American Indian Chicago Conference organized in 1960 by anthropologist Sol Tax to get a united Indian voice to influence the new presidential administration. Twelve uninvited youths formed a caucus at the meeting to influence the final "Declaration of Indian Purpose" along the lines of their thinking.[36] Shortly thereafter these youths, alienated alike from general American society and from the established leadership in tribes and the NCAI, formed the National Indian Youth Council (NIYC). They expressed as much repulsion for the cautious tactics and right-wing politics of the "Uncle Tomahawks" and "middle-class Indians" as they did for the paternalism of the BIA "colonial office," as they called it. In their approach they chose to work outside of official tribal leadership and the structure of the BIA relationship. Probably inspired by the stance as well as the rhetoric of militant civil rights and black activist movements, the NIYC leaders spoke of "Red Power" and developed militant tactics appropriate in their opinion for Indian activism. In the name of tribal sovereignty and Indian nationalism, they employed new tactics to call attention to white violations of Indian treaties and civil rights. The American public first became aware of this force in Indian affairs through the Pacific Northwest fish-ins of 1964 that made the news media with the help of Marlon Brando. In the same year a NIYC member, Vine Deloria, Jr., became executive director of the NCAI. The militant tactics of the young, educated Indians began to define Indian issues for whites as their activities were picked up by the mass media. They hoped to outflank the tribal council as well through these tactics, for they thought their opinions represented the "real tribal people" better than those voiced by the "Indian Bureau Indians" filling official positions in the tribes. Their interpretation of tribalism and self-determination brought before the public the new approach to these traditional Indian outlooks.[37]

Urban Indians also sought political ends through pan-Indian political organizations in the late 1960s. Urban Indian centers espoused political interests as well as the customary social and educational programs. In the Chicago American Indian Center, for instance, factionalism arose over support for the occupation of Alcatraz by young college-educated youth and urban Indians in 1969. From the dissent came a second Indian center.[38] The American Indian Movement (AIM)—so well known today for its urban guerilla tactics, its skillful manipulation of white mass media, and its dramatic causes—started as a patrol in Minneapolis to check police harassment of Indians. Founded by Indians with urban "smarts" and prison experience, the organization quickly spread among city Indians in the Midwest.[39] Although a coalition of urban Indian centers was attempted in the late 1960s and early 1970s, each attempt proved abortive. Nevertheless, urban Indian organizations lobbied for power in the NCAI, and an urban Indian was elected president in 1971.

The increasing power of the urban and Eastern Indians in the NCAI and the attention paid to activists by the federal government aroused the fear of politically conservative, nontraditionalist tribal leaders about the future of the old aims of the organization, especially taxation upon allotments, treaty rights as developed by the tribal councils, the autonomy of official tribal governments, heirship divisions and land consolidation, and the economic development of reserves. In 1971 fifty-one of these leaders formed a separate organization known as the National Tribal Chairmen's Association to protect reservation interests in general and to combat the urban and non-federally recognized Eastern Indian influence in the NCAI. Naturally this group opposed the extension of BIA services to urban and other non-reservation Indians.

In recent years a new alliance appears being forged between some college-educated youths and urban Indians on one side and traditionalist religious and tribal leaders on the other. Their common enemy is the official tribal government and the BIA connection that supports it. Their common ground has become the repudiation of the whole federal relationship as presently structured in favor of a return to tribal sovereignty defined as the kind of political autonomy Indian political communities enjoyed during the treaty-making period. They urge a return to bilateral negotiation for determining the status of all Indians, the conditions under which they would live, and their future relationships with state and federal governments. Evidence of the new alliance and program could be seen in the intertribal caravan that crossed the United States from Pacific coast cities to Washington, D.C., in 1972 to call attention to the "Trail of Broken Treaties." In a twenty-point program tribal traditionalists, AIM people, and Eastern Indians announced this radical view of tribal sovereignty through renewed treaty negotiation. In Washington on the eve of

the presidential election the caravan culminated in the takeover of the BIA offices. Subsequently BIA officials and their Indian supporters and the caravan leaders and their supporters violently disagreed about the amount of damage done to the building during the occupation.[40]

