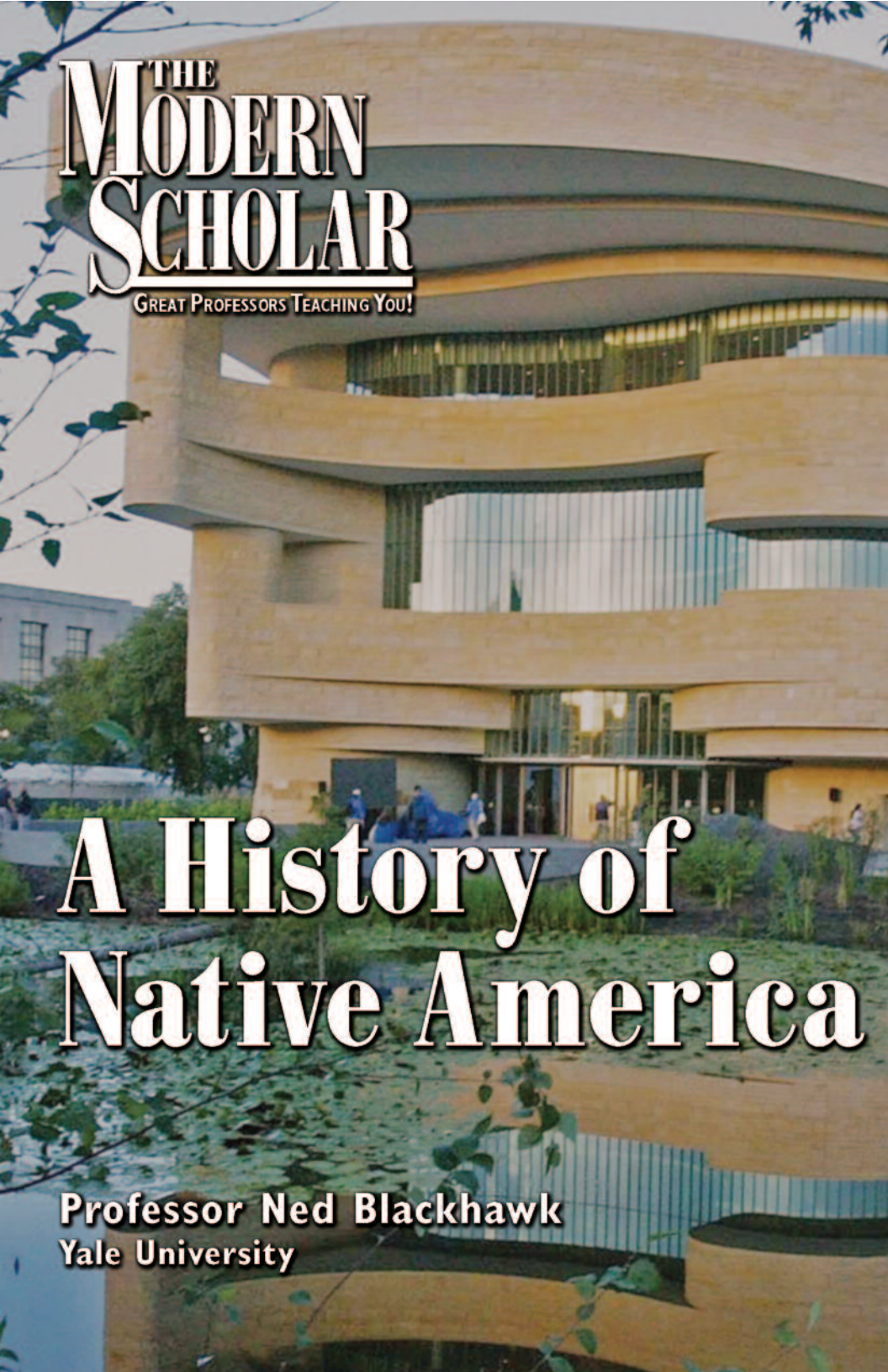
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A History of Native America
Professor Ned Blackhawk
Yale University

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Course Syllabus

A History of Native America

About Your Professor 4

Introduction 5

Lecture 1 Native North America Before 1492 6

Lecture 2 The Columbian Encounter, Exchange, and Conquest 13

Lecture 3 Native Peoples and French, Dutch, and English Colonies: The Seventeenth Century 20

Lecture 4 The Play-Off System and the Seven Years' War 27

Lecture 5 Native Peoples and the Revolutionary Republic 35

Lecture 6 American Indians in the North American West Before Lewis and Clark 42

Lecture 7 The Constitutional Crisis of American Indian Removal 50

Lecture 8 American Indians in the Civil War Era 57

Lecture 9 The Indigenous West of Mark Twain 65

Lecture 10 The Age of Assimilation 73

Lecture 11 Early Twentieth-Century Indian Activism and the Indian New Deal 81

Lecture 12 World War II and the Rise of Termination 90

Lecture 13 American Indian Activism and Self-Determination 95

Lecture 14 The Miner's Canary: American Indian Sovereignty in the Twenty-First Century 101

Course Materials 108

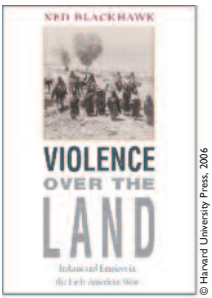
Recorded Books 111

Photo courtesy of Ned Blackhawk

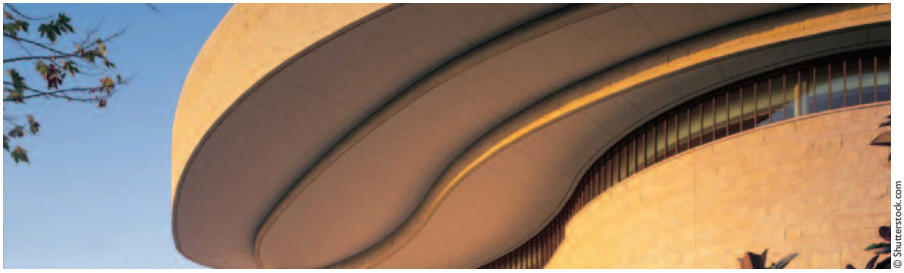
About Your Professor

Ned Blackhawk

Ned Blackhawk is a professor of history and American studies at Yale University, where he teaches American Indian Studies courses and serves on the advisory board of Yale's Native American Culture Center. He earned his B.A. in honours history from McGill University (1992) and graduate degrees in history from UCLA (1994) and the University of Washington (1999). His first book, *Violence over the Land: Indians and Empires in the Early American West*, was published by Harvard University Press in 2006 and examines the history of the American Intermountain West, or Great Basin, prior to Anglo-American settlement. It won multiple professional prizes, including the Frederick Jackson Turner Prize from the Organization of American Historians, the Lora Romero First Book Prize from the American Studies Association, and the Erminie Wheeler-Voegelin Prize from the American Society for Ethnohistory. He has also received several prominent fellowships from the Ford Foundation, Stanford University, and the School of American Research in Santa Fe.



A member of the Te-Moak Tribe of Western Shoshone Indians of Nevada, Professor Blackhawk has published twenty articles, book chapters, and review essays in such journals as *Ethnohistory*, *The American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, *The Wicazo Sa Review*, *American Quarterly*, *Journal of the West*, *The Journal of American History*, the *Organization of American Historians Magazine of History*, and *Atlantic Studies*. From 1999 to 2009 Professor Blackhawk served on the faculty of the University of Wisconsin, Madison, where he cochaired the steering committee that helped create that institution's American Indian Student and Cultural Center.



Introduction

The 2002 opening ceremonies of the XIX Olympiad, in which Utah's five Indian Nations figured prominently, and the 2004 opening of the National Museum of the American Indian in Washington, D.C., are two of the most visible moments in contemporary American Indian history. Despite these and other developments, the struggle for sovereign governance is still very much alive.

These struggles and the modern history of America's indigenous peoples remain indelibly imprinted in the pages of history, and any study of Native America inherently prompts such elemental questions as, Where and how does one begin? And, in fact, it is only in recent times that studies of the Americas have begun with Natives and not with Europeans. Pre-Columbian oral histories and tribal origin stories, however, provide insight into the Native past, and it is now possible to offer a more comprehensive and even-handed approach to a history inextricably bound with that of the United States.

During the course of the following lectures, Native American history is presented from well before 1492 and the subsequent Columbian exchange, through the Seven Years' War and the Revolution, and on into the modern age, with an examination of all the challenges, notable personages, groundbreaking court cases, and other significant landmarks along the way.

Lecture 1

Native North America Before 1492

The Suggested Reading for this lecture is Charles C. Mann's *1491: New Revelations of the Americas Before Columbus*.

Accounts of America's past have overwhelmingly begun with peoples from outside of America. That is, American histories have generally begun with Europeans, not Native Americans. Accounts of European arrival have largely framed the study of American history as one of European settlement and expansion, and only recently have scholars sought to rethink such approaches. Now, over five centuries after Columbus's arrival, histories of North America begin, appropriately, with the first Americans, America's Indian peoples.

Any understanding of American Indian history has to contend with different approaches to the past, and the history of the first peoples of the Americas has dramatically changed over the past generation. Ignored for centuries under an umbrella of often simplistic and demeaning terms, Native Americans have now become recognized as central actors in the North American past, as founding peoples of the United States. American Indians, then, are now at the center of the study of early America, and the making and subsequent remaking of Native North America before and after European contact have become the recognized starting points of United States history. Given the recently revised nature of approaches to the pre-Columbian past, few scholars can claim full comprehension of these rich and diverse historical accounts, many of which expose tensions between Native American and archaeological communities.

For most American Indian communities, the history of Native North America begins with stories of origin. Often called creation stories, Native Americans have oral traditions that predate European contact and extend back for countless generations. These stories and traditions generally tell of

Unidentified Plains Indians, ca. 1870s.

how the world was made. They tell of how animals, humans, and the natural world were created, and they offer important instructions and lessons for living. Passed down from generation to generation, these stories express the collective wisdom of particular Native groups. They are also often very funny and provide wonderful forms of entertainment, particularly during summer evenings and winter months, when families exchange stories and help educate the young in the ways of their ancestors.

All Native traditions are specific to particular peoples and places, and there are many versions of origin stories within respective tribal communities. Among the Six Iroquois Nations of the Northeast, for example, community histories convey both mythic and concrete moments of historical creation. That is, origin tales passed down through the generations recount both the specific formation of a league of peace between these various Indian nations and convey the origins of humanity in a mythic Sky World. Oral traditions thus contain both commonly recognized historical narratives and culturally specific ways of being and maintaining knowledge.

In their origin tales, the Iroquois recount humanity's distant beginnings in a time when early Man and early Woman lived beside one another across from a hearth in the Sky World. Every day, the woman crossed to the other side of the hearth to comb the man's hair and soon she became pregnant and gave birth to a daughter. The Iroquois call this daughter Sky Woman because her subsequent descent from the Sky World into the world below led to the creation of the known physical world and the place of humans upon it. As Sky Woman fell, the animals of the air and water decided to save her. Ducks flew to catch her on their wings. They carried her down and placed her on Turtle's back. Muskrat brought mud from the water below that, when placed on Turtle's back, became the natural lands of the earth. On these grounds, Sky Woman gave birth to a daughter who in time gave birth to two twins, whose interactions and deeds initiated the subsequent relations of mankind.

Such tales about the formation of the earth and humankind are among the founding stories of the Six Iroquois Nations: the Mohawk, Oneida, Cayuga, Onondaga, Seneca, and Tuscarora. While such stories extend back to time immemorial, these tribal communities also have more temporally specific historical accounts. A second Iroquois creation story recounts a period shortly before Europeans came when the Iroquois lived in a time of terrible war. Nations fought and killed each other, and relatives attempted to avenge the death of their family members. After the death of his family, one Onondaga chief, Hiawatha, became so stricken with grief that he wandered lost in the

forests until he met a foreign and powerful man. This man, often simply known as the Peacemaker, helped Hiawatha mourn his lost family and eased his pain through rituals and words of condolence. Together, Hiawatha and the Peacemaker visited all the Iroquois nations and united them based on new principles of peace, not war, and new teachings and practices. These seeds of peace grew over time and helped to build the Iroquois Confederacy that became a united political confederation of first five and then six Indian nations, whose history centrally shaped the formation of early America. Today, the Iroquois Confederacy remains the oldest political body in North America, centuries older than Canada or the United States, whose creation scholars and tribal members generally date to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. By maintaining and reciting these principles of peace, the Iroquois continue to live according to their traditional stories and customs.

Other Native groups have less specific origin stories. Among many tribes in the West, powerful "trickster" characters, like Coyote or Raven, have mythical powers that have helped create and order the universe. Shoshone peoples in California and Nevada, for example, have creation stories in which Coyote and Raven possess human characteristics, particularly human limitations like greed and lust. Coyote and Raven's mishaps often lead to unforeseen and hilarious outcomes, including the creation of the natural world. One Shoshone tale tells of how Raven stole and then populated the world with *piñon* pinenuts, the Shoshone's most important food.

If the history of the first peoples of the Americas has dramatically changed in the past generation and Native Americans have now become recognized as central actors in our nation's past, when does one begin such a history? How, when, and where does one begin American Indian history?

These are not easy or simple questions, and the origins of American history now extend much further back than many may realize. The most common beginning used by most scholars starts a very long time ago before the end of the last ice ages, at a time anywhere between fifteen and thirty thousand years ago. Such a beginning focuses on the "peopling of the Americas" and on the many migratory waves of early Americans into what are now North and South America. Informed by the findings of archaeologists, scholars now estimate that the first Americans came in a series of migrations across a land bridge in what is now the Bering Strait between Alaska and Russia. This land bridge was exposed above sea level during various warm periods during the Ice Ages, and the earliest Americans migrated across such land bridges and began descending south into what was to them a new world.

This theory—commonly referred to as the Bering Strait Theory—has gained wide currency over the past generation and it challenges many long-held and often cherished beliefs about American history. It has also opened an entirely

new field of study into the nature, composition, and extent of human life in the Americas before European arrival.

After their migration into the Americas, the first Americans descended into a world filled with an abundance of game, plants, fish, and other natural resources. They were greeted by huge mammoths, some of them larger than any elephants, with woolly coats and long, upward-turning tusks, while giant, shaggy bison roamed North America's grasslands. An endless variety of fish, birds, and plants all greeted the arrival of these Americans. If America was ever "discovered" it happened tens of thousands of years ago by the ancient and distant ancestors of contemporary Native Americans.

Much of this New World was, however, anything but hospitable; a thick ice sheet still covered much of northern North America. Ice extended from central Alaska across what are now the Canadian provinces of Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba, and across the Great Lakes into northeastern North America. Tundra stretched below the ice from the Great Plains eastward into what are now the states of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, while farther south, dense forests covered much of the American south. The ecology, then, of this New World was radically different for the first Americans than it is today. It was generally colder, absent of agricultural zones, and covered with large and now generally extinct game.

The end of the ice ages about nine to ten thousand years ago transformed this land, its climate, and most importantly its peoples. The melting of the glaciers caused not only the sea to rise, covering the land bridges of the Bering Strait, but it also brought new floods and rivers. As the glaciers receded, they left in their wake rich deposits of topsoil scraped from the North along the rivers of central North America—the Mississippi, Missouri, and Ohio River watersheds and their many tributaries. In the Northeast, the glaciers brought and mixed large stones and rock with the soils of what later became New England. Everywhere temperatures moderated. Wet places gradually became dry. Deciduous forests spread across much of North America but later gave way in some places—like the Great Plains—to perennial grasslands with only occasional strands of trees in streambeds and wherever else their roots could find water.

The changing climate forced both human and nonhuman populations to adapt. The changing and warmer climates brought dramatic changes, and many Native peoples increasingly migrated to more temperate and livable regions. Archaeological records throughout the Americas indicate extensive and continuous human occupation throughout the hemisphere, as Native peoples established villages and societies in areas with abundant water and food supplies. The majority lived in generally temperate seasons and with easy access to the trade, travel, and communication routes that were developing across these many millennia.

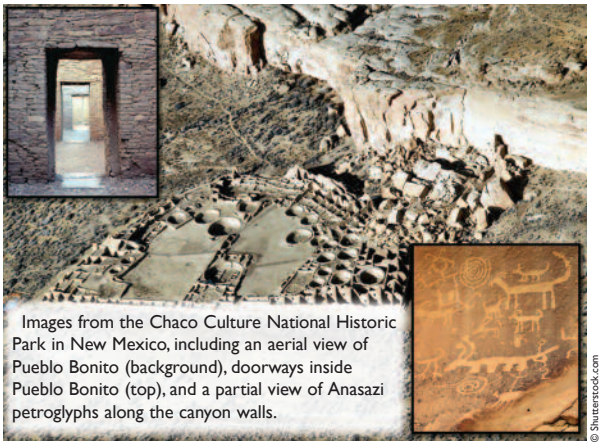
In North America, it is no wonder that the most populous regions of Native habitation were in California, with its temperate and accommodating climate;

in the Pacific Northwest, where the many rivers and watersheds afforded an abundance of fish and seafood; and in the American Southeast, where the southern Mississippi River, Gulf Coast, and Atlantic provided bounties of resources. In all these regions, Native peoples lived in worlds of interconnected village societies, where trade, hunting and gathering, and social relations tied diverse peoples together in intricate social, economic, and political webs. Elsewhere, Native societies also developed along waterways such as the Rio Grande and Colorado Rivers in the Southwest, throughout the Great Lakes, and along the Hudson and other rivers of eastern North America, while Native groups in more arid regions continued to subsist off of seasonal gathering and hunting economies.

In short, early Native peoples were extremely adaptable and generally successful in their manipulation of their environments. The North American continent was covered with Native societies from end to end, with largely more populous societies along the coasts and rivers, but still with other less concentrated populations living fairly nomadic lifestyles throughout the interior and more arid regions.

Historians now recognize the development of several large Indian civilizations north of Mexico. They pay particular attention to Native societies that lived in settled towns and used agriculture as the basis for their economies; such societies are easier to study since they left behind more artifacts and did so in generally the same locations. The major pre-Columbian civilizations of North America in the American Southwest include the Anasazi, Hohokam, and Rio Grande cultures. These Southwestern societies developed complex and populous societies and often did so in arid portions of Colorado, Utah, New Mexico, and Arizona. Of these groups, the Anasazi constructed the largest settlements and built, for example, at Chaco Canyon, New Mexico, a city of several thousand linked together in an intricate series of roads that extended south into Mexico.

Pueblo Bonito was the largest of the Chaco Canyon buildings. It required thirty thousand tons of sandstone blocks, contained six hundred fifty rooms, and remained the largest multiperson dwelling, or house, in American history until the nineteenth century, when apartment buildings arrived on the New York City landscape. Pueblo Bonito was the largest home in American history until



Images from the Chaco Culture National Historic Park in New Mexico, including an aerial view of Pueblo Bonito (background), doorways inside Pueblo Bonito (top), and a partial view of Anasazi petroglyphs along the canyon walls.

the 1800s, and there are hundreds of other archaeological sites throughout the region. Bandelier, Mesa Verde, Snaketown, and Casas Grandes are among the most famous, and many contemporary Pueblo Indians in New Mexico and Arizona generally live in close proximity to such pre-Columbian settlements, descendents of several of these pre-Columbian civilizations, who have maintained similar agricultural and architectural traditions for centuries. In fact, Acoma Pueblo, located east of Albuquerque, claims to be the oldest, continuously inhabited community in North America, founded roughly seven hundred years ago.

In the center of the continent, along America's greatest river, the Mississippi, peoples generally referred to as "Mississippian" or "Mound Building" cultures developed even larger settlements. Like the Southwestern cultures, the Mississippian peoples used agriculture to organize themselves, cultivating what are often referred to as the three sisters—corn, beans, and squash—for subsistence. Introduced from central Mexico in the first century A.D., corn revolutionized many Indian societies throughout the central, eastern, and southern portions of the continent. Coming together to annually harvest the three sisters, Mississippian peoples developed polities that over time created varying levels of centralized authority. Scholars generally refer to such societies as chiefdoms—large societies organized around the leadership of a central leader or chief. The largest of such societies was organized at Cahokia, a ceremonial and political city just east of modern-day St. Louis. Cahokia developed around 1000 A.D. and was the largest Indian settlement north of Mexico. It included at its height over twenty-five thousand people, a population greater than Medieval London, and larger than any American colonial settlement until the American Revolution.

The largest structure at Cahokia was its central pyramid—Monk's Mound—which was used for ceremonial and political purposes. It rose over one hundred feet high, took approximately three hundred years to construct, and still stands on the outskirts of St. Louis today. As with many pre-Columbian civilizations, the exact demise of Cahokia is unclear and scholars debate the various origins of the decline of Mississippian city-states like Cahokia.

Agriculture, large-scale settlement, and even grand architecture characterized, then, the largest Indian societies in North America. The existence of such large and extensive societies challenges any notion that Native peoples lacked the capacity for developed and complex social organization. America before 1492, however, was no paradise, nor was it a place of chronic conflict. It was a land of diverse thought, religion, language, customs, and relations, a world shaped both by environmental and human factors. It was also a place very different from Europe and the Eastern Hemisphere, and such differences are extremely important for understanding the making of early America. In fact, the differences between Native American and Europeans are in many ways the most important and traumatic features of early American history.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Questions

1. Which regions of North America were most heavily settled by Native peoples before European arrival?
2. What are American Indian oral traditions?

Suggested Reading

Mann, Charles C. *1491: New Revelations of the Americas Before Columbus*. New York: Knopf, 2005.

Other Books of Interest

Calloway, Colin G. *First Peoples: A Documentary Survey of American Indian History*. 3rd ed. Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2008.

Pauketat, Timothy R. *Cahokia: Ancient America's Great City on the Mississippi*. New York: Viking, 2009.

Websites of Interest

1. The Museum of New Mexico provides detailed coverage of the many institutions in the state dedicated to New Mexican history. — http://www.museumofnewmexico.org/index.php
2. The New Mexico Commission on Indian Affairs is dedicated to preserving the history of the Pueblo Indian communities of the Rio Grande and works in conjunction with the website. — http://www.puebloindian.com/Default.htm
3. The National Geographic website provides an overview of its 2009 television production *America Before Columbus*. — http://channel.nationalgeographic.com/episode/america-before-columbus-3788/Overview

Lecture 2

The Columbian Encounter, Exchange, and Conquest

The Suggested Reading for this lecture is Alfred W. Crosby Jr.'s *Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492*.

The human population of the Americas developed in isolation from the other world's populations after the ice ages, limiting interaction and exposure between the world's two halves—the Western and Eastern Hemispheres. Such isolation and separation remain principal measures for explaining the history of America. In fact, one could argue that no other single variable remains as important in American history as the fact that Native American populations developed independently from those of the Eastern Hemisphere. As scholars now recognize, the coming together of the Earth's two great hemispheres in 1492 inaugurated American, and indeed modern, world history.

One scholar has called Columbus's arrival to the Caribbean the "most famous of beginnings." The broad processes of human interactions and transformations following 1492 defy summation and are best termed by Alfred W. Crosby Jr. in his classic 1972 work of the same name, *The Columbian Exchange*. Crosby's study established the Columbian Exchange at the center of post-1492 understandings of the modern world, and scholars have offered varying interpretations on the history of human demographic development in the Americas. Demography and debates about the size of the indigenous populations of the Americas form the basis for many discussions of the legacy of the Columbian exchange, while other scholars assess the varying impacts Indian and European societies had upon one another following 1492. These two sizeable fields of inquiry provide essential context for understanding the rise of the first European empire in North America: New Spain, an imperial project begun in the Americas by *conquistadores*, like Columbus, who by the mid-1500s had traversed much of the North American continent. The imprint of Spanish colonialism upon Native American populations set in motion transformative and traumatic effects for Native

The "discovery" of America, May 12, 1492, as illustrated by Theodore de Bry in *Collection of Grand Voyages*, 1590. The illustration depicts crewmen erecting a cross as Columbus meets indigenous people (Taino Indians) on the Isle of Guanahani (now Cat Island in the Bahamas), which Columbus renamed San Salvador.

peoples both across the Spanish empire itself and also broadly outside of it, as the biological, environmental, and economic effects of Spanish expansion reverberated across millions of American Indian lives. These interrelated subjects provide the necessary introduction to the subsequent histories of Indian relations with other European powers, particularly those who settled along the Atlantic Coast and the interior riverways in eastern North America. Such Anglophone, French, and Dutch settlements came after the Spanish had first opened the Americas to European expansion.

The year 1492 is indeed a truly revolutionary date. Several scholars now argue that not until humans encounter life on other planets will such a momentous date again occur. It is a moment of revolution because it represents a radical new beginning, and this new beginning is in many ways the birth of the modern era. The creation of a truly global order was initiated for the first time in human history in 1492. Prior to that, millions of peoples in both hemispheres lived not only in relative isolation from one another, but they were also unaware of each other's existence, and the eventual creation of a commonly known and shared planetary existence after 1492 is among the many legacies of this momentous year.

For the Native peoples of the Americas, 1492 brought much more immediate and far less celebratory changes. As previously discussed, the Western and Eastern Hemispheres had developed in relative isolation. The plant and animal life in both hemispheres, especially after the end of the ice ages, evolved along different trajectories. Climatic and environmental conditions created vastly different natural worlds, and human societies within these environments developed unique societies within these varying ecologies.

Monk's Mound, Cahokia

Cahokia Mounds State Historic Site near Collinsville, Illinois, is the area of an ancient indigenous city inhabited from ca. 600 to 1400 CE. The 2,200-acre site, across the Mississippi River from St. Louis, included one-hundred twenty man-made earthwork mounds over an area of six square miles (only eighty survive). The mounds are the largest archaeological site related to the Mississippian culture, which developed advanced societies in central and eastern North America over five centuries before the arrival of Europeans.

For the Americas, 1492 ended this isolation, and there is a great deal of debate as well as speculation about the nature of this change. The size and subsequent decline of pre-Columbian Indian societies present the largest disagreements; given the magnitude of loss for American Indians following 1492, debates on the exact number of Indian peoples in the Americas provoke fierce controversies.

It is generally accepted that the size of the American Indian population of the Western Hemisphere in 1492 ranged anywhere between fifty and one hundred twenty million, with most scholars concurring on an approximation of seventy to seventy-five million. The majority of these societies resided in what would become the Spanish imperial spheres of Mexico and Peru. In both these Spanish viceroyalties, as they became known, large indigenous empires had constructed city-states that ruled collectively tens of millions of subjects, and the Spanish targeted these city-states in their quests for new subjects, converts, and above all, laborers.

What such demographic estimates highlight is the fact that tens of millions of people—potentially 12 to 20 percent of the globe's estimated five hundred million people—lived in the Americas in 1492. One of five people in the world at that time may have been an American Indian. Such an estimation radically differs from previous estimates; one 1987 United States history textbook, for example, gallingly declared that the "continents we now know as the Americas stood empty of mankind and its works." Such estimations, then, not only dramatically depart from previous studies, but also radically change the meanings of American history. Gone now are the days when scholars could brush aside the diverse, developed, and sizeable pre-Columbian American populations, and understanding the fate of these societies as well as their influences upon Europeans and other Eastern Hemispheric peoples has now become among the most important subjects in American history.

The processes of exchange between the Eastern and Western Hemispheres after 1492 are generally termed the Columbian Exchange, as initial encounters between peoples, ships, and ideas quickly turned into a global process of unprecedented proportions. For American Indians, European arrival brought new peoples, animals, ideas, and technologies as well as diseases. The arrival of new diseases brought by Europeans forever remade the Americas. Old World diseases, particularly smallpox and influenza, devastated the immune systems of Indian communities, who had remained previously isolated from Europe. Scholars term such unprecedented disease encounters "virgin soil epidemics," in which members of an immunologically isolated population become exposed to diseases that hit all members of a society. Because of their use of domesticated animals, their recent histories of death and disease during the Dark Ages, and their historic confluence at the center of Asian and Mediterranean trade routes, Europeans had already encountered many of the world's primary diseases. Native Americans had not, and the results represent the darkest chapter in American Indian history, and indeed one of the darkest in world history.

