

American Indian Civilizations And the Social Sciences

by
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Portland Public Schools American Indian Baseline Essays 1993

Biographical Sketch

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AMERICAN INDIAN CIVILIZATIONS AND THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

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INTRODUCTION

In the academic area of the social sciences, a great deal has been written and said about American Indian cultures. There are literally thousands of potentially useful sources of information on these subjects. How to even get started with such a mass of data and interpretation has been a challenge for many students and teachers.

What this Essay offers is just one of many possible approaches. It provides an introductory orientation to some of the major issues and themes of American Indian social life. This orientation is organized into three major subject areas: history, economics, and a combination of topics that are ordinarily the subjects of the academic disciplines of sociology, anthropology and political science.

The approach taken here to the social sciences material about American Indians is necessarily selective and synthetic. Topics were selected to address two major concerns. The first concern is to offer an account of American Indian cultures that fills in many of the omissions and corrects long-standing distortions and misconceptions in the way our cultures have often been represented in the schools. Selection has been guided by advice received from other Indian community members and scholars as to what is meaningful to an understanding of the contributions and achievements of the many and diverse American Indian cultures.

The second concern is to meet the needs of classroom teachers for adequate but not overwhelming information that can be infused into their instruction. This Essay is the most extensive of the **American Indian Baseline Essays** for two reasons. Firstly, most classroom instruction related to American Indian cultures conventionally occurs in the social sciences. Secondly, as noted above, there is a great deal of information available in this curriculum area, so its synthesis is unavoidably somewhat lengthy.

The sections of the Essay do more than present synthetic generalities; they also introduce a few specific examples from particular tribes in order to illustrate American Indian cultural diversity. The Chronology that appears as Appendix A provides much more detail at the tribal and individual levels. Much of the bulk of the Essay is in the Chronology, which can be selectively used as a classroom resource at the middle and high school levels.

Due to the format of this volume, it has proven to be generally impractical to produce and insert maps into this Essay despite requests from reviewers. Teachers are urged to consult Carl Waldman's useful **Atlas of the North American Indian** and the excellent wall maps of North and South America issued by the National Geographic Society for the kinds of thematic information that map well only at larger sizes or small scales.

This first portion of the Essay deals principally with the record of past events of American Indian social groups. Much of what we know today about the history of American Indian cultures prior to contact with the expansive European colonial cultures comes from Indian oral traditions. We have also seen a glimpse of those earlier times through a small handful of surviving Native literary sources (see the Language Arts Baseline Essay for a review of many of these documents).

A significant portion of the surviving oral traditions has entered literature. Many of these stories have been transcribed by European-Americans working with American Indian informants. Indians themselves have written down many others. However, the great Indian demographic catastrophe of the 16th through 19th centuries caused the loss of much, perhaps most, of the centuries- and even millennia-old oral traditions.

Some of what we know has come from the speculations and reconstructions of the archaeologists, who try to deduce and infer vanished cultural characteristics from surviving artifacts. This information, while subject to problems of interpretation and

many gaps in the record of preserved artifacts, can be of great assistance in recovering American Indian history. Ethnology, the study of contemporary folkways, also offers clues as to the practices of cultures now gone or modified by cultural evolution. Considerable use is made of such sources in this Essay.

The 16th through 19th centuries are often called the Contact Era of American Indian History. From an Indian perspective, there were two related, overarching characteristics of the Contact Era. The first was a reduction of the total Native population of the Americas by approximately 90%. Several modern scholars have estimated the pre-Contact population of the Western Hemisphere at seventy-two to one hundred million persons.ⁱ During this time, American Indian cultures prematurely lost many of the people among us whose memory preserved our historical traditions. The second characteristic of the era was a massive reduction in the land base controlled by American Indians. In what is now the United States alone, immigrants seized control of over two and a quarter billion acres of Indian land, leaving only a little more than 53 million acres under 'Indian' (often Federal trust) control, a reduction of 97.7% of the native land base.ⁱⁱ

There were powerful unintended and intended consequences of the Contact relationships. Some of these outcomes resulted in massive death and even genocide of American Indians. Among these consequences were disease, warfare, abuse of alcohol, slavery and kidnapping. To these were added the disruption and takeover of traditional Indian economic systems, forced relocation, and several systematic cultural and education efforts aimed at 'civilizing' and transforming Indians into farmers of the European-American type.

But not all American Indians died or assimilated into foreign cultures. Some survived and held onto the traditions of their peoples. Others kept alive parts of their heritage while adapting to new places and ways of life.

Some of the Indians who survived the late Contact Era into our own time were able to pass along their store of the oral histories of their families, villages, tribes and nations. Some of their children today are keeping the basic human obligation to remember and to tell the stories to each new generation. Other American Indians are learning the traditions anew, to replace what was lost or kept from them. The memories of those who have learned in the traditional way are being consulted by younger Indians. The books of stories copied down from earlier generations are being read.

Indians continue learning, trying to retain an undistorted sense of who we are and what we have done. Indian scholars are synthesizing and writing new stories out of the information in the older traditions, trying to get a clearer view of the Indian past to share with others. Others are doing these things, too.

Regardless of ethnicity, sometimes the learning and sharing is motivated by honorable reasons, but not always. Sometimes it comes out of misguided curiosity about 'exotic' peoples, from a view of people seen as objects. Sometimes people learn and write or talk just to make a reputation and some money or power as an 'Indian expert'. Accordingly, it is wise to realize that no single source is a reliable 'final authority' on Indian history and culture. It is good instead to read widely and thoughtfully, spend time with as many Indian elders and community people as possible, and shape one's image of Indians in a respectful and careful way.

You will find that much of what can be learned today about the history of many of the American Indian peoples is in fragments, like the remaining shards left from old broken pots. Let us learn from the potters, then. We can pick up the fragments of the stories to examine. We can learn about the old patterns and deduce something of the old ways. We can grind the old shards and mix the dust into the new clay of our imagination – the Indian potters of the American Southwest know that this tempers clay and produces stronger new pots. So, shall we pick up a few shards of American Indian

history and study its designs? Perhaps we can begin to work on strengthening our new stories?

Theories About the Origins of American Indian Peoples

According to the historian Daniel Boorstin, one of the earliest questions raised in European minds after Contact with the peoples of the Western Hemisphere was that of the origins of the 'Indian' people, so misnamed by Columbus. Non-Indians continue to ask American Indians this question even today.

In Boorstin's view, this question of origins necessarily arose early in the Contact period.ⁱⁱⁱ Christian religious assumptions about the nature of the world constituted the predominant European view of the cosmos in the late 15th century as the 'Age of Exploration' began. Recall that the Christian Bible begins with a story of Genesis; it is clear that the question of origins was built into the European conceptual frame of reference from the very start of its modern history.

There eventually came to be three major types of answers to the question of American Indian origins. Two of these represent the polar opinions of the two major geocultural groups involved in the Contact.

The first, and by far the oldest view, is that of the American Indian peoples about their own origins. The second view predominates in textbook explanations and most modern scientific speculation. This is the well-known European-American hypothesis that American Indians originated Asia and came to the Americas in one or more migrations. The usual form of this hypothesis holds that the migration(s) passed over the conjectured Beringia 'land bridge' at some time(s) during the last Ice Age.

The third type of answer to the origins question is, nowadays, very much a minor alternative to the land bridge hypothesis. Some scholars and a few scientists believe that the native population of the Americas probably immigrated from various places in the Eastern Hemisphere on boats and rafts; thus this explanation is often called the 'seaborne migrations' hypothesis.

American Indian Origin Traditions

The first major hypothesis about the origins of Indians in the Americas comes from Native peoples themselves. The oral histories of many tribes on both continents of the Western Hemisphere were carefully preserved and passed on for hundreds of generations prior to the arrival of Europeans half a millennium ago. Many parts of these historical traditions were lost when the keepers of the memories died out in the waves of epidemic diseases and wars that spread across the Americas for nearly 500 years following the arrival of Europeans. However, many individual stories and fragments of longer traditional accounts have survived into the modern era.

Those Indians who are familiar with this body of traditions have pointed out that the known origin stories of the tribes all claim that Indians originated in the Americas. Many stories still exist about migrations from place to place in the Western Hemisphere. The Cheyenne even tell a migration story of their repeated travels between their Plains homeland and a place that might be Alaska. However, none of the oral histories mention travels from any place identifiable as Siberia (with the exception of the Inuit, as the 'Eskimo' peoples call themselves). No story tells of any place that can be identified as a land bridge between continents.

There are a number of books which present some of the surviving oral traditions. Examples include Dennis Tedlock's translation of the Mayan **Popol Vuh**. There are dozens of traditional origin stories in the anthologies assembled by Richard Erdoes and Alfonso Ortiz (**American Indian Myths and Legends**), Stith Thompson (**Tales of the North American Indians**), and John Bierhorst (**The Red Swan**). There are other origin stories collected in many other anthologies.

This traditional evidence is disregarded by most non-Indian scientists. Some like to think that only written history is a reliable means of preserving human memories. Studies show that the two methods are, in fact, roughly comparable in accuracy for at least several generations. One advantage of oral history is that it has much greater historical depth than written, documentary history. Many Indians insist that their oral

traditions should be granted respect unless evidence more conclusive than is now available to scientists settles the question of how humans evolved and settled the Earth.

Nearly all specialists point out that no remains of human forms earlier than modern *Homo sapiens* have been found in the Americas. This type of negative evidence is not persuasive to traditionalist Indians, since the science of archaeology in the Americas is only about 100 years old and has had formal methods for only the last half-century. Many Indians suspect that the scientists haven't found all the evidence yet. They also point out that many tribes' funeral practices do not promote preservation of human remains. (Traditionalists are outraged by the digging up and 'scientific study' of those ancestors who were buried!) They do not consider the issue of their origins settled by the scientists' arguments.

The 'Land Bridge' Hypothesis

The view of American Indian origins which has dominated textbooks for the past half-century is usually called the 'land bridge' hypothesis. It is the principal explanation put forth in the publication of the Smithsonian Institution, **The Smithsonian Book of North American Indians Before the Coming of the Europeans**.^{iv} The chief scientific proponent of this hypothesis in its early form was Ales Hrdlicka, a physical anthropologist at the Smithsonian Institution in the first decades of the 20th century.

The hypothesis, in its fundamentals, states that ancestors of today's Indian peoples probably migrated from the Eastern Hemisphere during the final stage(s) of the Pleistocene Ice Ages. Supposedly they walked across Beringia, the temporarily exposed seafloor of the shallow Bering and Chukchi Seas between Siberia and Alaska. Beringia most likely existed when Ice Age sea levels dropped by some 300 feet, due to the 'lockup' of water in Ice Age glaciers. During the Ice Ages, the last of which ended some nine to ten thousand years ago, these glaciers covered enormous areas of the Northern Hemisphere.

Hrdlicka believed Indians lived in the Americas only in postglacial times. He once estimated that this period might date back to 20,000 to 60,000 years ago, based on the knowledge available in his time. However, he became known for ultraconservative views on the arrival date of early immigrants. Most of his many followers cited him as allowing only 6,000 years of Indian occupation of the Americas.^v

A tendency arose among most scholars after Hrdlicka to assume that the supposed migrants came in pursuit of big game animals and did not know they were entering a 'New World.' Some scholars thought these 'paleo-Indians' already possessed a sophisticated lithic (stone) technology of hunting points and other tools, brought with them when they left the Asian continent. Finds of such weapons and tools, such as the famous 'Clovis' spear points, suggested to scientists in the first half of the 20th century that human occupation of the Americas could have begun no earlier than 10,000 to 12,000 years ago, roughly the time when Lithic Era tools arose in Europe and Asia.

Challenges arose to these views in the 1960s. North American archaeologists made a number of finds of very early human sites lacking any evidence of the chipped stone projectile points thought necessary for big game hunting.^{vi} Radiocarbon and other dating techniques along with improved archaeological practices have established earlier and earlier dates for paleo-Indian artifacts as more work is done in the field. While conservative scientific skepticism persists, some scholars believe that recent finds have pushed back the 'land bridge migration' dates to around 40-50,000 years ago.

Some scientists, among them Ruth Gruhn, have abandoned the 'big game hunter' migration scenario in order to maintain the land bridge hypothesis in the face of new evidence. She suggests that big game hunting was not the impetus for the supposed migration at all. She argues instead that Asian coastal peoples followed the Beringia

seashore around into North America, gathering and using coastal food resources before eventually diffusing inland.^{vii}

Some scholarly challenges to the scientific orthodoxy of the 'land bridge' hypothesis are more radical than Gruhn's. In 1982, Werner Müller of the University of Tübingen in Germany authored a book titled **America: The New World or the Old?** In it, Müller conducted an examination of the archaeological and anthropological evidence in both Siberia and North America for a 'land bridge' migration. He reported that Danish cultural research early in the 20th century showed the interior Siberian cultures to be independent and unrelated to any in North America, or to those of Europe, for that matter.^{viii} This 'cultural gap', along with better-known discontinuities in the physical artifacts of Siberia and Alaska, led Müller to challenge the scientific completeness of the 'land bridge' hypothesis.

The 'Seaborne Migrations' Hypothesis

Early in the Contact Era Europeans supposed that American Indians must have originated as descendants of Adam and Eve. As orthodox Christians, many believed *a priori* in a singular Creation of humanity that was assumed to have taken place somewhere in the Eastern Hemisphere. (Columbus, however, argued that he had found the 'earthly Paradise' of Eden in what is now called South America.) If people were later encountered in a place isolated by water from the Eastern Hemisphere, some found it logical to assume further that they must have migrated there in boats. A variation on this assumption exists among those European-Americans who believe that American Indians descended from the Lost Tribes of Israel and that their 'migration' may have been facilitated by miraculous means.

A number of authors have offered speculation, arguments and what they assert is physical evidence for seaborne migration. Lord Kingsborough did so in his nine-volume **Antiquities of Mexico** (1830-1848). James Adair in his **History of the American Indians** (1775) is one who argued that the Indians were descendants of the Lost Tribes

of Israel. Since the publication of the **Book of Mormon** by Joseph Smith in the 1840s, this view has also been the sanctioned belief of the Mormon church in America.

Thomas Jefferson in his **Notes on the State of Virginia** (1787) speculated that seaborne migrations either from Europe or Asia or both were the probable origins of American Indians. However speculative, the scientific-minded Jefferson was one of the first to suggest that comparative linguistic studies of the major hemispheric language families should be done. He considered it possible that such studies would show American Indian languages to be older and more diversified than they could be if they derived from any presumptive Asian source stock.^{ix}

G. Elliott Smith and William J. Perry wrote two books arguing that the Egyptians had brought civilization to the Mayas (1916, 1933).^x Dr. Ivan Van Sertima has more recently asserted in his book **They Came Before Columbus: The African Presence in Ancient America** (1976) that there is evidence in the form of artistic remains of a Black African seaborne contact with the Olmec of Mexico. Van Sertima believes Black explorers diffused African artistic and cultural traits into Mesoamerica, perhaps sparking the dawn of civilization there and establishing small Black populations. Most Indians and scientists are unconvinced by his evidence for this proposition thus far.

In 1947, Thor Heyerdahl conducted the famous 'Kon-Tiki' experiment to demonstrate the possibility of trans-Pacific migration by means of balsa rafts. However, he traveled on east-to-west currents from South America to the South Pacific, so his demonstration does not conclusively establish the possibility of South American settlement from Oceania.

Heyerdahl followed this with another demonstration voyage (the 'Ra expedition') in 1969 from Africa to within 600 miles of Central America. The *Ra* was a replica of an Egyptian reed boat. Heyerdahl later duplicated this voyage, completing it in a similar craft made of reeds from Lake Titicaca in the Andes. This expedition did show the

technical possibility of ancient transatlantic migration. However, most scientists do not see Heyerdahl's demonstrations as proving that such a migration actually occurred.

These three hypotheses present alternative explanations of how humans first came to be in the Americas. Which explanation is true? [Can this question even be answered? Would an answer really make a meaningful social difference today?] At this time, we do not agree on a definitive answer, for each hypothesis has its strengths and weaknesses, its attractions and its culturally unacceptable features. None constitutes both a logically complete account and a factually verifiable account.

The American Indian oral traditions have been long accepted by the people involved, but are seen by non-Indians and even European-accultured Indians essentially as an argument for a 'special creation' or a 'multiple creation' of humankind. Such 'polygenist' views do not accord with current scientific understandings of the evolution of the human species. In principle, most forms of 'creation' explanations for human origins are not verifiable by scientific means.

The scientific evidence of a 'land bridge' migration is, at present, incomplete. It lacks many crucial archaeological details and is under continuing revision as new discoveries add to the inventory of human artifacts and remains in the Americas. Archaeology is a new science, less than a century old in its current form, and much of the archaeological record in the Americas is fragmentary and subject to conflicting interpretations by specialists. Central to a scientific verification of this hypothesis would be recovery of datable Ice Age human artifacts from the seafloor between Alaska and Siberia, which seems unlikely although not impossible. It appears premature to conclude that science has provided an indisputable answer to the question of American Indian origins.

The 'seaborne migrations' alternative is more speculative than the 'land bridge' hypothesis and is much less well supported by solid evidence. Known physical and

anthropological evidence offers only limited and controversial support to the possibility that Africans made a small number of transatlantic crossings long after American Indians were well established in the Western Hemisphere. The evidence of significant Asian or Pacific Islander visits across the Pacific is presently also tenuous, other than for the relatively recent arrival of the Inuit from Siberia by sea.

For now, it seems best to say that we have possible answers to the question of American Indian origins, perhaps even probable answers, but no indubitable ones. All current explanations of American Indian origins are hypothetical constructs, not settled fact.

Pre-Contact History

As an academic discipline largely shaped by the literary and intellectual traditions of the Eastern Hemisphere, history conventionally has focused on the interpretation of written records about societies and individuals in earlier times. Until quite recently, if there were no documents surviving about a people or events in their lives, historians sometimes regarded them as outside the scope of history or felt free to offer unsupported generalizations about them.

This orientation to documentary sources has had significant impact on the way American Indians have been represented in many historical accounts. Most American Indian cultures retained their records in the form of the oral traditions. Only a few had developed writing systems. Much of their written record was destroyed in the early decades which followed Contact between Indians and immigrants from Europe, as is explained in the Language Arts Essay of the **American Indian Baseline Essays**.

As a result, most of the historical record and scholarship which deals with American Indians covers the period following Contact. The viewpoint of the non-Indian writer predominates in Contact Era historical materials, almost to the exclusion of Indian views until quite recently. Some progress has been made lately in recovering and translating the surviving Indian written record of events in certain cultures prior to

Contact. Modern Indian scholars are also contributing an 'insider perspective' to the story of the past 500 years.

An Introduction to the Evolution of Indian Cultures

Among the themes of the **American Indian Baseline Essays** as a whole are the ideas of diversity and adaptation. These two aspects of American Indian cultures serve as the themes to the general introductory remarks that are offered below.

Whatever the geographic origins of the peoples that Columbus and others mistakenly named 'Indians' upon Contact, we know that their cultures were not static and unchanging. Traditional Indian stories and modern studies in history, anthropology and archaeology show that American Indian societies early on diversified through finely-tuned adaptations to the many, highly variable environments of the Americas. They further developed their cultural adaptations through thousands of years as those environments changed and across hundreds and thousands of miles as some peoples migrated.