Even more dramatic was the armed confrontation in Wounded Knee, South Dakota, between members of the new alliance on one side and the official tribal leaders and the federal government on the other. For AIM leaders the occupation in early 1973 of the tiny hamlet on the Pine Ridge Reservation of the Oglala Sioux continued a series of demonstrations they had staged to protest white murders of Indians in the Dakotas, but it took on an added dimension as a consequence of Oglala traditionals' complaints against the administration of Richard Wilson, the President of the Oglala Sioux Tribal Council. Not only did the traditionals accuse Wilson of being a pawn of the BIA but they also said he was guilty of corruption. Wilson was an acculturated plumber who lived in the assimilationist town of Pine Ridge; his accusers resided in the more isolated areas of the reservation. During the days of armed conflict and stalemate, AIM militants were joined by Oglala holy men, Indian youths, urban Indians, and Indian nationalists from around the country. They faced federal marshals called out by the BIA and the Wilson-directed tribal police. Manifestoes of Oglala national independence and sovereignty issued from the hamlet, while Dick Wilson threatened to crush the radicals violating his tribal authority. The occupation ended after seventy-two days, but the issues raised there for intertribal organization and tribal government continue to perplex and divide Indian leadership. Should Indian leaders work within the federal system as defined by congressional enactment and BIA policy to achieve tribal self-determination, or must they work outside the customary framework to establish a new kind of tribal sovereignty and independent status for all Indians?[41]

The effect of the new alliance is to bring isolated traditional leaders into the larger pan-Indian world and to link internal tribal division more firmly to national Indian organizations. By introducing college and urban Indians to tribal traditionals, the former gained (or thought they regained) a sense of lost heritage most had not possessed before. Many became militant, self-conscious traditionalists as a result of their newfound tribalism. Being tribal and being Indian, to these self-conscious traditionalists, meant learning the ancestral language and religion. For them the newly emerging Native American studies programs in universities ought to teach the native ways and languages so that modern Indian youths could return "home" once again.[42] History was of vital importance in conveying the sense of a lost world and in proving the autonomous status of tribal societies vis-à-vis the white world and government. Tribal traditionals, on the other hand, gained a new educated voice articulate

in the language of the dominant society to express their longstanding grievances and feelings against the whites and the BIA Indians. From the merger has come an escalation in the rhetoric of sovereignty and a new sophistication in tactics to achieve traditional goals.

Like the factionalism of old, this modern alliance has brought about a broader and more formal level of organization. A new stage of pan-Indian traditionalism has emerged to counter pan-Indian progressivism. Will that in turn lead to a new level of assimilation and acculturation, in spite of the professed rhetoric and goals of the new alliance? How consistent is the rhetoric of tribalism with the imperatives of modern Indian political organization? Must the new traditional tribalism become bureaucratized to be effective, although its proponents espouse an ideology of Indianess that professes a value system just the opposite? Will legitimated party conflict emerge upon the pan-Indian level, as it has in some tribes? Does the new alliance portend the adoption of political modernization, in the name of old ways, as the means necessary to old goals? Or, will the new alliance fall apart because of a basic incompatibility between the tribal traditionalists who remain on the reservation and those urban and college-educated Indians they look upon as pseudotraditionalists at best?

Except for apathetic or active assimilationists, all Indians today espouse the self-determination by Indians of Indian affairs without the termination of some kind of federal relationship and services. Traditionals and their new-found allies push for de facto sovereignty as the only true protection for the survival of Indian societies and cultures. Official tribal leaders also favor self-determination, but to them it means their right to decide tribal affairs within the framework as now constituted. Both positions look back to a tribal sovereignty antedating the power of the white government to determine the framework of a tribe's destiny. Both positions see the continuance of a special place for American Indians in American society and their governance resting upon a special relationship with the federal government. Both rest their cases upon the history of treaties, but they interpret the significance of that history quite differently. One side states that the legal autonomy and actual sovereignty of the tribes was not impaired by conquest: their status remains what the bilateral negotiations once recognized and still imply. The other side accepts the de facto power of the federal government but nevertheless asserts its right to self-determination upon the grounds of custom as well as what the treaties promised. Both sides insist that the treaty obligations of the United States supersede all other laws and policies of the federal government under the supreme law of the land clause in the Constitution. Thus both sides contemplate some sort of continuing Indian separateness,

sustained by either special services, special laws, or by a special homeland.