Following Columbus's arrival to the Caribbean in October of 1492, anywhere between 80 to 90 percent of the Native populations of the Americas perished not only because of the arrival of European diseases, but also because of the combination of pressures initiated by Europeans. European-introduced warfare, slave raiding, labor regimes, and the introduction of new technologies of violence compounded the epidemiological challenges brought by the diseases themselves.

European narratives from the first century of European exploration are filled with accounts of Native peoples suffering from such epidemics. Spanish exploration in the Caribbean particularly depopulated innumerable Indian villages, leading eventually to the near extermination of large Arawak, Taino, and resident Caribbean Indian populations. Historian Alan Taylor summarizes such consequences as follows: "The forced marriage of the two hemispheres meant a demographic boon from Europe, but a demographic disaster for the Americans." All subsequent chapters of American Indian history after 1492 remain directly shaped by these earliest centuries of demographic decline.

A depiction of punishment of Carib natives who failed to meet a gold quota by Spanish occupiers on Hispañiola.

The image is from a copper engraving by Theodore de Bry in a volume of his "Discovery of America" series, ca. 1590s. Although he never traveled to the Americas, de Bry based his images on descriptions given by those who did. In this engraving, he portrayed the cruelty of the Spanish conquest of the Indians in the New World.

Source: Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

The demographic boon for Europe represents the more commonly celebrated aspect of the Columbian Exchange, as 1492 fundamentally revolutionized European minds, bodies, polities, and economies. Prior to 1492, European societies did not possess the world's most prosperous economies—which were largely in Asia in the Ottoman Empire and further east in India and China. Europe did not have as much gold and silver as the Muslim world and suffered constant feuds and wars. Europe, furthermore, faced chronic food shortages and famine, relying in particularly northern climates upon less nutritious and reliable harvests than those in the Mediterranean and Muslim worlds. The era known as the Dark Ages still covered portions of central and northern Europe in the 1400s. The stunning expansion of European power, wealth, and knowledge would have seemed improbable in 1400.

The Columbian Exchange thus positioned Europe at the forefront of the newly emergent global order. Demographically, after 1492, the European diet,

slowly at first, then dramatically, improved, in part from enhanced long-distance transportation for produce and better techniques for rotating and fertilizing traditional grain crops. But above all, such improvements in health derived from the adoption of new food crops first cultivated in the Americas.

In Europe, maize and potatoes—grown originally in Meso-America and the Andes, respectively—endowed farmers with larger yields on smaller plots, benefiting the poorest peasants. It took at least five acres planted in European grains to support a family, but potatoes could subsist three families on the same amount of land. In addition, the new crops were more flexible, enabling European farmers to cultivate soils hostile to their traditional grains. And unlike wheat, maize can grow in sandy soils and thrives in hot climates, while potatoes prosper in cold, thin, damp soils unsuitable for any grain. In effect, maize and potatoes extended the amount of land that Europeans could cultivate either to feed themselves or to produce fodder for their cattle and livestock.

An illustration of Aztecs storing maize from the Florentine Codex, ca. late sixteenth century.

From a slow start, maize and potatoes proliferated in European fields. In 1498, Columbus wrote of maize, "There is now a lot of it in Castile." During the 1500s and 1600s, maize cultivation spread eastward around the Mediterranean to become a fundamental part of the peasant diet in southern Europe. Potatoes expanded more slowly, primarily after 1680 in northern Europe. Ireland, for example, had a population of three million in 1750, and it would nearly double to 5.25 million in fifty years, following the potatoes' arrival. For all of Great Britain, which had approximately five million inhabitants in 1492, the English total population would surge to sixteen million by 1800, with another five million living across the Atlantic. In sum, Europe's total population skyrocketed following 1492, from eighty million to one hundred eighty million in 1800, and it wasn't just maize and potatoes reshaping the European diet. Fruits and vegetables such as tomatoes generously complemented wheat-based meals and dishes like pasta, providing far more nutrients than oil or dairy sauces. American beans, squashes, peppers, chilies, and related spices greatly enhanced the somewhat monotone diets of Europe. American food products, in short, revolutionized

European diets, transformed their agricultures, and introduced new as well as "sinful" and addictive crops, like chocolate and American tobacco.

American resources, like furs, also transformed the European economy, but the primary fuel that fired Europe's staggering economic growth came from within the American soils. The vast sums of precious mineral resources taken from the Americas to Europe fundamentally reorganized European society. Gold initially drove the Spanish deep into the American hemisphere, and prosperous gold mines were established in Mexico and the Andes. Between 1500 and 1650, the Spanish shipped about one hundred eighty-one tons of gold from America to Europe, and as early as 1585, American bullion amounted to 25 percent of the Spanish crown's total revenue. The acquisition of so much gold rescued the Spanish from their previous imbalances of trade with Asia, enabling the purchase of unprecedented quantities of Asian cloths, spices, and resources.

Ironically, the effect of American gold on Europe's total economy paled in comparison to gold's less valued cousin, silver. After the initial deposits of American gold dried up, the amount of gold alone—one hundred eighty-one tons—was insufficient to pass through all levels of European societies. While the monarchies and aristocratic landowners all received and kept sums of gold, the countless artisans who built the imperial palaces of Spanish, French, and English monarchs, the hundreds of thousands of soldiers who fought in European wars, and the endless number of farmers, merchants, and consumers all used a less valued form of currency. They used silver. Measured into tiny francs, pences, and pesos, silver provided for the first time in European history a real, universal form of value, known in classical economic terms as a "universal equivalency of value." And, while the Spanish shipped nearly two hundred tons of gold to Europe from the Americas, they sent more than eighty times as much silver, sixteen thousand tons. Such an infusion expanded the money supply across not only Spain, but also Northern European merchant economies.

Despite generations of narratives suggesting that English colonization initiated American history, the Spanish established both the oldest colony in North America—New Mexico, founded in 1598—as well as the oldest European settlement, St. Augustine in Florida. Both emerged out of Spanish desire to conquer northern territories and to protect its bountiful mines and transatlantic trade routes. Such colonial inroads made by the Spanish in the 1500s subsequently fueled additional European efforts to incorporate American territories into their respective empires. For the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and the numerous chiefdoms of the Southeast already confronting the challenge of colonization, subsequent European colonial efforts brought new and traumatic changes to the everyday lives of hundreds of thousands of Native peoples across eastern North America.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Questions

1. What are "virgin soil epidemics"?
2. In what particular ways did the resources of Native Americans fuel the growth of European societies after 1492?

Suggested Reading

Crosby, Alfred W., Jr. *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1973.

Other Books of Interest

Taylor, Alan. *American Colonies: The Settling of North America*. New York: Viking Penguin, 2001.

Recorded Books

Loewen, James W. *Rethinking America's Past: Recognizing Facts, Fictions, and Lies in American History*. The Modern Scholar Series. Prince Frederick, MD: Recorded Books, LLC, 2004.

Websites of Interest

1. The Library of Congress offers a series of overviews of European exploration and its impacts on Native Americans. — http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/1492
2. The National Humanities Center and Alfred W. Crosby provide a website aimed at distilling various essential characteristics of the Columbian Exchange. — http://nationalhumanitiescenter.org/tserve/nattrans/ntecoindian/essays/columbian.htm

Lecture 3

Native Peoples and French, Dutch, and English Colonies: The Seventeenth Century

The Suggested Reading for this lecture is Colin G. Calloway's *New Worlds for All: Indians, Europeans, and the Remaking of Early America.*

Beginning with the Spanish empire in the Americas, the ties between Native American communities and European colonies grew stronger throughout the 1500s and particularly during the 1600s, so much so that by the early eighteenth century three primary imperial powers had established colonial realms across eastern North America. With their Floridian and New Mexican colonies, the Spanish claimed the Southwestern borderlands, establishing colonies that would form the basis for their empire in North America until the nineteenth century. With control over eastern North America's two primary watersheds—the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi—the French held a far-reaching empire, known as New France, that stretched from the North Atlantic to the Gulf of Mexico, while the English established sets of related but distinct colonies across the eastern Atlantic seaboard, inheriting the former Dutch colony of New Holland along the Hudson River in the 1660s. Linked with their colonies in the Caribbean, England's colonial world soon became home to more settlers than Spain's and France's colonies combined. Indeed, by the mid-1700s, England's Atlantic colonies held nearly as many people, including a quarter-million African slaves, than did all of North America. The 1600s thus witnessed an explosion of colonization efforts across the North

Public Domain

Detail from a map of the Hudson River Valley, ca. 1635, by Willem Blaeu (north is to the right). Names of local Native American people in the surrounding area are labeled.

American continent, efforts in which Native peoples both factored centrally and became centrally disadvantaged.

The variations within and between various imperial colonial worlds characterize the distinct sets of relationships established between European powers and Indian peoples. Different imperial powers as well as different American Indian communities confronted one another throughout eastern North America and created distinctly regional zones of colonial life. To understand early American history is to understand these regional differences; in their different relations with Native peoples, the Spanish, Dutch, French, and later English were able to carve out profitable and enduring colonies in North America.

Initially, Indians and Europeans met each other throughout North America and often regarded each other as alien. Indeed, many of the most famous representational images of Native Americans originate from such initial encounters. Either portrayed as heathen savages or romanticized naturalists, such one-dimensional images were disseminated far and wide across Europe throughout the 1500s and 1600s.

These initial characterizations, however, eventually gave way to more complex as well as common forms of recognition. Indians and Europeans by the end of the seventeenth century had entered into fragile but nonetheless sustained forms of exchange and recognition. Particularly within the vast interior colony known as New France, the distinctions between Indians and Europeans held little absolute value. Cultural and economic ties bounded imperial and Native societies together in webs of mutually constructed and interdependent social relations.

Like Europeans, Native Americans hailed from diverse communities and nations. The main divisions between Native peoples in eastern North America prior to as well as after European contact were cultural and linguistic, not political. Two main language families covered most of northeastern and eastern North America: Algonquian and Iroquoian. Often referred to as simply Algonquians and Iroquois, these two large language families covered much of eastern North America, except in parts of the South. Following European contact and exploration, these linguistic and cultural divisions became increasingly hardened into political, economic, and even military divisions as the profound disruptions brought by European contact sent all societies into crisis.

Of those who did survive and came eventually to prosper, the peoples known as the Iroquois best highlight the profound changes brought by Europeans. Unlike most Native peoples in North America, they had formed their own political union known as the Iroquois Confederacy before European contact. Beginning in the 1530s, French explorers increasingly influenced the nature of Iroquois diplomacy. Soon, the Iroquois would dramatically shape the contours of New France. By targeting the interior rivers of northeastern North America, the French established control over the main arteries of a vibrant and profitable interior fur trade. Using the St. Lawrence River, which extends

into the Great Lakes and links the five largest freshwater lakes in the world with the Atlantic, French leaders believed that whoever controlled access to this watery world could extract tremendous resources from not only eastern North America, but from the entire continent.

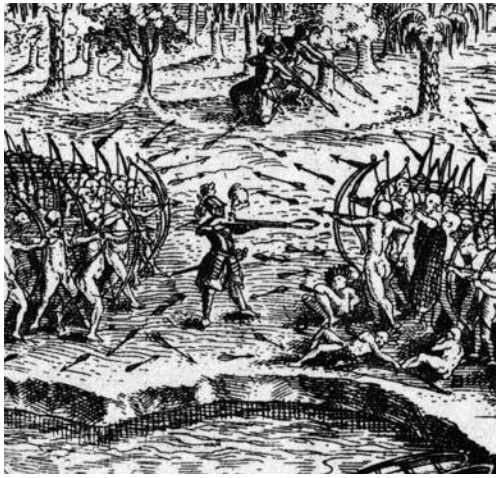
The first Europeans who ventured into these interior lands did not realize any of this at the time; they often thought that the lands of the Atlantic seaboard were only small islands and that a possible Northwest Passage to Asia and the Pacific still existed north of the Spanish empire. The first Europeans to come into interior North America were Frenchmen who often believed that they were discovering a new world, when in fact they were doing something more interesting. They were co-creating a new world.

The first French exploration to descend the St. Lawrence was in 1534 under the leadership of Jacques Cartier, who ventured into the southern reaches of Quebec. Cartier encountered Algonquian-speaking groups and initiated fairly sustained trading relations with multiple Indian groups, such as the Micmacs of eastern Canada, and importantly with Huron groups in Ontario. Unbeknownst to Cartier, these Algonquians were the historic enemies of the Iroquois, who because of their settled village life south of Lake Ontario were unable to attract French traders. By the early 1600s, as European diseases continued to decimate all Native groups and as French settlements along the St. Lawrence began to expand, the Iroquois found themselves in a precarious situation. Shut out from the emerging French trade and often at war with the French and their Algonquian allies, the Iroquois indeed were in trouble.

For example, in June 1609, on the northern edge of the lake that now bears his name, Samuel de Champlain, the founder of Quebec, joined in his Algonquian allies' conflicts with Mohawk Indians from the Five Nations. Like most Native peoples in the interior of northeastern North America, these Mohawks had little idea what dramatic powers these newcomers possessed, but they found out quite quickly. After a night of ritual insults, the opposing forces of about two hundred warriors on both sides met in open battle, armed as they generally were with bows, stone axes, and, tellingly, with woven reed mats for shields and armor. As their Algonquian allies met their Mohawk enemies in battle, Champlain and his men opened fire with their firearms, clumsy by modern standards, but still deadly. Champlain and his men instantly killed a half dozen Mohawk warriors. Fleeing in terror, the Mohawks, like their Iroquois allies, realized that they could not compete in open, pitched battles with the superiorly armed force of French and Algonquians to their north. They could not compete, that is, with their current military technologies.

The French did not intend to conquer Native territories along the St. Lawrence. Indeed, settlements along this narrow corridor remained small due to cold and short growing seasons. The French intended to trade European products for Native-produced furs that were becoming increasingly central to the fashion of northern European society. Giving native peoples metals, cloths,

foods, and most importantly guns and ammunition, the French fur trade radically reorganized Native economies, Native fashion, and, most significantly, Native warfare. Following their defeat in 1609, the Mohawk and other Iroquois Nations began a desperate search to obtain their own furs with which they could trade. And, unfortunately for the French, other European imperial powers had by the early 1600s begun concentrating to the south in an attempt also to obtain Native hides for trade.



A depiction of Champlain's fight with the Mohawks (rendered from an original sketch made by Champlain) from *The Works of Samuel de Champlain*, edited by H.P. Biggar (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1922–1936).

The second European entry into this world of disease, trade, and growing Indian conflicts came from the tiny lowland country of Holland. The Dutch were in many ways the consummate of all European trading nations, and throughout the 1500s, they developed an extremely successful fleet capable of marauding Spanish ships and also capable of long-distance trading, exploration, and later conquest. This small (indeed, tiny) nation quickly became one of Europe's premier colonial powers.

In North America, the Dutch secured access to the second major river of the Northeast—the Hudson. Controlling trade at Manhattan, further north at Fort Orange—now the city of Albany (founded in 1624)—the Dutch quickly provided an alternate source of European goods and markets for Indians in the Northeast, particularly the Iroquois.

Using warfare and diplomacy to monopolize the Dutch Fur Trade, the Iroquois by the 1650s became the dominant economic and political force in eastern North America, pushing other Native peoples away from Dutch trade centers and monopolizing the Dutch trade for themselves. The Iroquois essentially not only monopolized the fur trade to their south, but they also began raiding western territories for furs, captives, and resources in some of the most violent warfare in North American Indian history. Throughout the 1600s, such conflicts characterized the nature of indigenous economic relations across much of eastern North America. The emergence of the Iroquois in the 1600s as the region's most formidable power indelibly shaped French, Dutch, and English colonial history thereafter, particularly after the English inherited the Dutch settlements along the Hudson and found themselves trading and negotiating with Iroquois communities for the next century.

Early American Indian history is obviously about more than the Iroquois. Iroquois influence, however, shaped not only imperial relations but also the indigenous communities. The complexity of these relationships characterized relationships both between Indians and between empires, particularly between the French and English empires. England's and France's respective relationships with Native peoples thus shaped the evolution of their colonial realms.

Native peoples were essential partners in imperial development and were just as often impediments to colonial ambitions. England in particular entered into a series of destructive settlement wars with Native peoples up and down the Atlantic seaboard. English settlers at Jamestown attempted to extract resources and labor from local Powhatan communities in the early 1600s, culminating in regional wars in 1622 and 1644, both of which firmly expanded the fragile colony's boundaries and orbits, while the first and second Puritan conquests of New England, as one famous historian describes them, ultimately remade the demography of New England. The first large-scale Puritan-Indian war, known as the Pequot War, from 1636 to 1637, targeted Pequot Indian villages attempting to maintain autonomous economic and political power. The culminating battle, a 1637 attack upon the Pequot villages along the Mystic River in Connecticut, resulted in the near annihilation of an entire Pequot community, while the final regional conflict, known as King Philip's War, in 1676, irrevocably realigned indigenous and Puritan power thereafter. Before 1670, Englishmen and women outnumbered Indian men and women by three to one in New England. By the 1690s, it was nine to one.

Such radical inversions of human demography remain one of the primary attributes of English colonization in the 1700s, as Virginia (founded in 1607), New England (1620s), and the Carolinian colonies (1670s) soon became home to hundreds of thousands of newcomers drawn not only from the British Isles but also increasingly the African continent. The history of eighteenth-century America, then, was shaped by the complex sets of relationships emanating from the seventeenth-century world, one in which Indian and Europeans faced off across eastern North America.

European Colonisation in North America to 1700

This map was included in the 1912 edition of the *Cambridge Modern History Atlas* edited by Sir Adolphus William Ward, G.W. Prothero, Sir Stanley Mordaunt Leathes, and E.A. Benians (Cambridge University Press). The legend has been enlarged to help identify geographic areas claimed by each nation by 1700.

Source: The University of Texas Perry-Castañeda Library Map Collection.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Questions

1. What two languages were spoken by most American Indians of the Northeast?
2. Who was Samuel de Champlain and what does his 1609 battle reveal?

Suggested Reading

Calloway, Colin G. *New Worlds for All: Indians, Europeans, and the Remaking of Early America*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997.

Other Books of Interest

Richter, Daniel K. *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001.

Salisbury, Neal. *Manitou and Providence: Indians, Europeans, and the Making of New England, 1500–1643*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1982.

Websites of Interest

1. The Mashantucket Pequot Museum and Research Center provides a detailed examination of Indian life in New England before and after English settlement. — http://www.pequotmuseum.org
2. The Newberry Library in Chicago houses some of the world's greatest research centers, one on the study of cartography and another on the study of American Indian history. Among their many important exhibitions, see "Mapping the French Empire in North America." — http://www.newberry.org/smith/exhibits/fe/fe4.html

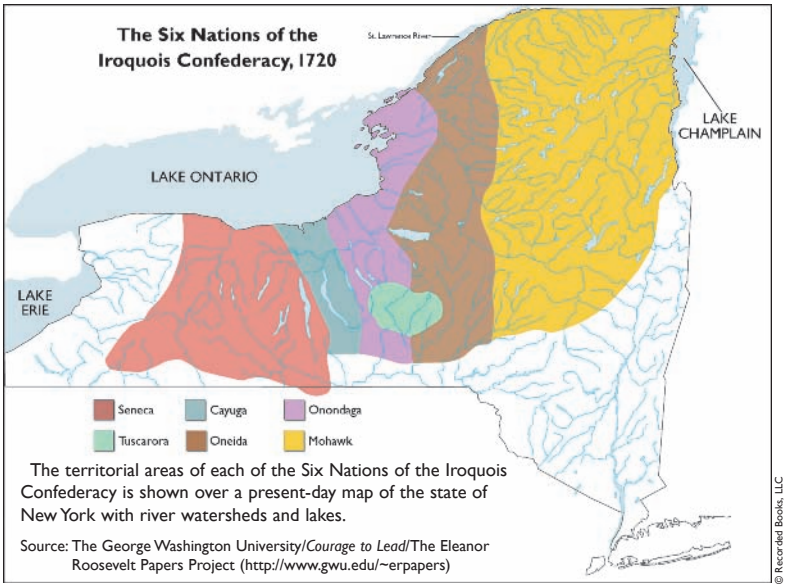
Lecture 4

The Play-Off System and the Seven Years' War

The Suggested Reading for this lecture is Fred Anderson's *War That Made America: A Short History of the French and Indian War.*

Following the establishment of the English and French empires, a balance of power emerged in the early eighteenth century. With the English in control of New England, the Mid-Atlantic coastline, and increasingly the American South, British North America by 1720 had endured a century of Indian wars within its colonies and now stood as the premier power east of the Appalachian Mountains. Along the St. Lawrence, through the Great Lakes, and down the Mississippi, French *voyageurs*, missionaries, and officials pieced together small Francophone communities with allied Algonquin Indian villagers in a great arching empire known as New France.

In between New France and New England stood the Iroquois Confederacy, a group of Iroquoian-speaking Indian communities united by language, culture, and politics. The Iroquois particularly tried to maintain their neutrality in the 1700s, using their intermediary position between the rival French and English empires to extract favors and privileges from each. In 1714, the Confederacy had incorporated another nation of Iroquois-speakers, the Tuscaroras, who migrated to New York following wars with English colonists in the Carolinas. This Sixth Nation of the Iroquois joined their policies of neutrality with rival French and English empires, as the Iroquois continued diplomatic policies aimed at ensuring the stability of the balance of power in eastern North America.



The territorial areas of each of the Six Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy is shown over a present-day map of the state of New York with river watersheds and lakes.

Source: The George Washington University/*Courage to Lead*/The Eleanor Roosevelt Papers Project (http://www.gwu.edu/~erpapers)

The Iroquois embodied North America's larger diplomatic "play-off system" and followed a path of aggressive neutrality during the first half of the 1700s. Staying out of a series of Anglo-Franco conflicts in the first decades of the eighteenth century, the Iroquois constantly threatened to fight whenever their interests became compromised, refusing, however, to side with either English or French forces. As one Iroquois delegate informed a gathering of English colonial leaders in Albany in August 1724: "The business of peace seems to Lye with You. In as much as there is peace between the two Crowns."

Unlike so many Indian communities within the realm of English colonies, the Iroquois remained removed from the patterns of dependency and ultimately land loss that had characterized Indian relations across British North America. Similarly, by maintaining open diplomatic and economic channels, Iroquois leaders continued to court favors from French leaders in Quebec, many of whom worried that an Iroquois-English alliance could topple the much smaller French settlements in New France.

An engraving from a French book published ca. 1722 depicting Iroquois engaging in trade with Europeans.

Scholars debate the extent of Iroquois power in these years, but all recognize that Iroquois diplomacy factored centrally in colonial affairs. Many historians have also recently studied the many Indian village communities across the trans-Appalachian Frontier who found themselves under the orbit of the Iroquois, communities that became part of what has been termed "the Covenant Chain." Semi-autonomous Delaware, Miami, and other Ohio River Valley Indian communities lived under an Iroquois protectorate during much of the eighteenth century and appealed to the Iroquois when needed to ward off French and English influences.

While absent from many history books, such Indian confederations shaped the making of early America and indeed set in motion one of the continent's most decisive conflicts, a war of such monumental proportions that scholars have increasingly come to view it as the world's first truly global conflict. This war, known as the Seven Years' War, or "French and Indian War," reconfigured not only Indian and non-Indian communities in North America, but also redefined multiple imperial realms across the Caribbean, West African, and Mediterranean coastlines. It was also fought in South Asia and the Philippines. With its largest engagements in Continental Europe, the Seven Years' War sowed revolutionary seeds in North America and in Europe. Tellingly, the war's first and last major theaters came in lands neither controlled nor settled by

English or French communities, but in those lands inhabiting the world of the eighteenth-century play-off system.

Away from the Northeast and Iroquois, Native peoples in the interior South attempted to similarly "play-off" European rivals. With Spanish Florida to their south, French Louisiana to their west at New Orleans, and growing English colonies to their east, many Southeastern Indian confederacies, groups who would later become known as the "Five Civilized Tribes," levered favors from Spanish, French, and English officials. Dominating the mountainous passages—ways into and through the Trans-Appalachian South—Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, and Chickasaw communities controlled these interior regions. Competing, however, with one another as well as with European powers, these communities grew increasingly dependent on European trade goods, particularly guns and ammunition, and soon suffered repeated disasters following the demise of the play-off system. As France and later Spain were driven from the region, these southern Indian powers lacked imperial rivals to play-off one another and quickly became isolated with only limited resources to offer land-hungry English settlers.

French and Iroquois leaders are depicted holding a formal meeting during the French and Indian War.

While less disease-ridden than the seventeenth century, the eighteenth-century colonial landscape was nonetheless a world still rife with uncertainties. Indians who had survived the death and wars brought by Europeans had generally adapted to the presence of Europeans around them. The constant diplomacy, exchanges, and occasional conflicts of the early 1700s constantly brought Indians and Europeans together, especially across New France, where various Algonquian-speaking communities maintained close political, economic, and cultural ties with French communities. The largest of these related Indian communities would come to be known as the Ojibwe, but the region included dozens upon dozens of other Algonquian political communities, including the Ottawa, Potawatomi, Miami, Kickapoo, and Illinois Nations.

As indicated in the previous lecture, both France and England had established early seventeenth-century colonies—the English in 1607 at Jamestown, the French in 1608 at Quebec—but the subsequent evolution of French Canada and British North America were profoundly different. With so many Indian communities allied to their vast, sprawling empire, the French adjudicated matters within and between communities, aimed to enforce imperial degrees, and

tried to turn a profit from their generally unprofitable sets of economic relations. New France was vastly colder than British North America and never held more than seventy-five thousand French settlers. The empire, as scholars now argue, became not an economic engine but a geographic one, a vast realm designed to limit English access to the continent.

By contrast, English colonies had developed amazingly diverse sets of social, religious, and economic institutions, including institutions of higher education like Harvard and Yale Universities. With ready access to Atlantic ports, English settlers sold their many goods, not only to one another, but also primarily to other English colonies in the Caribbean and of course to England itself. A growing consumerism bounded the colonists, and successful colonists increasingly saw themselves as members of a shared genteel or propertied class. For those without land or property, the emerging market economies of the colonial world offered middling and lower social groups opportunities for upward mobility as they, too, embellished themselves through the use of fine clothes, silver buckles, and other material goods. Indian peoples within the British Empire attempted to adapt as well to these new structures and fought to preserve levels of autonomy within a growing settler society.

In the early 1750s, English colonists saw themselves first and foremost as Englishmen and -women in part because the Crown provided indispensable forms of security. The Crown, for example, ensured free and open English markets for colonial economies through its dominant navy and merchant fleet. The English empire provided colonists markets for their resources as well as products to consume. Without the annual arrival of ships from England, carrying necessary goods for survival and returning with necessary raw materials, the colonists would not have prospered.

Most importantly, the Crown protected English colonists from French and Spanish attacks and from France's Indian allies, as well as from each other. England governed the colonies and the colonists through institutions of law, policing, courts, and military protection. One cannot overestimate the extent to which English colonists by 1750 saw themselves as members of the most enlightened, freest, and most prosperous empire in the world, as willing subjects to the King of England. Such colonial identities stood in stark contrast to the colonies' primary antagonists: the French and their Indian allies. The French were Catholic and were considered to be less enlightened, more despotic, controlling, and even less civilized because they tolerated and even lived among and intermarried with Native peoples. Entire classes of mixed-raced, or *métis*, populations emerged across the French empire in North America, representing practices that were largely unthinkable in the minds of Puritan and Protestant colonists.