Time and the diversities of place, two resources available to American Indians in abundance over most of our known history, enabled our ancestors to create and recreate several thousand known cultures and many hundreds of languages. Cultural evolution derives in part from the ongoing development of responses and relationships between peoples and their changing environments (which includes other peoples as neighbors and trading partners).

American Indian societies clearly evolved through contacts with each other. As one example, the early techniques and seed stocks of much of North American Indian agriculture spread far beyond their Central American origins, eventually transforming the lifestyles of tribes as far north as the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence River regions.

Ideas flowed through contact just as readily as objects. Useful concepts such as the idea of grinding stones, of stone hunting points for spears and arrows, of pottery or

temple mounds underwent elaborations, refinements and modifications as different peoples took them up and adapted them to their own local materials and sense of aesthetics. Many Indian peoples also adopted and adapted at least some of their neighbors' ideas in politics and government, in the arts, in military technique, in manufacturing and the crafts, in religion and in other social practices. These adaptations were taken on not just for novelty or as an end in themselves, but because they contributed something worthwhile to the survival and/or the self-concept of a particular people in the context of its particular homeland.

Such cultural developments involve creativity and its complementary principles of destruction and replacement. American Indian peoples have often innovated or replaced certain aspects of cultural practices, beliefs and forms with others which work better at a particular time or in a changed or new place. There is thus no one image of 'the Indian culture' that is definitive for all times and places.

The diversification of Indian cultures as they evolved makes it very difficult to offer many sound generalizations about their development. Many such generalizations simply would not apply to any particular people. For this reason, the two themes of diversity and adaptation will stand as the limit of the generalizations offered here. Some details of the social and technical evolution of particular Indian cultures are offered in the Chronology appendices of this and other **American Indian Baseline Essays**.

In the recent half-millennium of Indian history, this pattern of adoption and adaptation has largely continued in our cultures. However, Indian cultural evolution in the last 500 years has been complicated by some of the social and environmental innovations offered to or forced upon Indian peoples by the newcomers. Survival has not always been possible under the changed conditions of a new disease environment, a massive and persistent reduction in Indian-controlled homelands, long-term warfare, genocidal governmental practices, and the accelerating environmental pollution forced

on the lands, waters and air of the American continents by the recent industrial economies.

Some American Indian tribes and cultures have been destroyed by the events of this time, although this is nothing new, as Chief Seattle wisely pointed out over a century ago. What has been different from most of our history has been the magnitude and the pace of the changes we have had to adapt to in recent centuries. And still, American Indian peoples continue to survive; that also has not changed. Many details of the changes in this period of American Indian history can be found below in the major sections of this Essay.

Resources for the Study of Pre-Contact Indian History

For the history of most American Indian societies prior to Contact, what many scholars call 'prehistory', teachers must usually go beyond the limits of conventional textbooks. The richest alternative remains the surviving oral traditions of many Indian peoples. Another source is the growing body of topical 'trade' books and the publications of major university presses which focus on a particular tribe or aspect of pre-Contact American Indian history. Much of the recent knowledge gained by archaeologists and other scholars is summarized and presented in very attractive, comprehensible form in such books. Finally, there are several generally reliable reference volumes that present compiled information on Indian cultures, among them some prominent pre-Contact societies.

The oral tradition presents some difficulties for many non-Indians. Firstly, the traditional American Indian viewpoint of time can be unfamiliar and uncomfortable for people who have a conception of time as a linear, unidirectional process which orders causality and operates at a fixed rate. The Indian conception of time is cyclic, even circular; we do not see time as necessarily unidirectional nor does the sequence of

hours, days and years necessarily limit and mark for us the occurrence of all that goes on in reality.

Our stories are often told as though they were 'out of time', that is, not bound by sequence. This can be even more true of the bodies of the traditions, the entire sets of stories held by a particular people. The Indian oral tradition holds onto the events and emphasizes their significance, rather than their temporal sequence. This emphasis can be hard to accept for some historians, who accordingly dismiss the oral tradition as temporally unreliable.

Another difficulty in the use of the oral traditions is access to the stories. Many of the elders were killed during the massive epidemics, dislocations and wars of the Contact Era. Their memories were no longer there to keep, pass on and validate the stories. Relatively fewer Indian people have thus become master storytellers in recent decades than was formerly the case. Large gaps opened up in the oral tradition; entire tribal memories in many cases have become 'lost libraries'. These are likely to be permanent losses.

What has survived is sometimes kept guarded and away from sharing with outsiders, since some traditional people feel bad that the stories that were once shared freely with strangers have gone on to be printed in books. The traditions are not something for sale, they say. They complain too that some of the printed versions are badly remembered and edited, distorting and even erasing the Indian viewpoint. It is hard to know, without going back to the contemporary tribal storytellers, which printed version may be authentic. Many non-Indians also do not know how to contact modern tribal storytellers and may feel uncomfortable in approaching them asking for help in learning the stories.

The identification of appropriate written versions of oral traditions can be made easier by following a few suggestions. The work should provide extensive interpretive commentary or footnotes that help relate the stories to other known information about

the tribal culture(s) involved. Look for collections that are edited by American Indian authors or teams of editors that include Indian members.

If a particular anthology has been assembled by non-Indians, look for clear statements in the book about the editor's experience and associations with Indian tribes and traditional storytellers. If the stories are collected from one or a few tribes, it is helpful if the editor includes a statement that the printed version has been shared with and validated by the tribe(s) concerned.

As two examples of how these guidelines can assist in finding excellent written versions of American Indian oral traditions, the classroom teacher should examine Dennis Tedlock's **The Popol Vuh** and the anthology edited by Alfonso Ortiz and Richard Erdoes, **American Indian Myths and Legends**. (Both are available to Portland teachers in the district's Professional Library.)

Contacting modern Indian storytellers needn't be too difficult, either. Many states in the U.S. include Indian tribal reservations within their borders, and the tribal offices can be approached for assistance in contacting official tribal historians or the tribal community's well-respected storytellers. Telephone numbers and addresses for the tribal offices are available from the several Area Offices and the national headquarters of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, or can be tracked down by contacting either school district, educational service district or state-level Department of Education Indian education resource specialists.

Most major urban centers are homes to American Indian communities as well, and many have organized Indian community centers. These often have staff members who can put teachers in contact with Indian speakers' bureaus, individual storytellers, and other Indian organizations including writers', poets' and playwrights' groups. (In Portland, the American Indian Association of Portland can be reached at 235-6908.) Storytellers often will expect a fee for classroom visits and performances; many are professionals who earn some or all of their living through their sharing of traditions.

General trade books, and particularly the publications of the major university presses, are improving as sources of information on pre-Contact American Indian cultures, especially as greater numbers of Indians become involved in their production. Most larger bookstores have fairly good stocks of these recent works and can order any of the volumes listed in the current edition of **Books In Print** under the subject headings of *Indians of North America* and *Indians of South America*.

There are commercial bookstores in most major urban centers which specialize or emphasize American Indian collections of good quality and assortment. In Portland, Powell's Bookstore is one such source. Seattle's Shorey's Bookstore is another. MacRae's Indian Books in Enumclaw, Washington is a recognized source for much of what is currently available. (Ken MacRae, the proprietor, is particularly knowledgeable and his extensive catalog is a helpful resource. MacRae's can be reached by phone at (206) 825-3737.) Many of the larger university bookstores are also excellent sources for up-to-date and often authoritative monographs and reference volumes. Most large urban public libraries also have relevant materials on American Indian cultures, but the collections on pre-Contact history are quite variable in size and quality.

Finally, there are the scholarly reference collections. Of particular note are the Smithsonian Institution's three series, the **Handbook of South American Indians**, the **Handbook of Central American Indians**, and the **Handbook of North American Indians**. All of these Smithsonian publications are multi-volume sets of tribal/cultural and topical essays authored by leading academic researchers. These are often available for reference only at larger public and university libraries; however, volumes are available for purchase through any U.S. Government Printing Office bookstore. These can be found in Federal Office Buildings in most major U.S. urban centers.

The two former series are complete; despite occasional update volumes in each series, the original volumes are becoming less useful as their information falls further

behind current discoveries and thinking. The North American series is still being developed and only eight of the projected twenty volumes are currently available.

Another good, if dated, scholarly resource is the comprehensive 1964 volume edited by Jesse Jennings and Edward Norbeck, **Prehistoric Man in the New World**, which has been referred to extensively in this Essay. Published by the University of Chicago Press, it is still in print.

There are a large number of good recent scholarly works covering particular topics, regions and individual archaeological sites; these can best be found by consulting **Books in Print**. Among authors whose work in this genre is helpful, insightful and even a fairly good read, if your taste runs to scholarly technical and popular writing, are Michael Coe, Richard MacNeish, Linda Schele, Miguel León-Portilla, Kent Flannery, Gordon Wiley, Linda Cordell, and Jesse Jennings, to mention a few used as sources for parts of this essay.

Contact Era History 1492 to the 20th Century

The Territory of the United States

In the territory now occupied by the United States, we can describe the Contact Era history of American Indian/non-Indian relations in terms of five major periods. Each is characterized by a unique set of policies followed by the newcomers, policies which changed as the relationship changed over time. The last of these Contact Era periods actually overlaps into the era of modern Indian history, but will be described below along with the other periods of Contact history.

1492-1776 Colonial America

The earliest period of contact between the peoples of North America and those of the Eastern Hemisphere saw rapid evolution in practices and policies between the native inhabitants of the Americas and arriving colonial immigrant groups. The earliest

interactions emphasized both haphazard trade contacts and battle as European nations attempted to establish imperial colonies. After an initial century or so of conquests, explorations and slaving or trade expeditions, the governments of Europe somewhat shifted to contact policies aimed at the establishment of formal, negotiated relationships with the unconquered Indian nations.

The Indian position in these early relationships derived from the ancient traditions of tribal rights to the occupancy and use of territory. The tribes and tribal confederacies also had the initial possession of the land. Unlike the newly-arrived colonists, the American Indians knew the land's resources and characteristics intimately. Their warriors could seriously challenge the military power of any individual colony. Until the early decades of the 19th century, Indian nations remained a significant factor in the balance between competing North American and European colonial powers. The Indian role in this balance was evident as late as the French and Indian War the American Revolution and the War of 1812.

The Europeans' policy position was based upon a concept they called the 'doctrine of discovery.' This notion held that the first European power coming in contact with non-Christian peoples and lands previously unknown to Europe had the right to extinguish and acquire the native 'title' or right to the ownership of the land. This 'right' asserted the power of European colonial nations to declare an exclusive claim of domain in the Americas and elsewhere against similar claims of other European nations.^{xi}

This conception, influenced by the earlier arguments of the Dominican friar Francisco de Vitoria that American Indians held the right to their lands, eventually led the Europeans to seek to obtain and record Indian cessions of land rights in treaty documents, as was the custom in Europe when transferring land between principalities. The earliest known treaty made between a European power and an Indian nation was the Treaty of Tawagonshi of 1613, between the Dutch and the Iroquois Confederacy.^{xii}

Despite the humanitarian views put forth by Vitoria, Bartolomé de las Casas and others in the first decades after Contact, invasive military operations, massive immigration, enslavement of the Indians, and devastating epidemic diseases were usually aspects of the entry of European peoples into American Indian lands. These features of the early relationship tended to reduce the Indian population and thus its ability to resist encroachment and disruption of its traditional relationships with the American land.

As the European colonial period in North America neared its end, Great Britain issued a Royal Proclamation in 1763. In it, King George III and Parliament attempted to limit British colonial settlement to the area east of the Appalachian crest. The intent of the Proclamation was to avert growing hostilities following the end of the French and Indian War between English colonial settlers and the Ottawa leader Pontiac, who organized a confederacy of the still-powerful Ohio Valley tribes.

Many prominent colonists, George Washington and Benjamin Franklin among them, had invested considerable sums in several speculative Ohio land companies.^{xiii} They hoped to profit from sales of land in areas possessed by Pontiac's tribal allies, many of whom had sided with the defeated French forces in the French and Indian War. The prohibition on settlement west of the Appalachians struck at the economic interests of prominent colonial men who would lead America's revolution against Great Britain in the next decade.

1776-1830 Early U.S. – Indian Relations

In the decades leading up to the period of the American Revolution and Congressional government under the Articles of Confederation, some leading Americans showed interest in Indian social institutions. Among them were Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, Thomas Paine, Cadwallader Colden and Archibald

Kennedy. In particular, the policy and practices of federalism by the Iroquois Confederacy were studied as models for the developing American republic.

Military leaders like Washington, as well as most American citizens, were more interested in Indians as factors in the balance of power with Great Britain. The weak military position of the young United States made Indian alliances desirable, and Indian neutrality preferable to hostilities.

During the American Revolution, many eastern tribes chose not to support the American cause. Most preferred neutrality while others favored the trade and political treatment offered by the British. The Delaware negotiated the first Indian treaty with the U.S. in 1778, taking a neutral position in return for formal American recognition of their territorial rights and the prospect of joining the new nation as a state. Small parties of Cherokee warriors assisted the American forces at various times during the Revolution, but the majority of the tribe supported the British throughout the war.^{xiv}

The strongest American Indian opposition to the rebels' cause came from the Iroquois, but the issue of taking sides divided the Confederacy. Thayendanegea (Joseph Brant), a Mohawk leader, had developed strong relations with the British, fighting with them in the French and Indian War and later visiting King George to obtain guarantees of Iroquois land rights. During the Revolution, the Mohawk, Onondaga, Cayuga and Seneca followed his leadership and allied with the British to fight the Americans. The Oneida and Tuscarora sided with the Americans, and their warriors fought with Brant's on several occasions in 1777.

In the field against the Americans, Brant and his British Loyalist allies enjoyed numerous successes against American outposts and settlements in New York and Pennsylvania in 1778-79, including victories that have become known as the Wyoming Valley and Cherry Valley Massacres. Concerned with Brant's effectiveness, George Washington dispatched two columns of troops under Generals John Sullivan and James Clinton to the Iroquois country. After a significant defeat by the Americans at Newtown,

New York in August 1779, Brant and Loyalist forces under John Butler were able to offer only minor resistance to further American advances. The columns under Clinton and Sullivan were joined by a force out of Fort Pitt. These troops went on to destroy some 40 Iroquois villages and hundreds of acres of Indian crops. The military power of the Iroquois League was broken.^{xv}

After the Revolution, trade with the Americans expanded once again and more tribes experienced the expansion of American settlement as well. Jefferson intended his landmark Northwest Ordinance of 1787 to regulate the conditions of American settlement in the trans-Appalachian Northwest. The Ordinance also sought the future political allegiance of the mid-western Indian territories which the U.S. claimed to have won from Great Britain in the Revolution. It stated that “utmost good faith” would be observed in all dealings with the Indian nations. It also declared that lands would never be taken from the tribes without their consent.

The United States Constitution, adopted in 1787-89, recognized Indian nations as distinct political entities while only implicitly acknowledging their sovereignty. Provisions in the Constitution which provided an initial basis for the federal relationship with Indian nations appear below.

Powers of Congress:

Article I, Section 8, Paragraph 3 - “...To regulate Commerce with Foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes...” and Paragraph 18 - “To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof.” The United States Supreme Court uses these twin assertions of power to justify a ‘hands off’ doctrine in much of its review of Congressional Indian legislation. The Court has declared that

Congress possesses nearly unlimited 'Plenary Powers' in legislating for and about Indians.

Article I, Section 10, Paragraph 1 reserved the power to establish relationships with Indian nations to the Federal government, declaring that "No state shall enter into any Treaty, Alliance, or Confederation..."

Powers of the President:

Article II, Section 2, Paragraph 1 - "The President shall be commander in chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several states when called into the actual service of the United States." Article II, Section 2, Paragraph 2 - "He shall have power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur;..."

Powers of the Supreme Court:

Article III, Section 2, Paragraph 1 - "The judicial power shall extend to all Cases, in Law and Equity, arising under this Constitution, the Laws of the United States, and Treaties made, or which shall be made, under their Authority;..."

Supremacy of the Constitution:

Article IV, Paragraph 2 - "This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding."

The Constitutional provisions of Article I, Section 2, Paragraph 3 reveal further the distinct political status of most Indians in the early Federal period. Language there provided that the apportionment of Congressional representatives and direct taxes among the states was to exclude "Indians not taxed" from the count of citizens and "other persons" (slaves). The right of a state to levy taxes upon Indians depended upon provisions of colonial or U.S. treaties whereby a tribe might consent to taxation.

Otherwise citizenship might result from the voluntary adherence of individual Indians to European-American society. Evidence of Indian adherence to the U.S. was often given by a personal declaration of allegiance and was often accompanied by intermarriage or prolonged residence in American towns.

Congress gave the Secretary of War responsibility for the conduct of Indian affairs when it created this Cabinet post in 1789. Political negotiations with Indian tribes in the 19th century were accordingly conducted by military commanders or territorial governors, who were often the same person. Less often, treaty negotiations were carried out by Presidential commissioners appointed for a specific negotiation. Indian negotiators were usually elected or authorized spokespeople who were ordinarily civil or war leaders. When such prominent representatives proved resistant to U.S. proposals, the government negotiators would sometimes 'recognize' other, more compliant tribal members as 'chiefs' and sign treaties with them. This pattern of negotiations endured until the end of the treaty-making period in 1871, even after the 1849 transfer of federal authority in Indian affairs from the War Department to the Department of the Interior.

U.S. relations with neighboring Indian nations after the adoption of the Constitution remained nearly what they had been under earlier colonial and Confederation administrations. Private religious and philanthropic efforts to acculturate Indians into a mode of life understandable and acceptable to their European-American neighbors continued as it had since early colonial times. Trade continued to develop with the European-Americans. Many tribes in the east became economically dependent on trade relationships both with the U.S. and with the British, who had not withdrawn from several forts in the region south of the Great Lakes. U.S. settlement with its disruptive consequences continued to expand westward despite stiff Indian military resistance. Notable among these patriotic Indian wars was one fought by a tribal confederacy led by Miami chief Little Turtle in the Ohio country during 1790-94.^{xvi}

In 1803, President Jefferson proposed a major change in this pattern of relationships, drafting a proposed Constitutional amendment that suggested the idea of removing the Indians from the area east of the Mississippi River. He recommended that this be done through a system of land exchanges. This idea came to dominate the next period of U.S. – Indian relations under Presidents Monroe and Jackson and their immediate successors.^{xvii}

U.S. settlement quickly spread into the interior of the continent after the Louisiana Purchase of 1803. Indian nations still controlled much of the territory west of the Appalachian Mountains, despite immigrant settlements in the Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee regions.

The period around the War of 1812 was seen by many United States leaders as an opportunity to expand its territory at the expense of neighboring Indian nations. Shortly before the war, government treaty councils offered the tribes south of the Great Lakes region cash payments for their lands. These treaties were often made under explicit threat of military action if the tribes would not sign.^{xviii} These threats were carried out on several occasions, one of which involved the pan-Indian resistance efforts of Tecumseh, a Shawnee leader.