Under any interpretation self-determination leads to tribal control of federal monies and services. The BIA has started contracting with tribal governments to carry out the services it used to perform. Health care, education, and other programs are now being managed by a few tribal governments with federal connections, as the earlier quotation from the Zuni governor implied. None of these tasks is more important to ethnic persistence than control of the school system and its redirection to Indian ends.[43] Self-determination sharpens the old problem of who handles the money and for whose good. As a result continued political conflict may be expected upon the reserves and within tribal governments—a conflict complicated but not diminished by a continuing urban migration. Those Indians who have lived their adult lives off the reservation but return "home" for retirement only add fuel to the flames of such conflict. Tribal and intertribal organizations will have to accommodate or be superseded, just as the NCAI over time embraced a larger constituency and broader program.

In the end, however, the nature of Indian politics and the problems of Indian leaders must be viewed as much in terms of the framework established by white attitudes and government as by the internal pressures arising from diverse interests and outlooks of the Indian population. Many of the basic issues facing Indian peoples today depend, as in the past, upon what white Americans want and Congress legislates. Can Indian Americans achieve self-determination without white Americans' acquiescence? Will Congress permit the spending of federal funds without specifying how the monies will be spent? Since Congress has not allowed Indians as federally recognized tribes to determine the basic framework of their own destiny in the past, why should we expect any fundamental change in the years to come? Even the recent "therapeutic experience of responsible democracy," to us Henry Dobyn's phrase, comes from federal impetus, exists under its guidelines, and often receives funds from the federal treasury. The Indian Reorganization Act spurred the formation of many a tribal government. The use of lawyers to give added voice to the tribe originally stemmed in many instances from the aegis of the Indian Claims Act of 1946 and was increased by the funding and activities of the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) in the 1960s.[44] At times the OEO lawyers aided the opposition to the official leaders in addition to the tribal government itself. In those cases, white professionals supported by federal funds entered the delicate internal politics of the tribe or reservation to influence the direction of social and economic change.[45] Only total abandonment of their status as tribal

Indians finally frees Indian Americans from the paternalism of the BIA and the ultimate supervision of Congress. The factionalism found today within tribes and on the pan-Indian political scene stems partly from trying to cope with the fluctuating policies of those two governmental bodies.

Two basic aims dominated federal, state, and local Indian policy in the past: the acquisition of Indian lands and resources and the acculturation and assimilation of Indian peoples. Whites sought to put Indian-owned resources to "higher uses" according to the values of American capitalism and tried to reshape Indian minds and habits to the "American Way of Life." Although many liberals may think the nation has entered a new era of cultural pluralism and tolerance of ethnic differences, most Indian leaders are far from sure that such professions of idealism are nothing more than the passing fancy of a few alienated whites who talk one way while their many fellow whites think and act quite another. White individuals and governments upon all levels still seek Indian lands and resources as ardently as ever, now in the interest of urban water supplies and farm irrigation, sports fishing and hunting, tourism and parks, the necessity for oil or other minerals, conservation and land management practices, or just about any use but an Indian one.[46]

In most Americans' minds the Indian constitutes "America's unfinished business," to use the subtitle of a recent foundation report that studied the "problems" of American Indians. These now classic problems of health, education, welfare, and economic development activate government policies that lead to assimilation in the minds of Indian leaders. Today they suspect that the new policy of turning over federal services to tribal direction is really aimed at terminating those services. Still other tribal leaders see giving tribal members the same civil rights possessed by other Americans as another way of destroying the authority of the tribal government.[47] In the end, white Americans generally wish to help "the poor Indian" by reforming him according to their understanding of his problems rather than as Indians understand their problems—of which the whites comprise a large part in their opinion.

Given the overwhelming preponderance of the white population and the centuries-long drive to assimilation and dispossession, the endurance of Indianness and the existence of any tribal resources is remarkable. In light of the persistence of Indianness and even tribalness, anthropologists as well as other whites are no longer certain of the ultimate assimilation of the Indian into American society. The factional politics that preserves that separateness so effectively is also responsible for fostering change as well. In recent decades that fight has moved increasingly to the national level of preserving Indianness as the best protection of individual tribes-

people. From a historical perspective, eternal vigilance seems the regular price of Indian survival; the cost is factional division among Indians.