Many of these differences were demographic and economic, not just cultural. The population of the English colonies in 1750 numbered 1.5 million, including two-hundred thousand African-American slaves. By contrast, the French barely

numbered seventy-five thousand. The French did, however, have extended as well as intimate relations with the approximately two-hundred and fifty thousand Indian communities inhabiting their vast empire, one that basically was formed by command over the two primary rivers of central and eastern North America—the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi. Despite their comparatively small numbers vis-à-vis English colonists, French and Indian forces remained skilled at guerrilla warfare and dominated the forest passages between the rival empires.

Like many cataclysmic wars, this Seven Years' War began at an unexpected moment and unintended place. Throughout the early 1700s, the French were increasingly concerned with England's explosive colonies, many of which bore little resemblance to their initial forms from the 1600s. In 1650, for example, there were as many British subjects on the tiny island of Barbados as there were throughout the mainland colonies, but as the 1700s progressed, England's colonies expanded, much to the concern of France.

Nearly four times the population of England, France had never fully encouraged the colonization of North American lands, preferring to ally itself with Native communities in a continental economy that revolved around the seasonal harvests of furs. In political terms, the French realized that Indian allies were essential to their imperial ambitions. And when a small renegade cluster of Indian village communities began sending their furs to backcountry English traders, who provided better terms of exchange than did French centers at Montreal, the French established a presence in this region in 1753, building a fort known as Duquesne.

Duquesne sits near the confluence of three major rivers—the Ohio, Allegheny, and Monongahela, and, much like the history of early America, to command riverways was to command the lands around them. The French thus established a fort along the Ohio to prevent English traders from further draining their interior markets. Responding to this perceived threat, the English backcountry traders mobilized themselves, and in 1754, an inexperienced colonial militia stumbled into brutal conflicts outside Duquesne. This militia included a British officer from Virginia, George Washington, who was captured and subsequently released.

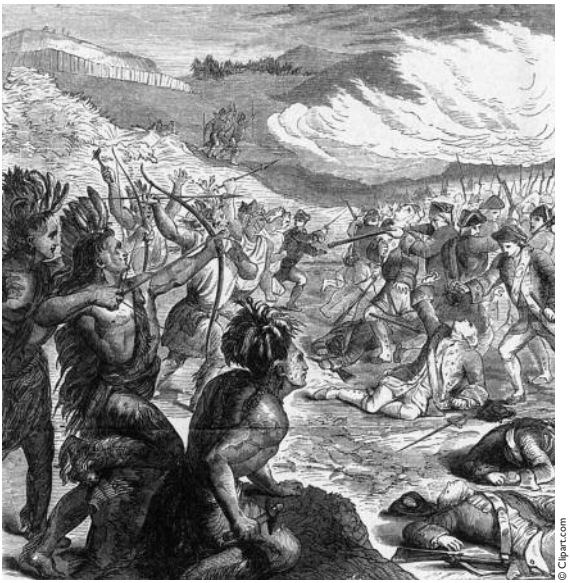
Initially concerned about losing their trading and particularly their political influence with interior Native communities, the last thing the French intended was a regional, let alone a global, conflict. England, however, used Washington's defeat and other grievances to launch a full-scale war in North America. It mobilized its European army and particularly Navy, sending to Philadelphia a cocky general named Edward Braddock with over two thousand troops. His mission was to take Fort Duquesne.

Prior to their campaign, Braddock assured Benjamin Franklin that "These savages may, indeed, be a formidable enemy to your raw American militia, but upon a king's regular and disciplined troops, Sir, it is impossible to

believe they should make any impression." They made quite an impression indeed. With only forty French and Indian casualties, Braddock's campaign was routed. One thousand English soldiers were killed, including General Braddock. Washington assumed command and led the demoralized troops back to the colonies. The first theater of this conflict was over. Subsequent events included the following:

1755–1757	Indian raiders descended upon the backcountry and buoyed French hopes of limiting English expansion.
1757 & 1758	William Pitt, England's Parliamentary leader, adopted an American-first military policy, allocating a huge and unprecedented war budget of four million pounds spent just to take Canada.
1758	To North America, England sent nearly fifty thousand troops, who faced no more than seven thousand French forces. Fort Duquesne fell, and Fort Pitt was erected in Pitt's honor. It was eight times the size of the original fort.
1759	British general James Wolfe descended the St. Lawrence, laying siege to the great French fort at Louisbourg and then, in the largest battle in eighteenth-century North American history, Wolfe conquered Quebec City.
1760	Montreal fell—the French empire in North America began to collapse.

As the conflict spread across the globe, Spain joined France's unsuccessful



French and Indians fighting English troops outside Fort Duquesne (near modern-day Pittsburgh) in a battle that resulted in the death of English Gen. Edward Braddock and the defeat of superior British forces.

efforts, and in 1763 at the Treaty of Paris, England actually granted fairly lenient terms of peace to both France and Spain. France did cede its claims to all of eastern North America, including Canada, to England. France gave her claims to New Orleans, Louisiana, and the lands west of the Mississippi to Spain, but France kept several of its Caribbean colonies, which English planters in the Caribbean did not want to become a part of the British empire for fear of ruining their competitive trade advantages.

In North America, however, the effects of French concessions did not please France's former Indian allies. Even before the treaty, Indians throughout the former French empire had organized a series of rebellions aimed at driving the British out. The most famous of such rebellions was named after the Ottawa Indian leader Pontiac in 1763. After English soldiers had occupied French forts throughout New France, Pontiac's "uprising" became the last theater of a larger global conflict. Interestingly, this conflict involved no significant numbers of either French or English settlers.

Chief Pontiac
(ca. 1720–1769)

No images of Pontiac are known to exist. This artistic interpretation was painted by John Mix Stanley (1814–1872), ca. 1840s.

Scholars view Pontiac's Rebellion as a central turning point in the history of eighteenth-century North America, because England after 1760 did not want another war in North America. The costs of fighting Indians across the Great Lakes were prohibitive, as Indian villagers understood that they could make peace more costly for the British than had been the war. By destroying nine out of the thirteen British forts inherited from the French, Indian villagers remained unconquered. While ignored by the French at the Treaty of Paris, Indian peoples stood firm in renouncing English intentions to subordinate them.

Recognizing their need to placate interior Indian villagers and to prohibit future conflicts between Indians and English settlers, England's Parliament began a process of reorganization of its now doubled North American empire. Initiating the Proclamation Line of 1763, the Crown moved to prohibit Anglo-American settlement past the Appalachians, and English leaders in the backcountry now assumed a series of diplomatic, economic, and political relationships with interior Native groups, who still controlled the majority of eastern North America.

Not only did England assume France's far-reaching empire, England also increasingly began passing along the costs of the war to its colonial settlers. The war had been extraordinarily expensive and English leaders had grown impressed by the apparent prosperity across its colonies. Soon, a series of financial impositions exposed the increasing divisions between the colonists and the Crown, leaving the Native peoples of eastern North America alone without multiple imperial powers to "play-off."

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Questions

1. How did the "play-off system" benefit Indian communities such as the Iroquois?
2. Where and when did the Seven Years' War begin and end?

Suggested Reading

Anderson, Fred. *The War That Made America: A Short History of the French and Indian War*. New York: Viking Penguin, 2005.

Other Books of Interest

Sleeper-Smith, Susan. *Indian Women and French Men: Rethinking Cultural Encounter in the Western Great Lakes*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001.

Websites of Interest

1. The PBS website provides a comprehensive overview of the Seven Years' War and showcases a related video documentary. — http://www.pbs.org/thewarthatmadeamerica
2. Washington State University's *World Civilizations* website provides the text of the Iroquois Constitution with a preface by Richard Hooker. — http://wsu.edu/~dee/NAANTH/IRCONST.HTM

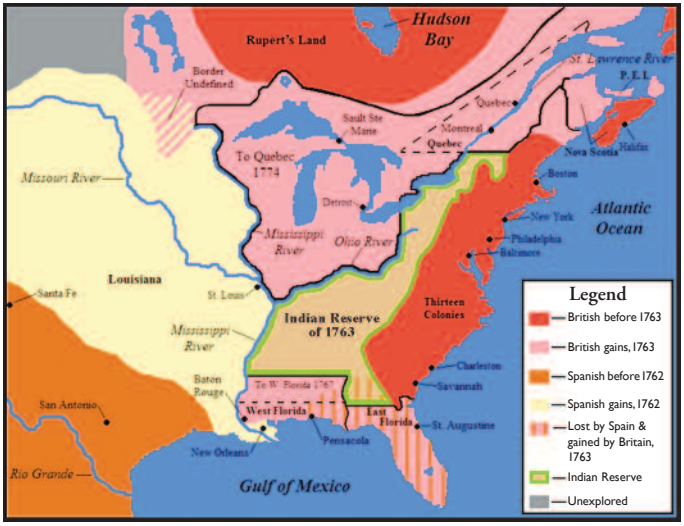
Lecture 5

Native Peoples and the Revolutionary Republic

The Suggested Reading for this lecture is Colin G. Calloway's *American Revolution in Indian Country: Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities*.

The Seven Years' War dramatically changed the geopolitical landscape of North America. "With the stroke of a pen," one historian has suggested, the 1763 Treaty of Paris cast asunder France's once vast North American empire. It also placed many unconquered Indian communities throughout the interior under the nominal dominion of the English Crown, which established a line of demarcation in 1763 between its Atlantic colonies and the interior. English was, however, rarely spoken throughout the vast realm of eastern North America previously known as New France.

Initially, this Proclamation of 1763 did not concern British colonists, who—like English men and women in England—were delighted with the war's end. The strains of winning the war, however, posed new and unforeseen threats to the Crown. The French had posed a common enemy in England and in North America, and their expulsion brought the removal of this common threat within the colonies. The war itself had also emboldened the colonists, giving them an increased sense of their own capacities and commonalities, bringing many together, for example, for the first time on a continental scale. Fighting together, leading one another, and learning about life in other parts of the colonies, these were some of the legacies of the monumental conflict known as the Seven Years' War.



Territorial gains and losses after the Seven Years' War.

Most tangibly, the cost of the war increased the financial burden for the colonists. The English Crown, according to one scholar, was so "impressed by the apparent prosperity" of the colonies that it "concluded that they could pay higher taxes to support the empire that benefited them so greatly." Taxes and the political divisions created by their imposition would soon drive the colonists into rebellion.

To understand the history of Revolutionary America and the place of Indian peoples within it requires an examination of the complex aftermath of the Seven Years' War and the political culture of the Revolutionary generation.

The newly emergent political ideology determined the shape and composition of the first United States government form and, more particularly, the second government form. The fearful yet optimistic founders of the Constitution of the United States understood their world in such a way that they lodged certain legal powers solely with the federal government and not with the individual states. These powers, particularly over interstate commerce and Indian affairs, became constitutionally established in 1787, four years after the second Treaty of Paris had ended the American Revolution. As scholars have now revealed, in the course of one generation, Indians across eastern North America had lost the protections and alliances established with the French, had fought to secure such forms of recognition from the English, and then lost them during and particularly after the American Revolution. The fate of Native North America became indelibly recast in this sea of revolutionary change.

In the ideology of Colonial America, taxes came to represent deeper fears about the future of colonial life. Such fears, along with the real and perceived threats of Indians on the colonies' borders, factored in the outbreak of the Revolution and in the establishment of the first government of the United States. The culmination of these ideas, anxieties, and changing political realities took legal form with the beginnings of military conflict between colonists and English forces in 1775 and, formally, with the Declaration of Independence in 1776. Such efforts were shortly followed by the drafting of the new republic's primary set of laws, the Articles of Confederation, which governed the colonists during the Revolution and were later replaced by the Constitution.

Eighteenth-century copper engraving of Bostonians tar and feathering a British tax collector.

Taxes symbolized to the colonists far more than simple additional payments on their revenues; they represented deeper and more anxious fears. On one hand, the increased taxes threatened the colonial economies, particularly in northern seaports like Philadelphia, New York, and Boston, whose economic livelihoods centered on the sea. But the overwhelming majority of colonists lived in the country, on farms and plantations where agriculture and not urban mercantilism represented the dominant forms of economics. So taxes symbolized more than economic repression to the colonists, and they repeatedly invoked culture and politics when discussing English economic reforms. As Alan Taylor suggests in *American Colonies*, "The most cherished distinction of British political culture in England and North America in the mid-to-late eighteenth century was that between those who were unfree and free men." Relationships not simply between masters and slaves, but between free men and unfree men (for example, indentured servants, impressed sailors or soldiers, and especially those without property), constituted the primary political axes within Revolutionary America.

In North America, property was not as hard to acquire as in England and over time those with property increasingly saw themselves threatened not only by English taxes but also by forms of English rule that threatened to tax subjects who lacked any political input or voice. "No taxation without representation" became more than an economic concern; it expressed the growing resentment and uncertainty about the place of the colonists in the English empire.

Ultimately, this debate within the colonies revealed what had become apparent long before: namely, that the colonies of North America had followed diverse and divergent paths since their formation. They were different in essence from England. So different in fact that many believed their differences to be irreconcilable. Such differences became the organizing principles for dissention, which finally took a violent turn. Ultimately, compromises would be needed not only to avert the growing crisis between England and its colonies but also to keep the colonies united during the war and, particularly, afterward.

Of the many interesting and revolutionary aspects of the struggle between England and its colonies, the presence of Indian symbols—as well as the colonists' use of Indian masquerade—are among the most interesting symbolic links to Native peoples. And it is quite fitting that one of the most pivotal moments in the beginning of the Revolution concerns a group of Boston colonists protesting the imposition of tea taxes in Boston Harbor. Dressed as Indians and wearing Indian masquerade, the tale of the Boston Tea Party has dramatic appeal of its own, but it also offers a window into larger themes within Revolutionary America—namely, the evolution of a new American culture and character as distinct and separate from England.

Of the many perplexing and ultimately lasting legacies of the American cultural independence from England are the many ways in which a distinctively American sense of identity became articulated through the use of Indian

images and imagery. Through their rejection of an older European consciousness and what Philip J. Deloria has described as an almost mystical imperative to become something new, imagined Indian identities became central features in the definition of a new national American identity. Fears of Indians, what one scholar has recently termed the "anti-Indian sublime," were one of the few distinctly shared cultural traits that differentiated the colonists from other English subjects, and the simultaneous fear of Native people, but love of Indian imagery, increasingly characterized political culture in and around Revolutionary society. The use of Indian names for American place-names, the adoption of Indian images on early seals and currency of the United States, the use of Indian masquerade in various fraternal associations, and the increasing appearance of Indian characters in early American fiction, all such preoccupations came out of the Revolutionary Era. Such representations spoke to the deeper anxieties and unease the colonists had both about the actual place of Indians in their world and also about their epic embarking upon a new political process.

American Coinage Depicting Native Americans

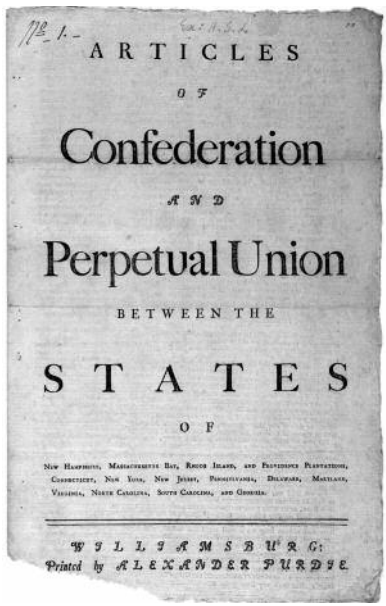
Coins that have circulated in the United States have featured Native Americans since the American Revolution.

From top to bottom: A Massachusetts half-cent piece minted in 1788; an "Indian Head" cent from 1862; an "Indian Princess" gold dollar from 1887, and a gold 1908 "Indian Head" quarter eagle.

During the Revolution, the outpouring of ideas within and between the colonists made clear that this process of self-definition, of revolutionary reinvention, and of eventual self-governance was exactly that, a process, one that was undetermined and never foreclosed. Viewing politics, political relations, and ultimately forms of political governance as social—and not divine—processes, the Revolutionary generation put forth the idea that politics and political sovereignty reside within society not above it or outside it. The Revolution thus disavowed European governing structures that had invested the final and supreme law of society in royalty, monarchies, the Papacy, and aristocracy. Drawing upon European Enlightenment thought while harkening back to Europe's founding Greek and, to a lesser extent, Roman philosophers—the Revolutionary leaders viewed themselves as initiating a radical political and ideological experiment.

The Revolutionary leaders constantly invoked the notion of a Republic not because they knew what kind of political structure they wanted. They invoked and constantly talked about a Republican government because it reflected their ideas about what a good and just society would look like. Fear of centralized

authority characterized the first form of government forged during the War: the Articles of Confederation, created by the same body that drafted the Declaration of Independence. The Articles provided the colonies with their first national constitution and called for a loose confederation in which "each state retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence," as well as powers and rights not "expressly delegated to the United States." The Articles gave the confederation of states the authority to declare war and peace, make treaties, adjudicate disputes between the states, borrow and print money, and requisition funds from the states "for the common defense or general welfare." These powers were exercised by a central legislature, the Congress, in which each state had one vote regardless of its wealth or population. There was no separate executive branch or judiciary. Important laws needed approval by at least nine of thirteen states, and changes in the Articles required unanimous consent.


ARTICLES
OF
Confederation
AND
Perpetual Union
BETWEEN THE
STATES
OF
WILLIAMSBURG:
Printed by ALEXANDER PURDIE.

An image of the frontispiece of the Articles of Confederation printed in 1777 by Alexander Purdie of Williamsburg, Virginia.

Centralized power and corruption were thus so initially feared in the new republic that states did not want to cede authority to anyone. They in fact wanted to maintain generally agrarian economies without cumbersome issues of national taxation, debts, and, most importantly, representation interfering with their own sovereignty. The Revolution had been about political representation, and most of the states feared either giving up or even losing their right to representative government. The states, then, under the Articles would be sovereign—with their population electing their own representatives to state legislatures—and very limited powers would be given to the national body, or congress.

Without the capacity to raise federal troops, funds, or assemblies, the Congress under the Articles basically watched state governments attempt to deal with national issues. The clear need for a new national structure of government came after the Revolution, and state conventions began drafting models for a new federal system of government. Much more than a political charter, this new government, "constituted" by the Constitutional Convention and subsequently ratified by each state, created a flexible and innovative system of government that would change as the people change. In 1787, the United States Constitution was drafted as the "supreme" law of the land, and it included a series of grants and denials that were made by the states to and with the federal government.

In the series of grants and denials made by state governments to the federal government, the federal government, in Article I, Section 8, of the Constitution, retains the right "to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, *and with the Indian tribes*." These are arguably the five most important words in American Indian legal history, words that remained, like the Constitution itself, untested, undetermined, and still open to a series of subsequent debates that came to be known as the process of ratification.

These words, however, remain embedded clearly in the federal government's powers, and over time they would evolve into the profoundly unique form of American jurisprudence known as federal Indian law. Not only were these words and their meanings undefined until the Supreme Court essentially began interpreting them throughout the nineteenth century, but states throughout the early Republic did not want to follow the federal system that evolved from these words and subsequent interpretations. The Constitution of the United States and subsequent Supreme Court rulings were contested by states in the 1830s, in the 1880s, and in the 1930s as state governments have attempted to impinge upon what are clearly federally designated constitutional powers.

The ability and inability of the federal government to implement these powers form defining themes in American Indian history, as do the myriad responses of the continent's Indian peoples who have, since 1783, had to confront the ever-growing authority of the United States around them.

Lake Winnipisseogee from Red Hill

In 1837, British author Nathaniel P. Willis and illustrator William H. Bartlett set out on a two-year journey around the United States to capture images of the landscape for a book they hoped to publish. Bartlett provided written descriptions of the scenes as depicted by Willis along the way. The above image is one such example from New Hampshire on the lake now known as Winnipesaukee.

Native Americans who lived there are shown on Red Hill overlooking the lake. However, the scene is far from idyllic. Several fires are seen burning in the distance and a small boat is sailing out on the lake. Bartlett described the terrible relationships between Indians and European settlers, stating the smoke signified homesteads burned by the Indians; the war party is returning uphill from wreaking destruction. The boat sailing in the distance symbolizes the fact that the white man is not going to stop coming and represents the inevitability of conquest.

Source: *American Scenery*. Nathaniel P. Willis and William H. Bartlett. Published serially in thirty parts by George Virtue in London and bound into two volumes, 1840.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Questions

1. What two wars were ended by the 1763 and 1783 Treaties of Paris?
2. What powers are delegated to the federal government in Article I, Section 8, of the United States Constitution?

Suggested Reading

Calloway, Colin G. *The American Revolution in Indian Country: Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Other Books of Interest

Dowd, Gregory Evans. *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745–1815*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992.

Hoxie, Frederick E., Ronald Hoffman, and Peter J. Albert, eds. *Native Americans and the Early Republic*. Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 1999.

Websites of Interest

1. California Newsreel operates a website based on its three-volume documentary series on American race relations. Volume 2 of that series provides an extraordinary discussion of American Indians in the early Republic. — http://newsreel.org/nav/title.asp?tc=cn0149
2. The University of Missouri at Kansas City's Law School provides a good introduction to works on the study of federal Indian law. — http://www.law.umkc.edu/faculty/profiles/stancel/indian.htm

Lecture 6

American Indians in the North American West Before Lewis and Clark

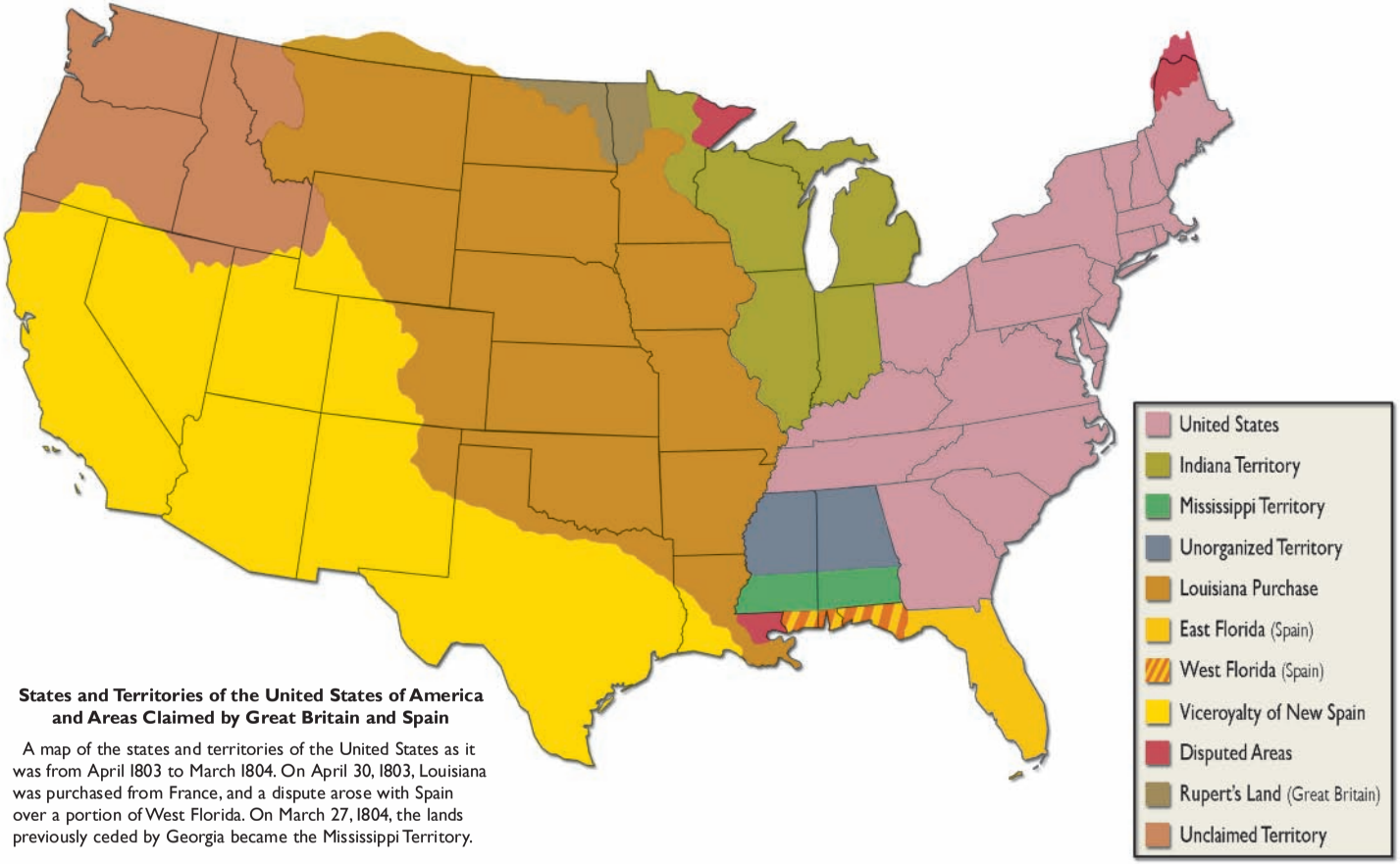
The Suggested Reading for this lecture is James P. Ronda's *Lewis and Clark Among the Indians*.

In 1800, one decade after the ratification of the Constitution, the United States was one of five imperial powers in North America. Despite losing its thirteen Atlantic colonies during the American Revolution, Great Britain still claimed much of North America through a series of trading relations and strategic forts across the Great Lakes and Canada. Spain held colonies from Florida to California that included the oldest colonial settlements in New Mexico, while Russia dominated the seal and fur trade from Alaska down the Pacific into northern California. Lastly, France, which had lost most of its claims to North America following the Seven Years' War, held visions of a new North American empire following its growing strength in Europe. Within and particularly outside of the expanding territories of the United States, then, Native American communities confronted hosts of imperial powers upon the North American mainland.

In order to gauge this global struggle for North America, one can effectively turn to the first decade of the 1800s, when the United States under its third president, Thomas Jefferson, "purchased" France's reacquired territories in Louisiana. Jefferson had deeply feared renewed French expansion in North America. With a significant percentage of American crops being transported to market via the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, farmers paid taxes at New Orleans. As the French armies became overwhelmed by the slave uprisings known as the Haitian Revolution, Jefferson eagerly took advantage of France's growing humiliation in the Caribbean. An intended "breadbasket" for its Caribbean sugar plantations, Napoleon Bonaparte had intended Louisiana to be a hinterland, a place of pasture and provision in North America. With the struggle to quell the Haitian uprisings dragging into its second year in 1803, France quickly entertained Jefferson's proposal to sell not only access to the Gulf Coast at New Orleans, but also the rest of Louisiana.

The Louisiana Purchase, then, resulted from the complex interplay between Revolutionary France, Revolutionary Haiti, and a still revolutionary experiment in the United States. The purchase doubled the national territory of the United States and placed thousands of American Indians under its eventual jurisdiction. Ordered to both cross this new territory and find sites suitable for future commerce, Meriwether Lewis, William Clark, and their federally sanctioned "Corps of Discovery" left St. Louis in 1804.