Before and during the War of 1812, Tecumseh traveled tirelessly among the tribes of the Midwest and the Southeast promoting the idea of an Indian confederation even greater than Pontiac's. After the defeat of Little Turtle's confederacy, the young Tecumseh had learned much about American and European ways from a close friendship with Rebecca Galloway, a white woman. He understood that only a massive, united Indian resistance had any chance of matching and checking the aggressive, more numerous American settlers and the army that stood behind them. His brother Tenskwatawa had become a spiritual leader. From their village of Tippecanoe, the two urged other Indians to set aside both intertribal hostilities and the goods and ways

adopted from the trade with the whites in an effort which they hoped would renew the strength of the tribes west of the Appalachians.

As has been mentioned, military commanders and territorial governors had responsibilities for conducting Indian relations. Among them, Andrew Jackson and William Henry Harrison based their Indian policies on the idea of taking land by conquest “in just and honorable wars.” Jefferson's Northwest Ordinance of 1787 had provided in regard to the Indians that, “...in their property, rights and liberty, they never shall be invaded or disturbed, unless in just and lawful wars authorised [sic] by Congress...”

However, the military men who were also territorial governors in this period often reacted to local events without waiting for a Congressional declaration of war against the Indians. Such wars with the Indians were frequently instigated by settlers over land or livestock conflicts, by territorial governors over tribal resistance to improper treaty negotiations, or, in the South, over citizens' pursuit of runaway slaves who had taken refuge with some of the tribes. Harrison, governor and military commander of the Indiana Territory, provoked such a war in 1811 with the unprepared forces which Tecumseh was forming into a confederacy. Harrison brought an army against the encampment at Tippecanoe when Tecumseh was away recruiting allies in the South. Harrison drew Tenskwatawa into battle and crushed the forces of the incipient confederation. Tecumseh attempted to rebuild his pan-Indian army as the War of 1812 began. He sided with the British, who made him a brigadier general in their army. However, the British commander with whom Tecumseh cooperated failed to support the Indian leader at several critical battles. Tecumseh was killed in combat with American forces in Ontario during October 1813.^{xix}

Other losses in major and minor wars during this time forced many Midwestern and Southern tribes into making enormous cessions of land to the United States. Andrew

Jackson alone compelled his erstwhile allies the Creek Nation to cede 23 million acres of lands in Georgia and Alabama in a treaty forced on them in 1814.^{xx}

In the western settlements, popular sentiments arose both before and after the War of 1812 to exert the “civilizing influence of the Christian religion” upon the surviving original inhabitants. After years of efforts led by former President Thomas Jefferson, Congress passed an act establishing a ‘Civilization Fund’ in 1819. This act authorized the use of Federal funds for Bibles and missionary work among the Indians in the Ohio and Mississippi valleys. It probably violated the First Amendment to the Constitution, but no one ever challenged the validity of the law in an American courtroom. However, the affected Indians viewed the contradictions between missionary gospel and the behavior of ‘Christian’ settlers with sufficient foreboding to start several local wars when settlers’ social practices diverged too far from the doctrines introduced to the tribes by the preachers.

Near the end of this period, the Executive branch of the United States government created a new institution for administering its trade relations with Indian nations. Secretary of War John C. Calhoun established the Bureau of Indian Affairs as an agency of his Department in March 1824. Prior to the establishment of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, commonly known as the BIA, Indian trade had been ineffectually regulated by a system of government trading posts authorized by a Trade and Intercourse Act passed in 1796. The Trade and Intercourse Act was amended several times as its system of administration of trade proved ineffective and liable to corruption. It was repealed in 1822, opening a void in the federal administration of American trade relations with Indian nations. Calhoun filled that void with the establishment of the BIA.

1830-1850 The Removal Period

The key feature of the relationship between Indians and European-Americans during this period was the continuing western migration of increasing numbers of citizens and immigrants onto Indian lands. A significant new feature in the relationship was the implementation of a formal federal policy of 'removal' of Indians from lands coveted by European-American settlers.

U.S. motives for the removal policy were basically economic. The Atlantic seaboard had become relatively crowded and expensive as a living place. Indian land seemed to be 'there for the taking' to the prospective yeoman farmers of the Jacksonian era. Timber firms moved their activities further west as the northeastern woodlands and their tribal populations were decimated. Railroads began their development in the U.S. during this period. As a means to promote their progress, state and territorial legislatures approved schemes for turning over huge land grants to the railroad corporations, and this often meant grants of Indian lands. The discovery of gold in many areas under Indian control also hastened a rush of American citizens to 'them thar hills.'

Among 'them thar hills' were regions with gold deposits belonging to the Cherokee, Creek, Chickasaw, Choctaw and Seminole of the 'Five Civilized Tribes' in the Southeast. State and Federal actions in the 1830s expropriated most of the land remaining to these tribes in Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama and Mississippi. Out of the tribes' struggle to retain their homelands came two significant Supreme Court decisions on the status of Indian tribes in the Federal system (*Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*, 1831 and *Worcester v. Georgia*, 1832). While the Court affirmed the rights of the Indians to their lands and to make their own laws in these cases, it also unilaterally and formally limited the fully sovereign, independent status of Indian nations for the first time in American history.

President Andrew Jackson sided with those citizens who believed in what would later be called the 'manifest destiny' of European-Americans. He chose to defy the

Supreme Court ruling upholding the right of the Cherokee to their lands. Jackson instead sent Federal troops to remove the Indians from their farms and towns, compelling them to exchange their traditional homelands for settlements in the so-called 'Permanent Indian Territory' west of the Mississippi River. He relied on the Indian Removal Act of 1830 for authority to forcibly relocate over 100,000 American Indians from the eastern part of the U.S.^{xxi}

Jackson, who became President in 1829, had lobbied hard in Congress for passage of the Indian Removal Act. The policy embodied in the Act originated in an idea of Thomas Jefferson. In a private 1803 letter to William Henry Harrison, Jefferson confided that removal of Indians was an unstated goal of U.S. Indian policy. He argued that the Indians should either become citizens or remove themselves to the west of the Mississippi River.

In either case, Indian lands east of the Mississippi would exclusively be possessed by American citizens, mostly whites. Indians who wished to maintain their tribal identity could only be secure in the 'Great American Desert' of the West, where Jefferson thought citizens would not want to settle.^{xxii}

When the U.S. government later put Jefferson's idea into practice, it expected the removed Eastern Indians to face no problems of adjustment or friction with resident western tribes. However, the Indian Removal Act violated scores of treaties in both eastern and western regions which had guaranteed U.S. respect for Indian tribal rights to their homelands. As matters turned out, the people and interests of the removed Eastern tribes faced considerable opposition from the resident western Indian Nations. Several decades of inter-tribal wars resulted from Indian reactions to the crowding pressures imposed by relocation.

Some of the newly relocated groups also faced social adjustments with portions of their own tribes which were already resettled in the West under the terms of earlier treaties. Tribal governments often split into factions because of removal. Leaders

divided over the issue and some formed new governments when tribal relocations took place in stages. It took considerable time to reconcile some of the factions and unify the tribal governments in the new Western reservations.^{xxiii} Sometimes the social adjustments of the relocated tribes involved punishment under tribal laws of those members who had signed removal treaties without authorization, as happened among the Cherokee involved with the so-called 'Treaty of New Echota' of 1835.^{xxiv}

Several factors at the end of this period gave rise to a popular European-American vision of the United States as a continental nation. Among the strongest of these catalysts was the discovery of gold in California. The earlier explorations of the fur trade era, now coming to a close, had revealed the Indian trail system throughout the West, and the Great American Desert was no longer the mysterious barrier to U.S. citizens it had once seemed. Their continuing hunger for cheap farming land was another powerful social force at this time. These factors were both supported by U.S. military expansion in the Southwest during the Mexican-American War.

This vision of a 'manifest destiny' for the United States was the impetus for a massive migration across the continent beginning in the 1840s. The Mississippi proved as ineffective a barrier to U.S. hunger for Indian land as had the system of laws and treaties. While Jackson argued that the removal system would permanently isolate Indians from the destructive pressures of U.S. civilization, his scheme collapsed totally in less than twenty years.^{xxv}

Congress passed its final Indian Trade and Intercourse Act in 1834, continuing most of the old system of supervised trading posts in Indian Country. The Act represented the final attempt at Congressional reform of that long-corrupt system. At the same time, Congress also began to establish a regular organization of the

Department [later Bureau] of Indian Affairs in an effort to eliminate inconsistencies in the War Department's handling of Indian relations.^{xxvi}

In 1849, Congress transferred the Bureau of Indian Affairs from the War Department to the newly created Department of the Interior. This move reflected the relatively peaceful relationships which had prevailed for a decade after the removal of the eastern tribes.^{xxvii} The primary concerns of the BIA in this era were Indian trade and managing the system of annuity payments. Annuities were funds or goods provided in annual payment for the Indian lands ceded to the United States under the terms of various treaties. The Bureau of Indian Affairs was to remain in the Interior Department despite the increasing hostilities of the next period, which prompted some legislators to call for its return to the War Department.

1850-1880 Indian Wars and the Reservation System

Jackson's removal policy had clearly collapsed as the second half of the 19th century began. The concept of Indian-U.S. relations which filled the philosophical vacuum in Washington, D.C. was an old one with modifications. In the course of earlier treaty negotiations, Indians had 'reserved' certain of their lands to themselves while 'ceding' others to federal ownership which could be passed on to U.S. citizens. The federal government now seized and modified the earlier concept of the 'reservation.' It began making one-sided, policy-driven decisions about which lands it would allow the Indians to occupy.

When American Indians resisted these decisions, the U.S. response was the massive application of military force. Especially among the powerful tribes of the Plains and the Northwest, U.S. troops and militias frequently compelled tribes to renegotiate earlier treaties. The new treaties of this period usually restricted tribal members to living

within assigned boundaries under supervision of federal agents. The boundaries of the reserved lands tended to shrink with each renewal of conflict.

This shrinkage was justified, in the eyes of most U.S. citizens if not those of many Indians, by two persistent beliefs. They assumed firstly that an economic shift from hunting to agriculture by the tribes was a necessary step toward their inevitable incorporation into 'civilized' society and secondly that farming always and everywhere required less acreage to support a person than did an economy based on hunting. As a consequence of these policy assumptions, it seemed that if Indians could be forced to adopt reservation life, more acreage could be made 'surplus' to the needs of the tribes and thus available to European-American settlers. In practice, it did not seem to matter much whether a particular tribe might already have an agricultural economy or whether proposed reservation lands in the arid parts of the West were unsuitable for farming. The acreage under Indian control was to be reduced in any case.

U.S. Indian policy during this era apparently also incorporated some contemporaneous 'scientific' assumptions regarding the relative ranking of human races and societies.^{xxviii} A common metaphor for these pre- and proto-evolutionary views was a linear 'ladder of progress', which ordered societal forms and associated races from 'wild hunters' on the lower levels to 'civilized industrialists' on the upper. At an intermediate level were the agriculturalists, even though in an earlier era, the Jeffersonians and Jacksonians had glorified the 'yeoman farmer' as an supremely virtuous American cultural icon.

American Indians, according to this metaphor and in light of their evident decline in numbers, were destined to perish in the face of advancing civilization if they chose to hold on to their ways as 'nomadic hunters'. These beliefs ignored the facts that many tribes, even some of those on the Great Plains, had been agriculturalists for hundreds or thousands of years and were being attacked and pushed off their farms anyway. Regardless of the facts, the views of many influential U.S. policy makers and military

men held that the only hope for Indian survival lay in conversion to a settled life as farmers.^{xxix}

Accordingly, most of the treaties which established reservations in this period also provided for commitments on the part of the Indians to learn to farm; the government pledged its help in getting them started. However, these efforts seldom bore fruit, either figuratively or literally.

Treaty guarantees of tools, seeds and technical assistance in learning European-American farming techniques were sometimes observed by the reservation agents, but were frequently ignored. Some agents diverted the tools and supplies for their own benefit or for sale to nearby settlers; technical assistance was often unavailable or was offered only to a few favorites of the agents.^{xxx}

The new reservations were often poorly sited for agricultural purposes. The low average rainfall on the Great Plains, in the Southwest and in the Great Basin led to many years of crop failures on the reservations that were created in those areas. The result was starvation and frustration with the reservation system on the part of the tribes. 'Breakouts' from the reservations by 'renegade Indians' (so-called because the U.S. claimed the Indians had unilaterally reneged on their agreements to stay on the reservations) became increasingly common as the era went on.

In 1867, a Joint Special Committee of Congress headed by Senator James Doolittle of Wisconsin issued a report on its two-year study of Indian – U.S. relations in the first half of this period. The Committee report, titled "Condition of the Indian Tribes", declared that

...in a large majority of cases Indian wars are to be traced to the aggressions of lawless white men, always to be found on the frontier...Even after territorial governments are established over them in form by Congress, the population is so sparse and the administration of the civil law so feeble that the people are practically without any law but their own will. In their eager search for gold or fertile tracts of land, the boundaries of Indian reservations are wholly disregarded; conflicts ensue; exterminating wars

follow, in which the Indian is, of course, at the last, overwhelmed if not destroyed.^{xxx}

Increasing U.S. dominance over the American Indians in the West resulted from three critical developments of this period. The first was the immense population growth of the United States, principally due to immigration. The U.S. Census of 1850 counted 23,191,876 citizens and slaves. By 1880, the population of the U.S. more than doubled to 50,155,783.^{xxxii}

The second factor was the development of a large standing army and its new mechanized weapons during the Civil War. The third development was the expansion of railroad transportation, which achieved transcontinental capabilities in 1869. The combination of this military and transport technology completed a strategic division of the Great Plains into northern and southern halves, a division begun with the establishment of the overland migration trails in the 1840s.

This division had a disastrous effect on the mainstay of the Plains Indian hunting economy, the buffalo. Commercial hide hunters used the railroads to ship tens of thousands of hides to tanneries in the East every year. Emigrants and settlers killed thousands of buffalo for food; sport hunters from the U.S. and Europe took hundreds more as trophies. The military slaughtered herds to deprive Indians access to winter food supplies. In the thirty years between 1850 and 1880, the buffalo herds declined from an estimated 13-30 million animals to a few hundred.^{xxxiii}

With their prime food source eliminated, the militarily-powerful Plains tribes were virtually starved into submission during a succession of severe winters in the late 1870s. Crazy Horse, for example, surrendered his Oglala Lakota (Sioux) band almost a year after the fight with Custer only because General Crook's series of winter attacks on his village had reduced his people to starvation. The band's hunters were unable to locate sufficient buffalo to replace their winter stores, lost when Crook repeatedly burned down the village's lodges.

As on the Plains, the objectives of the U.S. military and civilian authorities elsewhere were dedicated to forcing Indians to surrender most of their lands and accept life on the new reservations. In the Northwest, Governor Isaac Stevens of Washington Territory and Indian Superintendent Joel Palmer of Oregon negotiated nine major treaties during a seven-month period in 1854-55. In these treaties Indians ceded to the U.S. millions of square miles in what are now the states of Washington, Oregon, Idaho, and Montana.

The Stevens treaties' lack of consideration for Indian needs and desires almost immediately precipitated several wars throughout the area and laid the groundwork for later conflicts, such as that with the Nimipu ('Nez Percé') in the 1870s. Even the small, normally peaceful commercial tribes of the Puget Sound area were outraged to the point of war, notably under Leschi of the Nisqually. The difficulties resulted from Stevens' determination (and his instructions from President Pierce) to obtain as much land as possible for the least cost, especially choice valley land already cleared of timber by the Indians.

Other government agents similarly sought huge land cessions and the results of their efforts were often the same. These official efforts at restricting American Indian freedom and rights were regularly supported, even preceded, by private actions in many parts of the West. The noted anthropologists Alfred Kroeber and Sherburne Cook have called events in California during this period deliberately genocidal. Miners and ranchers frequently organized 'search-and-destroy' parties against American Indian villages. Some California counties offered bounties on Indian scalps. By the turn of the 20th century many tribes in this previously well-populated area had ceased to exist.^{xxxiv}

Elsewhere in the Southwest, military districts were set up to protect mining regions in Nevada, Arizona and New Mexico. Conflicts arose between the miners and settlers and the resident American Indians over use of the scarce local water resources.

Agricultural tribes such as the Apache and Navajo accordingly became formidable military opponents led by famed warriors, among them Cochise, Geronimo, Victorio and Manuelito.^{xxxv}

Congress followed up U.S. diplomatic and military gains of this period with several important pieces of legislation. The combined effects powerfully transformed the American Indian West in a few decades.

In 1855, Congress established the Court of Claims to hear cases arising from losses of citizens' property resulting from U.S. actions. Although Indians could not bring grievances before the Court from 1863 to 1946, European-American settlers could and did use the system to recover their losses resulting from military actions against the Indians. Abuses of this system were not uncommon.

The Homestead Act of 1862 encouraged white and free black citizens to take up 'free government lands' in the West. It impelled an enormous wave of European immigration into the U.S. Many of these immigrants and some African-American Civil War veterans served in the Army in the so-called 'Indian Wars' before taking a homestead on the lands recently seized in these conflicts.

The idea of 'civilizing' Indians got another boost in the 1860s and 1870s. Congress permitted the Bureau of Indian Affairs during the Johnson and Grant administrations to assign Indian agency administrative powers and exclusive missionary activity rights on each reservation to particular denominations of Christian churches. The prohibition of the First Amendment against Congressional establishment of religion was thought not to apply to this system, since American Indians generally were not citizens. Church influence became a pervasive part of the system of reservation administration under these two Presidents.

The major Protestant sects dominated for a time the selection of the United States Indian Agents assigned to supervise the reservations. For several years in fact, most

reservation agents were missionaries who combined preaching the Gospel with the exercise of broad federal government powers over the tribal communities. Christian influence also manifested itself in missionary society efforts to establish church schools on and off reservations. These schools, like the federal off-reservation boarding schools which soon followed, promoted the assimilation of Indians to European-American cultural norms by separating Indian children from the influence of their traditional tribal cultures.^{xxxvi}

Finally, Congress rewrote the rules governing the treaty-making process itself, declaring in 1871 that it would make no more treaties with Indians.^{xxxvii} This proved to be of greater symbolic than actual importance, since subsequent Presidents and the tribes devised 'Executive Agreements' which took the place of the treaties for purposes of conducting relationships. The Supreme Court has declared these 'Executive Agreements' to have the same legal status as the treaties.

1880-1934 Assimilation and Allotment

Federal policy aimed at 'civilizing' Indians reached a high point of administrative refinement around 1880. This era saw the systematizing of governmental and private institutions explicitly aimed at remaking American Indians after the model of European-American yeoman farmers and artisans. The efforts of these institutions carried out the policy known as assimilation.^{xxxviii}

One of the institutions prominently involved in assimilation was education. Captain Richard H. Pratt established the Carlisle Indian Industrial School in Pennsylvania in 1879. It served as a model for a new federal system of off-reservation boarding schools for Indian children. These schools, like the off-reservation Christian boarding schools, deliberately separated Indian children from their cultural roots. Indian students in these schools did not see their families for months or years at a time.

In the boarding schools, speaking Indian languages and dressing, singing, or dancing in traditional Indian ways was severely, often brutally, punished. Students wore uniforms, lived in barracks under military forms of discipline, and often had to work half-days in the school farms or shops in order to grow the food or make other articles they needed. Pratt and other boarding school proponents thought that education in such manual arts would best fit most Indians into their 'appropriate' subordinate place in civilized society.^{xxxix}

'Friends of the Indian' in Congress institutionalized another blow against the integrity of tribal life when their decade-long lobbying efforts resulted in the passage of the Dawes General Allotment Act in 1887. This was named after its major sponsor, Senator Henry L. Dawes. Dawes was a Massachusetts man who had been involved in 'friends of the Indian' reform groups. He had also supported similar legislation earlier, including a bill in 1880 known as the Coke Bill after its sponsor, a senator from Texas.