NOTES

1. Compare Lewis Meriam et al., *The Problem of Indian Administration* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1928), with, for example, William A. Brophy and Sophie D. Aberle et al., *The Indian: America's Unfinished Business* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966); Sar A. Levitan and Barbara Hetrick, *Big Brother's Indian Programs—With Reservations* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1971); and Alan L. Sorkin, *American Indians and Federal Aid* (Washington: D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1971).

2. Some exceptions are Deward E. Walker, Jr., *Conflict and Schism in Nez Perce Acculturation: A Study of Religion and Politics* (Pullman: Washington State University Press, 1968); Thomas S. Abler, "Factional Dispute and Party Conflict in the Political System of the Seneca Nation (1845–1895): An Ethnohistorical Analysis" (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1969); and James A. Clifton, "Factional Conflict and the Indian Community: The Prairie Potawatomi Case," in *The American Indian Today*, ed. Stuart Levine and Nancy O. Lurie (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1968), pp. 184–211. I owe much to these and similar studies for my analysis in this paper as I also do to personal conversations with my colleague Frances Svennson, who offered insight both as a Sioux and as a political scientist, and with Robert E. Bieder, assistant director of the Center for the History of the American Indian at the Newberry Library, Chicago, and the Fellows at the Center during the academic year 1974–75. The new scholarly emphasis on what I call Indian-centered history will, one hopes, produce numerous dissertations on native politics, for the sources exist in tribal archives and oral traditions as well as in manuscript depositories and libraries around the United States.

3. I offer an argument for such an approach to Indian politics in "The Political Context of a New Indian History," *Pacific Historical Review* 40 (August, 1971): 357–82. See also P. Richard Metcalf, "Who Should Rule at Home? Native American Politics and Indian-White Relations," *Journal of American History* 61 (December, 1974): 651–65.

4. Wilcomb E. Washburn, *Red Man's Land/White Man's Law: A Study of the Past and Present Status of the American Indian* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971), offers a brief introduction to the legal definition of the status of Indians by an historian.

5. On the size of effective political community among the Iroquois, consult William N. Fenton, "Locality as a Basic Factor in the Development of Iroquois Social Structure," in *Symposium on Local Diversity in Iroquois Culture*, ed. William N. Fenton, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin, no. 149 (Washington, D.C., 1951), pp. 35–54, and Abler, "Factional Dispute and Party Conflict," pp. 35–62.

6. Marshall Sahlins provides an introduction to tribal political and social systems in general in *Tribesmen* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1968). A brief overview of North American Indian political systems may be found in Harold E. Driver, *Indians of North America*, rev. ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), chap. 17, but see also chaps. 15–16, 18–20. Some idea of the difference between Indian and white views of power and governance may be gained from Walter B. Miller, "Two Concepts of Authority," *American Anthropologist* 67 (April, 1955): 271–89. On the language of strata and power in nine Indian cultures, see Munro S. Edmundson, *Status Terminology and the Social Structure of North American Indians* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1958), particularly pp. 25–31, 34–36.

7. Some anthropologists sketch the histories of eleven tribes or culture areas according to such a generalized schema in Eleanor B. Leacock and Nancy O. Lurie, eds., *North American Indians in Historical Perspective* (New York: Random House, 1971).

8. Joseph G. Jorgensen argues the relation between Indian deprivation and neocolo-

nialism in "Indians and the Metropolis" in Jack O. Waddell *The American Indian in Urban Society*, ed. Jack O. Waddell and O. Michael Watson (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1971), pp. 67–113, and *The Sun Dance Religion: Power for the Powerless* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), pp. 89–173. The analogy to the concentration camp is drawn in the title of Carlos B. Embry, *America's Concentration Camps: The Facts about Our Indian Reservations Today* (New York: D. McKay, 1956). Compare Edgar S. Cahn, ed., *Our Brother's Keeper: The Indian in White America* (Washington, D.C.: New Community Press, 1969). Other "theories" of the reservation may be found in Henry F. Dobyns, "Therapeutic Experience of Responsible Democracy," in Levine and Lurie, eds., *The American Indian Today*, pp. 268–91, and George P. Castile, "Federal Indian Policy and the Sustained Enclave: An Anthropological Perspective," *Human Organization* 33 (Fall, 1974): 219–28.