After wintering among the Mandan villages along the Missouri River, by the summer of 1805, they neared the headwaters of the Missouri. Traveling by boat



States and Territories of the United States of America and Areas Claimed by Great Britain and Spain

A map of the states and territories of the United States as it was from April 1803 to March 1804. On April 30, 1803, Louisiana was purchased from France, and a dispute arose with Spain over a portion of West Florida. On March 27, 1804, the lands previously ceded by Georgia became the Mississippi Territory.

and staying close to the riverbeds, the expedition excitedly began their anticipated journey to the Pacific. However, lacking horses in the borderlands of eastern Idaho and western Montana, the Corps faced a growing danger. They spent several long weeks in late June and all of July looking for resident Indians to help ferry the river-bound crew and their supplies further west. By early August, their search had turned to desperation. After the feet of several in the Corps had become infected by prickly pear cacti, Lewis, in early August, took command of a small scouting group to search, yet again, for resident Shoshone Indians, noting on August 8, "it is now all important with us to meet those people." Without horses, the expedition would become stranded. It would face a second winter east of the Rockies and would do so in a region famous for its early and bitter winters. Moreover, the party had grown short on rations and was still unsure of the route ahead. The expedition was at one of its most desperate points. "Without horses," Lewis further worried, "we shall be obliged to leave a great part of our stores, of which, it appears to me that we have a stock already sufficiently small for the length of the voyage before us."[1]

It is commonplace in many narratives to view the Corps of Discovery's young Shoshone guide, Sacagawea, at the center of this summer's unfolding drama. Lost, horseless, and facing the upcoming autumn on the Northern Plains, Lewis and Clark in many versions increasingly rely upon Sacagawea's memory and guidance to venture west from the Three Forks of the Missouri in Western Montana. They use her recognition of natural landmarks to search for Shoshone camps and, fortuitously, find their way to Sacagawea's original Lemhi Northern Shoshone band, under the leadership of her brother Cameahwait, whose support helped the Americans traverse the difficult passes of the Continental Divide. Also helping to translate among Cameahwait's band, as well as with other Snake River and Columbia River peoples, Sacagawea remains with Pocahontas among the most iconographic Indian women in United States history, enshrined, commemorated, and commercially circulated in everyday American life.[2]

The Sacagawea Golden Dollar Coin was first minted by the United States Mint in 2000, and depicts the Shoshone woman Sacagawea, a member of the Lewis and Clark expedition, carrying her son Jean Baptiste Charbonneau. The coin's artist, Glenna Goodacre, used a twenty-two-year-old Shoshone woman named Randy'L He-dow Teton as the model for the young Sacagawea.

1. Gary E. Moulton, ed. *The Journals of Lewis and Clark*. 13 vols. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983–2001. V: 59. Subsequent quotes from the expedition are found in vol. 5, pp. 103–119.

2. For overviews of the varying spellings and historical debates about Sacagawea's role in the Lewis and Clark Expedition, see "Sacagawea," in Elin Woodger and Brandon Toropov, eds., *Encyclopedia of Lewis and Clark Expedition*. New York: Facts on File, Inc., 2004, pp. 307–309.

While of central importance to the Corps's successful continental passing and its enduring achievements, Sacagawea's historical legacy has overshadowed the history not only of her own communities, but of the Indian West before Lewis and Clark. Because, far from reaching Indian communities outside of, or removed from, continental-wide cycles of historical change, Lewis and Clark in fact came in contact with Indian communities who had long felt the impacts of Europeans throughout the northern Plains and trans-Missouri West. Even in lands previously outside of the immediate spheres of European settlement, Native peoples had already long felt the disruptions emanating from various imperial centers. What one sees in the summer of 1805, then, are colonial encounters between representatives of empire on one hand, and indigenous peoples struggling to cope with the challenges of life on the margins of empire on the other. Marked by an over-two-week stay with Cameahwait's people, the reunion of Sacagawea with her lost family, and most importantly the securing of enough horses, labor, and knowledge to begin their march to the Pacific, the second half of August 1805 remains among the most critical moments in the Corps of Discovery's journey.

Like their linguistically and culturally related Ute neighbors to the south, the Northern Shoshone straddled the ecological divide between Plains grasslands and mountain valley homelands, migrating seasonally in search of game, fish, and plants. Unlike the Utes, whose proximity to Spanish New Mexico had ushered in over a century of diplomatic relations, these equestrian Shoshones had no previously established diplomatic alliances with Euro-Americans. Also, unlike the Utes, they had access to the bountiful salmon runs of the Northwest and maximized their catch using nets and weirs along the Snake, Salmon, and Lemhi Rivers. It was, for example, the small, enticing portions of dried salmon offered to Lewis by Cameahwait at their first meeting that confirmed the intrepid American's excitement about their eventual Pacific arrival. Salmon, berries, plants, deer, rabbits, fowl, and other small game made the summer, ideally, a time of harvest for these northern Basin peoples. Furthermore, the introduction of the horse had expanded their territorial and economic range, facilitating travel, trade, and hunting in the western plains of Montana, where antelope and bison

© Library of Congress

William Clark's drawing of a fish he called a "white salmon trout" was reproduced in Reuben Gold Thwaites's edition of the explorers' journals, published in 1904–1905.

> *"The white Salmon Trout which we had previously seen only at the Great Falls of the Columbia, or a little below the Great Falls, has now made its appearance in the creeks near this place. One of them was brought us to day by an indian who had just taken it with his gig."*

abounded. As all Indian peoples knew, horses could, in moments of scarcity, provide additional critical sustenance and could do so in sizeable proportions when compared to the more traditional foods procured from hunting and gathering. Cameahwait's band had well over four hundred horses as well as scattered numbers of mules. Why, then, according to the records of the Corps of Discovery, were Cameahwait's people so impoverished in the summer of 1805? Why did they live in such a "wretched stait [sic] of poverty"? Why was their "extreme poverty" so apparent that Lewis noted at length that he "viewed these poor starved devils with pity and compassion"? How could these people face such enduring hardships, especially in the summertime, in lands of meager but still apparent bounty?

Cameahwait answered many of Lewis's queries, and his answers reveal many of the stresses of life in the Indian West before Lewis and Clark. The leader of the first group of Indian peoples encountered by Lewis and Clark in lands where no English-speaker had ever journeyed explained that, despite their isolation from Euro-Americans, his people had long felt the destructive influences of European trade and warfare. For, far to their south, Cameahwait complained,

> [T]he Spaniards will not let them have fire arms and ammunition . . . thus leaving them defenseless and an easy prey to their bloodthirsty neighbors . . . who being in possession of fire arms hunt them up. [They] were obliged to remain in the interior of these mountains at least two thirds of the year where the[y] suffered as we then saw great heardships [sic] for the want of food.

As Cameahwait revealed, Shoshone impoverishment revolved not around culture or ecology, but around economic and military disadvantage, particularly around the absence of firearms. Nestled in the interior portions of the northern Great Basin, Cameahwait's peoples faced hostile, powerful neighbors on nearly all sides. To their east, from where the Corps had recently arrived, Mandan, Hidatsa, Arikara, Crow, and Assiniboine equestrian raiders regularly made forays into Shoshone territories in search of horses, game, and captives. Such Mandan raids, for example, had yielded dozens of captives over the previous years, including the young Sacagawea taken at

Crow on Leaping Horse
by George Catlin, ca. 1830s

Public Domain

the age of twelve, four years earlier. These Upper Missouri peoples were all better armed than the Shoshone, having procured guns from French and British traders and their Indian and *métis* intermediaries. Responding themselves to the expansion of outside aggressors, particularly the Lakota Sioux, these Upper Missouri River peoples had long adapted to the many ordeals posed by equestrian warfare, and throughout the 1700s and early 1800s, various Northern Plains Indians carried the violence from their own worlds into those of their less powerful neighbors in the Intermountain West.

To the Shoshone's north, well-armed Blackfeet and Piegan bands also routinely fought with the Shoshone. Expert fur traders and excellent marksmen, the Blackfeet had secured firearms from British trading forts and dominated the Upper Missouri River territory for much of the 1800s. To the Shoshone's south, Ute middlemen and traders had horses, metals, and other wares gained from colonial New Mexico. They did not, however, trade guns, which the Spaniards tried to monopolize in the last decades of their rule. Utes, furthermore, needed the few arms that they could obtain from various Plains trading networks and would not part with their own precious few firearms.

Only to their immediate southwest and west did these Shoshones not face armed, equestrian combatants. To their southwest, equestrian travel was hindered by the dry, and often hostile, landscapes in northern Nevada and northwestern Utah, lands through which Lewis was warned not to venture for "we must suffer if not perish for the want of water," as well as worry that "the feet of our horses would be so much wounded with the stones [that] many of them would give out." Only to their west did the Shoshone not face enemies. Several Salish-speaking groups, known as Flatheads, were allied with Cameahwait's band and together migrated seasonally onto the Plains near the Three Forks in western Montana—the easternmost reach for these seasonal buffalo-hunters.

These brief windows into a few of the colonial encounters remaking the Northern Plains in the early nineteenth century reveal a series of larger influences reverberating throughout western North America in the 1700s and 1800s. Not only were these Shoshones isolated from the actual agents and arteries of empire, they also suffered from such isolation. Their enthusiastic, often uncontrolled response to trade—both with the Corps of Discovery and subsequent English and American fur traders—highlights the trade dependency within their homelands. Trade dependency and isolation had, however, longer histories in the region, histories that reached back several generations to, at least, the early 1700s, when the Shoshones likely first learned of the dramatic effects of European contact and settlement in North America. The spread of Spanish technologies from New Mexico, particularly horses, accelerated during and after the twelve-year Spanish absence following the 1680 Pueblo Revolt, when allied Pueblo Indians throughout colonial New Mexico joined together in a pan-Indian uprising that drove the Spanish off the northern Rio Grande.

Spreading Spanish technologies north while also opening up the colony to northern Indian raiders, the Pueblo Revolt helped to usher in the first great technological revolution in post-contact western Indian history: the spread of equestrianism. By the end of the 1700s, as Cameahwait suggested, the Spanish and their Ute allies attempted to monopolize the spread of guns, but Cameahwait and Sacagawea's world had already long been revolutionized by the spread of the horse. Horses, like guns, recalibrated the balance of power in existing Native worlds, often forcing those without into forms of dependency while enabling those with sizeable herds greater mobility, power, and influence. Many of the great Indian horse cultures from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, including the Comanche, Lakota, Kiowa, and Cheyenne, had taken advantage of equestrianism and did so often at the expense of semi-equestrians, like the Mandan, Pawnee, or Plains Apaches, who attempted to combine equestrianism with horticultural economies. Once the center of the trading networks on the Plains, such horticultural villages increasingly became displaced by stronger equestrian powers and also became more susceptible to European diseases. While microbes, demography, and diplomacy were other obvious variables in the calculus of Indian power in the early American West, horses remained the *sine qua non* of Indian supremacy.

Lewis and Clark's encounter with Mandan, Shoshone, and Columbian River Indians thus occurred amidst a longer history of indigenous rivalries, alliances, and transformation. Although sparsely documented, the equestrian revolution remains central to any understanding of the early West and to the fluid and adaptive history of Native peoples caught in the maelstrom of colonial expansion.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Questions

1. How many European powers held claims to North America in 1800?
2. What European influences shaped Shoshone life at the time of Lewis and Clark's arrival in 1805?

Suggested Reading

Ronda, James P. *Lewis and Clark Among the Indians*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1984.

Other Books of Interest

Calloway, Colin G. *One Vast Winter Count: The Native American West Before Lewis and Clark*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2003.

Hoxie, Frederick E., and Jay T. Nelson, eds. *Lewis and Clark and the Indian Country*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2007.

West, Elliott. *The Contested Plains: Indians, Goldseekers, and the Rush to Colorado*. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1998.

Websites of Interest

1. The Smithsonian Museum of Natural History features the cartographic history of the Lewis and Clark Expedition in the context of the time and includes important information on Indian Country during the journey. — http://www.mnh.si.edu/education/lc/lcmapping/index.html?page=indian_country.html
2. PBS provides its *Lewis & Clark: The Journey of the Corps of Discovery* website based on a film by Ken Burns. The site features a section on Native Americans, an interactive trail map, and interviews with historians discussing the expedition and the major figures involved. — http://www.pbs.org/lewisandclark

Lecture 7

The Constitutional Crisis of American Indian Removal

The Suggested Reading for this lecture is Anthony F.C. Wallace's *Long, Bitter Trail: Andrew Jackson and the Indians*.

Following the American Revolution, an increasing dilemma confronted the young American republic. Many defeated, but not conquered, Indian peoples still lived within the boundaries of New York State, the Carolinas, and Georgia, while powerful and autonomous Indian peoples allied with Britain still lived west of the Appalachians, particularly in the Ohio River territories of "the Old Northwest." Other members of the "Five Civilized Tribes" fought to retain control over territories in the Deep South.

American policy-makers debated what to do with these subject populations who were not citizens nor subject to United States law. Such an "Indian problem" was first addressed by George Washington: "the Country is large enough to contain us all," he said. "We will establish a boundary line between them and us beyond which we will endeavor to retain our people."[1] Attempting to separate Indian and white societies and to keep American citizens out of Indian lands became, then, national policy, and it failed miserably. White immigrants flooded west throughout the first decades of the New Republic. By the end of the War of 1812—in which thousands of confederated Indian peoples unsuccessfully fought to retain control of their lands—the power of the American state across eastern North America had become unrivaled. The next generation of American policy-makers finalized the place of Indian peoples within the original thirteen states, an effort led by one of the victorious generals from that war, Andrew Jackson.

Tecumseh
(1768–1813)

Tecumseh was a Shawnee leader from what is now Ohio. He fought against settler encroachment on tribal lands, including the Battle of Tippecanoe against Indiana Territorial governor and future United States president William Henry Harrison. He later sided with the British in the War of 1812 on a promise to oust Americans from Indian land.

This image is a colored version of Benson John Lossing's portrait of Tecumseh, made ca. 1868. No fully authenticated painting of Tecumseh exists. Lossing had not met the Native Indian leader and assumed that he was a British general. Based on a pencil sketch by Pierre le Dru, Lossing replaced Tecumseh's native costume with a British uniform and painted this portrait.

1. Primary source quotes in this essay are drawn from selections in Francis Paul Prucha, ed., *Documents of United States Indian Policy*, 3rd ed. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000.

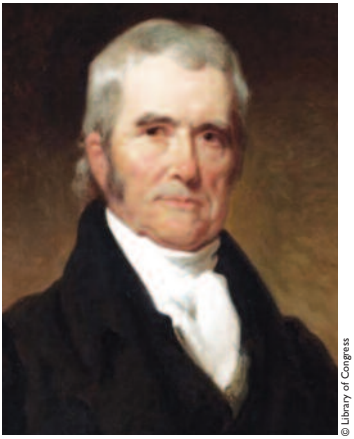
The Louisiana Purchase had not only doubled the nation's territory, but it also offered Thomas Jefferson and later presidents a potential solution to the so-called Indian problem. With a sudden stroke of fortune, the limitless, western country to which Washington referred again reappeared. Locating Indian peoples on these Western lands, as was Washington's vision, became, then, Jefferson's and later Jackson's answer to this problem. The West would become for Indian peoples a "sanctuary" where they could live separately and slowly acculturate and assimilate many American practices. As James Monroe said in his 1824 address to Congress: "Between the limits of our present states and territories, and the Rocky Mountains and Mexico, there is a vast territory to which they (the Indians) might be invited, with inducements which might be successful." The "vast territory" of Louisiana, then, would be an "Indian Territory" where Indians were to be invited to settle.

Such a vision to separate and settle Indian peoples west of the Mississippi failed not only because of Indian peoples' resistance to Removal, but also because the lands west of the Mississippi became increasingly occupied by white settlers. The states of Missouri and Arkansas Territory, for example, were created in 1821 and 1819, and both cut into the planned "Indian Territory." The incorporation of western territories into the American nation-state not only remained one of the primary political divisions in Antebellum politics, but it also required the federal government to relocate Indian peoples. Such policies of removal and eventual resettlement characterized federal Indian policy for the first half of the nineteenth century.

In eastern North America, Indian peoples faced a series of conflicts, challenges, and ultimately crises during the "removal era." Coming after a period of intense military conflict—from the Seven Years' War through the War of 1812—such "backcountry" or "frontier" conflicts created American leaders and eventually politicians who were much less concerned with forms of virtue and republican rule than those who led the Revolution and later framed the Constitution. It is no coincidence that the first president of the United States who came from a place other than Massachusetts or Virginia—the two oldest and largest English colonies in North America—had extensive experience in such "backcountry regions" and had developed particular forms of politics in which Indian-fighting and Indian-hating were commonly shared experiences. His name, of course, was Andrew Jackson, and unlike his predecessors, Jackson had no qualms in calling for the *forced* removal of Indian peoples from within the nation's boundaries.

Unlike Washington or Jefferson or even Monroe—all of whom adopted forms of uplift or "assimilation" programs that attempted to temper the effects of dispossession—Jackson viewed the still newly incorporated lands of the West as the immediate destination for Indians in eastern North America. "If they remain within the limits of the States," he told Congress in his first Address to the Union in 1829, "they must be subject to their laws."

Like many Southerners, Jackson viewed certain elements of federal authority with suspicion, and the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, John Marshall, ultimately developed radically different interpretations of Constitutional law than Jackson. As the longest-serving Chief Justice in United States history, Marshall attempted throughout the 1800s to increase power in the High Court. Contests over political authority between states and the federal government were legion throughout the Antebellum Period, a period characterized by increased conflicts between states and the federal government over issues of politics and economy.



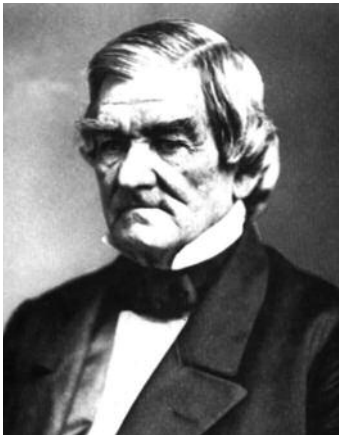
Chief Justice John Marshall
(1755–1835)

Marshall adjudicated three seminal cases in Indian affairs and in the process established the legal frameworks out of which federal Indian law evolved. Known as the Marshall Trilogy, these cases interpreted the Constitution's Commerce Clause and set forth monumental precedents. In 1823, in *Johnson* v. *M'Intosh*, two parties in Illinois had bought the same land, one from a private company and the other from the federal government. Both buyers claimed their rights to the land from resident Indian tribes, who apparently sold the land twice. The question in front of the Marshall Court—can Indian tribes sell land to private parties?—appeared simple, but it was not. In this ruling, Marshall ruled in favor of M'Intosh, claiming that only the federal government can incorporate land held by Indians into the nation. Not only can Indian tribes thus not sell land to individual parties, but also the federal government holds an exclusive, or supreme, right to transfer such lands into the union. Neither individuals nor individual states can infringe upon this federal process. Matters of Indian land ownership and the rights of both tribes and of the government were addressed in this landmark case.

If Indians cannot sell land to any entity other than the federal government, what rights may they possess within the expanding nation? Recognized alongside "foreign nations" in the Commerce Clause, Indians were not citizens and did not participate formally in American governance. As Jackson assumed office, such issues quickly became tested.

In 1828, the State of Georgia enacted a series of laws aimed at reducing the rights of Cherokee Indians within the state. Georgia intended to force the Cherokee to leave the state and to join thousands of already exiled Indian peoples west of the Mississippi. In this climate, Cherokee Nation Principal Chief John Ross led a delegation to Washington to seek federal assistance. Rather than enter into negotiations with President Jackson, Ross lobbied Congress directly. Despite garnering much support, Ross received word that

Jackson not only supported Georgia's right to extend its laws into federally recognized Cherokee lands, but that Congress was also endorsing Jackson's broader policy of Indian removal. In May 1830, Congress passed the Indian Removal Act—a legislative centerpiece of Jackson's first term in office that authorized the president to establish lands west of the Mississippi to exchange for the lands of the Indian nations in the East. For the next two years, Cherokee leaders used the American legal system to challenge such rulings and found two of their cases before Justice Marshall.



Cherokee Chief John Ross, ca. 1860s
(also called Guwisguwi)
(1790–1866)

Enlisting the support of former Attorney General William Wirt, the Cherokee filed an injunction against the State of Georgia and argued that "the Cherokee Nation [was] a foreign nation in the sense of our constitution and law" and was thus not subject to Georgia's jurisdiction. Wirt asked the Supreme Court to declare the Georgia laws extended over Cherokee lands null and void because they violated the United States Constitution. This case, *Cherokee Nation* v. *Georgia* from 1831, attempted to recognize Cherokee and other Indian nations as independent sovereigns within the boundaries of the United States because they had entered into treaties with the federal government, a process that only foreign nations maintain within the Constitution.

Despite his sympathies, Marshall denied the injunction and in the process reclassified the political standing of the Cherokee and other Indian tribes. The Cherokee people—despite their own system of constitutional government, printing press, and economic institutions—were not a foreign state, but rather a "domestic dependent nation" within the United States. They thus could not bring suit against the State of Georgia as a foreign nation.

Although the Court determined that it did not have jurisdiction in this case, Marshall left open the opportunity that the Cherokee might find another vehicle for addressing their concerns. In the next year, they did just that. In the 1832 decision *Worcester* v. *Georgia*, the Cherokee successfully sued the State of Georgia for imprisoning an American citizen, Samuel Worcester, within Cherokee territory. This ruling both annulled Georgia's extension of its laws into Cherokee lands and set in motion a form of sovereign recognition of Cherokee and other Indian nations.

With Wirt again litigating, though not on behalf of the Cherokee Nation directly but on behalf of Worcester, the Supreme Court found that Georgia's laws had attempted to legally eradicate the Cherokee Nation. Worcester's travels had violated state prohibitions that required non-natives to have licenses, for example.

However, such an exercise of state laws, according to Marshall, violated the treaty agreements between the Cherokee and the federal government. Thus, this case represented a clear conflict regarding federal laws and powers and those of the states. According to Marshall and the Commerce Clause, the federal government and the federal government alone has the power to govern Indian communities who reside outside the jurisdiction of state and local governments.

This case is thus now widely regarded as the most important in American Indian legal history because it finally articulated an operable vision of Indian political rights and standing within the nation. Not foreign nations, the 1831 case had determined, Indian nations according to Marshall remain "a distinct community occupying its own territory, with boundaries accurately described." Moreover, "the laws of Georgia can have no force, and which the citizens of Georgia have no right to enter, but with assent of the Cherokee themselves, or in conformity with treaties, and with the acts of congress. . . . The act of the State of Georgia . . . is consequently void."

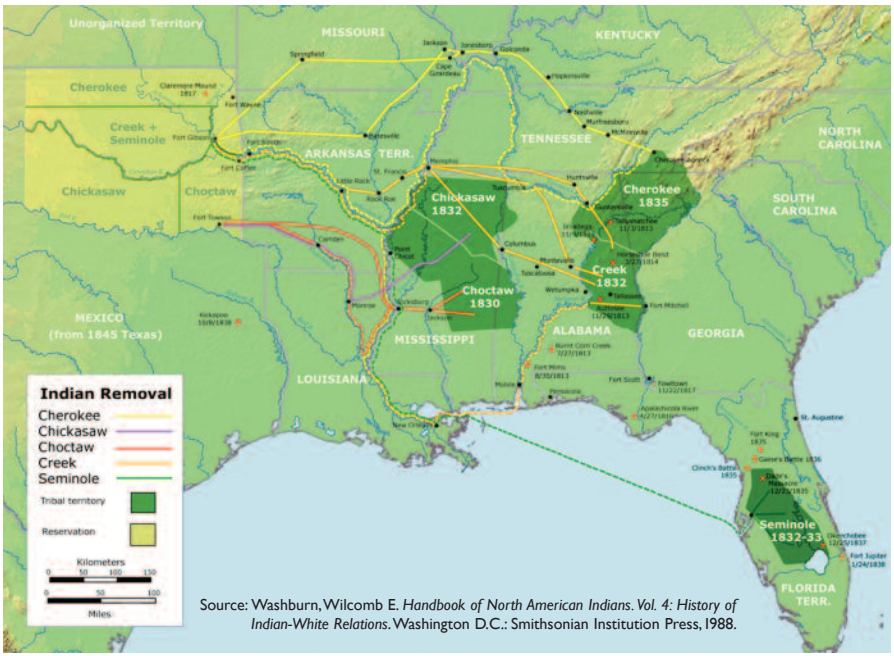
By recognizing limited—but not completed—forms of Indian sovereignty, Marshall found a middle road, one that recognized both the power of the federal government and those of Indian nations. The results have characterized Indian laws and policy ever since, though the immediate result remains one of the least honorable and illegal actions in United States history.

The Constitution and particularly the earliest Supreme Court rulings established mechanisms of judicial review and balances of power between the three levels of the federal government—the executive branch, the congressional or legislative branch, and the judiciary or judicial branch. Within the federalist system, each branch has the authority to balance one another and to curb potential excessive influences or consolidations of power. So fearful were the original framers of the Constitution of concentrated authority that they invented this multi-tiered system of authority.

Within such a system, the Supreme Court and branches of the federal court system maintain essential responsibilities to interpret the Constitution and determine the constitutionality of congressional legislation. Marshall and the Court's 1832 ruling, then, remained the law of the land; their interpretations were technically legally binding decisions. Unfortunately for Worcester and the Cherokee, Andrew Jackson and the executive branch—including his cabinet officers and military leaders—took little notice of the Court's ruling and continued to press forward with their policy of removal. While only specifically targeting Georgia's laws in the case, the implications of Marshall's ruling held open possible challenges to the 1830 Removal Act itself—which clearly was at odds with dozens of federal treaties and agreements with eastern Indians. Can Congress pass legislative policies that so clearly violate previously ratified treaties of the United States? Such questions remained undetermined as Jackson pressed forward with the forced removal of the Cherokee and other southern Indian tribes.

This potential constitutional crisis was averted by President Jackson's unwillingness to heed Marshall's ruling and by the fact that the American South was now producing half the cotton consumed in the world. Southern leaders held little interest in protecting Indian lands from their expanding slave economy and enthusiastically embraced removal as national policy. Forced, often at gunpoint, to quickly gather their possessions, the Cherokee were marched from the South across the Mississippi into Indian Territory. Nearly twenty thousand underwent this forced displacement along a path known in the Cherokee language as "the Path where they Cried," a journey more commonly known as the Trail of Tears. Over four thousand died due to cold, malnutrition, and violent attacks, as Indian removal targeted indigenous communities who had successfully navigated the American legal system in the vain attempt to remain in their recognized homelands.

Map of United States Indian Removal, 1830–1835



Source: Washburn, Wilcomb E. *Handbook of North American Indians. Vol. 4: History of Indian-White Relations.* Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988.

Public Domain

"What good man would prefer a country covered with forests and ranged by a few thousand savages to our extensive Republic, studded with cities, towns, and prosperous farms, embellished with all the improvements which art can devise or industry execute."

~President Andrew Jackson, 1829

"The evil, Sir, is enormous; the inevitable suffering incalculable. Do not stain the fair fame of the country. Nations of dependent Indians, against their will, under color of law, are driven from their homes into the wilderness. You cannot explain it; you cannot reason it away. Our friends will view this measure with sorrow, and our enemies alone with joy. And we ourselves, Sir, when the interests and passions of the day are past, shall look back upon it, I fear, with self-reproach, and a regret as bitter as unavailing."

~Congressman Edward Everett, 1830

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Questions

1. Who was John Marshall and why is he important to American Indian history?
2. What was the problem before the Supreme Court in the case *Worcester* v. *Georgia*?

Suggested Reading

Wallace, Anthony F.C. *The Long, Bitter Trail: Andrew Jackson and the Indians*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1993.

Other Books of Interest

Perdue, Theda, and Michael D. Green, eds. *The Cherokee Removal: A Brief History with Documents*. New York: Bedford/St. Martin's, 1995.

Websites of Interest

1. The University of Missouri at Kansas City Law School provides a good introduction to works on the study of federal Indian law. — http://www.law.umkc.edu/faculty/profiles/stancel/indian.htm
2. The *Teach Us History* website provides a series of overviews, documents, and lesson plans on the subject of Indian Removal, including extended primary sources that amplify the position of the Cherokee Nation and Jackson's infamous address to the Union in 1830 calling for Indian removal. — http://www.teachushistory.org/indian-removal

Lecture 8

American Indians in the Civil War Era

The Suggested Reading for this lecture is Dee Brown's *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West*.