The Dawes Act overtly sought to 'civilize' American Indians by universalizing the earlier piecemeal Federal practice of granting some individual Indians titles to Indian lands. It sought to end the continuing Indian cultural practice of the collective, tribal occupancy of reservation land. Allotment, as the process of granting personal title to tribal land was called, was expected to transform Indians into individualistic farmers on the European-American cultural model.

The actual practice of allotment had begun in an 1805 treaty between the Choctaw and the U.S. It was written into numerous treaties thereafter, but was not a universal aspect of Federal policy so long as many Indian tribes possessed some degree of independence. For the most part, American Indians affected by these treaties struggled with little lasting success in the attempt to become small farmers on the allotted reservations, for reasons already noted. 'Civilization' did not inexorably follow from private land ownership, despite the beliefs of men like Commissioner of Indian Affairs

John Q. Smith. He and many others thought that social evolution inevitably led toward a European-American type of civilization and that private property and labor were the necessary preconditions of civilization.^{xi}

Historian Paul W. Gates has shown that many people in and out of government already recognized the failure of the treaty-based allotment process to achieve its overt purpose prior to passage of the Dawes Act.^{xli} The covert purpose of allotment was nevertheless pursued by politicians, traders and land speculators throughout the 1880s, since it made many of them rich.

The earlier policy of Federal repurchases of the earlier treaty allotments of those Indians subjected to removal involved substantial sums of money. The later practice of annuity cash payments to the unallotted reservation Indians also involved millions of dollars, paid by the Federal government in return for the Indians' land cessions in the treaties. Manipulating the system gave unscrupulous government agents, contractors and citizens a chance to divert into their own pockets these Federal payments for Indian lands.

Land speculators also used the treaty allotment system as a means to turn Indian lands into wealth. They sometimes bribed or otherwise influenced federal agents to obtain title to choice reservation lands for their own use. More often, they obtained reservation land for resale to immigrant farmers and residents of prospective towns.^{xlii}

These promotional practices of the speculators were known as 'booming' and their development schemes produced settlements known as 'boom towns.' The widespread adoption of allotment under the Dawes Act extended the opportunities for land speculators to convert Indian lands into private gains. Paul Gates quotes a former Commissioner of Indian Affairs, George W. Manypenny, who had written allotment practices into treaties during the 1850s, as saying in 1885 that "I would be compelled to admit that I had committed a high crime" thereby.^{xliii}

When it was passed, the Dawes Act followed the Homestead Act's provisions about the amount of land permitted to individual Indian landowners. As a result, many millions of acres of reservation lands were 'left over' after Indians took their allotments of land under the Act. The Dawes Act declared these unallotted lands 'surplus' to Indian needs and threw them open to settlement by U.S. citizens.

In 1887, 'Indian Country' consisted of some 135 to 145 million acres of protected reservation and individually-held, federally-protected trust-status lands. By various estimates, 83 to 90 million acres (some two-thirds of the land guaranteed to American Indians under the final form of the treaty system) passed into non-Indian ownership between 1887 and the repeal of the Dawes Act in 1934.^{xliv}

During the 'Allotment Period' many Indians who attempted to farm their allotments eventually had to sell their land. They found they could not earn a living from the land due to small allotment size, drought, debt, taxes and other economic factors which affect all small farmers and ranchers. In 1910, amendments to the Dawes Act limited the maximum size of Indian farming allotments to only 30 acres. Indian grazing lands were restricted to 160 acres per head of household.^{xlv} The faults of this system worsened as allotments were divided through inheritance, as the 25-year period of federal trust protection of the allotments came to an end and individual Indians sold their lands, and as tax defaults forced still others to sell or forfeit their allotments.

As the first decades of the 20th century passed, the effects of the Dawes Act continued to whittle away at the American Indian land base. With few options, many Indians tried to survive on shrinking treaty annuity payments or the incredibly low rents the BIA accepted for leasing their allotted lands to non-Indian farmers and ranchers. This imposed economic system of private ownership usually did not work for the Indians' benefit. The traditional basis of most tribal economies had already been shattered. American Indians generally were forced to live in lasting poverty for the first time in our history.

The decline of American Indian traditions, economies and tribal independence in the era of assimilation and allotment reduced many Indians to despair. As a consequence, many throughout the Great Basin country and the Plains embraced the new, messianic religion of the Paiute visionary Wovoka in the 1880s. The Ghost Dance, as his faith was called, so alarmed some Bureau of Indian Affairs agents that several requested military repression of the ceremonies.

On the Standing Rock reservation of the Lakota, federal agents' fear of the Ghost Dance resulted in the BIA arrest and police murder of the great medicine leader Sitting Bull (Tatanka Iyotake). This assassination was soon followed by the U.S. Seventh Cavalry massacre of 267 members of the ailing chief Big Foot's band of Minneconjou Lakota at Wounded Knee Creek in December 1890.^{xlvi} The Ghost Dance soon faded along with the people's hopes of freedom.

Despite the active suppression of Indian culture in this period, American Indian languages, songs, and dances were kept alive in secret. Indians sometimes practiced certain aspects of their cultures openly under the subterfuge of celebrating U.S. holidays. Yet, open traditional religious practices were everywhere threatened with persecution by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Chester Allen Arthur, who succeeded to the Presidency in the early 1880s, authorized the Secretary of the Interior to direct the BIA to create rules prohibiting Indian "rites and customs...contrary to civilization."^{xlvii} The attempt to enforce these rules led directly to the aforementioned murder of Sitting Bull and the massacre at Wounded Knee Creek in 1890. Such rules, often unsystematic and arbitrarily decreed by reservation agents, produced intense suppression of Indian cultural traditions on most of the reservations well into the 20th century.

Congress added further to the pressures for assimilation during this era with laws aimed at destroying American Indian governmental institutions. The Curtis Act of 1898 forbade tribes to exercise their powers of self-government. This legislation put all governmental authority in the Indian communities into the hands of the BIA reservation agents. Only the traditional councils of the Pueblos managed to escape the impact of the Curtis Act.

Congressman Charles Curtis of Kansas, the author of the Act and a 'progressive' assimilationist, was a mixed-blood Kaw and Osage who later became a Senator and then Vice-President of the United States under Herbert Hoover.^{xlviii} His Act also authorized the Dawes Commission to extinguish the tribal land titles of the Five Civilized Tribes of the Indian Territory of Oklahoma and institute the Dawes Act allotment scheme on those tribes' former reservations. This was a step toward the open settlement of the Indian Territory by European-Americans.

Congress had earlier forced tribal governments to share their criminal jurisdiction and police powers when it passed the Major Crimes Act of 1885. The Major Crimes Act was a reaction to a Supreme Court decision in the case of *Ex parte Crow Dog*. Another line of Supreme Court decisions placed under State law the jurisdiction of offenses between non-Indians on reservations.^{xlix}

As will be shown later, in the 1950s tribal legal authority was further eroded by the passage of Public Law 83-280, which provided an opportunity for some states to assume full criminal and partial civil jurisdiction on many of the reservations within their borders. Under these acts and court decisions, a new, long period of Federal neglect of Indian civil rights set in.

The U.S. Civil Rights Commission and several independent scholars have reported the effects on reservation communities of the Federal policies embodied in the Curtis Act, the Major Crimes Act, and Public Law 280.¹ They found evidence of increased lawlessness and the failure of effective prosecution on the affected reservations. They

also documented instances of tribal, BIA, and FBI police abuses of authority against politically active traditionalist leaders and reservation residents who have opposed corrupt or unrepresentative tribal governments.

One contemporaneous summary of the long standing problems resulting from Federal and state challenges to Indian sovereignty since the allotment era appeared in Luther Standing Bear's (Brulé Lakota) 1933 autobiography, **Land of the Spotted Eagle**:

The attempted transformation of the Indian by the white man and the chaos that has resulted are but the fruits of the white man's disobedience of a fundamental and spiritual law. The pressure that has been brought to bear upon the native people, since the cessation of armed conflict, in the attempt to force conformity of custom and habit has caused a reaction more destructive than war, and the injury has not only affected the Indian, but has extended to the white population as well. Tyranny, stupidity, and lack of vision have brought about the situation now alluded to as the 'Indian Problem'.^{li}

The Territory of Canada

Early Contacts

The Beothuk, a tribe living a thousand years ago on the Island of Newfoundland, were the first American Indians to have a verified contact with Europeans. Over nearly two decades, from about 1000 A.D., Norse explorers and settlers from Iceland touched on Newfoundland. A site now known as L'Anse aux Meadows on the extreme northern tip of the island was briefly settled around 1014 by Thorwald Karlsefni and Freydis Eriksson, brother-in-law and sister, respectively, to Leif Eriksson. Karlsefni had killed several Beothuk on an earlier visit and his small settlement was not welcomed by the Beothuk. Norse contact apparently dwindled after Beothuk attacks and Freydis' brutal behavior weakened the tiny colony, leading to a Norse withdrawal.

The American Indians of Canada next met Europeans when the English crown sent the Cabots west across the Atlantic in 1497-98. This expedition explored parts of the eastern coast of North America between Newfoundland and Virginia. The Beothuk and Micmac met them, and the Micmac lost three members to kidnapping.

The Portuguese explorer Gaspar Corte Real next arrived along the Labrador and Newfoundland coasts in 1501. The Beothuk again experienced violence at the hands of Europeans, as Corte Real and his crew kidnapped 57 tribespeople. All died on the voyage to Portugal when the ship sank.

The French arrived in eastern Canada for the first time in 1523-24 with an expedition under Giovanni da Verrazano, a visit that also brought Jacques Cartier to the Americas for the first time. Verrazano made a few written observations on the tribes he briefly visited in Newfoundland and left without taking Indian captives.

Slavery was again imposed on the Micmac of Nova Scotia in 1525 when Esteban Gómez kidnapped 58 people and sold them in Spain.

When Martin Frobisher explored Greenland and the Canadian Arctic in three voyages between 1576-1578, he captured and took Inuit ('Eskimo') people back to England.^{lii}

For more than another century, slave raiding by explorers, fishermen and professional slavers would continue on the Northeast coasts. Such contacts, along with those of fishermen only coming ashore to dry fish or obtain supplies, would impact the eastern Indians of Canada far more heavily than the numbers lost to slavers might suggest. The transmission of disease from the Europeans to the American Indians of Canada began with these early contacts. Disease played the major part in depopulating the villages in the Maritimes, and later along the shores of the St. Lawrence and Great Lakes, as it did throughout the Americas.^{liii}

The three expeditions of Jacques Cartier between 1534 and 1542 inaugurated the acquaintance of tribes in the Canadian interior with Europeans. The Wyandot (Huron)

sachem Donnaconna met Cartier on the Gaspé Peninsula in 1534 and sent two of his sons along with the Frenchman as guides. These two were taken to France at the end of the first Cartier voyage and guided the Frenchman back the next year to the principal Wyandot villages of Stadacona (Quebec City) and Hochelaga (Montreal). Cartier took Donnaconna and other Wyandot (forcibly at first; later he talked them into giving their consent) with him on his return to France at the end of this second voyage. After visiting the French king, these Wyandot contracted diseases and died in France.^{liv}

The French Colonial Period in Canada 1604-1763

French colonization of Canada began in earnest in the first decade of the 17th century. Samuel de Champlain was involved in establishing colonies in Nova Scotia (Port Royal) in 1604-1605 and at the Wyandot village of Stadacona in 1608. He set up a trade post at their village of Hochelaga in 1611. He also quickly became involved in the complex military and diplomatic relationships among the northeastern tribes. Champlain negotiated trade and military agreements at Stadacona in 1608 with the Wyandot as well as with the more northerly Montagnais and Algonkin bands. The alliance with the Wyandot involved Champlain in military action against the Iroquois Confederacy the following year, initiating 150 years of intermittent warfare between the French and the Iroquois.^{lv}

The principal purpose in these early colonial outposts was in promoting French dominance over the developing northeastern fur trade. The first half-century of the trade saw the Wyandot, Ottawa and Nipissing increase their extensive networks of river passages and trails covering the territory between the Saguenay River in the east, Hudson's Bay on the north, the Missinaibi River in the west and the Great Lakes/St. Lawrence River to the south. These trade routes linked them as middlemen to such northern tribes as the Montagnais, Cree, and Ojibwe, as well as western tribes like the

Winnebago. These latter tribes remained important sources of furs long after the areas controlled by the middlemen had been depleted of furbearing animals.

As the value of American furs increased on the European market, other European nations attempted to establish or seize colonies that would give them access to the Indian trappers and the Indian traders. The Dutch established New Amsterdam at the mouth of the Hudson River in 1612. They allied themselves the following year with the Iroquois Confederacy in the first written treaty known between an American Indian nation and one from Europe. This alliance added to the existing tensions between the Iroquois Confederacy and the Wyandot in particular.

England complicated the political picture in the region with establishment of its New England colonies in the 1620s and 1630s, with its backing of the 1629-1632 attempt of the Kirke brothers to seize control of the French settlements along the St. Lawrence, and with its conquest of New Amsterdam in 1664. The English assumed the treaty relations with the Iroquois formerly held by the Dutch, thus gaining the military and trade assistance of the most powerful American Indian nation of the region.

Control of access to European trade goods and weapons could confer enormous (if short-lived) economic and military advantages if one Indian confederation managed to exclude the others. All of the important Indian leaders in the region recognized this, and so did the Europeans, who used trade as leading aspect of their diplomacy with the tribes of eastern Canada and New England.

The social and economic tensions of the fur trade with the Europeans led to a decades-long period of trade competition and actual warfare between the Iroquois and the Wyandot and their neighbors. These 'beaver wars' and trade rivalries between the Indians were predominant factors shaping intertribal and tribal-colonial relations in the early French colonial period.^{lvi}

The denouement of the contest between the Wyandot and the Iroquois Confederacy came in a war that raged from 1648 to 1656. The trade and trapping

region controlled by the Iroquois was becoming depleted of fur-bearing animals. The economic survival of the Confederacy appeared to hang on wresting control of the fur trade with the northern and western tribes away from the Wyandot and their Nipissing, Ottawa and other allies.

In a series of devastating attacks against their rivals' villages, the Dutch-armed Iroquois virtually destroyed and partially absorbed the Wyandot in 1648. They then moved against the Wyandot allies, some of whom harbored Wyandot fugitives. The Iroquois subsequently defeated the Petun and Tionontati in 1649, the Attiwandaronk or 'Neutral Nation' in 1650-1651, and finally the Erie between 1653-1656. The campaign of the Iroquois to control the western portion of the fur trade continued against the Ottawa, Illinois, Miami and other, smaller tribes. The Iroquois advance, even though it was supported by the English, was finally checked in 1684 by the Illinois tribe.^{lvii}

A secondary purpose in the establishment of French colonial settlements in Canada was to promote the spread of 'civilization' and Christianity among the American Indians there. This purpose was officially declared by the French king in a 1603 grant of a fur trade monopoly in Canada to Pierre du Gua, sieur de Monts, the sponsor of Champlain's voyages which soon followed.

In some respects, the effort to acculturate the Indians through promotion of dependence on French trade goods and Catholic religious instruction served to facilitate the fur trade. The terms of the royal fur-trade monopoly required the French fur merchants' consortium in Canada to bring over six priests of the Catholic Recollect brotherhood in 1615. However, once in Canada, the company restricted the priests' activities, particularly objecting when the fathers tried to settle a group of Indians near the trading center of Quebec in order to make their instruction more convenient. An investor made it clear to Brother Gabriel Sagard that the company did not want the

Indians too near Quebec because it was feared that they might develop an “acquaintance with the methods of trading.”^{lviii}

The history of French religious policy in Canada is a complex story. A useful introduction can be found in James Axtell’s **The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America**. Some fundamentals of the colonial American Indian policies in Canada appear in his story of the missionary and educational efforts of the Sulpician, Recollect and Jesuit orders in colonial times.

One of the early and enduring policy consequences of French missionary activity was the establishment of the basis for the Canadian system of American Indian reserves. The early French priests quickly realized that they needed to acquire a working command of Indian languages and social customs in order to proselytize the Christian faith among the tribes. The mobile economy of the Montagnais, Naskapi and Algonkin bands made it difficult for the priests to stay with the Indians to learn and teach. Thus, their initial hopes to pass on instruction in European culture and religion focused upon missions among the settled farming villages of the Wyandot and their western allies.^{lix}

In the early decades of French settlement in Canada, the missionaries also hoped that immersing Indians in French cultural practices of dress, education and trade would help ‘civilize’ them quickly. Such hopes were soon frustrated, as the example of most of the French colonists promoted a faster spread of French vices than of French virtues.^{lx}

The missionary strategy soon shifted in the face of the complex social realities inherent in the relationships among the tribes, the French colonists, the fur company and the religious orders. The Jesuits, in particular, responded by dividing their activities among the tribes into two formats. The first of these involved establishing reserves or settled communities of American Indians. The second effort involved sending missionary priests and lay brothers out to live in or travel among the camps of the more nomadic hunting tribes which lived north of the St. Lawrence.^{lxi}

The French founded their first reserve near Quebec in 1637 on a site known as Sillery. Other reserve villages and farmlands for Christianized Indians were subsequently established at Trois Rivières, Lorette, St. Francis (Odonak Reserve), Bécancour, La Montagne, Sault St.-Louis (Caughnawaga Reserve) St. Regis, La Présentation and Lac-des-Deux Montagnes (Oka Reserve).

These reserve communities attempted to instruct Indian settlers in the fundamentals of Catholicism and agriculture while attempting to isolate the Indians from the vices they learned through contact with the secular French lifestyle of the colonists. Segregation became the intended and somewhat operative policy of the reserves.^{lxii} However, the brandy trade, begun early by the French as an adjunct to the fur trade, proved very difficult to keep off the reserves despite active efforts by the missionaries and some of the Indians who had realized the effects of liquor on the well-being of their families and villages.^{lxiii}

The missionary orders established and dominated the political and administrative life of the reserves, enforcing a strict observance of Church rules for conduct and learning. The Indian residents of the reserves preserved their languages and their traditional housing, clothing and economic patterns for the most part.^{lxiv} Some farming was done on the reserves, most successfully by the women from those tribes which had long been agriculturalists. Men still left the villages for months at a time to hunt, fish and trap. The reserve villages also served the military needs of both the French and the Indians, since the reserves served to buffer the French settlements against attacks by the Iroquois and the reserves could call for support from the French troops stationed at the larger colonial towns and fortifications.

Given the commercial nature of most French colonial economic activities and the poor prospects for an expansion of farming on the Laurentian Shield of eastern Canada, the early reserves did not suffer the pressures of land-hungry colonists so soon as did the later reservations in the United States. These facts of geography and economics

may have limited the social and economic adjustments the Indians had to make to adapt to life on the reserves, at least in the early years.