9. On the modern geography of factionalism among Plains tribes, see Murray L. Wax, *Indian Americans: Unity and Diversity* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1971), pp. 85–87.

10. In addition to Walker, *Conflict and Schism in New Perce Acculturation*; Abler, "Factional Dispute and Party Conflict"; and Clifton, "Factional Conflict and the Indian Community"; see, for example, the following works among others on the Cherokee: Frederick O. Gearing, *Priests and Warriors: Social Structures for Cherokee Politics in the 18th Century*, American Anthropological Association Memoir, no. 93 (1962); Henry T. Malone, *Cherokees of the Old South: A People in Transition* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1956); Marion L. Starkey, *The Cherokee Nation* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1946); Morris L. Wardell, *A Political History of the Cherokee Nation, 1838–1907* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1938).

11. Metcalf, "Who Should Rule at Home?"

12. Compare the timing in various tribes for these developments as seen in Abler, "Factional Dispute and Party Conflict," and in Walker, *Conflict and Schism in Nez Perce Acculturation*.

13. Eleanor Leacock in Leacock and Lurie, eds., *North American Indians in Historical Perspective*, p. 12.

14. I follow Ethel Boissevain, "The Detribalization of the Narragansett Indians: A Case Study," *Ethnohistory* 3 (Summer, 1956): 225–45. The population today is given in Theodore W. Taylor, *The States and Their Indian Citizens* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1972), p. 230. The population in the early 1600s is variously estimated. Alden T. Vaughan, *New England Frontier: Puritans and Indians, 1620–1675* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1965), p. 28, places the figure as low as four thousand including the Eastern Niantic. Francis Jennings estimates that the tribe mustered five thousand warriors alone in the same period, *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), p. 26.

15. Brief histories of the Navajo may be found in Edward H. Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest: The Impact of Spain, Mexico, and the United States on the Indians of the Southwest, 1533–1960* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1962), pp. 210–28, but passim; Evon Z. Vogt, "Navajo," in *Perspectives in American Indian Culture Change*, ed. Edward H. Spicer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), pp. 278–336. On political developments in particular, consult Mary Shepardson, *Navajo Ways in Government*, American Anthropological Monograph, no. 96 (1963); Peter J. Iverson, "The Evolving Navajo Nation: Diné Continuity Within Change" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1975).

16. Even population figures for tribes today must be seen as rough estimates at best, for the census probably underenumerates Indians by a considerable margin. D'Arcy McNickle, *Native American Tribalism: Indian Survivals and Renewals* (London, Oxford, and New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 171–79, provides a convenient summary of tribal population figures and location. On the location and life of the present day Sioux, see Nurge, ed., *The Modern Sioux*. For Plains Indian and Cherokee life today, see Wax, *Indian Americans*, chaps. 4–5.

17. Reservation population sizes include Alaskan Indians and are derived from table no. 2 in Levitan and Hetrick, *Big Brother's Indian Programs*, p. 9.

18. Everett E. White's estimates as given in table no. 1 in Helen W. Johnson, "American Indians in Rural Poverty," in *Toward Economic Development for Native American Communities*, Joint Economic Committee of the United States Congress (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1969), p. 38.

19. John A. Price, "The Migration and Adaptation of American Indians to Los Angeles," *Human Organization* 27 (Summer, 1968): 168–77.

20. Waddell and Watson, eds., *The American Indian in Urban Society*, provide a collection of articles on the topic of their title, which they have supplemented in *American Indian Urbanization*, ed. Jack O. Waddell and O. Michael Watson (Lafayette, Ind.: Institute for the Study of Social Change, 1973). For other views, see also the discussion of "The Urban Scene and the American Indian" in *Indian Voices: The First Convocation of American Indian Scholars* (San Francisco: Indian Historian Press, 1970), pp. 333–55.

21. Taylor, *The States and Their Indian Citizens*, discusses federal as well as state relationships with tribes.

22. Department of Labor analysts show some perplexity over the language situation in "Role of Manpower Programs in Assisting the American Indians," in *Toward Economic Development for Native American Communities*, pp. 129–31.

23. Both Wax, *Indian Americans*, chaps. 4–5, 7, and Estelle Fuchs and Robert J. Havighurst, *To Live on This Earth: American Indian Education* (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1972), chap. 3, try to convey some of the diversity of modern Indian life.