Throughout the early nineteenth century, the United States rapidly acquired new lands and subject populations across the North American West. By mid-century, two Pacific territories—California (1850) and Oregon (1859)—had become part of the Union. What had once been nearly unimaginable was now commonly accepted: the United States had become a continental empire.

As with the Louisiana Purchase, such continued expansion resulted from a host of international and domestic factors, none of which were inevitable or preordained. As northern farmers and southern slave-owners rushed into western lands, for example, the Louisiana Purchase was no longer an uncharted territory but had become new states named Missouri (1821), Arkansas (1836), Iowa (1846), Minnesota (1858), and later Kansas (1861) and Nebraska (1867). These states were quickly carved out of this vast territory and placed thousands of resident Indians under United States jurisdiction. In the south, however, Mexico controlled the lands south of the forty-second parallel, including California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas. As white settlers rushed into Texas and California in the 1830s and 1840s, they became foreigners, subject to

American Progress
by John Gast (1842–?)

This painting (ca. 1872) is an allegorical representation of the modernization of the new West. Here the diaphonously clad Columbia (intended as a personification of the United States) floats westward with the "Star of Empire" on her forehead. She has left the cities of the East behind, and the wide Mississippi. In her right hand she carries a school book, testimonial of the national enlightenment, while with her left she trails the slender wires of the telegraph that will bind the nation. Fleeing her approach are Indians, buffalo, wild horses, bears, and other game, disappearing into the storm and waves of the Pacific Coast.

Inset (enlarged): A detail of the Indians "fleeing" before Columbia, whose presence is bringing "light" to the receding "darkness" as she heads West.

Mexican laws. The complex interplay between Mexico, the United States, and resident Anglophone, Hispaño, and indigenous communities on the ground determined both the contours of western expansion and also the nature of western society before and after the war between the United States and Mexico (1846–1848). This war, as much as any other factor, contributed to the growing sectional tensions between the North and the South. With so many new territories and peoples in the Union, the 1850s and 1860s witnessed shockingly discordant political disagreements and eventual military confrontations.

The fate of the American Union during the Civil War Era profoundly impacted American Indians. In both political and military arenas, Native Americans confronted first an increasingly divided Union and then an increasingly powerful one. Indeed, the mobilization of the Union Army transformed the American West and the nation's Indian policies in profound ways. With a paltry standing army before the war, the federal government vainly attempted to enforce federal Indian policies far outside the reach of the national government. During and after the war, however, the government finally possessed a vast, institutionalized, and technologically advanced army capable of enforcing national policies. During and after the war, the Union Army became the primary instrument of national Indian policy, and its impact upon Indian communities was powerfully and violently felt. With several of the bloodiest chapters in Indian history written during the 1860s, the Civil War brought unprecedented conflicts to numerous Indian homelands as indigenous warfare, massacre, and mass incarceration defined much of the Indian West from this fateful decade. The Civil War was indeed an indigenous conflict, the aftermath of which would continue long after the crisis of Southern secession had ended.

The Mexican War dramatically reconfigured the geography of North America. In the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the United States forced Mexico to accept almost unconditionally the cession of California, the Rio Grande, and much of its northern territories. While many pushed for annexation of more territories, the final boundaries were conferred and the United States in 1848 then included the northern half of its southern neighbor. As with the Louisiana Purchase, the war carried numerous unforeseen outcomes.

Hangtown, California, 1849

Gold rush "placer" miners stopped panning long enough to pose for a photograph in Hangtown (now called Placerville), California. With no organized law enforcement in the Sierra Nevada foothills east of Sacramento, the miners dispensed vigilante justice against anyone they decided needed it. The town name was appropriate, as hangings were a common event in the town.

The discovery of gold in the central valleys of California in 1848, in particular, drew hundreds of thousands of migrants west. Coupled with the simultaneous influx of migrants to Utah and Oregon, the paths west from the Mississippi became increasingly well trodden. By 1860, over four million American migrants now lived in the West.

Despite such a torrent of migration, Indian peoples still controlled much of the lands of the Trans-Mississippi West. White migrants tended to settle along western waterways and valleys, in growing towns, and in mining centers. Virginia City, Nevada, for example, was at one point second in population only to San Francisco. Indian peoples throughout the Northern Plains, the Intermountain

Areas of conflict between independent Indians and Northern Mexicans in 1844.

Source: DeLay, Brian. *War of a Thousand Deserts: Indian Raids and the U.S.-Mexican War*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008.

West, and the Southwest lived amidst this growing tide, but they still retained access to their homelands. Such was not the case in California and in parts of Oregon, Utah, and the Southern Plains, where Indian peoples were increasingly dispossessed of their lands. In California, mining communities overwhelmed Miwok, Maidu, Washoe, and other Indian peoples in the Sierra Nevada foothills. With their superior technologies of violence and overwhelming numbers, whites subjugated California's Indian peoples in terrible and devastating ways. An important anthology, *The Destruction of the California Indians* (edited by Robert F. Heizer), estimates that fifty thousand Indians died during the first seventeen years of the Gold Rush. "Many of these deaths," the author writes, "were the result of simple and direct homicide, some were due to starvation and others to disease." These predominately male mining communities, for instance, often captured and enslaved Indian women for domestic and sexual labor. As one government official noted, "It is a frequent occurrence to find white men living with Indian women and because the Indians dare to 'complain' they are frequently subject to the worst and most brutal treatment." Violence then increasingly came to characterize social relations between many Indian and white communities inside and out of the "golden state." In fact, the number of "Indian Wars," as they became known, is simply too vast to recount from the 1850s and afterward. Wars with Modocs, Paiutes, Utes, Apaches, Navajos, Lakota, Dakotas, Comanches, Northern Cheyenne, Southern Cheyenne, Northern Shoshones, Eastern Shoshones, Blackfeet, Bannock, Nez Percé, and many other tribes erupted during the Civil War Era.

The Indian Wars in the West were qualitatively different than many eastern Indian conflicts in which large-scale Indian confederations often met large-scale American armies, with superior technologies often deciding the fate. Out West, white settlers and soldiers traveled through lands deeply familiar to Indian peoples, lands that often provided limitless terrain for guerrilla warfare and raiding. Coming on the heels of centuries of warfare with the Spanish and Mexicans in the Southwest, Americans, for instance, encountered highly mobile and militant Apache, Ute, and Navajo raiders who had no intention of recognizing others' claims to their homelands.

On the Plains, equestrian Indian societies similarly possessed formidable military tactics developed during generations of war with neighboring Indian peoples and foreign powers. Before the Civil War, the United States government simply lacked the capability to effectively subdue these and other Indian peoples and looked more to diplomacy to negotiate settlements that from the government's perspective primarily aimed to protect white migrants and secure Indian lands. Ultimately, an inefficient and divided nation had incorporated hundreds of thousands of Indian peoples into the Union, and conflicts ensued from growing grievances as well as unfulfilled promises and expectations.

Contrary to Hollywood's obsession with Indian raids on wagon trains, emigrants crossing the plains experienced relatively little hostility from Indians. As one scholar estimated, of the quarter-million emigrants who crossed the Plains

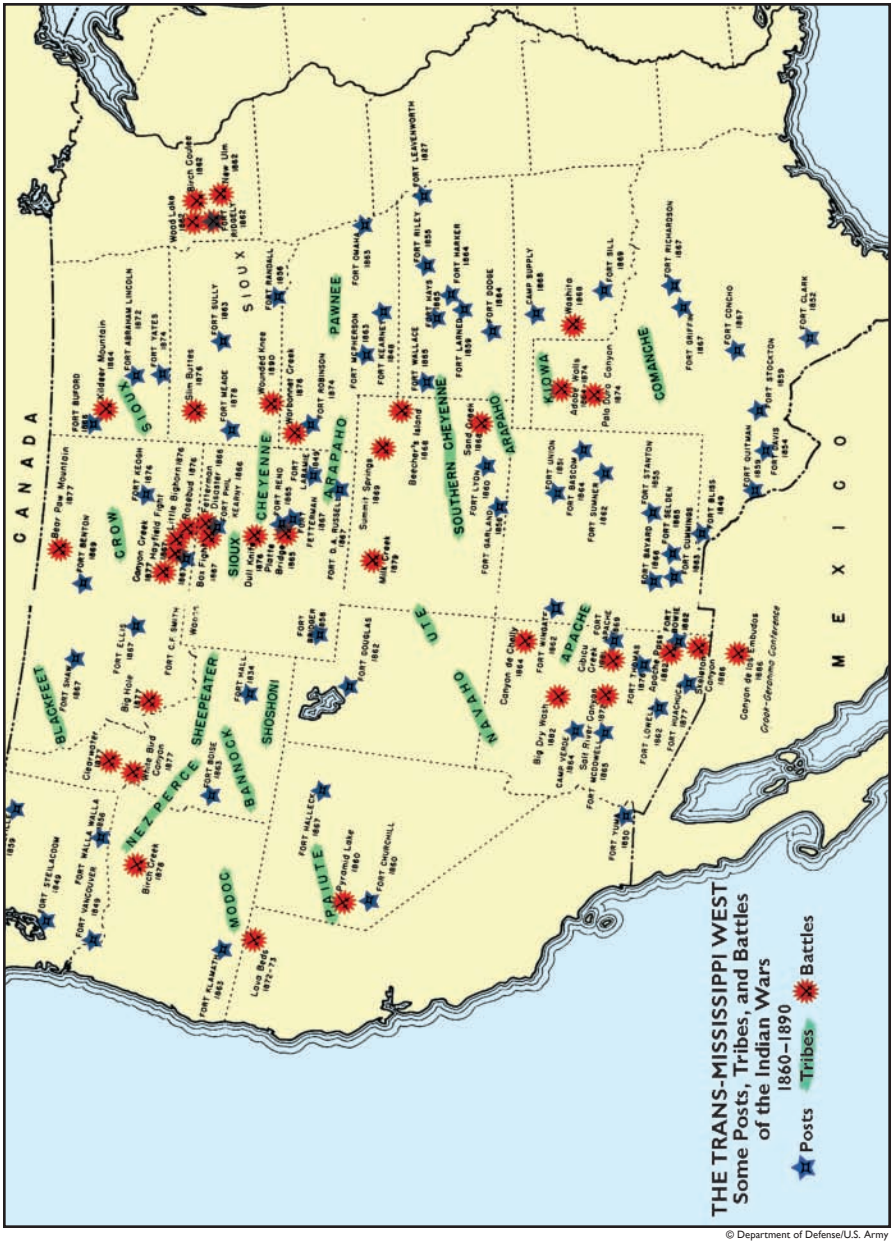
between 1840 and 1860, only three hundred sixty-two died in recorded conflicts with Indians, and the majority of these came on a particularly unincorporated part of the West along the Oregon Trail in Idaho, where resident Shoshone Indians had suffered immeasurable economic deprivations caused by the traffic of tens of thousands of migrants and their herds. More often than not, Indians acted as guides, hosts, and traders who shared critical foods, water, and knowledge about these new American landscapes. But tensions and open conflict grew increasingly common.

Of the many devastating conflicts from the era, a few deserve particular attention.

The most devastating Indian-White conflict of the upper Midwest, for example, came in 1862. Originally a woodlands peoples, the eastern Dakota Sioux migrated onto the Plains in the 1700s and developed equestrian and horticultural villages in the fertile river valleys of southern Minnesota. As white emigrants and foreign immigrants settled in the region, the Dakota ceded much of their territory to the United States government through bilateral treaty negotiations, including the 1851 Treaty of Traverse des Sioux. Treaties were agreements ratified by the American Senate that bound negotiating parties together in legal contract.

In exchange for title to western Minnesota, the Dakota, under their leader Little Crow, expected the United States to live up to its agreements, particularly in matters of annual subsidies, protection of Indian resources from white encroachment, and in the establishment of legal institutions of redress. In 1851, no one could have envisioned the following twelve years' events.

As the Civil War intensified, U.S. Army personnel, resources, and attention shifted to the South. Not only in Minnesota, but also in New Mexico, Colorado, Utah, Texas, Oklahoma, and other western territories, Indian leaders recognized the growing dissolution and weaknesses of the Union. Not only did many Southern soldiers stationed at western forts literally walk away from their positions to join the Confederacy, but officials of the United States in these regions became overwhelmed as well as disinterested in Indian affairs. Failing to live up to its 1851 treaty stipulations, government officials increasingly turned a blind eye to encroachments by whites onto Dakota lands. One notorious reservation trader informed a group of angry and hungry Dakota residents that they could eat grass after their game was driven away by white settlement pressures. In the resulting bloodbath, nearly one thousand settlers, soldiers, and Dakota warriors were killed before the Union Army defeated Little Crow's people and exacted grim retribution. With settler communities at New Ulm, Fort Ridgely, and St. Paul crying for vengeance, nearly four hundred Dakota were slated for mass execution. Thirty-eight were hung at Mankato, Minnesota, ending the war in the largest mass execution in United States history. Little Crow and the surviving Dakota people fled onto the Plains, where they joined their Lakota kinsmen in growing conflicts in the region. Little Crow, however, was shot and killed upon return to Minnesota. He was attempting, as his people had, to hunt within increasingly settled lands.



"The Indian Wars"

This map appeared in 1989 in a published official history of the United States Army. The caption in the publication reads: "A map of the Western United States showing the general location of Indian tribes and the location of some army posts and battles."

Source: Map 35 in Chapter 14: "Winning the West: The Army in the Indian Wars, 1865–1890." *American Military History*. Army Historical Series. Washington, DC: Office of the Chief of Military History, United States Army, Center of Military History, 1989.

The Dakota War sent powerful waves throughout other settlements, where settlers felt vulnerable to the diversion of military soldiers during the war. Many feared that Indians would seize the opportunity to attack. Others feared rumors that Confederate agents were at work among Plains Indians. Fears in Colorado reached fever pitch in 1863 when the military transferred troops from the territory to Missouri despite objections that settlers would be defenseless to the region's Cheyenne and Ute Indians. Many historians believe that the authorities in Colorado deliberately set in motion an Indian war as the best way to prevent further troop withdrawal.

In this tense atmosphere, thefts or raids committed by often hungry or impoverished Indians were likely to be interpreted as evidence of a larger uprising. Growing Cheyenne raids and a few murders of white settlers on the Colorado plains fueled such fears, and in November 1864, in a blinding snowstorm, the Colorado militia under Colonel John Chivington attacked a Southern Cheyenne and Southern Arapaho village at Sand Creek, massacring nearly three hundred. Under the leadership of the Cheyenne leader, Black Kettle, Chivington's community not only attacked an unsuspecting Indian community but also an allied one, as Black Kettle repeatedly affirmed his commitments to peace both during and after the attack.

The Dakota War and the Sand Creek Massacre were but two western theaters of the Civil War. Additional theaters erupted in New Mexico, where Navajo leaders, like Southern leaders, mistakenly assumed the Union to be incapable of constraining their raids and ambitions. For the first time since the Spanish conquest of New Mexico in the 1590s, a military expeditionary force subdued Navajo communities within their homelands. Colonel Christopher "Kit" Carson led the scorched-earth invasion of Navajo homelands that ultimately brought their unconditional surrender and in 1864 resulted in the darkest moment in Navajo history: a forced march, known as the Long Walk, to a government internment facility at Fort Sumner, where for four years nearly ten thousand Navajos were incarcerated. Returning to their beloved homelands in the Four Corners region in 1868, they, like tens of thousands of Indian people, endured the deep challenges of the Civil War era in the West.

The Sand Creek Massacre

Black Kettle (circled) was among the delegates of Cheyenne, Kiowa, and Arapaho chiefs who attended a meeting at Fort Weld, Colorado, on September 28, 1864. The chiefs agreed to a peace settlement. Black Kettle and his Southern Cheyenne were assigned to the Sand Creek reservation where, in November 1864, Colonel John M. Chivington (inset) and the Third Colorado Cavalry attacked and killed most of the unsuspecting tribe. Most of the victims were women and children. For months afterward, members of the militia displayed trophies of their battle in Denver, including body parts they had taken for souvenirs.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Questions

1. How did the Civil War affect Indian peoples in the American West?
2. What happened at Sand Creek, Colorado, in November 1864?

Suggested Reading

Brown, Dee. *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1970.

Other Books of Interest

DeLay, Brian. *War of a Thousand Deserts: Indian Raids and the U.S.-Mexican War.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008.

Heizer, Robert F. *The Destruction of California Indians*. Winnipeg, MB: Bison Books, 1993.

Utley, Robert M. *The Indian Frontier of the American West, 1846–1890*. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1984.

Websites of Interest

1. The New Mexico Office of the State Historian provides a detailed glimpse into the experience of Navajos during the 1864 war and subsequent internment. Their website also features additional photos, essays, and references about the Civil War Era. — http://www.newmexicohistory.org/filedetails_docs.php?fileID=494
2. PBS provides a website about the 1998 Emmy®-winning documentary on the U.S.-Mexican War produced by KERA-Dallas/Fort Worth. — http://www.pbs.org/kera/usmexicanwar/index_flash.html
3. The *American Historical Review* features an article from 2007 by Professor Brian DeLay about Native American involvement in the U.S.-Mexican War entitled "Independent Indians and the U.S.-Mexican War." — http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/ahr/112.1/delay.html

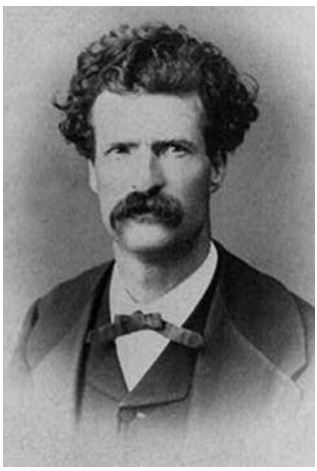
Lecture 9

The Indigenous West of Mark Twain

The Suggested Reading for this lecture is Mark Twain's *Roughing It: The Authoritative Text*.

As the Civil War impacted Native communities across the continent, several of the darkest chapters in American Indian history were written both during and after the war. The Union Army not only became the primary mechanism for enforcing federal Indian policies after 1861, but it also increasingly possessed a mobile, well supplied, and expansive fighting force, one vastly larger than the U.S. Army had been before the war. Moreover, after the Civil War, Indian conflicts remained the nearly exclusive realm in which United States military affairs operated. Not until the Spanish-American War of 1898 would the United States confront foreign armies, as their soldiers confronted Indians both on the battlefield and within military confinements like Fort Sumner.

Often missing from histories of the Civil War era are the many ways that indigenous peoples were heavily impacted both during the war and in its aftermath, a period generally known as Reconstruction. During Reconstruction, American leaders attempted to bring both former African-American slaves and Confederate families back into the nation following their secession. Reconstruction, however, shaped not only the South, but also the West, where Union armies were stationed and where new national infrastructures—like the railroad—and increasingly new national economies welded the West to the nation. Moreover, Western politicians and commentators also envisioned a new direction for the reunited union. Indeed, arguably the most famous American author of all time found his way not only to the West as the Civil War began, but he also moved through the Pacific at the war's end. Sent in the spring of 1866 to Hawaii to cover the expansion of American plantation economies, Samuel Clemens, or Mark Twain, began his literary career in the West during the Civil War and Reconstruction. As much as any writer, his career was shaped by the course of the war and its aftermath.



© Library of Congress

Mark Twain in 1867.

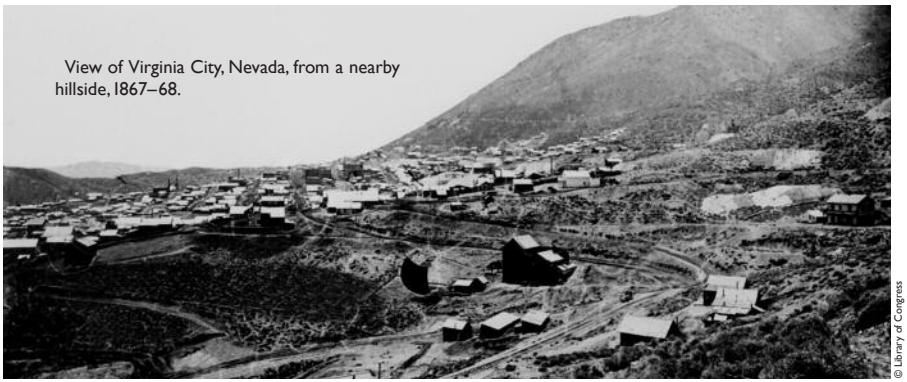
Twain found his first literary success in Virginia City, Nevada, and examining his views of American Indian and Native Hawaiian communities provides an opportunity to see how the Civil War and its aftermath shaped the development of America's most famous author. One can

also see how indigenous communities became further enmeshed within the folds of the expanding nation during the war and its aftermath as the crisis of the Union touched indigenous communities across the continent and into the Pacific. Into these regions, a young Missourian ventured, leaving behind a corpus of important writings about these dramatic transformations.

Although it was published in 1871 after the *Innocents Abroad* in 1869, Samuel Clemens's *Roughing It* is in many ways Mark Twain's first book. It relays the author's 1861 to 1866 travels in and around the American West, including the author's 1866 journey to Hawaii. Scholars generally agree that in addition to his fear of being impressed as a gunboat pilot in the Union Navy at the beginning of the Civil War, Clemens faced few opportunities in his native Missouri other than potential conflict. Missouri, as a border state, was deeply divided during the Civil War and witnessed numerous conflicts and battles.

In the summer of 1861, just as the war's first battles were about to begin, Clemens famously "lights out" for the Nevada Territory with his older brother Orion, who had been appointed Secretary of Nevada Territory. "I was young and ignorant, and I envied my brother," Clemens would later write in the book's third sentence, leaving aside any mention of the larger conflict gripping his homeland. Arriving in Carson City on August 14, 1861, the Clemens brothers had traversed the continent, first by steamship and then by stagecoach.

The unfamiliarity of the stagecoach and of the lands and peoples through which it traveled shaped Clemens's understandings of the West. Such overland travel structures the first twenty-one chapters of *Roughing It*. In a book that covers a six-year period, twenty days of overland travel constitutes nearly a third of the entire memoir, and with twelve of its last chapters on Hawaii, one might easily conclude that *Roughing It* is as much about continental and oceanic travel as it is life in the mining districts. Or rather, continental and oceanic travel remain intrinsic to Twain's earliest literary productions—namely his Western writings and stage performances. In such a perspective, Clemens's first deployment of his famous pseudonym, Mark Twain, on February 3, 1863, in Virginia City, Nevada's *Territorial Enterprise*, was part of an evolving Western identity to which continental travel had become central.



View of Virginia City, Nevada, from a nearby hillside, 1867–68.

If we believe that the West played a defining role in his literary development, then the author's perspectives of the Pacific and the West's indigenous subjects become more than mere curiosities in a larger literary career. They become evidentiary signs of a divided nation struggling to heal the divisions brought by the War and to comprehend the multiplicity of peoples increasingly drawn into the folds of the nation. These two massive themes from the era—the divisions wrought by the war and the vast new realm of peoples and territories brought into the Union—are evident throughout his work.

Twain's first encounters with Indian peoples came on his sixteenth day of travel when he, his brother, and their stage companions encountered "the wretchedest type of mankind I have ever seen . . . the Goshoot [Shoshone] Indians," west of the Utah-Nevada border. In chapter 19 of *Roughing It*, Twain offers an extended observation of these Shoshone peoples, whose homelands had only recently been incorporated into U.S. territorial rule. Less than fifteen years after Brigham Young had led his Mormon followers into the Great Salt Lake Valley, these Native peoples had endured a generation of settlement pressures. Their impoverishment particularly shocked young Samuel, who later wrote, "From what we could see and all we could learn, [the Goshoots] are very considerably inferior to even the despised Digger Indians of California; in-fe-ri-or to all races of savages on our continent."

"Indeed, I have been obliged," Twain continues, to investigate "bulky volumes . . . clear through in order to find a savage tribe degraded enough to take rank with the Goshoots. I find but one people fairly open to that shameful verdict. It is the [bushmen] of South Africa."

Encountering, then, west of the Nevada-Utah border Indians who disturbed and confounded the author's expectations, Clemens in August 1861 stood face-to-face with the grim realities of American expansion. Generations of warfare, overland violence, and resource destruction had eroded the social fabric of many Western Indians, particularly those in and around mining communities. Following this encounter, Twain subsequently not only developed

A family of Shoshone Indians, 1871.

elaborate forms of racial logic to explain away Indian impoverishment, but he also formed larger impressions about North America's indigenous people more broadly. The revulsion that Twain experienced in 1861 revealed something larger, something he believed was universal.

"The nausea that the Goshoots gave me," he concluded, "set me to examining authorities, to see if perchance I had been over-estimating the Red Man. . . . The revelations that came were disconcerting. It was curious to see how quickly the paint and tinsel fell away from him and left him treacherous, filthy, and repulsive." In sum, Twain deduced, "Whenever one finds an Indian tribe he has only found Goshoots more or less modified by circumstances and surroundings—but Goshoots, after all."

Nevada's Shoshone would forever lurk behind Clemens's vision of American Indians, foreclosing remorse for the state of Indian-White relations in North America. Moreover, Twain's suggestion that all Indians are Shoshone "after all" became an implicit assumption in various strains of American intellectual history, as innumerable ethnographers, writers, and cultural commentators developed similar notions about these communities' presumed inferiority. Like so many one-dimensional dismissals of Indian humanity, these portraits obscure the histories behind such impoverishment and stand in for more complicated assessments. They treat the conditions causing such poverty as natural and link indigenous culture with deprivation.

If Native peoples in and around mining districts discomforted Twain, the political, cultural, and social practices of the Native Hawaiian further confounded the Missourian, and most scholars agree that his 1866 trip to and from Hawaii represented "a major turning point in his career." After three years as a journalist in Nevada and California under his recently minted pen name, Twain returned from Honolulu ready to launch a new phase of his career as a public lecturer. After his fall 1866 return from Hawaii, he spoke exclusively about his trip to the islands. Catapulting him into the national limelight, his "Sandwich Island lecture" appealed to full houses in both California and Nevada, and Twain repeated it to break into the lecturing circuit in New York. It was success from these lectures that gave him access to the highly publicized tour of Europe and the Holy Land, which became the basis for his first book, *The Innocents Abroad* (1869), which was his best-selling book in his lifetime.

In Hawaii, and to his complete astonishment, Twain confronted the obverse of what he found among the Nevada Shoshone. He was astonished to find Euro-American children speaking the Native Hawaiian language with other Kanaka Maolis, as Native Hawaiians generally refer to themselves. Twain, in fact, was so confounded by the cultural diversity and differences he saw in Hawaii that he attempted to make sense of Hawaiians by drawing upon more familiar racial differences. He did not, for example, lecture about the complex political system or social worlds that characterized the Island Kingdom—one in which elite Native Hawaiians governed with a sense of responsibility to laboring communities within the Kingdom and one in which foreigners often became

subjects of the Kingdom. For Twain, Native Hawaiians were not just exotic but also familiar in their unspoken resemblance to stereotypes of Southern slaves. They were "rich, dark brown, a kind of black and tan. The tropical sun and easy going ways inherited from their ancestors have made them rather idle." They were liars of "monstrous incredible" proportion. They "do everything differently from other people."

Such characterizations are critically important to the study of the indigenous histories of the Pacific, but by themselves, they miss some of the essential historical processes that carried Twain to Hawaii. The Native Hawaiian Kingdom, for instance, had been ruled by a succession of monarchs throughout the nineteenth century, and their monarchy had received recognition as sovereign over the islands. The British in particular had developed extensive trading and diplomatic relations with the Hawaiian Kingdom. If one views the Native Hawaiian flag, for example, the upper-left corner carries a version of England's Union Jack, which both recognizes England's historical influence in the islands and more specifically recalls the July 1843 recognition of the Hawaiian Monarchy by Queen Victoria, whose emissary Admiral Richard Thomas arrived in Hawaii and disavowed previous British assaults upon Hawaiian authority. The resulting "restoration" of Hawaiian sovereignty is known as Restoration Day and is celebrated annually on July 31. Before Twain's birth in 1845, then, Native Hawaiian peoples had successfully evaded efforts to overturn their political authority. Such efforts only intensified during Twain's lifetime.