Other social and spiritual adaptations to the new Christian faith on the reserves were also eased by Jesuit tolerance for a certain amount of syncretic combination of Christian forms with Indian traditions relating to social functions.^{lxv} However, the adoption of an alien faith and cultural practices by residents of the reserves did separate them from more traditional relatives. Many clans and families were violently divided by the intrusion of Christianity into tribal life. Even such a respected convert as the Mohawk Kateri Tekakwitha suffered threats and reproaches from her conventional relatives.^{lxvi} Still, as it developed from its 17th century beginnings, the Canadian reserve system, like its counterpart in the United States, eventually provided something of a haven for American Indian cultural practices as well as for the survival of Indian communities.

In 1701, the French negotiated a peace with the Iroquois, who were weakened by decades of warfare against western tribes. The Confederacy was no longer able to prevent independent trade contact between those tribes and the European settlements in the east. The Iroquois pledged neutrality in France's on-going contests for colonial dominance with the English. This peace allowed the French to shift their trade focus westward and south into the Ohio and Mississippi valleys.^{lxvii}

In 1700, they established a trading post and garrison in Louisiana. From it and other posts set up on the Mississippi and other Midwestern rivers, the French pursued trade as a means to engage the political and military support of the powerful Chickasaw, Illinois and Miami tribes against the English in their Atlantic colonies. This trade policy would lead to conflict with new Ohio Valley English settlements in 1754-1763. The result was the French and Indian War, the American phase of the Seven Years' War

between England and France in Europe. The Treaty of Paris which ended this war surrendered French power in Canada and inaugurated the British colonial era there.

The British Colonial Period in Canada 1763-1867

The Indians of Canada had been in contact with the English long before the beginning of British colonial rule in their territories. English exploration of the northland had begun late in the 15th century. English fishermen frequently came ashore in what were to become the Maritime provinces. The English briefly controlled the major towns of New France between 1629 and 1632. Most importantly, in the north the Hudson's Bay Company began establishing fur trading posts among the Cree soon after it was chartered in 1670. Finally, during Queen Anne's War (1702-1713), the English seized control of Acadia (which they renamed Nova Scotia) and the Hudson's Bay region; the French were compelled to cede colonial dominion over these parts of Canada to England in the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713.

The 1763 Treaty of Paris was shortly followed by the Proclamation of 1763, which has been partially discussed above in connection with United States history. The Proclamation also established British colonial policy for Canada. It set up the constitutional basis for the colony. It extended the operations of the imperial Indian Department to Canada. This Indian trade and military alliance bureaucracy had been established by the Albany Congress in 1754 to coordinate and administer the Empire's Indian policy among the colonies on the Atlantic Seaboard.

As it did with the trans-Appalachian Indian territories in the south, the Proclamation also declared limits to English settlement in Canada and restricted European traders' access to Indian-controlled territories. It designated a huge western reserve where American Indian social and political traditions were intended to persist at a distance from the major colonial centers.^{lxviii} The earlier system of French reserves on the St. Lawrence River was continued, however, and new reserves were created in eastern

Canada for a time.^{lxi} The members of the Iroquois League who sided with the British during the American Revolution were given refuge on several of these new reserves.^{lxx}

British colonial policy regarding the American Indians of Canada was focused on three major considerations: managing Indian military relations, promoting trade relations and acquiring land for a growing population of immigrants. However, since the European-American population of Canada grew more slowly than did that of the United States and never reached such large numbers as was the case to the south, Indian relations with the colonial and later Dominion governments of Canada involved relatively few violent clashes. The major exception was in Newfoundland, where the Beothuk tribe resisted the encroachments of French and English fishermen who founded villages. The Beothuk were subjected to bounty hunting and the attacks of their Micmac neighbors who were armed by the Europeans; the last Beothuk died in 1829.^{lxxi}

The activities of the Hudson's Bay Company and the rival Northwest Fur Company were extended across the continent to the Pacific during the latter part of the 18th century and the first decades of the 19th. Like the French fur traders before them, these traders had only limited requirements for land and thus their displacement of the Canadian tribes was minimal. Their detrimental impacts consisted of the introduction of liquor and diseases into the Canadian Plains and Subarctic, as well as the encouragement of increasing economic dependence of the Indians on European trade goods. This in turn distorted the traditional balance that the bands maintained in their use of natural resources, particularly in their trapping of the prized furbearing animals like beaver. In all, the interaction of the Indians with the trading system of the fur companies tended to gradually join the Indians to the economy and culture of the European-Americans in Canada.^{lxxii}

During the American Revolution and again during the War of 1812, the British assiduously sought military alliances with the tribes on the frontiers of the United States.

The British not only played on Indian resentments and fears concerning United States' encroachments onto American Indian lands on the frontiers, but also offered trade with the tribes on more favorable terms than did the U.S.

While the British promised their Indian allies much in terms of arms and supportive military operations in both conflicts, they did relatively little to actually support tribal designs against the expansionist U.S. The great Indian military and political leaders in these two conflicts, Joseph Brant of the Iroquois and Tecumseh of the Shawnee, respectively, contributed more toward British war aims than they received in aid toward their common objective, which was to preserve Indian autonomy.

In between these wars, and for many years after the War of 1812, British military policy *vis-a-vis* the Indians of Canada and on the frontier with the U.S. aimed at two alternating goals. The Indian Department and Canada's royal governors (particularly Governor Haldiman in the years following 1783) attempted to convince the tribes of eastern Canada and the upper midwest territories of the United States that the British were friends and allies. This succeeded well enough to convince portions of some U.S. tribes, among them the Potawatomi and the Delaware, to seek refuge from U.S. expansion in Canada.^{lxxiii}

At the same time, the British maintained a system of garrisoned trading posts against the possibility that the tribes would turn against the Canadian settlements. Some of these posts were maintained in the midwestern territories claimed by the United States until the Jay Treaty of 1796 decreed their abandonment.^{lxxiv} Those posts in the Ohio region and on the Great Lakes played important roles in the wars of Pontiac and Tecumseh against the British and the United States, respectively.

After the War of 1812, the importance of the bands and tribes as military allies declined as immigration increased the European-American population of Canada. A new Canadian Indian policy began to develop as the European-American numbers rose

and missionary activity extended westward into what was then called Upper Canada, now Ontario. The British expanded their establishment of Indian reserves in association with church missions in order to 'civilize' and Christianize the tribes. The first two British reserves were established in the old Wyandot and Neutral territories of Ontario's southern peninsula. The Indians who agreed to settle on these early reserves were offered missionary instruction, teachers and craftsmen to instruct young and old alike, along with housing and agricultural assistance in the form of seeds and European-style tools. British and later Canadian treaties would continue and extend this version of the reserve system over several decades.^{lxxv} The ultimate objective of this later colonial Indian policy was to assimilate the Indians into the European society that was gradually spreading westward. The colonial administrators hoped that the reserves would not be needed after the Indians transitioned into a way of life similar to their own. When this reserve policy was officially adopted in 1830, Britain also turned over administration of Canada's relations with the Indian nations to civilian authorities for the first time.^{lxxvi}

The major problems of the reserve policy turned out to be similar to those in the United States. The colonial and subsequent Dominion governments had difficulties preventing European-American settlers from encroaching on reserve lands. The agents were largely unable to stop the liquor trade from reaching the bands on the reserves. The Indians had difficulties accepting all of the assimilationist pressures for changes in dress, religious worship and social practices which the reserve agents and the missionaries demanded. Finally, the problem of how to deal with land ownership on the reserves was a thorny problem, as it remained in the United States for decades after the Canadian system determined not to press for individual ownership by Indians, but to hold reserve lands in permanent trusteeship.^{lxxvii}

A new system of treaty relationships between the American Indians of Canada and the British and Canadian governments was established after Britain's defeat of France in 1763. In the first treaty, negotiated that same year, the Canadian Iroquois granted to the British colonial government the land along both sides of the St. Lawrence river in southern Quebec and the easternmost corner of what would become Ontario. The Micmac of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia resisted any treaty overtures, however, and their relations with these independent colonies remained strained and occasionally violent for the next century.^{lxxviii}

There followed a long hiatus in treaty-making in Canada, which resumed in 1850. Britain had only recently settled its Canadian boundaries with the United States, and Vancouver Island had become a Crown colony the previous year. The settlement of southern Ontario by European-Americans was developing. The colonial administration determined to extend the reserve system in advance of settlement in the hopes of limiting the potential for conflicts with the bands. Accordingly, the Ashinabe (Ojibwe or Chippewa) bands north of Lakes Superior and Huron were contacted. Negotiations in 1850 resulted in two important treaties involving land cessions and the establishment of reserves, the Robinson-Huron and Robinson-Superior treaties.

From 1850 to 1854, Governor James Douglas of the colony of Vancouver Island also negotiated with the Songish, Saanich, Nanaimo and Sooke bands, trading goods and establishing reserves in exchange for much of the southern part of the island.^{lxxix}

In 1860, Britain turned over the conduct of Indian affairs in the Canadian colonies to the colonial governments. The Ontario government negotiated a treaty for the cession of the earlier reserve on Manitoulin Island in Lake Huron with the Ojibwe and their relatives the Ottawa in 1862. The bands settled there had developed some agricultural land prior to the establishment of the reserve, which they lost under the new treaty.^{lxxx}

The Early Canadian Dominion Period 1867-1900

Britain granted independent status as confederated Dominions within its Empire to the four Canadian colonies of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Quebec and Ontario in the British North America Act of 1867. The Act placed control of Canadian-Indian relations under the jurisdiction of the federal government in Ottawa, which negotiated a new series of treaties with the Ojibwe, Cree, Assiniboine, Chippewyan, and with the Blackfeet Confederacy between 1871 and 1877.

The Canadian Parliament established a federal Department of Indian Affairs in the Indian Act of 1868. Its policies, as embodied in the treaties mentioned above, extended the earlier colonial system of land cessions and reserves to most of the southern Canadian Plains. In 1869, Canada purchased the rights claimed by the Hudson's Bay Company in what later became Manitoba. At the same time, the Canadian government launched the construction of a trans-continental railroad. The construction of this railroad devastated the northern buffalo herds by the mid-1880s, which added to the government pressures on the Plains bands to shift the basis of their economy from hunting to agriculture.

The Manitoba purchase also led to the last major armed conflicts between the Canadian government and the American Indians and their mixed-blood or Métis relatives. These became known as the Riel rebellions, named for the Métis leader Louis Riel. Riel's father had previously led a successful minor rebellion against Hudson's Bay Company attempts to prevent the Indians and Métis from trading with the U.S. settlement at St. Paul, Minnesota.^{lxxxi}

The first Riel rebellion centered on the rights of the Métis to their settlements in the Red River region near what is now Winnipeg. The second involved both Métis and Cree bands defending their property rights in the Saskatchewan River territory. Accounts of these acts of resistance to Canadian expansion will be given below.

The federal government revised its Indian Act of 1868, in 1876, setting a policy which was to persist well into the 20th century. While continuing the reserve system

(new treaties and reserves were established up until 1923), the new Indian Act of 1876 codified a policy of strict assimilation. It sought to completely sever Indians from their band 'status' rights and cultures in exchange for enfranchisement as a 'non-status' Indian, a voting Canadian citizen living in substantially a European-American cultural mode.

The Parliament's Act differed from the unilateral acts of the United States Congress, however. It generally left the decision to accept enfranchisement up to a decision by individual Indians or to a majority vote of each recognized band. The glaring exception to the voluntary nature of the Indian Act's provisions was in regard to American Indian women who married Canadian citizens. These women automatically lost their 'status' as Indians, as did their children.^{lxxxii}

Most Canadian Indians resisted the abandonment of their rights as Indians. They held on to their tribal connections and many customs despite the pressure on the reserves to speak English, dress like European-Americans, and work in the new agricultural and extractive industries that were becoming Canada's economic base.^{lxxxiii}

The Canadian federal government in this era also enacted legislation outlawing the Sun Dance of the Plains bands and the Potlatch ceremonies. The Potlatch traditionally confirmed rights to social status, leadership positions and clan relationships on the West Coast. The government also imposed elections of band council governments on the Indians, all in an effort to undermine and bypass the traditional governmental and spiritual institutions of the bands.^{lxxxiv}

While there were differences in reaction among bands in the various geographic regions of Canada, the general Indian resistance to the policy of assimilation in the face of a growing European-American population generally meant that Canadian society marginalized the American Indians as the 20th century approached. They lost their economic importance as the fur trade declined and the acreage they controlled was reduced by government policy. They were treated in an 'out of sight, out of mind'

manner by citizens and government alike, having difficulties in getting even minor attention to their growing complaints over land losses and other rights abuses on the reserves.^{lxxxv}

The Riel Rebellions

The First Riel Rebellion occurred in 1869-70 over the attempts of English-speaking settlers to enter the Red River region near modern Winnipeg. These settlers were supported by Dominion surveyors who were assigned to lay out tracts in the region. The survey scheme proposed ran counter to the Métis tradition, borrowed from the French, of owning long strips of land leading away from river frontage into the surrounding woods and out onto the prairie, where the Métis gained access to hay lands. One of the Métis, Louis Riel, and a small number of his supporters ran off these surveyors. Soon after that they seized control of Fort Garry, a Hudson's Bay Company post, and blocked the entry of the recently appointed territorial governor into the region.

By November 1869, Louis Riel had drawn up a well-drafted List of Rights and forwarded it to the federal government in Ottawa. The List detailed Métis rights to land, freedom of religion (most were Catholic) and language (most spoke French and Cree). The Métis insisted on their rights to representation and consultation with the Confederation government. The ousted territorial Governor William McDougall responded in December by sending in a militia party supported by militant English-speaking settlers, the 'Canada Firsters'. Riel and his men captured these forces and imprisoned them in Fort Garry, at the same time declaring his Comité National des Métis to be the provisional government for the territory.

The Canadian Prime Minister, John Macdonald, decided that his government could not effectively challenge the 6,000 Métis who supported Riel. He chose to instead to negotiate with them through a Hudson's Bay Company representative. After meeting with the negotiator, the Métis formed a representative government in February 1870 and

elected Riel President. In July 1870, the Manitoba Act granted separate provincial status to the Red River settlements and accepted many of the Métis rights declared by Riel in his 1869 List of Rights.

However, Riel lost support in much of the rest of Canada later in the year when his government tried and executed the amnestied leader of the 'Canada Firsters' for attempting another insurrection against his Province. Canadian outrage over the execution enabled the raising of an anti-Métis force of 1,200 men for an expedition against the Métis settlements. Riel was forced to flee into exile in the United States.

His followers remained loyal, though, electing him *in absentia* three times to a seat in the national Parliament after the unified Manitoba Provincial government was established. Nevertheless, the opening of the Red River country to English-speaking settlement soon resulted in the Métis being pushed out of the region.^{lxxxvi}

By the mid-1880s, they had moved west into new settlements along the Saskatchewan River, becoming friendly neighbors of the Plains Cree led by chiefs Poundmaker and Big Bear. The Cree, along with most of the bands involved in treaty negotiations with Canada in the 1870s, had been suffering from the disruptions caused by the declining buffalo herds, smallpox epidemics and the increasing liquor trade. The establishment of the reserve system was often misunderstood by the band members, who thought that they were only leasing the use of their lands, not permanently alienating their ownership (an alien concept to them). As a result, Canadian pressures on tribal and Métis societies had reached a critical point by the middle of the 1880s.

The survey and construction work on the transcontinental Canadian Pacific Railway, which was substantially completed by 1884, once again brought federal surveyors out to the Métis settlements then in Saskatchewan. As they had done 15 years earlier in Manitoba, the surveyors established square plats in violation of Métis land use customs, thus provoking a round of protests to Ottawa. Getting nowhere, the

Métis united politically in June 1884 and searched out Louis Riel, who was living in Montana.

Riel returned to Canada and met with the Métis and with white settlers over the issues. He drafted a new List of Rights and declared a Provisional Government for Saskatchewan (which at the time was a territory and would not officially enter the Confederation as a province until 1905). In early 1885, after his attempts to negotiate with Ottawa were ignored, he also ordered the taking of government facilities and the cutting of communications lines. This led to a clash with the Northwest Mounted Police in March near Duck Lake, where the Métis inflicted a defeat on the troopers.

Riel restrained further Métis action while he contacted Cree leaders. Many were reluctant to go to war, but Poundmaker and Big Bear left the reserves with about 200 warriors each to attack several settlements. The federal government responded by sending 8,000 militia troops out on the new railroad by mid-April. Riel's Métis commander, Gabriel Dumont defeated the army force he met on April 24, 1885 at Fish Creek. Poundmaker trounced a force sent against his camp at Cut Knife Creek the same day.

On May 9th, the Métis crippled a government gunboat sent against their fort at Batoche, also turning back a land assault. The government forces kept up a minor siege for three days while reinforcements were brought up; Dumont's men were running low on ammunition and were eventually defeated by a massed bayonet charge. Dumont escaped to exile in the United States, but Riel turned himself in a few days later.

Poundmaker surrendered his band of Cree warriors after the Métis defeat, but Big Bear continued to fight the militia and Mounties until mid-June. The Cree leader personally surrendered in early July, and, like Poundmaker, was held as a prisoner of war for two years afterward. Louis Riel, on the other hand, was taken to the territorial capital of Regina, where he was tried and executed for treasonable acts and the

execution of the 'Canada First' leader by his provisional government 15 years earlier.^{lxxxvii}

Mexico and Central America 1492-1900

The most densely-populated part of the Americas at the time of Contact in the early 16th century was the region encompassing southern Mexico and the northwesterly part of Central America.^{lxxxviii} This region contained the sites of those American Indian civilizations that the arriving Spanish first recognized as comparable to those of contemporary Europe. Together, these lands have become known as 'Mesoamerica'; as used here, this term will include the outlying northerly part of modern Mexico and the southwest reaches of Central America as well.

Civilization was old in this region when the Spaniards arrived. Notable among the city-building cultures that had flowered here, some of them faded or gone by the start of the 16th century, were the Olmec, the Teotihuacan, the Toltec, the Zapotec, and the major centers of the Maya.

In the endless process of cultural renewal and succession that marks the known history of Mesoamerica, other peoples had come to prominence by the time of Contact. Among these in southern Mexico were the Mexica (also called the Aztec) and their allies the Alcohua of Texcoco, the Mixtec, the Totonac, the Tarasco, the Tlaxcala and the Otomí.

North of the densely-settled Mexican highlands there were diverse peoples occupying large territories, among them the Tepehuan, Toboso, Mayo, Tarahumara, Concho, Yaqui, and Suma tribes. South of the remaining Post-Classic Maya centers in the Yucatán Guatemala, the highlands of Honduras and Belize, prominent peoples included the Jicaque, the Paya, and the Matagalpa in modern Honduras and El Salvador. The Sumo, the Miskito, the Ulva and the Rama dominated what is now

Nicaragua. The Guetar and the Boruca thrived in Costa Rica. The Guaymi and Cuna were the major cultures of present-day Panama.

The Aztec state was the dominant native civilization in much of Mesoamerica at the time of Contact. It has been characterized as a conquest-based confederation. However, the formal relationships between different peoples in the 'Aztec Empire' were also based on diplomacy, trade and on intermarriages among the nobility.

The military basis of the Aztec civilization did play a major role in making possible the Spanish conquest of Mexico. The handful of Spaniards led by Hernán Cortés were quickly able to find powerful Indian nations with grievances against the Aztec. Prominent among these were the Tlaxcala and the Tarasco peoples.