24. Some conception of the complexities of the Sioux situation can be gained from a comparison of James Howard's lists in Nurge, ed., *The Modern Sioux*, pp. xii-xv, with the list of governments in Taylor, *The States and Their Indian Citizens*, pp. 240, 242–43, or a list of "Governing Bodies of Federally Recognized Indian Groups" issued periodically by the BIA.

25. These developments in the Seneca Nation can be followed in Abler, "Factional Dispute and Party Conflict in the Political System of the Seneca Nation."

26. For the relationships between ethnic identity and tribal government today, compare the lists given in Taylor, *The States and Their Indian Citizens*, appendixes J, K; Barry T. Klein, ed., *Reference Encyclopedia of the American Indian*, 2d ed. (Rye, N.Y.: Todd Publications, 1973), 2: 147–213; Bureau of Indian Affairs, "Governing Bodies of Federally Recognized Indian Groups" (issued periodically).

27. See the strong feelings of Rupert Costo on the official tribal governments expressed in *Indian Voices*, pp. 286–87, but the whole section on "Forms and Uses of Tribal Government" is worth perusal.

28. Particularly virulent have been disputed elections among the Brule Sioux on the Rosebud Reservation and the Oglala Sioux on the Pine Ridge Reservation. For a participant's view of the dispute, see Robert Burnette and John Koster, *The Tortured Americans* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1971), and *The Road to Wounded Knee* (New York: Bantam Books, 1974). Robert A. White provides some insights into Sioux politics in "Value Themes of the Native American Tribalistic Movement Among South Dakota Sioux," *Current Anthropology* 15 (September, 1974): 284–303. William O. Farber, "Representative Government: Application to the Sioux," in Nurge, ed., *The Modern Sioux*, pp. 123–39, surveys the electoral framework of recent Sioux tribal government.

29. Robert E. Lewis in introduction to Taylor, *The States and Their Indian Citizens*, p. xix.

30. A view of the BIA by a former Executive Director of the National Congress of American Indians is Vine Deloria, Jr., *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1969), pp. 128–47.

31. BIA administrator James E. Officer suggests the perplexity of his agency in Waddell and Watson, eds., *American Indian in Urban Society*, pp. 61–62, and Waddell and Watson, eds., *American Indian Urbanization*, pp. 7–10.

32. Abler, "Factional Dispute and Party Conflict," p. 17.

33. The takeover and the demands are presented and discussed in the *NCAI Sentinel Bulletin*, February 1975.

34. This paragraph is based upon Hazel W. Hertzberg, *The Search for an American Indian Identity: Modern Pan-Indian Movements* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1971), pp. 31–209.

35. There is at present no full-fledged history of the NCAI, but see the Vine Deloria supplement to Jennings C. Wise, *The Red Man in the New World Drama: A Politico-Legal Study with a Pageantry of American Indian History*, ed. Vine Deloria, Jr. (New York: Macmillan Co., 1971), pp. 372–75; Hertzberg, *Search for an American Indian Identity*, pp. 289–91; Wax, *Indian Americans*, pp. 145–48. The best place to trace the changing personnel and policies of the organization is through its own periodical *NCAI Sentinel*.

36. Some indication of the conflict among Indian groups at the AIIC can be glimpsed in Nancy O. Lurie, "The Voice of the American Indian: Report on the American Indian Chicago Conference," *Current Anthropology* 2 (December 1961): 478–500. The declaration may be located in *Great Documents in American Indian History*, ed. Wayne Moquin and Charles Van Doren (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973), pp. 337–46.

37. The standard source on the background and formation of the NIYC is Stan Steiner, *The New Indians* (New York: Harper & Row, 1968), but some of the leaders of the movement repudiate the quotations according to Beatrice Medicine in *Indian Voices*, p. 300. In fact, the whole discussion by her and other participants at the convocation on "Red Power: Real or Potential," ibid., pp. 299–331, is interesting. Robert C. Day summarizes briefly the history of Indian activism during the 1960s in "The Emergence of Activism as a Social Movement," in *Native Americans Today: Sociological Perspectives*, ed. Howard M. Bahr, Bruce A. Chadwick, and Robert C. Day (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), pp. 506–32.