Hawaiian sovereignty was eroded by economic and political influence from the United States, and it is no coincidence that Twain departed for Hawaii in March 1866, less than a year after the end of the Civil War. He was sent across two-thousand miles of ocean by his California editors, who understood that the changes wrought by the war were bringing important economic transformations to the Hawaiian Kingdom.

The biggest change confronting the United States, of course, was the end of the Confederacy and its primary economy of slavery. During Reconstruction, as the South grappled with the place of former slaves in society, plantation elites in Hawaii attempted to eliminate the Native Hawaiian monarchy and incorporate the Island Kingdom into the United States. Such plantation leaders included Sanford Dole, a fruit and sugar grower whose influence propelled him into

King David Kalākaua, ca. 1882
(1836–1891)

David Kalākaua was the last reigning king of the Kingdom of Hawaii. He reigned from February 12, 1874, until his death in San Francisco, January 20, 1891.

territorial power. He and a small cabal of English-speaking landowners effectively led efforts to topple the Hawaiian Kingdom and eventually, in the 1890s, received recognition by the United States as the legitimate authority in the islands.

Such histories, and their links to more canonical subjects of United States historical inquiry, have only recently been examined, and one scholar in particular has uncovered a corpus of previously understudied Hawaiian-language sources that make abundantly clear the extensive efforts that Hawaiian monarchists and their supporters initiated to ward off annexation by the United States. When one links U.S. expansion with broader processes emanating in the aftermath of the American Civil War, Twain can be seen differently. He was not only on his way to Nevada as the war began, but he also headed to Hawaii once it was over. The Civil War and its aftermath, then, shaped the processes of American economic growth in the Pacific, as numerous citizens of the United States increasingly coveted the fertile lands of the Hawaiian Kingdom. Following Twain's return to California, for example, and following his subsequent literary tours and publications, Dole and his elite supporters in Hawaii increasingly began establishing property laws that fixed strict guidelines around who could and could not be involved in the political process. That is, one had to own property to vote. Such laws by the 1880s had effectively crippled the monarchy's authority and established landed, white (or "haole") elites at the center of the Kingdom; the subsequent constitution passed in 1887 by this oligarchy is known as the Bayonet Constitution because of the levels of intimidation employed by its supporters.

© Library of Congress

Sanford B. Dole, ca. 1882
(1844–1926)

Dole was born in Honolulu to Protestant Christian missionaries from Maine. By 1887, the Missionary party had grown very frustrated with King Kalākaua. Dole and other Americans who favored annexation formed a group called the Hawaiian League. In June 1887, members of the League, armed with guns and backed by the Honolulu Rifles, assembled together and forced Kalākaua at gunpoint to sign the new constitution.

The new constitution stripped voting rights from all Asians outright and disenfranchised poor Native Hawaiians and other citizens by raising income and wealth requirements for voting, thus effectively consolidating power with the elite residents. In addition, it minimized the power of the monarch in favor of more influential governance by the cabinet. Dole and other lawyers of American descent drafted the document, which became known as the "Bayonet Constitution."

By the 1890s, the monarchy was a shadow of its former self, but following the 1891 death of King Kalākaua, who had been reduced to a figurehead, his sister, Queen Lili'uokalani, succeeded him. She soon announced plans for a new constitution, and a group of mostly Euro-American business leaders formed a committee aimed at overthrowing the kingdom. They also sought annexation by the United States.

In January 1893, Queen Lili'uokalani was overthrown and replaced by a provisional government composed of members of the Committee of Safety. President Grover Cleveland concluded that her removal had been illegal and demanded her reinstatement, but the provisional government refused. In 1896, President William McKinley assumed national power and submitted a treaty to the United States Senate to formally annex the Hawaiian Kingdom. That treaty was never passed or ratified by the Senate, largely because Queen Lili'uokalani and other Hawaiian delegates had come to California and on to Washington to protest annexation. They carried with them the petitions of thousands of Native Hawaiians proclaiming their faith in the monarchy. Like Mark Twain thirty years earlier, Queen Lili'uokalani arrived in San Francisco and began lecturing, writing, and protesting annexation efforts. The outbreak of the Spanish-American War, however, cast asunder the Queen's efforts; a resolution in 1898 in Congress annexed the republic, which subsequently became the territory of Hawaii.

Queen Lili'uokalani, ca. 1891
(1838–1917)

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Questions

1. Where was Mark Twain traveling to in the summer of 1861 and in the spring of 1866?
2. Who was Queen Lili'uokalani and why did she come to Washington in 1898?

Suggested Reading

Twain, Mark. *Roughing It: The Authoritative Text*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002.

Other Books of Interest

Kaplan, Amy. *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002.

Silva, Noenoe K. *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004.

Recorded Books

Shelden, Michael. *The Life and Times of Mark Twain*. The Modern Scholar Series. Prince Frederick, MD: Recorded Books, LLC, 2010.

Websites of Interest

1. The University of Dayton School of Law provides the chronicles and examines the history of Native Hawaiian sovereignty. — http://academic.udayton.edu/race/02rights/hawaii.htm
2. The *Hawaiian Kingdom Independence Blog* provides historical documents and current issues pertaining to Hawaiian sovereignty. — http://www.hawaiiankingdom.info

Lecture 10

The Age of Assimilation

The Suggested Reading for this lecture is Frederick E. Hoxie's *Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880–1920.*

After its expansion across the continent and into the Pacific, the United States began a process of incorporating American Indians into the structures of American governance. Following the end of the Indian Wars and the final military confrontations and even massacres between the U.S. Army and Indian peoples across western North America, the American government began a new phase of Indian policy. It developed new forms of influence upon America's Indian communities and increasingly targeted American Indian reservation communities in a campaign designed to refashion the nature of Indian social, political, and economic relations.

As the Indian Wars of the American West came to an end, Indian people found themselves subjected to attacks of a different kind. For some fifty years between roughly 1880 and 1930, influential groups in American society—Protestant and Catholic churches, educators, and other self-professed social reformers, and particularly policymakers in Washington—combined in a sustained effort to assimilate Indian peoples in the image of white Americans. Like many early American presidential administrations, these groups wanted to "civilize" Indian peoples and have them live sedentary lives on fixed plots of individually owned land. Reformers wanted Indians to become self-sufficient farmers. They wanted them to speak English, and they wanted them to practice Christianity. These were the dimensions of an era known in American Indian history as the Age of Assimilation.

Of the many tragedies endured by American Indian communities, the dramatic shifts in federal Indian policy after the Indian Wars remain among the most studied. While hundreds of Indian reservations were established across the

Three sisters of the St. Francis of Penance and Christian Charity order with Native American students at the St. Francis Mission, Rosebud Reservation, South Dakota, ca. 1886.

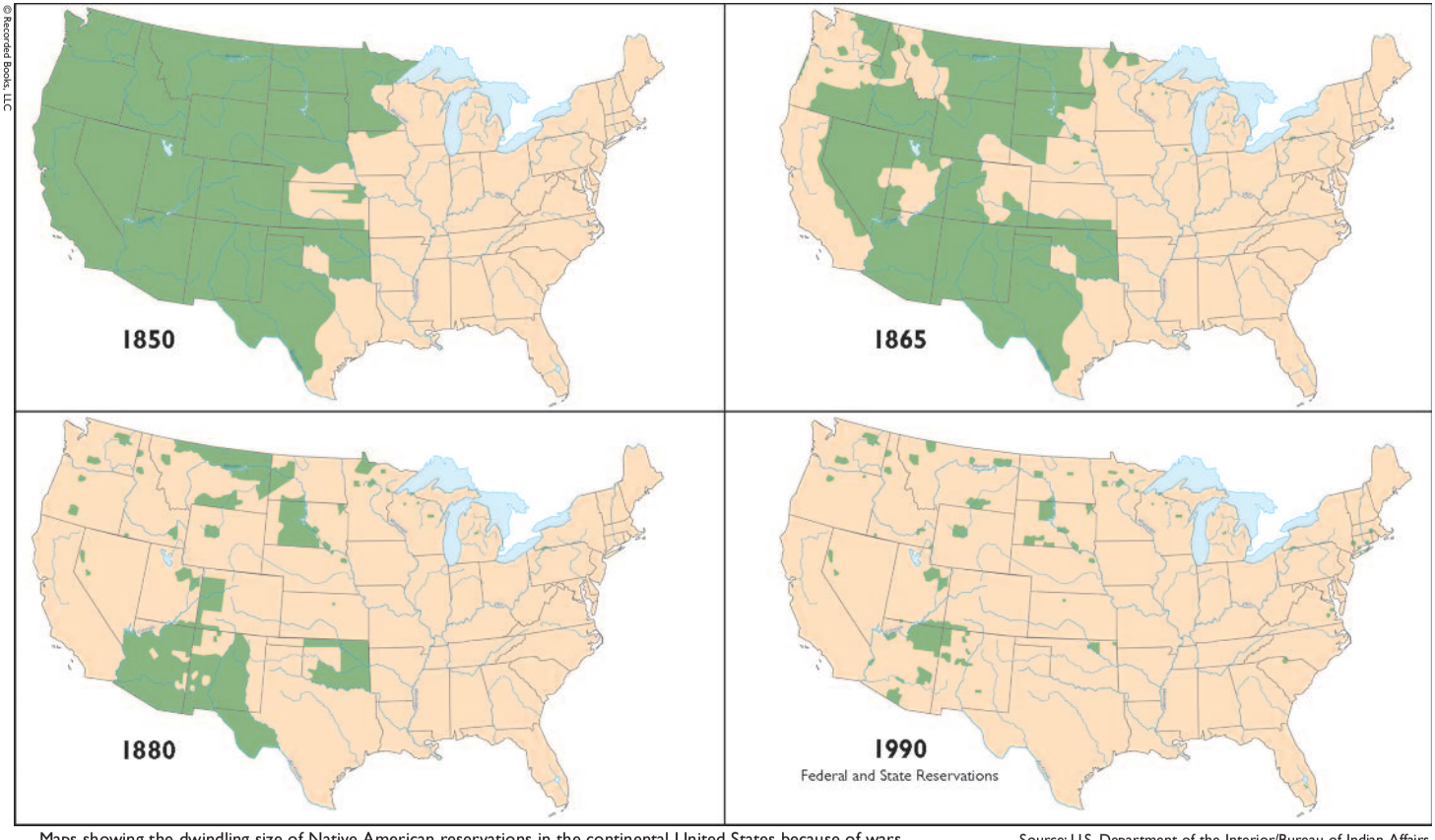
The religious order was founded in 1835 in the Netherlands. A small group of missionary nuns arrived in Buffalo, New York, in 1874. The order set up two missions in South Dakota in the 1880s as part of the government's efforts at assimilating Native Americans.

American landscape largely through bilateral treaty negotiations until 1871 and by presidential Executive Orders thereafter, the installation of reservation agents, the construction of boarding schools for Indian children, and the movement to subdivide reservation lands into plots known as allotments received little input from tribal members. Ironically and tragically, these policies were often initiated by so-called friends of American Indians—Progressive Era reformers who believed that they were acting in the best interests of Native peoples. Among the Ojibwe of Minnesota, the Blackfeet of Montana, the Ute of Colorado, the Comanche of Oklahoma, indeed throughout Indian Country, such federal policy changes dramatically undercut the autonomy of tribal communities while also targeting available reservation resources, particularly land and timber, for external development. Had the 150 million acres of reservation lands established by treaties between the federal government and Indian tribes—roughly 8 percent of the continental United States—been allowed to remain under tribal control, the history of American Indians as well as modern America would be different. Instead, the erosion of reservation lands, the curtailment of tribal cultural practices, the deportation of reservation children to boarding schools, and the imposition of autocratic political institutions became the hallmarks of the federal government's Indian policy following the end of the Indian Wars.

Framed in the late-nineteenth-century rhetoric of betterment and uplift, the ideologies behind federal Indian policies were those of social evolution, which held not only that certain peoples required instruction and reform, but also that other peoples held the standards of what such reform should entail. Euro-American reformers both in the United States and in Canada believed in essence that Native American peoples remained hindered by their cultures, caught in a backward stage of evolution. Unlike other American racial minorities, particularly African Americans, American cultural leaders did not believe that Native Americans were racially or genetically incapable of such assimilation. On the contrary, they believed that Indians could in fact leave behind their previous cultural practices and move into the "mainstream" of advanced American civilization.

Such ideas thus motivated social and governmental reformers during the assimilation era, and reformers wholeheartedly believed that they had the best interests of Indian communities in mind as they enacted what ultimately became some of the most devastating programs. The simple but brutal irony is that those most dedicated to improving the condition of the nation's Indians enacted some of the nation's worst policies. By targeting the communal land holdings of Indian communities and their economic practices, reformers implemented invasive policies that devastated the communities they intended to reform. Reformers also aimed to refashion the most intimate aspects of people's lives: the ways people worshipped, the names they used, the clothing they wore, and even the ways they socialized their young.

Dwindling Reservations



Maps showing the dwindling size of Native American reservations in the continental United States because of wars and allotments. The map for 1990 shows federal and state reservations. Some smaller reservations are not shown.

Source: U.S. Department of the Interior/Bureau of Indian Affairs

Ultimately in the Age of Assimilation, reservations changed into something they had not previously been. Prior to about 1880, western reservations generally maintained some sense of seclusion from larger American governmental programs. Created by treaty negotiations, reservations often reflected many of the cherished values of the tribal leaders who created them; tribal leaders who participated in such negotiations not only called for secured land bases within tribal homelands, but also continued hunting and gathering rights, promised annuities, and increased infrastructural support. However, as the Assimilation Era developed, reservations increasingly changed from being sanctuaries or protected enclaves for Native peoples to being laboratories in a process of cultural eradication that many scholars now view as practices of ethnic cleansing.

Reformers believed that the first step toward assimilating Native peoples required the eradication of the many vestiges of tribal life, and reformers often turned to those who claimed to know Native peoples best. They turned to military officials who had either fought in the West's many Indian wars or had participated in the campaigns designed to keep Native peoples in confinement. One particular Army captain, Richard Henry Pratt, had spent much time in the Western Cavalry in the 1860s and '70s, serving for many years in Oklahoma Territory, where many Western Indians had been sent. In 1875, after many Southern Plains Indians had been relocated to other military forts, Pratt was reassigned to Fort Marion, Florida.

At Fort Marion, Kiowa, Arapaho, and eventually Chiracahua Apache warriors were confined, and Captain Pratt noticed how effective military roll calls and disciplined forms of structured routines were in providing his new inmates with a firmer sense of Euro-American time, language, and behavior. Routine drills, military-style living arrangements, and, perhaps above all, transformations in appearance changed Native peoples—at least in Pratt's mind—from uncultured and undifferentiated indigenous peoples to recognizable and increasingly individuated Americans.

Pratt's role in developing military-style regimented instruction formed the model for the first American Indian boarding school, housed at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Known as the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, this boarding school attracted thousands of Indian students for the next forty years and provided a model for other boarding schools. Pratt developed a famous and now infamous motto that guided the school and subsequently the nation's educational policy for Native peoples: "All the Indian there is in the race should

Richard Henry Pratt (1840–1924) as a lieutenant, ca. 1879.

be dead." Pratt intended to "kill the Indian and save the man." Such ideas resonated across the government's policy circles. The commissioner of Indian Affairs—the nation's presiding officer of Indian policy—Thomas Jefferson Morgan wrote, "to fight them is cruel, to feed them is wasteful, while to educate them is humane, economic, and Christian." Forced education and the removal of over twenty-five thousand Indian children from their families thus became the nation's policy, a primary tool of the assimilation campaign. By 1900, twenty-five non-reservation schools had been established that contained nearly ten thousand children.

The Lakota author Luther Standing Bear attended Carlisle and left behind a long trail of denunciations relating to his experiences. He particularly emphasized the immediate changes brought to his and other students' corporeal bodies:

> At the Carlisle School where the change from tribal to white man's clothing was sudden and direct. . . . Our first resentment was in having our hair cut. . . . On first hearing the rule, some of the older boys talked of resisting, but realizing the uselessness of doing so, submitted. But for days after being shorn, we felt strange and uncomfortable.

Standing Bear, like other commentators, understood full well the individualizing and alienating strategies utilized at Carlisle.

Standing Bear captured both the ideology and practice of the assimilation campaign, identifying the intimate forms of intrusion launched against the American Indian individual and communal body, and while education became one of the primary tools of assimilation, federal Indian policies on reservations

Native American students at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, ca. 1900. Inset: Luther Standing Bear (1868–1939) ca. 1891.

themselves also carried such ideological and destructive influences. And, of all the pernicious and tragically ironic policies that targeted Indian communities from this era, the land policies of the Assimilation Age, generally known as Allotment, precipitated the greatest hardships. As has already been suggested, of the reservation lands that totaled approximately 150 million acres of land in 1880, nearly 90 million acres would not survive the land policies of Allotment. Largely beginning in 1887 with the Congressional statute known as the Dawes Severalty Act and continuing for nearly fifty years, America's Indian reservations were subdivided and sold off to outside corporate and individual interests, creating a uniquely American Indian form of land management or holding known as patchworks. In such land patterns, reservation communities contain patches of tribally or community-run lands but also large swaths of non-Indian lands within reservation borders. Such chaotic property systems date to the Age of Assimilation and to the federal government's attempted efforts to turn Indian reservations into something new.

To really comprehend Allotment requires not only an understanding of the ideologies of forced assimilation but also an on-the-ground assessment of the growing interests of non-Indian settlers, prospectors, and above all corporate interests in "opening" Indian reservations to outsiders. Allotment, thus, arose from a mixture of motives, a child of the nineteenth-century's history of expansion that viewed Western, federally protected Indian lands as destined for external and corporate development. Allotment thus gathered much of its force from two quarters, both from those reform-minded policy makers who believed that Native peoples should assimilate into nuclear-family-run farms and also Western land owners, railway companies, and boosters who wanted to encourage Western settlement and migration. So both greed on the ground and ideology in the air combined to devastate Indian communities, who were already suffering repeated hardships.

It was really quite an amazingly strange idea—namely, the goal of turning Indian families into farmers while depriving them of the remainder of their homelands.

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Location.	Acres.	Average Price per Acre.	Location.	Acres.	Average Price per Acre.
Colorado	5,211.21	$7.27	Oklahoma	34,664.00	$19.14
Idaho	17,013.00	24.85	Oregon	1,020.00	15.43
Kansas	1,684.50	33.45	South Dakota	120,445.00	16.53
Montana	11,034.00	9.86	Washington	4,879.00	41.37
Nebraska	5,641.00	36.65	Wisconsin	1,069.00	17.00
North Dakota	22,610.70	9.93	Wyoming	865.00	20.64

FOR THE YEAR 1911 IT IS ESTIMATED THAT 350,000 ACRES WILL BE OFFERED FOR SALE

For information as to the character of the land write for booklet, "INDIAN LANDS FOR SALE," to the Superintendent U. S. Indian School at any one of the following places:

CALIFORNIA: Hoopa. COLORADO: Ignacio. IDAHO: Lapwai. KANSAS: Horton. Hobart. MINNESOTA: Onigum. MONTANA: Crow Agency. NEBRASKA: Macy. Santee. Winnebago. NORTH DAKOTA: Fort Berthold. Fort Yates. OKLAHOMA: Anadarko. Cantonment. Colony. Darlington. Muskogee. Pawnee. OREGON: Klamath Agency. Pendleton. Roseburg. Warm Springs. SOUTH DAKOTA: Cheyenne Agency. Crow Creek. Greenwood. Lower Brule. Pine Ridge. Rosebud. Standing Rock. WASHINGTON: Fort Simcoe. Fort Spokane. Tekoa. Tulalip. WISCONSIN: Oneida.

WALTER L. FISHER, Secretary of the Interior.

ROBERT G. VALENTINE, Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

A poster published by the United States Department of the Interior in 1911 advertising the sale of "Allotted Indian Land" to interested parties through a sealed bid auction.

But the ideology of reform and its racialized notions of progress deeply motivated American policy makers in the 1800s, many of whom remained convinced that access to individually owned land could solve many enduring social problems.

The results of a sustained effort to subdivide reservations into family plots or allotments brought initial and lasting damage. Among the White Earth Ojibwe in Minnesota, for example, the reservation established by treaties was home to vibrant and diverse social communities. Several bands of Ojibwe communities maintained long-standing ties and practices with resident traders and later settlements throughout the Great Lakes. At White Earth, such trading settlements and relationships endured into the reservation era as the reservation became home to a few small towns, with wooden homes, stores, and even newspapers. Such towns generally were run by Ojibwe community members familiar with the capitalist system of monetary trade and credit, and they handled much of the reservation's management and leadership. Also, like most of northern Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, White Earth held bountiful timber stands and wild rice beds that provided seasonal forms of subsistence for other members of the reservation community, peoples generally referred to as "traditionalists."

In the 1880s, however, as momentum built for the allotment or subdivision of Indian reservations, numerous state governments across the country increasingly came to see how allotment might "open up" vast portions of Indian lands to economic development. That is, allotment and related land acts in the late 1800s and early 1900s could reallocate Indian reservation lands and resources to non-Indians. And this is precisely what happened across innumerable Indian reservations, including White Earth, which saw its once diverse and vast reservation cobbled and then grabbed away by state governments and their corporate allies, who coveted not only Indian lands but in this case Indian timber reserves. At the great industrial centers growing across the nineteenth-century Midwest, most notably Chicago, Detroit, and Minneapolis, large lumber, furniture, and industrial economies consumed vast quantities of resources, including timber harvested from Indian reservations. In short, Indian lands and resources helped fuel the American economy.

In terms of educational and land policies, the Age of Assimilation thus remains a dark and disastrous chapter of American Indian history, and while many Native peoples endured and adapted to the challenges ushered in by these twin pillars of assimilation, many others did not and were far less successful in surviving these assaults on tribal identity, life, and culture. Ultimately, the federal government's growing influences upon Indian communities fostered both tremendous difficulties and also increasing concern. Soon, a generation of Indian activists would confront such policy impositions and would create critical linkages among and between tribes.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Questions

1. What ideas motivated the campaign to assimilate American Indians?
2. What parts of American Indian societies did reformers want to change?

Suggested Reading

Hoxie, Frederick E. *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880–1920*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2001.

Other Books of Interest

Adams, David Wallace. *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875–1928*. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1995.

Child, Brenda J. *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900–1940*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1998.

Websites of Interest

1. The Labriola Center at Arizona State University features an extensive bibliographic website on American Indian boarding schools with links to multiple boarding school websites and a list of published materials on boarding schools. — http://www.asu.edu/lib/archives/boardingschools.htm
2. The University of Virginia provides the *Native Voices of the Gilded Age* website, which includes firsthand accounts about boarding school life by Native Americans. — http://xroads.virginia.edu/~Hyper/INCORP/Native22/native%20index.html

Lecture 11

Early Twentieth-Century Indian Activism and the Indian New Deal

The Suggested Reading for this lecture is Lawrence C. Kelly's *Assault on Assimilation: John Collier and the Origins of Indian Policy Reform.*

The relationships between the federal government and the nation's Indian peoples entered a dark era in the late 1800s and early 1900s. In the aftermath of the Indian Wars, new conflicts emerged as the federal government and groups of social reformers targeted American Indian communities in a prolonged campaign of assimilation. A great, paternalistic experiment was initiated by the federal government to turn Native peoples into land-holding, English-speaking, Christianized, and most importantly de-tribalized individuals without any sense of their former cultural selves.

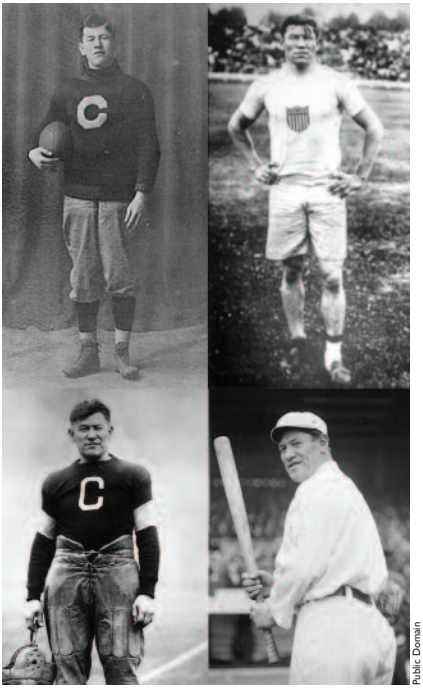
Assimilation failed for many reasons. Two in particular deserve close attention: the sustained activism of American Indian community leaders and a general unwillingness within Indian communities to abandon their deeply held social and cultural practices and values. After decades of miserable failures, a movement of reform would soon wash away the ideologies of assimilation and would culminate in the Indian New Deal, a period in the 1930s characterized by momentous legislative, policy, and legal developments. The effects of these reforms set in motion important new legal, educational, and social systems through which many Indian tribes came to "reorganize" themselves into new, constitutionally organized political entities. Thus, for the first time in U.S. history, the federal government supported policies aimed not at removing or assimilating the nation's indigenous communities, but at recognizing and supporting their own semi-autonomous development.

While imparting useful and important skill-sets to their charges, boarding schools never became fully rounded educational institutions aimed at the self-betterment of their students. Working in school laundries, dormitories, cafeterias, adjacent fields, and sometimes in various "outing programs" that placed Indian women into white homes as servants, boarding school students spent much of their days laboring rather than learning. Increasingly, those who endured these educational arenas became their most outspoken critics. Not only did young Indian authors like Standing Bear use their lectures and writings to identify the violent and painful nature of life within the schools, many organized themselves into political associations aimed at changing not only the schools themselves, but also the nature of federal Indian law and policy.

Many of the most famous Indian people from the first half of the twentieth century hail from boarding school environments, suggesting both the ubiquity

of the boarding school experience within Indian America and also the complexity of such experiences. For example, one of the most recognizable Indians of the twentieth century, Jim Thorpe, was a Fox and Sauk Indian athlete from Oklahoma. An accomplished offensive and defensive football player among many other sports, he helped shed light on the athletic capabilities of Native people. His two gold medals at the 1912 Olympics in Stockholm, for example, led the King of Sweden to pronounce him the "greatest athlete in the world," a designation repeatedly confirmed throughout the twentieth century. Thorpe attended Carlisle Indian School and helped its football team defeat the great Ivy League and West Point teams of his day.

Other young Indian leaders utilized their increased educational opportunities to assist their communities. These individuals collectively set in motion the government's subsequent reforms of Indian affairs and included numerous accomplished leaders in arts, letters, medicine, and politics, including Dakota doctor Charles Eastman, Winnebago reverend Henry Roe Cloud, Hualapai World War I veteran Fred Mahone, and Oneida author Laura Cornelius Kellogg, among many others.



Public Domain

Jacobus Franciscus "Jim" Thorpe
Wa-Tho-Huk
(1888–1953)

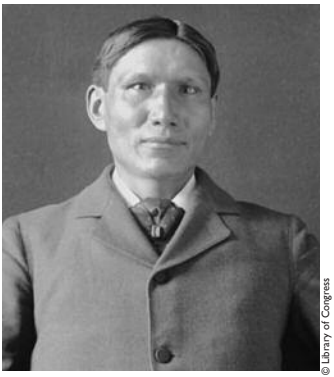
Considered one of the most versatile athletes of modern sports, Jim Thorpe is shown in four photographs covering a fourteen-year period.