These two cultures had suffered Aztec domination or military pressures for decades and were thus willing to cooperate with the Spanish in overthrowing their oppressors. These native allies of the Spanish supplied Cortés with some 200,000 warriors for his siege of Tenochtitlan. They were the necessary military muscle that the 500 Spaniards, despite their weaponry, could not themselves muster against the huge Aztec armies. One scholar has said that

It now seems clear that in areas dominated by or threatened by the Aztec confederacy the 'conquest' was essentially a native insurrection against the Aztecs for which the Spanish provided leadership.^{lxxxix}

The Spanish leaders overcame their disadvantage in numbers through their ability to form a flexible system of local alliances. They had learned the value of this strategy in the long struggle to reunite Spain and expel the Muslims from the Iberian Peninsula. This ability, which Cortés demonstrated to a high degree, provided the conquistadors their crucial organizational advantage in the initial phase of the Conquest of the Western Hemisphere.

Their policy was to step into the social and governmental positions formerly held by the native leaders, or to support and dominate factions of the native nobility in existing succession struggles. This latter strategy served Spain particularly well in the first century of its effort to subjugate Peru. It enabled the Spaniards to attain and consolidate their position as the new masters of the pre-existing American Indian state systems of Mesoamerica and the Andes.

The American Indian cultures outside the civilizations of Central and South America were less easily dominated by this strategy. Numerous tribes in the northern deserts of Mexico, on the southern coast of Chile or in the Amazon Basin were only contacted and conquered by the Spanish in the 18th and 19th centuries, if at all.

Evidence persists today of how slowly European dominance extended over the non-state cultures of Latin America. Witness the ongoing armed resistance of unconquered tribes such as the Guaharíbo of the Río Negro basin near the border of Brazil and Venezuela, or the Máya and Júma tribes of western and central Amazonas in Brazil.

The early phase of the Conquest of the aboriginal cultures of Latin America is thus best understood as the co-optation of the prevailing advanced native social systems. This was followed by the establishment of exploitative economic relationships modeled along European feudal lines, in what were known as the *encomiendas*. This second phase was succeeded by a long and continuing mutual assimilation and acculturation of Spanish, other European, African and Indian peoples into socially stratified Hispanic cultures.

The result is seen in the modern Latin American nations, which have a small proportion of Europeans, varying proportions of people of African descent, a dominant proportion of mixed-bloods or *mestizos*, and often significant numbers of surviving, relatively isolated Indian communities. This is the prevailing cultural pattern in many, but not all, areas of the Caribbean, Central America and South America.

The major Indian policy concerns of the Spanish colonial period and of the early national governments in the post-colonial period were basically three. The first issue involved the military and economic aspects of exploiting and integrating Indian labor and land into the colonial and national economies of the region. The second major policy thrust of the Spanish dealt with the religious conversion of the Indians to Christianity. The third Indian policy theme involved the social position of the increasing class of mixed-bloods or mestizos.

The latter two topics are more appropriately subjects for the better-informed scholars writing the **Hispanic-American Baseline Essays**, although some detail is included elsewhere in this Essay and in Appendix A. Any teacher with a serious interest in the Contact Era and modern history of Latin America should become familiar with the books of the Uruguayan author Eduardo Galeano (**Open Veins of Latin America**; New York: Monthly Review Press, 1973 and the three-volume series **Memory of Fire**; New York: Pantheon Books, 1988; both works are referenced in their English translations but are also available in Spanish).

Economic exploitation and integration of Indians into the colonial and national economies was a matter of extracting Indian labor and of removing land from Indian control. Throughout most of this era, the Europeans dealt with Indian resistance to these twin violations of their independence in an interrelated, systematic way. This system evolved over time, and continues to do so today. It will be briefly discussed below.

The earliest practice of the conquistadors was to capture Indians as slaves, some of whom were taken back to Spain beginning with Columbus' first voyage and on his later trips. While the Crown expressed disapproval of Indian enslavement, it permitted legal slavery of the Caribbean Indians to continue until 1542.^{xc} Columbus' early

permission to Spanish settlers to take and use American Indian slaves to dig for gold and do most other labor in the Caribbean settlements quickly became systematized under the first regular Crown Governor of the Indies, Nicolás de Ovando. In the face of inconsistent instructions from Queen Isabela, Ovando proposed and won approval for the establishment of the encomienda system in 1503.^{xc}

The encomienda was modeled to a great extent on European feudal practices and involved the grant to a colonist of land and the right to compel the resident Indians to work on it. Such Spanish settlers became known as encomenderos. The American Indians who could be kept on the land were nominally free and were supposed to be paid for their labor. However, most were legally and practically unable to escape being caught up in the system and were attached to the land much as serfs were in medieval Europe.

The Spanish population of the Caribbean islands increased at the annual rate of about 1,000-2,500 colonists for the first few decades of colonization. Many of these colonists obtained encomienda grants and forced Indians to clear the forests that were their peoples' refuge. As encomiendas soon encompassed most of the islands, there was little sanctuary left in a short time. Since the colonists were almost entirely male, many Indian women were forced to become wives and concubines.

As Spanish colonization developed on the islands, the resident Arawak, Carib, and Ciboney populations were also reduced by diseases and punitive military actions. Arawak warriors led by the cacique Caonabó destroyed the garrison at Columbus' Fort Navidad in 1493 to stop the soldiers from seizing women and children as sex slaves. Beginning in 1494, the Arawak frequently rebelled against the conquistadors, resorted to passive refusal to work even under torture, and even stopped having children to prevent their being enslaved. They sometimes committed mass suicide rather than serve the colonists.^{xcii}

The Caribbean Indians' response to economic exploitation ultimately varied from adjustment and accommodation to large-scale, organized military resistance, with all types of passive and active resistance in between. The nature of Indian resistance, as elsewhere in the Americas, varied with time and place according to European military power, the availability of sanctuaries from which active resistance could be carried on, the health and numbers of the Indian populations involved, and the availability of weapons, tactics and leaders able to mobilize resistance.

To a remarkable extent, this characterization of Indian efforts to survive exploitation and to regain independence to the extent possible continues to be valid late into the 20th century, as was seen in the guerrilla struggles waged in El Salvador, Costa Rica, Guatemala, and Nicaragua throughout the 1980s. However, Spanish colonial exploitation, disease and military action brought the various Caribbean tribes to the edge of extinction or completely destroyed them within two generations of Columbus' arrival in 1492.

When the later Conquest of Mexico had proceeded to its initial success against the Aztec in 1521, the Spaniards began their exploitation by placing themselves at the head of the existing native systems of state tribute. They substantially grafted themselves on to the Indian economies with little initial modification of the systems of production, accounting and distribution. It is notable that the Conquest of Mexico proceeded most rapidly where the tribute system was best developed, and that meant the Aztec 'empire'.

Cortés also instituted the *encomienda* system in Mexico as a way to reward his followers, and it persisted until the 'New Laws' of 1542 abolished legal Indian slavery in the Spanish dominions in the Western Hemisphere.^{xciii} A similar pattern developed a few years later in South America, where the seizure of the leading positions in the Inca Tawantinsuyu during an Incan civil war led to a conquest that was much more rapid than occurred anywhere else on the continent.

The encomienda system persisted for some decades past its legal end, and continued to be tolerated by the viceregal governments to various extents. Encomiendas remained hereditary for several generations and thus the shift away from this form of Indian slavery was gradual. The shift is discussed further in the section on Contact Era South America below.

What eventually took the place of the encomienda was the similar hacienda system. The land tracts remained large and heritable. The Indians who made up the bulk of the potential colonial labor force were free, in theory. In practice, the best available lands were taken from the Indians by the colonists as they had been during the days of the encomiendas. Many landless Indians had little recourse but to work on the haciendas, where brutal treatment and little or no pay remained facts of life into the 20th century. In Mexico, the haciendas were formally abolished only after the revolutions of 1910-11; in Bolivia, they persisted until the constitutional reforms of 1953.

Even today, many of the large landowners in Central America, some of them multinational corporations, continue some of the economic practices of the colonial system. As a result, Indians there who seek to live outside the system of exploitation have little choice but to live in relatively isolated communities on marginal lands. They are substantially unprotected, there being no formally recognized Indian reservations. In Guatemala and elsewhere, some American Indian communities have been repeatedly razed by the military and the people forced to move into guarded 'model villages'. Other communities have formally organized resistance and driven off troops or gone into hiding.^{xciv} Some, like the Lacandon Maya in Costa Rica, live in protected national forest regions.

South America

As happened in Mexico and Central America, the American Indian tribes and nations of South America did not all fall readily to the Spanish conquistadors of the 16th

century, contrary to the impression that many readers have received from generations of textbooks. The whole Inca people, to cite a prominent example, did not surrender as speedily as many accounts suggest.

Francisco Pizarro and his small army did skillfully manipulate an existing Inca civil war over the succession to the throne of the Sapa Inca in order to divide and conquer. However, the last independent Inca lords and generals did not surrender for forty years after Pizarro's arrival.

The Araucano Indians of Chile were even more successful at resistance to conquest. After initial successes in 1540-1541, Pedro de Valdiva's new capital city of Santiago was destroyed by the Araucano in July of the latter year. Valdiva's survivors were forced to retreat onto a small island where they were trapped for two years before being relieved.

Valdiva renewed his attack in 1547 with early successes. However, the Araucano quickly adapted Spanish military tactics and adopted the use of captured horses. Their great leader Lautaro organized their resistance to enslavement in Spanish mines and Valdiva was defeated and killed in battle in 1554. Lautaro's forces soon fought the Spaniards to a draw. After his death during an attack on Santiago in 1557, Lautaro's successors defended the bulk of their territory south of the Río Biobío (the southern half of coastal Chile) until the Chilean national army finally defeated them in the 19th century.

In the Amazon Basin, many of the tribes did not experience Contact until the 19th century, so well-adapted were they to an environment that proved inhospitable for a series of Spanish, Portuguese and French explorers and colonizers. Even in the late 20th century, some of the rainforest tribes still retain their lands and independence, despite the impacts of diseases and intense armed efforts to exterminate them or drive them from their homes.

Dr. David Suzuki, the Canadian environmental scientist, reported in 1989 that the American Indian population of the Amazon Basin has declined from disease, warfare and the effects of deforestation from an estimated 5 million people in 1500 A.D. to a current level of about 200,000.^{xcv} In 1976, W. Richard Comstock published the claim that over 90 Amazon tribes had been exterminated during the first half of the 20th century.^{xcvi} It is believed by Brazilian government Indian health workers that over half of the largest free Brazilian tribe, the Yanomamo, are presently incapacitated with diseases. It is unclear how much longer they and others can maintain some independence unless major changes occur in the economic development practices of the region.

The Spanish created several types of administrative systems over the three centuries of the Contact and Colonial periods in Latin America during their attempt to exploit and govern the American Indian peoples there.

Indians were the basis for the early Spanish colonial labor force. They were permanently forced into this role in the Andean and Central American highlands. In the coastal lowlands and the Caribbean, Spanish practices and diseases soon decimated the local Indian populace and enslaved Africans were brought as replacements, eventually becoming a majority of the population there.

To exploit Indian labor, the Spanish first instituted the *encomienda* system. These royal grants of lands and the native people thereon were made to prominent colonists and continued for the limited term of two to four generations of their heirs. The grantees were known as *encomenderos*, and they held near-total power over the lives of the Indians forced to work for them.

This power persisted even after a series of reforms was promulgated by the Spanish Crown in 1530 and 1542 (curtailment of Indian slavery) and 1549 (curtailment of the *encomenderos*' rights to tribute and labor). By the 1600s, the Spanish monarchs

further attempted reform by refusing to reissue encomienda privileges, instead placing the lands and Indian residents under the administrative control of an appointed royal officer, the corregidor. These men tended to commit the same kinds of abuses as the encomenderos, as their salaries were small and their often remote situations made mistreatment of the Indians hard for central authorities to check.^{xcvii}

Another modification of the encomienda system was attempted after the 16th century with the establishment of the haciendas. These haciendas were privately held landed estates not subject to Crown reassignment as under the encomienda system. The hacendado (landowner) was not given the right to Indian labor, but the provision of credit to the Indian workers made it possible for the hacendados to institute a form of debt peonage that effectively tied Indians to the land.

In time, colonial legislation enabled the haciendas to encroach on communally-owned Indian village lands that were near them.^{xcviii} The encroachment of haciendas onto the communal lands of the Indians provoked frequent local conflicts and occasional major rebellions. The hacienda system persisted into the 19th century, and still forms the social (if not legal) basis for many of the relationships between big landowners and Indian laborers in Latin America today.

Another early reform of the system of colonial administration occurred in the mid-1500s, as the Spaniards adopted the Incan administrative practice of a compulsory social labor scheme called the *mita*. The mita system as practiced by the Spanish developed mostly in mining, agriculture and manufacturing.

Under the colonial version of this system, Indians were initially obligated to provide labor to Spanish landowners on a periodic basis, regulated by a royal labor exchange. Supposedly, an Indian family was to provide a laborer for up to a year's service once in every seven years. However, demand for labor was so great that a person might be called every four or five years, or even more often in the area serving the silver mines at Potosí in modern Bolivia.^{xcix} The mita system lasted until the end of the 1700s, and

often existed alongside the encomienda system, with the two in competition for the available Indian workers.

The Spanish also instituted a number of colonial controls over Indians based on the activities of the Catholic missionary societies, notable among them the Franciscans, the Dominicans, and the Jesuits. One form of this control was the establishment of isolated Indian villages under Church supervision. These were known as reducciones, in that they were supposed to 'reduce' the Indians to civilized ways of life. The effect of the reducciones was to concentrate Indian labor for exploitation, but there was a legal benefit of this system for the Indians. On the reducciones, they communally owned their village lands, and their tenure was guaranteed by the Spanish Crown.^c

Another form of Church domination of Indians developed on the considerable land holdings of the various religious orders, where the clerics forced Indians to labor much as on the encomiendas or haciendas. The Catholic Church was the largest single landowner in the colonial period, its holdings amounting to about one-half the occupied land in Latin America according to Michael Olien.^{ci}

The Jesuits, in particular, flourished economically because of their use of Indian and African slave labor on plantations and in industries such as textiles, baking, rope-making, leather tanning and others. Their supervised reducciones were the residences of over 700,000 Indians in 1750. The order became so wealthy and powerful as a result that it came under attack from the colonies' secular economic interests.

The political influence of non-Church colonists in the court of Spain resulted in the Jesuits' legal expulsion from the Latin American viceroyalties in 1767. Olien states that the expulsion resulted in the loss of Church protection against private exploitation of the Indians. What followed was rapid demoralization of the Christianized natives of the reducciones, who either accepted work on the haciendas or abandoned the missions for life in the forests.^{cii}

Modern Indian History The 20th Century

Indian Nations in the United States

The 1980 U.S. Census reported more than 1.4 million people living in the United States who claimed American Indian ancestry. The 1990 Census shows this number has increased to about 1.9 million. The map on the following page shows the distribution of American Indian citizens according to the data from the 1990 Census.

The federal government presently recognizes 326 American Indian tribes in the United States. There are also some 75,000 Alaskan Natives (American Indians, Inuit and Aleut) in 242 federally recognized bands and villages.^{ciii} American Indian organizations additionally estimate that there are approximately some 200 unrecognized Indian communities in the U.S.

A 'recognized tribe' is a national community of Indian people interacting with the Federal government on a government-to-government basis. This intergovernmental relationship can be established in several ways. Most tribes' recognition derives from one or more of 371 ratified treaties negotiated with the U.S. before 1871. Others have gained recognition through administrative actions by the President or the Secretary of the Interior, the Cabinet-level official responsible for the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Other tribes have had to undertake decades-long efforts through the Bureau of Indian Affairs bureaucracy to document their historical existence and continued functioning as American Indian community groups with demonstrated powers of self-government. When frustrated by administrative inactivity, some American Indian communities have received tribal recognition from the courts or Congress. This latter route to recognition occasionally enables tribes to bypass the procedures of the Administrative Branch of the Federal government. However, some tribes, as



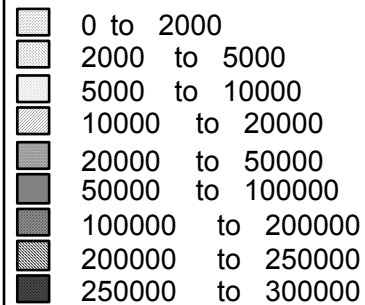
Oklahoma	252,420	Missouri	19,835
California	242,164	Nevada	19,637
Arizona	203,527	Louisiana	18,541
New Mexico	134,355	Alabama	16,506
Alaska	85,698	Virginia	15,282
Washington	81,483	New Jersey	14,970
North Carolina	80,155	Pennsylvania	14,733
Texas	65,877	Idaho	13,780
New York	62,651	Georgia	13,348
Michigan	55,638	Maryland	12,972
South Dakota	50,575	Arkansas	12,773
		Indiana	12,720
		Nebraska	12,410
		Massachusetts	12,241
		Tennessee	10,039

Minnesota	49,909
Montana	47,679
Wisconsin	39,387
Oregon	38,496
Florida	36,335
Colorado	27,776
North Dakota	25,917
Utah	24,283
Kansas	21,965
Illinois	21,836
Ohio	20,358

Wyoming	9,479
Mississippi	8,525
South Carolina	8,246
Iowa	7,349
Connecticut	6,654
Maine	5,998
Kentucky	5,769
Hawaii	5,099

Rhode Island	4,071
West Virginia	2,458
New Hampshire	2,134
Delaware	2,019
Vermont	1,696
Wash. D.C.	1,466

American Indian Population
1990 U.S. Census Data



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mentioned below, have had recognition of their national status unilaterally revoked by Congress and have had to fight for several decades to have recognition restored.

20th Century Consequences of the Assimilation Policy

Indians were actively recruited into the U.S. military during the First World War. This was the first new assimilative effort since the reservations, boarding schools and allotment system were established in the last decades of the 19th century. About 8,000 Indians served on active duty in WWI.

Many American Indians in the Army were assigned extremely hazardous duty as reconnaissance scouts by field commanders who thought that Indians were particularly gifted at this kind of work. This belief probably resulted from earlier services rendered to the Army by Indian scouts during the Indian Wars. Senator Charles Curtis (Kaw/Osage) later cited Indian service in WWI when he urged Congress to unilaterally extend United States citizenship via the Citizenship Act of 1924 to all Indians who were not already citizens.

Meanwhile, social and health conditions on the reservations continued to deteriorate in the first two decades of the 20th century. Despite the worsening effects of reservation poverty, the Indian birth rate had begun to climb in some tribes after 1890, when somewhat fewer than 250,000 Indians were counted in the U.S. census.^{civ}

Reservation conditions were the focus of non-Indian progressive reform groups in the 1910s and 1920s. Among these were the American Indian Defense Association and the Indian Rights Association. Emerging national Indian reform organizations like the Society of American Indians also criticized the BIA system of Indian administration. The concerns of the members of these organizations prompted a great deal of press and lobbying activity. Out of these activities came some serious research aimed at prodding Congress into reforming much of the assimilationist policy and the Bureau of Indian Affairs which administered it.^{cv}

By 1926, individuals' reports and group protests over conditions in 'Indian Country' provoked Congress to order a federal study. It was conducted by Lewis Meriam of the Brookings Institution and was issued in 1928 as **The Problem of Indian Administration**, commonly called the 'Meriam Report.'