38. Merwyn S. Gabarino, "The Chicago Indian Center: Two Decades," in Waddell and Watson, eds., *American Indian Urbanization*, pp. 74–89. Documents issued from Alcatraz by the group calling themselves Indians of All Tribes have been reprinted in part in *Red Power: The American Indians' Fight for Freedom*, ed. Alvin M. Josephy, Jr. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1971), pp. 187–89; Moquin and Van Doren, eds., *Great Documents*, pp. 374–79. See also Ruperto Costo, "Alcatraz," *The Indian Historian* 3 (Winter, 1970),; 1–12, 64–65.

39. On AIM, see the brief mentions in Wise-Deloria, *Red Man in the New World Drama*, pp. 377–78, 394–97; Frances Svensson, *The Ethnics in American Politics: American Indians* (Minneapolis: Burgess Publishing Co., 1973), pp. 39–43.

40. Vine Deloria, Jr., gives a short history of the caravan and the occupation of Wounded Knee as well as an exposition of the theory of treaty relationship and tribal sovereignty that came out of these demonstrations in *Behind the Trail of Broken Treaties: An Indian Declaration of Independence* (New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1974). Appendix 4 of his *God is Red* (New York: Grossett & Dunlap, 1973), gives the twenty points, the reply of the White House, and a further Indian response.

41. Alvin M. Josephy wrote of his impressions of "What the Indians Want," in the *New York Times Magazine* (March 18, 1973), pp. 18–19, 66–82.

42. Different views of the purposes of Native American Studies programs can be found scattered throughout the discussion of the subject in *Indian Voices*, pp. 161–90. Also see Frances Svensson, "Language as Ideology: The American Indian Case," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 1, no. 3 (1975): 29–35, for an analysis of the topic of her title.

43. Recent tribal control of educational institutions is described in Margaret Szasz, *Education and the American Indian: The Road to Self-Determination, 1928–1973* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1974), chaps. 12–13; Fuchs and Havighurst, *To Live on This Earth*, chap. 17. The rationale for such a movement is offered in David Adams, "Self-determination and Indian Education," in *American Indian Education*, ed. R. Merwin Deever et al. (Tempe: Arizona University Press, 1974), pp. 3–8.

44. The implications of tribal counsel for altering customary reservation relations with the federal government are pointed out in Dobyns, "Therapeutic Experience of Responsible Democracy."

45. The moral and legal dilemmas of lawyer intervention in tribal politics are considered in Monroe E. Price, "Lawyers on the Reservation: Some Implications for the Legal Profession," in *Toward Economic Development for Native American Communities*, pp. 191–222.

46. Recent white efforts to take Indian lands are detailed in Kirke Kickingbird and Karen Ducheneaux, *One Hundred Million Acres* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1973). Problems of fishing tribes in the state of Washington with white government agencies over sports uses and conservation are presented in American Friends Service Committee, *Uncommon Controversy: Fishing Rights of the Muckleshoot, Puyallup, and Nisqually Indians* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1970). A good survey of the subject of its title is Willian H. Veeder, "Federal Encroachment on Indian Water Rights and the Impairment of Reservation Development," in *Toward Economic Development for Native American Communities*, pp. 449–518.

47. Indian scholars discuss "Implications of the 1968 Civil Rights Act in Tribal Autonomy" in *Indian Voices*, pp. 85–104. Testimony before Congress against the Indian Civil Rights Act of 1968 is reprinted in *Of Utmost Good Faith*, ed. Vine Deloria, Jr. (San Francisco: Straight Arrow Books, 1971), pp. 221–27.

Irene Gomez Bethke
Jan 22, 1986

What I want from the American Indian Literature class.

I have always been fascinated by the stories of Indians especially because one of my grandmothers was said to be "half Indian". I always wondered which side, maternal or paternal and about the Indian that was 100 per cent.

Because of this personal interest I wish to learn more about the Indian of North America. It is presumed that one of the better ways to learn about a people is through their literature.

My knowledge of the Indians is that they were many varied people spread over a vast continent living according to the demands of the climate and food supplies. I know that I have certain perceptions based on books I have read both fiction and non-fiction and films. Yet, I feel I do not really know the Indian.

I hope that be taking this class I will have a better understanding of the Indian Culture, their thinking, their spirit as well as their art.