Clockwise, top to bottom: In his Carlisle Indian Industrial School uniform, ca. 1909; at the 1912 Summer Olympics; as an outfielder for the New York Giants, 1914; and with the Canton Bulldogs in 1925.

Eastman and Roe Cloud merit particular recognition. They came to understand the pernicious effects that federal laws were having upon Native people and developed new ways of addressing such dire problems. Indeed, recent biographies have identified how they strategically positioned themselves within the corridors of American influence and effectively utilized their educational skills to reverse assimilation's perverse impacts. They also represent the many ironies from the period, as those who seemingly most embodied the goal of federal Indian assimilation became its most vocal and fiercest critics.

Born in Minnesota in 1858, the youngest of five children, Eastman's father had urged Charles to learn the ways of the Americans settling their beloved Dakota homelands. As Eastman would later write in a series of autobiographical

writings, his father had told him: "We have now entered upon this life, there is no going back. . . . Besides one would be like a hobbled pony without learning to live like those among whom we must live." Only a child at the time of the Dakota War of 1862 and a fortunate survivor, Eastman was sent by his father to school, his father reportedly telling him "it is the same as if I sent you on your first warpath . . . I shall expect you to conquer."



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Dr. Charles Alexander Eastman
Ohiyesa
(1858–1939)

First attending school in Nebraska and later enrolling in Beloit College in Wisconsin and then Dartmouth College in New Hampshire, Eastman developed an incomparable professional background, eventually earning a medical degree from Boston University. One would expect that this Ivy League and highly professionalized "individual" would embody the goals of Pratt and the government's broader campaign. And, while Eastman was initially drawn into many Progressive Era reform circles and discussions in and around Boston—Senator Henry Dawes who led the Allotment Act of 1887 was from Massachusetts—Eastman was committed to using his education and skills for the benefit of his people. He became reservation agency physician at Pine Ridge, South Dakota, in early 1890.

Many Dakota people from Minnesota had found refuge in and among their Western Lakota brethren after the 1862 Dakota War. Eastman thus moved into new but nonetheless familiar cultural surroundings at Pine Ridge. Marrying a Lakota-speaking missionary and eventually raising a family of six, Eastman arrived just as the tensions between the Lakota and the U.S. government reached their apex. His first year as a doctor in South Dakota was marked by the reservation's greatest tragedy, the 1890 massacre at Wounded Knee, an event that followed him for the rest of his life.

As the agency's doctor, he was called onto the scene four days after Christmas. Finding a woman's body three miles from the battle, Eastman would later write, "From this point on we found them scattered along as they had been relentlessly hunted down and slaughtered while fleeing for their lives." Stunned and standing amid the fragments of burning teepees and the frozen bodies of the elderly, it was a "severe ordeal for one who had so lately put all his faith in the Christian love and lofty ideals of the white man." The tragedy at Wounded Knee—which historians now both view as more of a massacre than a battle and largely implicate the U.S. government's military and political leaders in fomenting anti-Indian sentiments in the region—shadowed Eastman hereafter, fueling his contempt and rage at the federal government's treatment of America's Indian peoples.

A staunch advocate for reforming the broken policies aimed at assimilating Indian peoples, Eastman became one of the founding members of the Society of American Indians, an intertribal association representing this new generation of Indian peoples, a generation of articulate, educated, and capable leaders whose ability to adapt to white society was not compromised by their commitments to remaining Indian community members. "I am an Indian," Eastman would write at the end of his life, "and while I have learned much from civilization, for which I am grateful, I have never lost my Indian sense of right and justice." This sense of right and justice, forged within the highest educational arenas of the American nation, fueled Eastman's criticism of federal Indian affairs. A sense of moral justice was also shared by other Indian peoples, including one of the other founding members of the Society, Henry Roe Cloud of the Winnebago Nation of Nebraska.

Like Eastman, Roe Cloud was born within a Midwestern Indian society undergoing profound transformations. His Winnebago community in Nebraska had only recently been relocated to the region after multiple removals from their homelands in Wisconsin where, like the Dakota, they suffered intense settler pressures and conflicts. Many Ho-Chunk, as the Wisconsin Winnebago are known, were in fact among the Dakota at the time of the Dakota War. The painful experiences of land loss, racial prejudice, and forced removal were thus seared into his community's history, as were the defiant forms of cultural preservation and pride.

Roe Cloud was born later than Eastman, in 1884, and attended boarding schools before heading to private non-Indian schools thereafter. Like Eastman, he participated at the founding of the Society of American Indians in 1911; in fact, at a Society meeting in 1914 held in Madison, Roe Cloud met his future Ojibwe wife, Elizabeth Bender.

Roe Cloud's education paralleled Eastman's; both were Ivy League graduates (Eastman from Dartmouth, Roe Cloud from Yale), and Roe Cloud's education at Yale from 1906 to 1910 placed him among the most powerful circles in the country. One of his classmates from the class of 1910, for example, was Robert Taft, the son of Howard Taft, the twenty-seventh President of the United States and later Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court. It is no coincidence that following his time at Yale Roe Cloud met with President Taft in 1912 and in 1913 with delegations of Winnebago leaders. Like Eastman, Roe Cloud used his professional and educational training to assist in his community's betterment.

Like many early twentieth-century Indian leaders, Roe Cloud understood the power of Euro-American institutions as well as religions. Viewing Christianity as both a moral practice and just religion, he not only became an ordained minister, but he also assumed the name of the missionary family who sponsored him. Roe Cloud, in short, seemingly bridged multiple worlds, using the strengths and talents found within them to forge a distinctive new path.

To contemplate the incredible challenges confronted and overcome by leaders like Roe Cloud and Eastman is in many ways to see an alternative to the discipline and punishment meted out by Pratt and his colleagues. And it is in many ways a profound tribute to their legacies that Eastman, Roe Cloud, and other leaders from this era carried such rooted and capacious visions within as they proceeded to reform what was by the time of the First World War a clearly broken system. The so-called Indian problem had by the early twentieth century failed to go away.

Roe Cloud and other Indian leaders had seen New York and Washington, and many others had served in Europe. This exposure to global and cosmopolitan society shaped their understandings of how to better serve their communities. A Hualapai veteran from Arizona, Fred Mahone, for example, began a decades-long campaign after the war to return seized Hualapai lands in northern Arizona. The contrasts not only in material wealth but also in ideological prescriptions appeared so stark and contradictory to this generation that they aimed to do something about it.

Roe Cloud and others utilized new political associations, and they achieved remarkable results. As an ordained minister, Roe Cloud had traveled far and wide among Plains and Midwestern tribes. He had founded an Indian school in Kansas, where he had broken with the emphases of assimilation upon menial labor. He constantly championed for increased humanistic education for Indian children, and in 1926, he joined a team of authors as part of a systematic review of the nation's Indian communities sponsored by the Brookings Institute. This review, officially entitled "The Problem of Indian Administration," was presented to Congress in 1928; Roe Cloud's hand can be seen at work throughout the entire document. For the first time, a national survey of the nation's Indian affairs had been made. Its findings provide a measured indictment of the nation's previous half-century of Indian policies. It began with the following:

> An overwhelming majority of the Indians are poor, even extremely poor. . . . The poverty of the Indians and their lack of adjustment to the dominant economic and social systems produce [a] vicious circle.

It continued to detail the appalling dietary, health, and living conditions in which so many Indian peoples lived. Not only an indictment of the government's failed efforts to assimilate Indians into American society, the 1928 study—often simply termed the Meriam Report based on the lead author's name—also provided a call for something different, something new:

> The people of the United States have the opportunity, if they will, to write the closing chapters of the history of th[is] relationship. . . . It would be something of a national atonement to the Indians if the closing chapters should disclose the national government supplying the Indians with an Indian Service which would be a model for all governments.

While ushered in by Roe Cloud and his other coauthors (as well as the efforts of countless Indian leaders struggling with assimilation's tragic results), the new chapter established by the federal government is largely associated with the administration of the first Commissioner of Indian Affairs within the Roosevelt Administration, John Collier. A former social worker and activist in New Mexican water rights, Collier remains the single most recognizable leader in the history of the Bureau of Indian Affairs because of his administration's landmark reforms.

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John Collier, Sr.
(1884–1968)

Collier was the Commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, from 1933 to 1945.

The Department of the Interior—which houses the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA)—included numerous young and often idealistic reformers like Collier, and several of the most talented legal analysts in American Indian history. Nathan Margold was Interior Solicitor, while the young (age 26) Felix S. Cohen was Assistant Solicitor. Working with Collier and policy reformers in Washington and across the country, this team set out to remake Indian affairs. Their collective efforts constituted a fundamental reformation in governmental policy.

Cohen, in particular, understood the challenges facing such efforts. Not only were BIA policies generally unexplainable to reservation members, but few within Washington understood the particular legalities behind Indian affairs. Treaties, John Marshall's Supreme Court rulings, executive orders, and indeed an entire galaxy of legal developments characterized the field of federal Indian law, one that was then not taught in law schools nor commonly understood within American courts. How could Collier's broader goals of reestablishing tribal political autonomy proceed without concomitant legal support from the government, the supposed guardian of the nation's Indian wards, to use Supreme Court Chief Justice John Marshall's language? This question and challenge animated Cohen's efforts and culminated in the single most important volume in the history of American Indian law, the 1942 *Handbook of Federal Indian Law*, published by the U.S. government's printing office. More than any other publication, the book revolutionized the field of Indian law. Until then, no single volume had offered extensive and analytic treatment of the subject. Cohen, in short, helped establish Indian law as an operable and actual field of jurisprudence, one meriting precedent, citation, and above all engagement.

Related, Collier and Cohen helped authorize critical congressional legislation, including the Indian Reorganization Act (or IRA) of 1934. Like many New Deal legislative efforts, the IRA combined numerous reforms under a single statute and most notably it provided the basis for tribes to "reorganize" themselves into new political structures. The IRA provided

government-drafted constitutional structures (modeled after the U.S. Constitution) that tribes could vote to accept and thereafter be governed under. Consisting of a tribal council with terms of appointments and sets of leadership responsibilities, these IRA constitutions have provided for hundreds of tribes their forms of political governance.

The technicalities of the IRA constitutions and governments should not obscure the fact that what the Indian New Deal performed was nothing short of a fundamental reversal of the nation's Indian affairs. By agreeing to new constitutions and governments, tribes for the first time since the end of the Indian Wars received, according to Interior Secretary Harold Ickes, "the fundamental rights of political liberty and local self-government." Such political independence was seen by many, including Collier, as a radical break from the history of the BIA's political authoritarianism.

Many other reforms stemmed from this era, particularly in matters concerning Indian land rights. In one influential Supreme Court ruling argued by Cohen in December 1941, for example, the U.S. Supreme Court recognized the rights of aboriginal title to Hualapai reservation lands in Arizona, a ruling that launched the Indian Claims Commission, as it became known, and the principles of which were articulated in the Collier Administration's understanding that Indian land bases required legal protection and clarifications. Revealingly, World War I Hualapai veteran Fred Mahone had pushed for such justice for over two decades.

Lastly, the Indian New Deal established new educational and cultural practices for Indian communities that were radically at odds with those of the Assimilation Era. Artistic and cultural revitalization programs were launched. Government-run schools began using, for the first time, Indian languages in their texts. Many off-reservation boarding schools either were closed or received decreased amounts of funding in favor of educational programs within tribal communities themselves. Land, education, and law then were the three cornerstones of the IRA's provisions and characterized more broadly the Indian New Deal in America.

First Constitution Signed

Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes signed the first constitution and by-laws adopted under the Indian Reorganization Act on October 28, 1935, in Washington, D.C. Shown with him are delegates of the Confederated Tribes of the Flathead Indian Reservation in Montana. Left to right: Victor Vandenburg (Chief Bear Track), Martin Charlo (Chief Three Eagles), Secretary Ickes, Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier (rear), Joe Blodgett, Chief Koostata, Roy Courville, and David Coutere.

Despite many tribes' justified concern that Collier represented something worthy of suspicion, the IRA constituted the most famous statutory reform in modern American Indian history. It also reflects the period and history of the era, an era that saw many prominent Indian peoples confront the challenges of assimilation in creative, effective, and entirely new ways.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Questions

1. Who was Charles Eastman and what important historical events did he witness?
2. What was the Meriam Report and which American Indian reformer played a central role in its development?

Suggested Reading

Kelly, Lawrence C. *The Assault on Assimilation: John Collier and the Origins of Indian Policy Reform*. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1983.

Other Books of Interest

Deloria, Philip J. *Indians in Unexpected Places*. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2006.

McMillen, Christian W. *Making Indian Law: The Hualapai Land Case and the Birth of Ethnohistory*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007.

Websites of Interest

1. The Native American Rights Fund provides the National Indian Law Library, which is devoted to federal Indian and tribal law and enables users to search Congressional laws, statutes, and reports such as the Meriam Report and Indian Reorganization Act. — http://www.narf.org/nill/index.htm
2. Associate professor of English Donna Campbell at Washington State University provides a bibliographic website for Dr. Charles A. Eastman, including a biographical sketch, a slide show, and a selection of his works. — http://www.wsu.edu/~campbelld/amlit/eastman.htm
3. Google Books provides volume 4, number 1, of *The American Indian Magazine* (January–March 1916), a publication of the Society of American Indians that features articles, images, and information from the year 1916. — http://books.google.com/books?id=KD8SAAAAYAAJ&dq=%22society+of+american+indians%22&source=gbs_summary_s&cad=0

Lecture 12

World War II and the Rise of Termination

The Suggested Reading for this lecture is Kenneth William Townsend's *World War II and the American Indian*.

The ability of American Indian reformers and New Deal administrators to reverse assimilation's many assaults upon tribal communities characterized the 1930s. This reform arose from the earliest decades of the twentieth century's Indian Affairs, when reform-minded Indian leaders like Henry Roe Cloud, Charles Eastman, and Fred Mahone helped to write new chapters in Indian-white relations. Indeed, scholars increasingly now view the generation of reformers between World War I and World War II as among the most important in American Indian history.

Despite reforms and reversals of assimilation, Indian peoples continued to live in substandard housing and social conditions. They continued to suffer the lowest levels of educational obtainment and the highest levels of underemployment in the country. The inability of the Collier New Deal to impact these larger, structural problems convinced many in Washington that it had failed, and after World War II a new era of political and legal assimilation emerged that would characterize most of the Cold War Era. That period, known as Termination, became one of the defining moments in the making of the modern Indian sovereignty movement, and it increasingly mobilized Indian peoples on and off reservations.

Before examining this post-war policy, the experiences of the Second World War for American Indians requires sustained attention. With over twenty-five thousand Indian men in the service and thousands more men and women participating in urban and industrial military industries during the war, Indians helped with the overall war efforts. They participated in the war effort in new and unprecedented ways and encountered new currents of American life that remade Indian Country. In particular, the stream of young men and women leaving rural and reservation communities for work in cities and deployment overseas characterized an entire generation of Indian people.

© U.S. Army Signal Corps

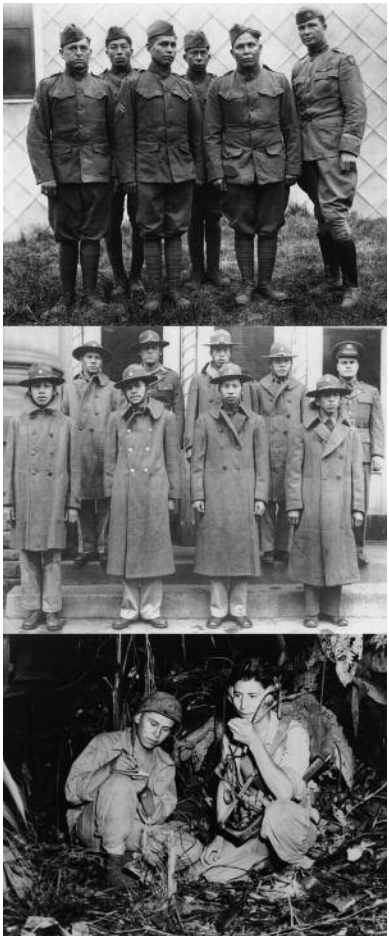
Tribes Represented

General Douglas MacArthur met with representatives of five different American Indian tribes while on an inspection tour of battle fronts in 1943. Left to right: SSgt. Virgil Brown (Pima), 1st Sgt. Virgil F. Howell (Pawnee), SSgt. Alvin J. Vilcan (Chitmatcha), General MacArthur, Sgt. Byron L. Tsijnine (Navajo), and Sgt. Larry L. Dokin (Navajo).

In several particularly visible moments as well as in several culturally specific forms, Indians received uncommon recognition during the war. For most Native communities, the war's call to serve in a national conflict drew upon preexisting traditions of honor as well as upon existing traditions of military and community defense that predated the twentieth century. Within many Native kinship systems and clans, defending one's community is a commonly shared responsibility. Some clan leaders lead communities in times of peace negotiations, others in times of conflict, and within dozens of Native communities, men have often historically obtained achievement and recognition through service in defense of one's community. The opportunity, then, to serve in the U.S. military in many ways became superimposed upon preexisting Indian cultural patterns as the call to serve drew tens of thousands of Indian men into defense of their respective nations.

This sense of multiple nationalisms or national loyalties—that is, to one's tribe and one's nation—remains common throughout Native communities, communities in which those who have served maintain the highest forms of communal recognition. Only veterans, for example, can perform certain social and sacred responsibilities, such as the recovery of fallen eagle feathers within Indian cultural celebrations. Additionally, Indians also utilized their distinct cultural and especially linguistic practices in the war effort. Navajo "code talkers" in particular spoke the Navajo language in various military theaters across the Pacific, confounding the Japanese, who unsuccessfully tried to decipher Navajo radio transmissions. Several Oklahoma Indian tribes, including the Comanche and Choctaw, also used Indian languages in World War I and World War II, when Choctaw code talkers began this unique form of American Indian participation on behalf of the U.S. military.

The war thus drew Indian peoples into service and drew upon preestablished social and cultural patterns of honor and



Native American Code Talkers

Top: A World War I Choctaw telephone squad just before departure to Europe, 1918.

Middle: Comanche code talkers of the 4th Signal Company, U.S. Army Signal Center at Ft. Gordon, Georgia, ca. 1940s.

Bottom: Two Navajo code talkers relaying just after the initial landings at Saipan in June 1944.

service that have defined numerous Indian groups for generations. Accordingly, it is not mere coincidence that an American Indian soldier figures prominently in one of the Pacific Theater's most defining and iconic moments. When the Fourth and Fifth Marine Divisions invaded the small Pacific Island of Iwo Jima, the 28th Regiment of the Fifth Division was ordered to capture Mount Suribachi. It was February 1945, and the U.S. High Command had initiated the incredibly grueling and deadly policy known as island-hopping, in which small perimeter islands surrounding the Japanese homeland were targeted for full-scale retaking in order to establish flight and supply lines in the anticipated invasion of Japan. Iwo Jima possessed strategic value for these military strategies, and the fighting was incredibly fierce. After a somewhat ineffective bombing of seventy-two hours, the Marines landed and began ascending the island's central mountains. On the morning of February 23, marine forces started the climb to the top, and at 10:30 that morning, GIs across the island were thrilled by the sight of a small American flag flying atop the mountain. Later in the day after the battle had subsided, a larger flag was raised by five marines and one hospital corpsman. This group became forever imprinted in the pages of American history. Photographer Joe Rosenthal's photo not only was reproduced countless times—on magazine covers, U.S. postal stamps, in history textbooks—but it also served as the basis for the creation of the bronze statue that stands in Washington, D.C., as the United States Marine Corps War Memorial. According to the National Park Service's website, the memorial stands as a testament "of this grateful Nation's esteem for the honored dead of the U.S. Marine Corps."

Of the six photographed by Rosenthal, Private First Class Ira Hayes was a Pima Indian, born and raised among the Gila River Indian community in Arizona. Hayes enlisted in 1942 and saw extensive combat in the Pacific. As had many American Indians, Hayes was stationed in western U.S. training facilities and was eventually sent to the Pacific theater. Similarly, Hayes and other Indians serving in the military not only fought in the Pacific, but they also had a particularly hard time "coming home." The challenges of adjusting to life after Iwo Jima were in many ways too difficult for him. He likely suffered from post-traumatic stress disorder following the gruesome combat he witnessed. And while he and the only two other surviving members of the six were pulled from service and utilized in countless parts of the war effort thereafter, Hayes never felt comfortable with the attention, feeling that those who failed to

Ira Hayes (left), and Sgt. Henry Reed (far right), an Indian veteran of the Bataan Death March, are shown with Los Angeles Mayor Fletcher Bowron on March 23, 1947. Hayes and Reed visited the mayor to protest court rulings that discriminated against Indians in housing.

return deserved far more commemoration. Seated in Washington in 1954 at the Memorial Dedication alongside President Dwight Eisenhower, Hayes lived only a few months longer, dying in early 1955 from complications relating to alcoholism. A tragic figure, Hayes was immortalized in film and song and served as a post-war symbol of the failed nature of America's Indian affairs, in which even Indian heroes seemingly died young.

After the war, the United States entered into the most dynamic and prosperous period in its history. With much of Europe and Asia in ruins as well as occupied by U.S. and other Allied forces, the United States for the first time in its history had become the world's singular superpower, and the growing concerns about the nation's seemingly endless "Indian problem" intersected with other Cold War philosophies that emphasized universally shared forms of "Americanism" and "Americanization." The New Deal had not structurally resolved the nation's chronic Indian affairs, the U.S. was engaged in an epic struggle with Communism, and American Indian forms of political and cultural difference struck many policy makers as at odds with their visions of a unified and culturally homogenous nation. In the post-war period, the federal government initiated another assimilative measure, ominously known as Termination, designed to once again solve the nation's Indian affairs.

Assaults on tribal distinctiveness had characterized federal Indian policy for much of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and they accelerated during the 1950s when the U.S. government developed a host of policy objectives aimed at forcibly eroding tribal communities and "terminating" their federal-trust status. By abrogating—that is, breaking—previous treaty relationships with Native American communities and encouraging their integration into urban economic systems, the federal government returned again to the nineteenth-century ideologies of assimilation. This time, however, the schoolhouse and allotment would be replaced by hopes of a suburban home and industrial job. The government began a process of legislating out of existence reservation communities and subsidizing the one-way migration of Indian people to urban areas. By statute and laws and not by boarding schools and punishment, Congress led the nation down a new avenue of federal Indian affairs.

The sites of assimilation had changed and so too would Indian peoples' responses. By threatening the legal standing of Indian reservation communities and encouraging the urbanization of over one hundred thousand young Indian men and women, the federal government sowed the seeds not only of Termination's decline, but also of the rise of a new era of Indian activism. This generation became far more aggressive and even militant and stood in marked contrast to the tireless reform movements initiated by Roe Cloud and the Society of American Indians. The rise of militant and defiant Indian activists and intellectuals and their subsequent reversal of Termination soon laid the foundations for the rise of the modern American Indian sovereignty movement.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Questions

1. Who was Ira Hayes?
2. In what ways did World War II shape Indian communities?

Suggested Reading

Townsend, Kenneth William. *World War II and the American Indian*. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2002.

Other Books of Interest

Holm, Tom. *Code Talkers and Warriors: Native Americans and World War II*. New York: Chelsea House Publications, 2007.

Websites of Interest

1. The Naval History and Heritage Command runs a series of twelve official U.S. Navy Museums and a website that includes a series of overviews of American Indian participation in the U.S. military. — http://www.history.navy.mil/faqs/faq61-1.htm
2. The Smithsonian Institution sponsors the "Native Words, Native Warriors" traveling exhibition that has been touring select locations across the United States and has been booked through 2012. This website provides the tour itinerary for the exhibit. — http://www.sites.si.edu/exhibitions/exhibits/codetalkers/main.htm
3. The Smithsonian Institution educational companion website to the touring exhibit above includes audio of the code talkers. — http://www.nmai.si.edu/education/codetalkers

Lecture 13

American Indian Activism and Self-Determination

The Suggested Reading for this lecture is Charles Wilkinson's *Blood Struggle: The Rise of Modern Indian Nations.*

With the postwar program of Termination, the U.S. government threatened the legal standing of reservation communities and also subsidized the urbanization of over one hundred thousand Indian men and women. Poorly conceptualized and woefully applied, Termination combined with cultural and political forms of oppression to initiate the rise of Indian activism. A generation of young American Indian activists, veterans, and tribal leaders in the 1960s developed a far more aggressive and even militant reform movement that was unprecedented in the twentieth century. The rise of activists and their subsequent reversal of Termination soon laid the foundations for the rise of the modern American Indian sovereignty movement.

Emerging in tribal communities and urban Indian communities, Indian activists built on long-standing intellectual traditions within Native America and took up the challenge of reforming the nation's miserable system of federal Indian policy. For Native peoples, the postwar era provided countless and enduring contrasts. On one hand, Indians had actively served in the nation's assault against fascism, while on the other hand, Native peoples endured continuing forms of political, religious, and social domination, especially regarding the federal government's autocratic system of reservation governance in which outsiders were continually placed in high-level reservation and Bureau of Indian Affairs leadership positions.

Combined with the dramatic social changes of the Vietnam Era, Indian activism erupted in the late 1960s and forever remade the political culture of Indian America. In November 1969, Indian urban activists in San Francisco Bay seized Alcatraz Island and built a national and international media network to draw attention to the plight of the nation's poorest communities. Equating the federal government's possession of Alcatraz with Indian reservations, Alcatraz activists dramatically

In 1969, young Native American activist occupiers painted signs on buildings and the main landing dock indicating Alcatraz Island was Indian Land, as part of their campaign to bring attention to their demands.

re-centered discussions of Indian affairs and challenged Hollywood portrayals of Native peoples as passive, doomed, and historic subjects.

Even more dramatically, the American Indian Movement (AIM) continued where Alcatraz left off, running a series of important initiatives in and around urban areas. Initially created in the late 1960s by Dennis Banks, Clyde Bellecourt, and Russell Means, AIM chapters sprang up across the nation and often drew upon generations of family connections between urban and reservation communities. With backgrounds in prisons, the military, and both reservation and urban environments, AIM leaders expressed common sentiments shared by many Native people, many of whom flocked to their calling.

Some of AIM's biggest achievements came in its ability to connect urban Indian concerns with reservations, and several of their primary targets included reservation border-towns and the corrupt administrations of reservations themselves. Turning their attention to Means's community in South Dakota, AIM effectively shone a national and soon international spotlight on some of the poorest, most corrupt, and racist corners of the country. Their actions drew attention to the ongoing legacies of injustice in the region.

In Gordon, Nebraska, for example, reservation citizens from South Dakota's Pine Ridge and Rosebud Lakota communities encountered non-Indian communities that often posted signs in their windows that read "No dogs or Indians allowed." In February 1972, the local police in Gordon found the dead body of one such Lakota citizen, a 51-year-old family man, Raymond Yellow Thunder, who had been reportedly kidnapped late one winter's evening, driven around town and beaten before dying alone in his truck. When authorities prevented the family from seeing his body, one of Yellow Thunder's nephews, Severt Young Bear, in Porcupine, South Dakota, contacted his friends in the American Indian Movement. Contacts such as these became more frequent throughout the following eighteen months.

Driving to Omaha in late February, Young Bear conveyed word of Yellow Thunder's murder and cover-up. Before the week was out, fourteen hundred Indians would arrive in Gordon. AIM had effectively become an American Indian political shock team, capable and ready to mobilize on behalf of Indian peoples. After several highly publicized protests, AIM left behind a community in shock. As one Indian father spoke with obvious satisfaction, "I think people around here now know that we're not just a bunch of little Indians." A thirty-two-year-old Lakota woman was quoted as follows: "Yellow Thunder wasn't

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Leaders of the American Indian Movement, 1973. Left to right: Dennis Banks (1937–), Russell Means (1939–), Vernon Bellecourt (1931–2007).

the first of us to be mistreated, but he'd better be the last. We're tired of being cursed on the streets, tired of being beaten in the alleys." As one study found, "It was a tremendous and unexpected response . . . Raymond Yellow Thunder's story reached out to every Indian person who could see in him not just another Indian but a brother, a father, an uncle, or cousin."