The Meriam Report detailed the decline in Indian land ownership due to the Dawes Act. It noted increases in disease, alcoholism and crime, the disruption of traditional Indian social support systems, and a variety of administrative abuses by BIA and boarding school personnel. Several of the recommendations of the Report would later receive attention by the Roosevelt administration.^{cv} The Meriam Report is still used by policy-makers and scholars today as a baseline of information on 20th century reservation conditions.

1934-1945 The 'Indian New Deal'

Two major Indian policy reforms took place during the early years of Franklin Roosevelt's presidency. They were championed by Roosevelt's Commissioner of Indian Affairs, John Collier. In response to the findings of the Meriam Report and years of lobbying effort by Collier and other progressive reformers, Congress passed the Indian Reorganization Act and the Johnson-O'Malley Act in 1934.

The Indian Reorganization Act repealed the 1887 Dawes General Allotment Act. It was intended to be a major step to slow the erosion of both the Indian land base and the tribal traditions associated with the land. Communal land ownership by the tribes was once again made possible. The IRA also repealed the Curtis Act and recognized tribal governments once again. However, Collier won Congressional approval only for a model of tribal government based on business corporation practices, not for traditional tribal government forms. The IRA did provide financial and technical assistance to tribes which opted to use its provisions to reestablish tribal government.

The IRA required secret ballot election of representative councils. This innovation met resistance on some reservations where the traditional means of selecting representatives was public designation by family or clan groups, not competitive election contests between individuals.

In many tribes, traditional forms of social groupings and political authority were based on the rights of women and matrilineal clan structures. The male-oriented corporate model of governance promoted by the IRA reforms often served to disrupt Indian women's traditional political roles.^{cvii} Some tribes, for example the Puyallup and the Colville Confederation in the Northwest, the Yavapai of the Southwest and the Menominee in the Midwest, nonetheless maintained a strong political position for women in the IRA tribal councils.^{cviii}

Since the Indian Reorganization Act's provisions on resuming self-government were voluntary, traditionalist tribes were not compelled to adopt the IRA form of government. However, the BIA under Commissioner John Collier gave little help or cooperation to the traditionalist governments in most cases. He made a notable exception with the Pueblo communities of the Southwest, with whom he had been associated as a reform advocate in his younger years.

The Johnson-O'Malley Act was an important aspect of Collier's efforts at reform of the system of BIA boarding schools. It chiefly encouraged the enrollment of Indian students in public schools on or near reservations by providing contract funds to the states. States previously had turned most Indian students away from the public schools because their parents paid no state property taxes as a consequence of living on reserved lands under federal trust protection. The JOM, as it became known, did not require states to enroll Indian students in public schools, however.

As the JOM system developed, the BIA gradually lost coercive control in its contracts with the states. When the system expanded in the 1940s, public schools

became more interested in obtaining the Indian education funds than they were in actually educating the Indian students. JOM money often went into the general school fund, and the unique cultural and instructional needs of American Indian students frequently went largely unmet in the public school classrooms.^{cix}

However, in Bureau schools, Collier's regulatory reforms led to a short-lived emphasis on traditional culture (language and dance) and the implementation of progressive educational theories. Among his broader reforms, Collier also successfully lobbied Congress to end the national prohibition on Indian dance and public ceremonies.

Finally, many of the principal New Deal economic assistance programs also had significant impact on reservation communities, bringing national public works projects to some of the tribes. Roads, schools, and electrification were brought to agency towns and some of the larger reservation communities during the Roosevelt years. For this reason, Franklin Roosevelt was a popular president among American Indians. As one example of their appreciation, his likeness can be found even today carved upon the community totem pole on the Swinomish Reservation in Washington State.

1943-1968 Termination

In 1943, a Congressional study of the BIA reported poor administration of its responsibility to manage tribal resources for the benefit of Indians. Publicity which followed the study built Congressional and public sentiment against the idea of a continuing Federal role in the regulation and protection of Indian interests. This reaction, led by former President Herbert Hoover and several key Senators and Congressmen, culminated in 1953 with the passage of House Concurrent Resolution 108. This resolution declared that it would be the policy of the United States to 'terminate' its historic relationship with the Indian nations whose homeland the U.S. occupied.

The proponents of HCR 108 argued that they wished to end the guardian-trustee dependency relationship between the U.S. and the tribes. They claimed they wanted to see individual Indians 'given' equal rights with other citizens. 'Termination' in practice meant the removal of Federal protection of tribal resources against the hostile jurisdiction of state governments and the greed of private developers. It meant the end of the Federal government's recognition of its obligations under the treaties by which it originally acquired rights in Indian Country. With the treaties nullified, termination meant the end of the reserved rights of the original owners of the country, rights that Indians had retained in order to try to hold on to something of their own ways of life. Congress targeted scores of tribes for termination in legislation passed between 1954 and 1961.

In essence, HCR 108 and the subsequent termination acts unilaterally relieved the United States of its treaty guarantees to protect the rights embodied in the affected tribes' treaties. The policy of termination sought to end the existence of Indian tribes as distinct political and legal entities within the federal system and of tribal members as legally-defined 'Indians'. Tribes in California, Florida, New York and Texas were the first affected by the direct language contained in the resolution. Tribes in Oregon and Wisconsin were affected in 1954 when Congress passed a large-scale termination act which took effect in those states in 1956.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs interpreted and put the termination policy into regulations and administrative practices. Those tribes not specifically designated for termination by Congress were to be 'persuaded' to agree that they also no longer required Federal protection and services. Agents traveled around Indian Country trying to get tribes to sign away any claim to future Federal obligations under the terms of their treaties. The tactics used by the agents included intimidation, threats, and misrepresentation of 'opportunities' that awaited American Indians who would agree to relocate to the urban centers of the United States.

By the time the last termination bill was passed in 1961, 109 tribes and recognized bands had been terminated by acts of Congress or agreed to end the federal trust relationship established by their treaties.^{cx} These were mostly small Indian communities but there were also larger nations like the Klamath in Oregon and the Menominee of Wisconsin. These tribes and bands, together with those Indian groups not formally recognized by the Federal government (approximately 200 tribes and bands in all), made up nearly a third of all American Indian people in the U.S.^{cx}

Most tribes bitterly resisted the termination of the historic relationship between their tribal governments and the federal government. No matter how difficult tribal relations with the Federal government could be, experience had shown that dealing with the State and local governments and their voting majorities of European-American constituents was far worse. Federal protection of treaty rights had meant survival for most tribes, and they were reluctant to see that protection end.

For the terminated tribes, the consequences were those feared by many tribal members and leaders. In the years between 1954 and 1962, 12,000 Indians lost recognition of their tribal status, and over 2.5 million acres of formerly protected Indian trust lands fell into non-Indian hands. Education and health services that are a part of federal obligations to recognized tribes and their members were no longer available to these American Indians, for the Bureau of Indian Affairs claimed that they were no longer Indians!

Termination period policy involved more than severing the Federal-tribal trust relationship, however. Another aspect of the policy affected even those tribes which retained their legal and political identity. In 1954, Congress passed Public Law 83-280 authorizing six states not already affected by HCR 108 to assume powers of criminal and civil jurisdiction over the reservation communities within their borders. P.L. 280 also authorized other states to assume such jurisdiction at their option.

States which assumed some or most powers of jurisdiction under P.L. 280 effectively obtained Congress's 'plenary powers' to legislate for Indians. Professor Russel Barsh has said that the result, in legal and jurisdictional terms, was to make the affected tribes into municipalities of the states.^{cxii} What followed P.L. 280 were a series of Congressional acts that specifically targeted certain tribes for political dissolution, with tribal assets being distributed and the tribes' powers of self-government being declared ended without their consent.

All these practices, taken together with HCR 108 and P.L. 280, constituted termination, and the policy they embodied continued unmodified until 1968. In that year Congress amended P.L. 280 to require tribal consent to the transfer of jurisdiction to the states. Since then, various Congressional acts have begun to return authority to tribal governments. Some tribes that were 'terminated' have been reconstituted by specific restoration acts, as will be seen below. In 1988, Congress at last repealed HCR 108. It was superseded by Public Law 100-297, a wide-ranging act that seeks to strengthen political, educational and economic self-determination for American Indian people.

1965 to the 1990s Self-determination

Some reservation Indians benefited from the shift in federal anti-poverty policies which began under the Johnson administration. Office of Economic Opportunity programs in particular provided assistance which revitalized tribal governments, encouraged economic development on the reservations, and provided manpower to work on land resource projects.

Both Presidents Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon gave further significant assistance to the tribes when they proclaimed that the new official Indian policy of the Federal government was 'self-determination' of the future of tribal governments and Indian cultures. In messages to Congress and in Executive Orders, they abandoned termination as a policy at the Executive level. Following the Presidential lead and in

response to testimony from tribal leaders at numerous committee hearings, Congress slowly began returning control over Indian life to the tribal governments.

Tribal governments were recognized as having the power to establish their own community college systems in 1968. The Navajo became the first tribe to establish its own college in that same year. By 1990, there would be 27 accredited, Indian-controlled colleges in the U.S.

Indian testimony at Senate hearings in 1968 and 1969 documented for Congress the continuing failure of Federal Indian education policy. (The hearings were chaired first by Robert Kennedy and later by Edward Kennedy, who released the 'Kennedy Report' on the status of Indian education in 1969.) In response, Congress passed what is commonly called the Indian Education Act of 1972 (also originally referred to as Title IV, and known as Title V since 1988) and the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975 (also called Public Law 93-638). These Acts set up mechanisms through which Indian people on and off the reservations could begin to exercise some control over the education of their children. P.L. 638 also returned some powers to the tribes concerning the management of their remaining lands.

In 1988, Congress amended these acts with the passage of Public Law 100-297, which further strengthened the mechanisms of educational self-determination and reduced the power of the Bureau of Indian Affairs over the finance and curricula of tribally-controlled schools.

Court decisions and Executive Orders during this period have tended to strengthen the status of tribal governments, although not all the recent executive and judicial actions have favored tribal rights. Examples of positive Executive Orders include those by President Nixon which returned sacred lands to the peoples of Taos Pueblo and the Yakima Nation. These sites had been taken decades earlier for use by the Forest Service and the Army.

Recently, some U.S. District courts in the Pacific Northwest and the Great Lakes region have applied a standard from international law when interpreting tribal treaty language. These courts have followed a rule requiring an attempt to interpret treaty terms in the manner in which the Indian parties would have understood them. As a result, Indian economic interests and management rights to fishing, hunting, and water resources have been increasingly recognized and protected. A notable example of this occurred in the court decisions in *U.S. v. Washington*, the famous 'Boldt decision' case decided in stages between 1973 and 1979. The final rulings in this case recognized and protected some key Indian treaty fishing rights in the Northwest.

As mentioned above, not all aspects of the Indian-Federal relationship have supported American Indian rights in this most recent policy period. Although the termination policy was abandoned by President Nixon in 1972 and repealed by the terms of Public Law 100-297 in 1988, many tribes are still struggling to regain the tribal status and reservation lands lost during the termination period.

Some tribes have succeeded in re-establishing tribal status after many years and dollars spent in legal battles. Among these are the Oregon tribes of the Klamath, the Siletz Confederation, the Grand Ronde Confederation, and the Cow Creek Band of the Lower Umpqua. The Menominee in Wisconsin also won restoration of their tribal status. Other tribes have yet to reverse their termination.

State civil and police jurisdiction over those reservation lands affected by Public Law 83-280 still persists on some reservations, but may eventually be returned to the affected tribes under the terms of P. L. 100-297. There is much uncertainty over how this will work out. An important court case decided in Washington State in 1978 (*Oliphant v. Suquamish Tribe*) has denied tribal police jurisdiction over non-Indians on the reservations. Other Washington State cases in the early 1980s upheld the State's tax jurisdiction over sales of cigarettes and liquor by tribal business enterprises, thus impairing some aspects of Indian economic development.

In 1968, Congress passed the Indian Civil Rights Act. The ICRA extends most Bill of Rights protections to individual Indians in relation to their tribal governments. These externally-imposed constraints interfere with some internal tribal traditions of self-rule. This Act also initially limited the sentences which tribal courts could impose (even for serious crimes such as murder, rape and arson) to a maximum of six months imprisonment or a \$500 fine.^{cxiii} These unworkably low limits on tribal court power were amended in 1986 to allow tribal judges to impose fines of up to \$5,000 or one year in jail.^{cxiv}

Urban Indians, many of whom are not officially enrolled as tribal members, have had a hard struggle during this most recent period for social and legal recognition. Much of this struggle involves defining the urban Indian 'place' in both Indian and non-Indian society. Non-Indians as well as urban and reservation Indians are involved in this effort. All have tried to influence a definition appropriate to the unique status of Indians living outside of reservations and tribal government. Since interests and perspectives vary widely among these groups, urban Indians often find themselves politically and socially isolated and frequently divided in opinion.

American Indian population continues to recover from the low point reached around the turn of the 20th century. The majority of the Indian population of the United States today is urban, and has been so since the late 1970s.^{cxv} The urban Indian populace has increased faster than that in rural/reservation areas ever since the dislocations of World War II and the termination era.

The majority of urban Indian people are poor and many frequently move within and among cities looking for better housing or work. Many also return to the reservations quite often in order to maintain family connections or to take a break from the demands of urban life. As a result of poverty and high mobility among the people, many urban Indian communities struggle to maintain Indian-run social networks and programs and a

coherent structure of community leadership. While there may be neighborhoods in some cities with concentrations of Indians, most urban Indians are dispersed and live in relative isolation from each other on a day-to-day basis. One consequence has been that American Indian communities in most urban centers have historically been relatively 'invisible' to the larger community and out of regular participation in the centers of civic power.

To overcome the effects of centuries of political abuse and neglect, American Indian cultural and political activists in the 1970s banded together in organizations that went beyond tribal ties to attain regional or national status. Some of the more militant activists staged civil rights-type protest marches, such as the 1972 cross-country Trail of Broken Treaties Caravan or the Longest Walk march from San Francisco to Washington, D.C. in 1978.

Other Indian activists seized surplus Federal land under the terms of treaties and Federal law. These leaders intended to use the lands for urban Indian cultural centers. This was attempted at the abandoned Alcatraz Island federal prison in San Francisco Bay in 1969-70. Another effort was successfully carried out in Seattle in 1970 with the establishment of the Daybreak Star Cultural Center on land formerly occupied by the U.S. military.

American Indian militancy sometimes led to successful negotiation of long-standing problems. Sometimes, Indian activists merely got headlines for a short while. In 1972, a caravan of 'Trail of Broken Treaties' marchers assembled in Washington, D.C. at the headquarters of the BIA. Tribal members from across the United States presented the Bureau of Indian Affairs with a list of tribal issues called the 'Twenty Points.' The caravan members eventually seized control of the headquarters building after BIA police attempted to forcibly eject them while their leaders were arranging meetings with BIA officials.^{CXvi} Little legislative or policy action resulted over the 'Twenty Points', but the

building incident gave the news media an opportunity to broadcast sensationalized images of militant American Indians.

Militancy brought armed confrontation at Wounded Knee, South Dakota in 1973, where Indians held off a 71-day siege by FBI, BIA and tribal police. Lakota traditionalists had organized to protest a reservation government they charged was corrupt and unrepresentative. American Indian Movement leaders in the Wounded Knee compound were arrested after ending the standoff by negotiating to have the traditionalists' complaints heard.

In Washington State, Puyallup tribal police in the mid-1970s seized control of an old Indian Health Service facility which had been built on former reservation land taken from the tribe without compensation. The IHS had turned the building over to the State for use as a juvenile detention facility, and the State was about to sell the property as surplus to private developers. The tribal police held off State troopers and county officials without bloodshed while the Puyallup Tribal Council negotiated with State authorities. The tribe's right to the building and land was eventually recognized. The building now houses the tribal administration and the tribal high school.

Indian activism persists in the 1990s as American Indian people continue to define their unique place in U.S. society. The growth of American Indian populations since the low point of the late 19th century has revitalized some reservation communities. American Indians have also become increasingly urban, as noted above. American Indians are becoming increasingly active and sophisticated in politics at the local and state levels, winning election to seats in both state and national legislatures, local school boards, and even statewide executive office. Examples include Ben Nighthorse Campbell, a Cheyenne from Colorado who served several terms in the House of Representatives, then was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1992. Larry Echo Hawk, a Pawnee lawyer, was elected Attorney General for the state of Idaho in 1990.^{cxvii}

As a result of legislation passed in the 1970s and 1980s, many local public school boards are beginning to interact with tribes and Indian parent groups in cooperative ways never before seen. Real Indian community influence over educational decisions is becoming apparent in some public school districts. There is also much effort going into realizing the concept of 'self-determination' in Indian education. Many reservation communities have established tribally-controlled school systems to meet the distinctive needs of their children.

American Indians in the 20th Century have acted to regain control of their own future while retaining the heritage of their past. The tribes have consistently sought to move from political subordination to full intergovernmental partnership in the federal system. However, the path to this future remains treacherous. Sharon O'Brien reminds us of one ever-present peril of contemporary American Indian life in the United States:

The existence of the plenary doctrine [of total Congressional power over Indian affairs] remains incompatible with any meaningful exercise of tribal self-sufficiency. To date, the doctrine has not been limited in any significant manner, nor have the courts ever found any statute dealing with the Indians to be unconstitutional or beyond the scope of the federal government's authority. Consequently, the Indian nations live under the constant threat of having their treaties abrogated, their governing powers extinguished, and their lands confiscated.^{cxviii}

Indian Nations in Canada

It was noted in the earlier section on Indian-Canadian relations that the processes of treaty negotiations and the establishment of reserves continued there into the 20th century, coming to a formal end only in 1923. The essentially assimilationist drive of Canadian policy with respect to the Indian nations within its borders continued long past the end of the treaty-making period. In recent decades Canadian policy has declared a formal shift toward Indian self-determination, as is also the case in the United States.

In the decades after 1910, various tribes in Canada, notably in British Columbia, began attempting to master and use the legal and social institutions of the dominant culture in order to redress grievances over land claims and unfulfilled treaty terms.^{cxix} Early petitions and attempts by the bands to get their full rights under the treaties were generally frustrated by a strategy local, provincial and federal governments followed of each denying it had power or jurisdiction over the land issues involved.

In 1951, the Canadian Parliament substantially revised the Indian Act, extending the right to vote in federal elections to 'status' Indians without any loss of tribal rights. To vote in provincial elections, however, Indians were still required to give up their 'Indian status'. Most other Canadian laws were also applied to 'status' Indians under this new Indian Act.^{cxx}

Increasing Indian and non-Indian protest over the paternalistic nature of Canadian Indian policy led to pressures for reform in 1969. One proposal, offered by the national minister of Indian Affairs Jean Chretien and usually known as the 'White Paper', amounted to termination in a form similar to that attempted earlier in the United States. Canadian Indians overwhelmingly opposed the transfer of the conduct of Indian affairs to the provinces and the loss of protected trust status for their lands, knowing that this meant a final assault on their remaining rights and traditions as distinct peoples.^{cxxi}

Instead, a series of reforms was instituted over several years. In 1969, Department of Indian Affairs agents were removed from the reservations and their authority to interfere with Indian culture curtailed by means of amendments to law and department regulations. In 1974, the national government established an Office of Native Claims to hear and decide cases involving treaty rights abuses and land issues between the band governments and those of the provinces and nation.^{cxxii}

By the mid-1980s, the 583 recognized Canadian Indian bands held about 10,000 square miles of trust territory, much of it in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia. Major land claims cases or negotiations are pending covering parts of

northern Quebec and Labrador, much of the Northwest Territories, and the Yukon Territory.^{cxxiii}

In 1992, Canada and the Inuit peoples living in the Northwest Territories negotiated an historic agreement over Inuit land claims. The right of the Inuit to partial self-government and territorial status for a portion of their homelands was recognized in the agreement which created the new territory of Nunavut. Formed out of the northern two-thirds of the old Northwest Territories, Nunavut encompasses 770,000 square miles of land.