Emboldened by this response, AIM embarked upon two national movements, one aimed at generating attention to the history of Indian treaty rights violations, the other aimed at addressing corruption on Indian reservations. In the summer and fall of 1972, AIM led a national march to Washington that ended with the occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs administrative offices. Referred to as the Trail of Broken Treaties, this march drew attention to the nation's history of violated treaty rights and was followed by an even more dramatic militant siege at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, in 1973. Called in by local community members who often feared for their lives, AIM seized the small town on the Pine Ridge Reservation to draw attention to the oppressive practices of BIA officers and their tribal police officers in the community. The resulting standoff lasted seventy-three days and ended up landing AIM leaders in court.

AIM members man a roadblock on the Pine Ridge Reservation at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, 1973.

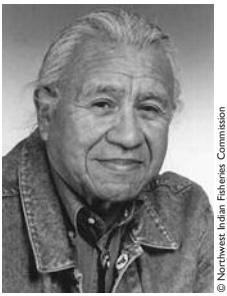
The activists had essentially done their part, but the standoffs and occupations could only do so much in changing public perceptions. As one scholar has written, "For tribes to break free of the chains that bound them, they also needed favorable interpretations of the treaties and myriad other laws that played such a major role in their lives." No single individual understood this legal and political morass as well as the leading analyst of these problems, the Lakota author Vine Deloria Jr., whose seminal publication *Custer Died for Your Sins* (1969) represents the leading political treatise of the modern Indian sovereignty movement. Deloria's text stands out not only for its humor, but also for its trenchant critiques of federal Indian policy, and he has an entire chapter on the "disastrous policy of Termination." The book is more than a critique of federal Indian law; it is a manifesto. Its first chapters conclude with an answer to then-common sentiments of the era—what do Indians want? Deloria responded, "We want a leave-us-alone law."

Vine Deloria Jr. (1933–2005)

As Deloria and AIM leaders recognized, treaties remained essential but often unenforced laws governing Indian communities, and in the Northwest many laws and treaties remained unclarified in the late 1960s. One of the 1855 Washington Territory treaties, for example, states that Indian peoples were to have "the right of taking fish, at usual and accustomed ground and stations"

and could do so "in common with all citizens of the Territory." What exactly did such rights entail? And why were so many Indian fishing communities constantly harassed by state game wardens and local police for harvesting fish? These concerns came to a head in a legal dispute in federal court in Tacoma in August 1973. A young Nisqually fisherman named Billy Frank Jr. stood in the back of the courtroom and worried whether his people would ever see justice in an American court.

In the late '60s and '70s, Frank had led a series of dramatic "fish-ins" that attracted wide regional and some national attention. Less militant than the AIM sieges and demonstrations, Frank's continued resistance to the state of Washington's Department of Natural Resources officers ultimately set in motion one of the most dramatic court cases in contemporary Indian history.



© Northwest Indian Fisheries Commission

Billy Frank Jr.
(1931–)

Frank had been arrested more than sixty times, but he continued to insist that he and his tribe held rights based on their treaties with the federal government. While worried, he had reason to be optimistic. Court opinions had shown a trend toward a more expansive reading of treaty fishing rights. Federal courts in Michigan and Idaho had ruled in favor of Ojibwe and Shoshone fishing rights, arguing that neither tribe had relinquished their rights to fish, despite state authorities' insistence that such was the case. State governments hold little to no jurisdiction on reservations. But what of Indian rights as applied to off-reservation lands, "as had been their custom," as so many nineteenth-century treaties had mandated? What to make of claims by Frank and others that their ancestors never agreed to give up such subsistence rights and resources? *U.S.* v. *Washington*, as the case became known, would clarify the situation.

The Michigan and Idaho cases had reiterated what most constitutional scholars have maintained: namely, that treaties are bilateral agreements between two governments and that ever since the decisions of John Marshall, American courts have read treaties as Indian people would have understood them. The Supreme Court had also said that any ambiguities in treaty language must be resolved in favor of the Indians, because U.S. law has always held that contracts between unequal powers must be seen in favor of weaker parties.

All of these developments, as well as the growing awareness about Indian rights among the larger public, helped create a cautious optimism about the case. Such optimism and momentum alone, however, would ultimately not be enough. The court and its judge, George Boldt, would make the final decisions. On March 22, 1974, Judge Boldt made his ruling, and the Boldt decision, as it became known, set off an explosive reaction from fishing organizations and state agencies. His ruling not only recognized Indian treaty rights but also that such rights were to be recognized "in common" with those of other Washington residents. What did such a ruling ultimately mean?

As one scholar has suggested, Boldt's decision meant that "by definition and as intended and used in the Indian treaties and in the decision 'in common with' means sharing equally the opportunity to fish." Therefore, non-treaty fishermen would have the opportunity to take up to 50 percent of the harvestable number of fish, and "treaty fishermen" would have the opportunity to take up to the same amount. Not only, then, were Billy Frank and other Indian fishermen exonerated from further persecution, but they could dramatically increase their harvest of existing fish resources.

The effect of the ruling was devastating to non-Indian commercial fishers. Many had to abandon their craft and relocate. Their families and communities also suffered. A "buy-back" program helped ease the transition, but the new allocation regime for dividing the region's fish resources, especially the lucrative salmon industry, did not begin until the 1980s. Non-Indians began demonstrating, while state officials remained out of compliance with the federal court's ruling until 1979, when the Supreme Court not only turned down the state's appeal but also excoriated the state's leaders: "Except for some desegregation cases, the district court has faced the most concerted official and private efforts to frustrate a decree from a federal court witnessed in this century." Appropriately linking Indian treaty rights with African American civil rights, the Supreme Court upheld Judge Boldt's decision.

Activism and legal developments coincided with and reinforced other reform movements aimed at overturning the Congressional statutes of Termination. In the most famous example, Menominee Indian activists got their status as a federally recognized tribe "restored." In 1973, the Menominee Restoration Act was signed by President Richard Nixon. It mandated the abolishment of the previous corporate entity governing the reservation lands and called for the reservation lands to be placed back into trust by the federal government. In April 1975, the Secretary of the Interior completed the restoration in his office and the tribe became again a reservation community whose lands were to be held in trust by the federal government and governed by the Menominee Tribe of Wisconsin. A graduate of the University of Wisconsin, Madison, and Columbia University, Ada Deer was elected the first new chairperson of the tribe.

Activism, legal changes, and the repeal of Termination combined to create a new era of Indian policy. Formally codified in 1975 with the passage of the Indian Self-Determination and Educational Assistance Act, this new era entailed a higher degree of partnership, cooperation, and above all "self-determination" by Indian peoples, particularly upon reservation communities. Few could have predicted it at the time, but the passage of such assistance acts, the establishment of new tribal governing structures, and the changes initiated by Indian peoples within their own communities and everyday lives would lead to a radical expansion of indigenous autonomy over the last decades of the twentieth century. A new era of sovereign governance quickly replaced the autocratic era of Termination.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Questions

1. What was the American Indian Movement?
2. What ruling from 1974 reinterpreted Indian treaties rights on the Northwest Coast?

Suggested Reading

Wilkinson, Charles. *Blood Struggle: The Rise of Modern Indian Nations*. New York: W.W. Norton, 2005.

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Banks, Dennis, and Richard Erdoes. *Ojibwa Warrior: Dennis Banks and the Rise of the American Indian Movement*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005.

Deloria, Vine, Jr. *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988.

Smith, Paul Chaat, and Robert Allen Warrior. *Like a Hurricane: The Indian Movement from Alcatraz to Wounded Knee*. New York: The New Press, 1997.

Websites of Interest

1. The Lewis and Clark Law School offers a summary of the Boldt decision as well as other important American Indian law rulings, particularly those regarding environmental and Western legal matters. — http://www.elawreview.org/summaries/natural_resources/native_american_issues/united_states_v_washington.html
2. The Michigan State University Law School website features current legal affairs on Native American law. — http://turtletalk.wordpress.com
3. The American Indian Movement Grand Governing Council website features current discussions addressed by the organization and archives of past involvement in public affairs. — http://www.aimovement.org

Lecture 14

The Miner's Canary: American Indian Sovereignty in the Twenty-First Century

The Suggested Reading for this lecture is N. Bruce Duthu's *American Indians and the Law.*

The activist movements of the 1960s and 1970s helped to pave the way for the rise of American Indian self-determination. The reversal of Termination by Menominee Indian leaders, the heightened consciousness generated by the American Indian Movement, and the legal victories in federal courts all laid the foundations for the contemporary ascendancy of modern Indian nations, whose contemporary sovereignty has become increasingly recognized and articulated. Such developments were unanticipated. Many of the activists, reformers, and supporters had visions of restoring treaty rights and upholding the sovereign status of Indian communities within the United States, but few could have predicted the explosive course of events that came in the 1970s and late 1980s when tribal governments began enacting highly recognizable and increasingly profitable gaming initiatives. No one could have anticipated the explosive growth or dramatic reversal of fortune as many Indian tribes became, for the first time in the twentieth century, economically successful.

American Indian gaming represents the most visible sign of growing sovereign governance, but it is by no means the only form of Indian sovereignty. Despite popular portrayals to the contrary, the vast majority of American Indians do not profit from Indian casinos and it is critically important to assess gaming's unexpected rise as well as its congressionally established legalities. Moreover, Indian gaming exists within the larger political culture of late twentieth- and early twenty-first-century American society.

The Foxwoods Resort Casino, Ledyard, Connecticut

Operated by the Mashantucket Pequot Tribe, Foxwoods opened in 1992. It earns approximately $1.5 billion annually and is more profitable than any single casino in Las Vegas or Atlantic City. The resort contains 7,200 slot machines and 380 table games, making the 314,000-square-foot casino the largest in the world.

Historically speaking, at the time of the restoration of the Menominee Indian tribe of Wisconsin in 1975, Indians lived by far within the poorest counties in Wisconsin, North Dakota, South Dakota, Arizona, and other Western states. Indeed, census data from 1970, 1980, 1990, and 2000 all identify South Dakota Lakota reservations as among the poorest counties in the country, communities in which the per capita income, levels of employment, and related socioeconomic conditions paint an incredibly bleak picture of the state of Indian-White relations in America. Such tireless economic impoverishment and chronic under-employment remain stark reminders of the legacies of American Indian colonialism in modern American society.

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Pine Ridge Reservation

The Pine Ridge Indian Reservation is an Oglala Sioux Native American 3,486 square-mile reservation located in southwestern South Dakota near the Nebraska border. Although it is the eighth largest reservation in the United States, it is also the poorest. Unemployment on the reservation hovers between 80 and 85 percent, and 49 percent of the population lives below the federal poverty level.

By the 1980s, tribes attempted to counteract such harsh realities and did so with new and creative initiatives, which included the use of their increasingly recognized sovereign status within state boundaries, to take advantage of the limits of state taxation upon tribal residents and communities. Within these efforts are found the origins of the rise of Indian economic and political influence in the modern era, and nowhere is this reversal of fortunes more evident than in tribal gaming communities, like the Oneida Indian Nation of Wisconsin, the Mashantucket Pequot Nation of Connecticut, and the Seminole Nation of Florida. All of these tribes and several others have dramatically reversed generations of marginalization within their respective states and now help drive their regional economies.

Indian gaming began in the muddy waters of Indian taxation and state regulation, particularly over the disputed ability of state governments to not only tax but also prohibit tribal communities from initiating tax-free smoke shops, fireworks stands, and eventually bingo halls. And one has to imagine how radically surprised all who initially found themselves in conflict over such jurisdictional matters would be to see how dramatically different such gaming facilities have become, the first of which was operated by the Seminole Indian Nation of Florida.

Observing how nonprofit church associations in and around Seminole territory in southern Florida regularly raised money through various church bingos, the Seminole Tribe began raising the bonuses at their own bingo halls. As with the Northwest Coast fishing protests, the tribe soon found itself in court

in the late 1970s over the state's increased prosecution of various tribal bingo efforts. In 1980, a district court judge in Ft. Lauderdale ruled that "Indian nations have always been dealt with exclusively by the federal government . . . [and that] the federal government has long permitted Indian Nations largely to govern themselves, free from state interference."

This ruling and related efforts by Indian tribes across the country culminated in a 1987 U.S. Supreme Court case involving the Cabazon Band of Mission Indians from Southern California. In this landmark ruling, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the right of Indian tribes to operate tribal gaming facilities, ruling that "tribal sovereignty is dependent on and subordinate to, only the federal government, not the states." If tribal gaming was to be regulated from the outside, then it must be done by the United States Congress, not the state government of California.

The following year, President Ronald Reagan signed the Indian Gaming and Regulatory Act, which set up the various provisions and forms of congressional oversight for such facilities that generated (at the time) $100 million in revenue. By 2002, this revenue had increased over $15 billion annually, a figure that continued to rise throughout the first decade of the twenty-first century. From small-scale bingo halls, then, Indian casinos have become a billion-dollar industry.

The details of these gaming developments require further attention. The vast majority of Indian tribes in the country do not operate profitable gaming facilities; only 20 percent turn an actual profit, and according to the provisions of the 1988 Congressional statute, state governments receive upwards of a quarter of many tribes' gaming profits. On one hand, while the Seminole, Oneida, Pequot, Cabazon, and select other tribes have generated tremendous, and in the case of the smaller tribes, astonishing profits, on the other hand, the vast majority of Indian tribes and an even larger percentage of all self-identified Indian people in America do not receive any gaming revenues directly. Approximately 4 million people identified themselves as having some degree of American Indian ancestry in the 2000 census, a dramatic increase from the approximately 2.4 million from 1990. Of these self-identified Indian peoples, it is an extremely safe assessment to say that less than a single percentage have become "rich" from Indian gaming. Casinos nonetheless have made select tribes highly visible, highly profitable, and highly influential. In a broader historical perspective, Indian gaming has provided many tribal communities with significant resources to influence national policy, and Indian influence has grown dramatically in the past quarter century.

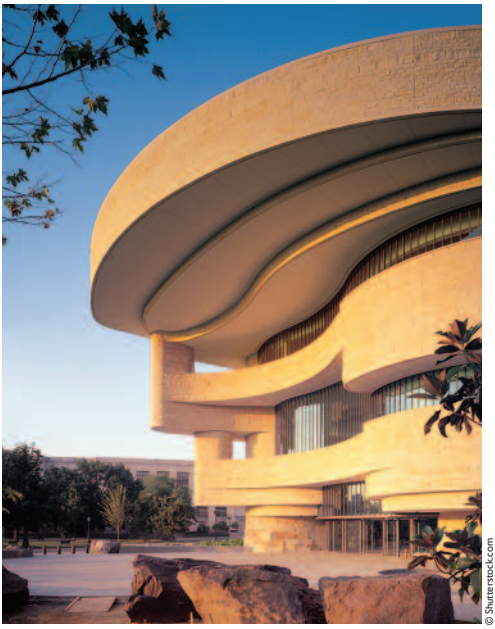
Nowhere is this influence more visible than in state economies fueled in part by Indian revenue, in the creation of large-scale Indian law firms and lobbying efforts, and in the arena of cultural affairs, as Indian gaming tribes helped influence and finance the National Museum of the American Indian, a Smithsonian Institution museum that opened on the National Mall in September 2004.

September 21, 2004, remains an uncommonly important date in modern Indian history. On this day, an extraordinary gathering occurred in the unlikeliest of places. Home to Andrew Jackson, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and more recently the Washington Redskins, Washington, D.C., is in many ways the worst city in American Indian history. As a site to commemorate the indigenous peoples of the Americas, the nation's capital would seem an unlikely setting. Yet, it happened. Arriving from across the continent and adorned in their respective tribal regalia, nearly fifty-thousand American Indians celebrated the opening of the National Museum of the American Indian, making this gathering the largest in modern American Indian history. Irony, history, and above all pride resonated across the National Mall, as Indian peoples for at least this day formed the center of the nation. In January 2009, when President Barack Obama took the oath of office, he stood on and before a National Mall that had been powerfully transformed. Indeed, other than the Washington Monument, the most visually arresting architectural feature when facing out from the Capitol is this most recent addition to the National Mall.

National Museum of the American Indian

Thousands of indigenous peoples, some in traditional dress, gathered to see and participate in the grand opening ceremonies of the first international institution of living cultures dedicated to the shared native heritage of North, Central, and South America. The Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of the American Indian opened in Washington, D.C., on September 21, 2004.

Below: The front entrance to the National Museum of the American Indian.



In 2002, a similar opening occurred. In front of sixty-thousand and with a global audience of millions, the Winter Games of the XIX Olympiad commenced along the western slope of Utah's Wasatch Mountains. Like the nation's capital, Salt Lake City has not always been kind to Utah's Indians. From its earliest wars in the 1850s to twentieth-century efforts to politically "terminate" all reservation

lands, Utah has witnessed dark moments of Indian history. The state's history of placing Indian children into non-Indian households, for example, is unsurpassed. Yet for the Olympic ceremonies, Utah's Indians took center stage. Beginning a ceremony dedicated to the region's diverse and pioneering populations, Utah's five Indian nations—the Goshute Shoshone, the Navajo Nation, the Northwestern Shoshone, the Southern Paiute, and Ute Nation—opened the Olympic games, marching, ahead of all others, into the Olympic Stadium as recognized sovereigns within the state. International commentators highlighted the parallel between five continents, five rings, and finally five Indian nations coming together in unity, one referring to the ceremony as "an unprecedented, groundbreaking event."

"An unprecedented, groundbreaking event." What better words to capture the historic reversal of fortune that so many Indian communities have witnessed, as every day across the nation similar achievements unfold. In arts, education, politics, and most visibly in economics, America's Indian nations are making improbable gains and recovering from centuries of political subordination, racial discrimination, and tireless impoverishment. Recovery is never easy nor even, and while the vast majority of the nation's Indian communities continue to face beleaguering disparities, the recent ascendancy of America's Indian peoples marks a turning point in both American and American Indian history. At no other point since the expansion of the United States have the indigenous peoples of the nation experienced such economic, political, and cultural autonomy. The once poorest of the poor have now become poised to ensure that their communities never again confront fundamental threats to their existence.

Exhilarating and reassuring, these achievements do obscure very real contemporary problems as well as the troubling past where these challenges and achievements originate. Moreover, the fate of these achievements remains far from clear. While September 2004 brought the opening of the National Museum of the American Indian, September 11, 2001, offers a more sobering reminder of the place of Indian peoples in modern American society.

On the most important date thus far in twenty-first-century U.S. history, Indian leaders from across the country were gathered on the morning of September 11 in Washington, where they were scheduled to meet with senators and other Congressional leaders. Members of the National Congress of American Indians were in Washington to attempt to secure the economic and political gains recently achieved and to ward off a series of Supreme Court decisions that had undercut reservation legal authorities. Two cases from that year had been decided and collectively held that tribes lacked certain powers of governance over non-tribal members. For many leaders gathered, these cases confirmed the sentiments of legal scholars and observers who had increasingly noted that the American Indian political gains from the 1970s and 1980s had come under increased restriction. These leaders had intended that morning to propose a "Tribal Sovereignty Protection Initiative." No one had any idea what would soon befall the nation that fateful day.

Hawaiian Senator Daniel Inouye was called out of the meeting shortly after terrorists attacked New York City. Soon, the whole room had learned of the attacks upon the nation. A summary report of this Tribal Leaders Forum noted how the meeting "changed decidedly as the participants grieved and offered prayers for the victims and their families."

Because of the tragic events of the day, the Indian leaders were, like so many Americans, detained where they were. They agreed to continue their discussions toward developing a strategic plan to stop the erosion of tribal sovereignty. Ultimately, they agreed to a complex strategy, the principal features of which included the drafting of congressional legislation, the creation of an advisory forum for tribal advocates working on Indian legal cases, and the organization of a broad-based educational campaign designed to inform public officials on the importance of tribal sovereignty. By summer 2002, a committee had produced a "concept paper" that called on Congress to draft legislation aimed at securing the rights of tribal governments to govern their communities and those upon them.

As of 2010, the proposed legislation remains unfulfilled and highlights the fragility of recent gains made within Indian Country. Without clear and recognized protection of tribal sovereign rights—rooted in U.S. Constitutional law and Congressional statutes and treaties, and also based on the common law practices of tribal communities themselves—sovereign practices remain challenged by often underinformed members of the American judicial system. The actions of contemporary tribal activists, leaders, and American Indian scholars and their supporters are aimed at further educating the wider American public about the unique and essential place of Indian peoples in the modern mosaic of American society.

A Native American student expresses her pride at graduation.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Questions

1. What happened in Washington, D.C., on September 21, 2004?
2. What was the purpose of the Tribal Leaders Forum on September 11, 2001?

Suggested Reading

Duthu, N. Bruce. *American Indians and the Law*. New York: Viking Penguin, 2008.

Other Books of Interest

Cattelino, Jessica R. *High Stakes: Florida Seminole Gaming and Sovereignty*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008.

Lonetree, Amy, and Amanda J. Cobb, eds. *The National Museum of the American Indian: Critical Conversations*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2008.

Websites of Interest

1. The National Museum of the American Indian in Washington, D.C., features a rich and interactive website relating to the museum's many purposes, exhibitions, and locations. — http://www.nmai.si.edu
2. The National Indian Gaming Commission provides extensive and detailed information regarding the contemporary laws and institutions of American Indian gaming. — http://www.nigc.gov

Websites Featuring Professor Ned Blackhawk

1. *The Progressive* audio podcast interview with Professor Blackhawk. — http://www.progressive.org/radio_blackhawk07
2. *Indigenous Politics: From Native New England and Beyond* provides an audio podcast interview with Professor Blackhawk.— http://indigenouspolitics.mypodcast.com/2009/04/Interview_with_Ned_Blackhawk-197173.html
3. The Library Channel and Arizona State University Libraries provides a video lecture by Professor Blackhawk on his book *Violence Over the Land* for their Simon Ortiz and Labriola Center lecture series on indigenous land, culture, and community. — http://video.google.com/videoplay?docid=-2802896152339060425#

COURSE MATERIALS

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DeLay, Brian. *War of a Thousand Deserts: Indian Raids and the U.S.-Mexican War.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008.

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Recorded Books

Loewen, James W. *Rethinking America's Past: Recognizing Facts, Fictions, and Lies in American History*. The Modern Scholar Series. Prince Frederick, MD: Recorded Books, LLC, 2004.

Shelden, Michael. *The Life and Times of Mark Twain*. The Modern Scholar Series. Prince Frederick, MD: Recorded Books, LLC, 2010.

These books are available online through www.modernscholar.com or by calling Recorded Books at 1-800-636-3399.

RECORDED BOOKS

The study of history is among the most popular course topics in colleges and universities around the world. The Modern Scholar also offers the following courses on history in the Americas.

The Incas: Inside an American Empire
Professor Terence N. D'Altroy—Columbia University

This course introduces the Incas, a small ethnic group from the southern Peruvian highlands who created the greatest empire ever seen in the independent Americas. It begins with the encounter between the Spaniards and the Incas in 1532 that led to the downfall of Tawantinsuyu (The Four Parts Together), as the Incas called their vast domain in the South American Andes. The course then explains what kinds of information are available to understand Incas, who did not have their own writing system, as did most ancient empires. Instead, we have to rely on Spanish chronicles and reports, based on their observations and interviews with the Incas, and on modern archaeology.

Rethinking Our Past: Recognizing Facts, Fictions, and Lies in American History
Professor James W. Loewen—University of Vermont

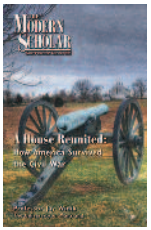
Evidence shows that much of the history Americans learn in schools is rife with distortions of fact, and sometimes even tainted by outright lies. Best-selling author of the 1996 American Book Award winner *Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything Your America History Textbook Got Wrong,* Professor James W. Loewen presents this remarkable course that challenges the inaccurate accounts of American history propagated by many educators and educational institutions. In this eye-opening series of lectures, Loewen encourages listeners to reevaluate everything they think they know about America's past. Examined under closer scrutiny, many of the ideas we may take for granted about our history stand in stark relief to the truth.

Brotherhood of the Revolution: How America's Founders Forged a New Nation
Professor Joseph J. Ellis—Mt. Holyoke College

This course is a chronological survey of the period from 1763 to 1800 and discusses the single most consequential event of American history: the American Revolution. We will examine some of the issues and problems that characterized this convoluted period of history. The American colonists wanted independence from Great Britain, while Great Britain wanted to hold onto America and use the colonies for its own economic advantage. Besides turmoil between the colonists and Great Britain, there were a number of internal disputes within the new nation. African-Americans faced slavery, and Native Americans faced the issue of being pushed out of their homeland. Indeed, the late eighteenth century proved to be a troublesome time for America.

The Life and Times of Benjamin Franklin
Professor H.W. Brands—Texas A&M University

Chandler, balladeer, poet, printer, writer, humorist, satirist, swimmer, businessman, inventor, philosopher, soldier, administrator, scientist, politician, ladies' man, musician, humanitarian, philanthropist—Benjamin Franklin was a man of many interests. This course focuses on his life and his influence on history. His contributions through inventions, scientific investigation, and political thought still echo more than two hundred years after his passing. A man of his time and of his place, Franklin sought not only to enlighten himself, but also to help shed a new light of reason and self-government to all who would pay heed.



A House Reunited: How America Survived the Civil War

Professor Jay Winik—University of Maryland

It was only through the resolve of strong individuals, the courage of great leaders, and the fortunes of circumstance that the United States managed to survive the Civil War as one nation. While most courses focus on the entire sweep of the conflict, this course presents an in-depth examination of the waning days of the great struggle. We'll examine the dramatic events leading up to April 1865 and ponder some of the unthinkable alternatives that, had they materialized, would have surely prevented the formation of the country we know today. In the end we'll discover how our nation was saved not only by a devoted president, a stalwart general, and dedicated troops, but just as much so by the grace and character of those who led the vanquished.

The American Presidency: From Theodore Roosevelt to Ronald Reagan

Professor Robert Dallek—Boston University

The twentieth-century American presidency is something of a mystery. Some presidents performed exceptionally well in office, displaying strong leadership and winning the respect of the American people as well as the rest of the world. Others fell short of expectations and are remembered at best as marginal chief executives. What elusive mix of character traits, circumstance, and determination shape a presidential administration? This course explores the tenures of the men who held our nation's highest office during most of the twentieth century. The lectures examine the strengths and weaknesses of the presidents as well as the times in which they served.

American Inquisition: The Era of McCarthyism

Professor Ellen Schrecker—Yeshiva University

During the early years of the Cold War, the anticommunist witch hunt that we now call McCarthyism swept through American society. As we will discover, McCarthyism was much more than the career of the blustering senator from Wisconsin who gave it a name. It was the most widespread and longest-lasting episode of political repression in American history. Dozens of men and women went to prison, thousands lost their jobs, and untold numbers of others saw what happened to those people and refrained from expressing controversial or unpopular ideas. McCarthyism reminds us that we cannot take our basic freedoms for granted. This course aims to provide a basic understanding of what happened during the Cold War red scare of the late 1940s and 1950s.

Cold War: On the Brink of Apocalypse

Professor David S. Painter—Georgetown University

The devastating U.S. atomic bombing of the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki not only brought World War II to an end, but it effectively gave birth to the Cold War. For forty-five years thereafter, the fragile relationship of the United States and the Soviet Union held the potential for an apocalyptic confrontation that could have spelled doom for the human race. Understanding the Cold War is absolutely essential to our understanding of the history of the second half of the twentieth century and beyond.

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