The Inuit also retained rights to hunt, fish and trap throughout their former home range, along with mineral development rights on an additional 14,000 square miles outside the new territory. In exchange for this recognition and status within the Canadian federal system, the Inuit surrendered claims to approximately 80 percent of their original territories.^{cxxiv} This development in Native-Canadian relations not only marks a major change in Canadian policy, but is remarkable in that Nunavut is now the largest territory in the world to be governed by Native people.

According to the Canadian demographic data for 1988 published by the **Encyclopædia Britannica**, the Indian and Inuit population amounted to 1.7% of the nation's total, or about 440,000 persons. This number refers only to 'status' Indians; the total American Indian and Inuit ethnic population of Canada is actually closer to 892,00, or about 3.4% of the country's population.^{cxxv} Only about 27,000 of Canada's native people are Inuit (about 17,000 Inuit live in the new territory of Nunavut). Some 70% of Indians and Inuit in Canada are rural residents, and Canada's native population is not urbanizing at as rapid a rate as is the case in the United States.

The relatively low European-American population of Canada, much of which lives within 100 miles of the border with the United States, left the more northerly bands comparatively little disturbed in their ways of life until around World War II.

Development efforts in the Canadian Arctic and Sub-Arctic regions of northern Labrador, Quebec and the Northwest and Yukon territories over the past forty years have led the bands of Inuit, Naskapis, Montagnais, Crees, Chippewyans, Métis, and the various Athabaskan bands of the affected regions to organize associations and legal forces to try to win recognition and protection for the fragile natural resources on which they each depend.

Development has seldom resulted in any enduring prosperity for the bands, and they have learned to be justifiably suspicious of any new economic proposals. Among the greatest challenges they face is the gigantic James Bay hydroelectric project in northern Quebec. The first phase of this project, built during the 1980s, has drowned many hundreds of thousands of square miles of hunting territory used by the Montagnais, Naskapi and Inuit peoples on the eastern side of Hudson's Bay.

This issue, along with growing concerns over the growing impact of pollution on the reserves and on lands claimed by the bands, is leading to greater organizational efforts and cooperation among American Indian and Inuit people in Canada. They, like their relatives in the United States and the Latin American nations, are becoming more effective in using modern organizing, communications and political techniques to defend and preserve their traditional values and ways of life.^{cxxvi}

Indian Nations in Mexico and Central America

The 20th century has been a time of continuing struggle for American Indians in the nations of Central America. The principal trends of land losses and economic exploitation of Indians as a source of labor are the same as in the colonial and early nationalistic periods of the preceding centuries.

New factors in the form of foreign (often U.S.) government and corporate activities have complicated the lives of Indians in the region. Examples are the activities of the fruit and oil industries and the building of the Panama Canal by first the French and then

the United States governments. These outside interests have frequently resorted to military interventions against Indian communities in order to meet their economic and political objectives.

Such modern intrusions have exacerbated many of the long-term struggles of Indian tribes in Central America. The tribes and villages there continue, as they have since the 16th century, to reassert their traditional social and political independence. In their efforts to end subordination, they combat 20th century versions of the policies of oppression that began with the Spanish Conquest of their homelands. Indians engaged in armed struggle throughout the 1980s and presently are negotiating for land rights and self-determination in Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, and Nicaragua. The most powerful militant tribes in the region are the Maya, Lenca, Miskito, Sumo, and Rama.

The military and political efforts of these peoples are often misrepresented by the national governments in Central America and by the U.S. government and press. The Indian guerrillas are usually called 'communists' or 'leftists' in news reports and government statements. The fact that they are American Indians continuing a long process of patriotic cultural defense has been generally omitted from the media accounts of the fighting and the political negotiations.

The Indians of Central America have been the chief targets of the notorious right-wing 'death squads' and the disguised military units that have attacked villagers and caused 'disappearances' of Indian community leaders and members. Despite repression, Central American Indians and outside social rights groups have drawn attention to the genocide in the region. Increasingly, their views have been published in special interest news sources since the struggle intensified in the early 1980s. Infrequently, the mainstream media have paid some attention to their story.

According to information compiled by Melanie Counce and William Davidson of Louisiana State University in the early 1980s, there were 2.5 million Indians, mostly

Maya groups, living in Guatemala.^{cxxvii} The Caribbean coastal nation of Belize was estimated to have 23,500 Indians, mostly concentrated in the northern and southern extremities of the country. Adequate figures for El Salvador were not available, but Counce and Davidson estimated some 5,000 Lenca lived along the northeastern border and an undetermined number of Pipil lived in scattered areas in the western half of the nation. Honduras was estimated to have an Indian population of 157,000, mostly Lenca and Tol concentrated in two major regions.

There were some 9,000 refugee Miskito Indians from Nicaragua living in camps on the Honduras side of the Nicaraguan border in 1982.^{cxxviii} Nicaragua's Indian population was thought to be about 76,000, mostly Miskito and Sumo. Costa Rica, which saw a rise in violence against Indian villagers in mid-decade but managed to forestall open warfare, had a population of 11,200 Indians, principally Guetar and Boruca. Finally, Counce and Davidson reported 93,100 Indians in Panama, mostly Guaymi on the northwest coast and Cuna and Chocó peoples on the northeast coast and in the Darien region.

More recent population data for Central America's native population was gathered in the early 1990s by Enrique Mayer and Elio Masferrer.^{cxxix} Their findings (reported to the nearest thousand), along with the data for Mexico, appear in the table below:

Nation	Indian Population	Indian %age
Belize	15,000	9.1
Costa Rica	19,000	0.6
El Salvador	500,000	10.0
Guatemala	5,423,000	60.3
Honduras	168,000	3.4
Mexico	10,537,000	12.4
Nicaragua	66,000	1.7
Panama	194,000	8.0

In Mexico, American Indians still have no officially recognized sovereignty and thus lack any protection for their homelands. A practice of regarding them as lower in social status than the mestizo majority and the Caucasian minority is prevalent. While Mexican Indians possess equality under Mexican law, many Indians there continue to claim that they are treated worse than other citizens and that many officials fail to diligently respond to offenses against their persons and property.

Indian Nations in South America

American Indian people in contemporary South America are the largest segment of the population in the highland regions of Ecuador and Peru. Indians are a large majority of the population in Bolivia.^{cxxx} There are other regions of South America that have no remaining Indian population; Uruguay has no surviving Indians at all. The contemporary Indian population of the South American nations, as given to the nearest thousand by Mayer and Masferrer, appears in the table below.^{cxxx}

Nation	Indian Population	Indian %age
Argentina	477,000	1.5
Bolivia	4,985,000	71.2
Brazil	325,000	0.2
Chile	767,000	5.9
Colombia	708,000	2.2
Ecuador	3,753,000	37.5
French Guyana	1,000	1.2
Guyana	29,000	3.9
Paraguay	101,000	2.5
Peru	8,097,000	38.6
Surinam	11,000	2.9
Uruguay	0	0.0

Venezuela	290,000	1.5
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Even where Indians are numerous in South America, they must continue to struggle to hold on to a modicum of autonomy over their own lives. In Bolivia, where the Indian majority has imposed constitutional reforms twice in this century, much of the political power is exercised on a day-to-day basis by the non-Indian and mestizo minority. In Peru, which has a large minority of Indians, many have joined the anti-government struggle of the Sendero Luminoso group out of frustration with the way the national government ignores the needs of the villages.

Significant land areas are still held by the small hunting/gathering bands in the more remote regions of the Amazon Basin. However, their lands have been taken rapidly in recent decades as the resources there attract tens of thousands of non-Indian miners and farmers into the rainforests. According to recent news reports and environmental studies, the Brazilian rain forest is currently losing an area equal to that of Great Britain (120,000 square kilometers) every year due to logging and farming activities.

W. Richard Comstock has published the fact that over 90 tribes became extinct in Brazil in the first half of the 20th century alone.^{cxxxii} Dale Kietzman's 1966-67 study of surviving tribal groups in Brazil showed some 174 American Indian tribes and bands in existence there at that time.^{cxxxiii} A comparison of Comstock's and Kietzman's figures suggests a loss of about a third in the number of American Indian social groups in Brazil during the first part of the 20th century.

A reading of Kietzman's information about the tribal groups and villages in the 1960s also reveals the great variability in the situations of the Indian people in Brazil. Many of the bands on his list contained under 100 members, and some were able to survive as a group only by residing in government-sponsored 'shelter' ('tôldos') sites. Kietzman also noted that a number of tribes, such as the Pankararú, Kambiwá, and

Dioré, were under genocidal pressures from non-Indians. He listed several (among them the Guajá) that were in open hostilities with other Indian bands over control of remaining hunting lands. The long-range prospect for most of the smaller groups of Indians in the Amazon is bleak, and even the largest, the Yanomamo, is at risk of extinction as mentioned earlier.

To meet the challenge of survival under current conditions, national-level Indian groups have formed in most of the countries in South America. Since 1989, they have met with indigenous leaders from around the world in annual international conferences held in Quito, Ecuador. They have sent delegations to the major international and regional conferences concerned with the environment and economic development, such as the 'Earth Summit' held in Brazil in 1992.

They have not always been well received, if received at all; they were excluded from the 'Earth Summit' and held a parallel conference (attended by then-Senator Al Gore) known as the 'Earth Parliament'. A 1990 meeting of Ecuadorian Indian leaders (the CONAIE group) with the government was held to seek redress of land and political problems; following the meeting, many of the native leaders were arrested or killed by paramilitary groups.^{cxxxiv}

Indian Nations Join the Modern International Community

American Indian nations in the United States and other countries of the Western Hemisphere took steps to achieve international recognition during the 1920s-1940s and again beginning in the 1970s. Their efforts focused on gaining entry into the League of Nations and its successor, the United Nations. The impetus for those efforts was the reluctance or outright refusal of the European-American governments to fully honor the terms of the hundreds of treaties they had signed with the tribal governments.

Many tribes came to believe that only in international forums would they be able to expose the systematic nature of the European-American governments' failure to respect the treaties and the government-to-government relationships they embody. Tribal

leaders hoped that international support for the treaties might offset the relatively weak political position of the tribes within most of the governmental systems of the Western Hemisphere. However, their access to the forums of the League of Nations and the United Nations was blocked by the power and interests of the Western governments, which turned back American Indian overtures for entry in 1926 and again in 1947.^{CXXXV}

Growing Indian sophistication in documenting the abuses of tribal sovereignty and treaty rights, and in using the media to present that information to public opinion around the world, led to initial successes in 1977. The United Nations took two important actions that year which began the process of extending recognition to tribal governments.

On February 10th, the U.N. granted Non-Governmental Organization membership status (non-voting, but with the right to have speaking delegates at the U.N.) to the International Indian Treaty Council. The International Indian Treaty Council had been formed by 97 Indian Nations at an international conference held in June 1974 on the Standing Rock Reservation. The tribes' Declaration of Continuing Independence charged the IITC with the task of applying for U.N. representation on their behalf.

In September 1977, the United Nations' International Non-Governmental Organizations Conference on Discrimination Against Indigenous Populations in the Americas was held in Geneva. The International Indian Treaty Council sent over 100 delegates from 60 tribes in 15 American nations to present testimony on human rights abuses.

The IITC documentation revealed violations of treaty rights, economic and resource exploitation on the reservations. Indian lawyers and nurses presented documentation of genocide in the form of court-ordered adoptive placement of Indian children in non-Indian homes and the use of involuntary sterilization on Indian women in the United States and elsewhere.^{CXXXVI} The outcome of the Geneva conference was a set of U.N. Resolutions on the international status of American Indian nations,

scheduled for release in 1990. (As of 1992, the full set of Resolutions had not been released.)

During the 1980s, Indian tribes and organizations became increasingly active in their efforts to call attention to economic, political, military and environmental abuses in the Americas that threaten the intimate and pervasive connections of Indian peoples with their lands. In 1984, national-level Indian tribal organizations from Colombia, Brazil, Peru, Ecuador and Bolivia created an international representative body known as COICA, the Coordinating Body for Indigenous Peoples of the Amazon Basin.

COICA has since held a number of international conferences to develop coordinated plans for American Indian action on common social, political, economic and environmental concerns. They have developed proposals aimed at reversing the deforestation of the Amazon Basin and at ending attacks on traditional Indian communities by settlers immigrating into the forests in search of farm lands and gold.

Beginning in 1989, over 100 American Indian tribes and organizations sent delegates to annual international conferences in Quito, Ecuador. The Quito Conferences enable the tribes and organizations to develop strong networking ties and to present other nations with coherent statements of Indian policy on issues concerning Indian nations' sovereignty, treaty and civil rights, land and natural resource rights, educational needs and cultural matters.

The 1990 Quito Conference focused on the planned observances in many nations of the 500th anniversary of the accidental arrival of Christopher Columbus in the Americas. Conference delegates noted with concern that many of the observances called for celebrations of the resulting Conquest and colonization of the hemisphere. The delegates uniformly objected to the perpetuation of misleading information about American Indian cultures and the impact of colonization in such celebrations.

They created a network of Indian organizations to examine celebration plans in communities throughout the world and to publicly challenge any inaccuracies and

distortions that were found. This network was notably successful in most countries and the result was a series of newspaper and magazine articles, books, videos, and observances that were much better balanced and more respectful of the native point of view of the Quincentenary than was earlier expected.

ECONOMICS

Pre-Contact American Indian Economies

The incredibly diverse environments of the Americas have been homes to Indian and Inuit peoples for thousands of years. In that time, the different cultures have amassed a very detailed understanding of the unique characteristics and resources of each place in which they have lived. This knowledge, when acted upon for the satisfaction of human material needs, led the tribes to develop an equally diverse range of techniques for extracting and transforming resources into economic goods. The result was a great profusion and variation among the goods. The cultures usually maintained a fairly high level of freedom to travel across tribal boundaries, so trade consequently developed in order to increase general access to goods available in one region but scarce in another.^{cxxxvii} One scholar who extensively studied the evidence of pre-Contact American Indian trade has asserted that trade goods from other tribes have turned up among all known North American native peoples except the extremely isolated Polar Inuit of northwestern Greenland.^{cxxxviii}

The literature on pre-Contact American Indian economies and trade is extensive and rather technical. Most of the evidence available is in the form of analyses by archaeologists of trade good materials and production styles that allow reasonably good inferences to be drawn about the sources of the items found in excavations.^{cxxxix} As a result of the nature of the evidence, it is possible here to offer only a few general statements about the major early centers of production and the major trade areas and routes. This subject can be vastly extended by student and teacher research into the

economic activities and trade relationships of particular cultures or into particular items of trade such as pottery, textiles, metalwork or stone objects.

The comments below owe a great deal to the summarizing works of Harold Driver, Philip Kopper and Carl Waldman. A much greater depth of detail can be found by interested teachers in the available volumes of the Smithsonian Institution's incomplete **Handbook of North American Indians** and the earlier **Handbook of South American Indians**.

In the Arctic, major trade items that can be identified in the archaeological record throughout the region are copper and soapstone goods produced by the Inuit of the Coppermine River in the central region of Canada's northern coast. Copper sheets and plates in the form of decorated, keystone-shaped 'coppers' were traded as far south as The Dalles, the great trade center on the Columbia River.^{cxl} Wood was traded northward from the south, especially along river systems and the coasts.

The Inuit living on the Bering Sea and the Chukchi Sea traded with their Siberian relatives at annual trade fairs at least as long ago as 1000 B.C. Major goods from North America included furs, ivory, copper and jadeite items, oil, ropes and nets. The Siberian Inuit sent east their local products and, in more recent times, trade goods from European sources. Thus, the American Inuit acquired from Asia small numbers of iron knives and kettles, glass beads, as well as liquor and tobacco.^{cxli} These items and others became more common in the Arctic with the visits of Europeans and European-Americans aboard ships and, later, aircraft. In return, the Inuit offered these newcomers food, oil, carvings of soapstone and walrus ivory, their specialized Arctic clothing, and guide services.

The vast reaches of the Sub-Arctic environmental zone stretch from Labrador in the east to the interior of Alaska in the west. East of Hudson's Bay, it lies roughly

between 50° and 60° of latitude. West of the Bay, its northern limit climbs from about 63° in the Northwest Territories to nearly 68° in Alaska, while its southern limit extends down to approximately 47° in central Quebec and lies between 49° and 55° of latitude across most of the rest of Canada.

The short growing season in this immense region generally does not support agriculture; it also tends to limit the variety of gatherable plant foods. The traditional subsistence economy of the region rests on fishing, birding (including egg gathering on the extensive northern nesting grounds), and hunting.

Increasingly important in post-Contact times was the southward trade of the products of these activities, most particularly meat and furs. Trapping of fur-bearing animals has been an important component of the region's economy since the 17th century, although it has declined considerably in the 20th century due to thinning of animal stocks in most areas.

In modern times, some tribal members have worked as hunting and fishing guides to vacationing European-Americans. Timber harvesting has employed others. Certain bands have developed tribal businesses based on these activities. However, for most, the subsistence economy remains the major one for American Indians in the region.

The major tribal groups in the eastern and central parts of the Sub-Arctic are the Algonquin-speaking Montagnais, Naskapi, Cree, and Ojibwe, as well as the Athabaskan-speaking Chippewyan. Further west, there are a greater variety of smaller bands mostly speaking Athabaskan languages.

In the Pacific Northwest, the very ancient Old Cordilleran culture and its offshoots specialized for thousands of years in the production of highly valued obsidian and agate knives, lance points and arrowheads based on the rich volcanic resources in the area. The production of these items reached a high degree of technical sophistication and

amounted to a large volume of trade goods, which were dispersed far to the north, south and east.

Another major trade product of the Northwest came from Vancouver Island, where the western coastal waters provided long, thin, incisor-shaped white dentalium shells. These were highly prized from California to the Dakotas and north to the Yukon. They served as a form of money as well as a valued ornamental item. The many varieties of preserved salmon from the Northwest's rivers were appreciated with a connoisseur's taste within the region and enjoyed by tribes eastward out to the buffalo country.^{cxlii}

Trade routes in the coastal portion of the Northwest ran along the coast and inland on the rivers. Water transport in ocean-going cedar canoes and smaller, 'shovel-nosed' river craft predominated. A great trading center linking the coastal tribes to those inland on the Columbia Plateau was located at The Dalles on the Columbia River. Foot (and, after about 1730, horse) routes crossed the lower mountain passes through both the Cascades and the Rockies to link the villages of the Northwest Coast to the tribes of the Plateau Great Basin, and western Plains.^{cxliii}

The vast region of the Southwest, from eastern California to Texas, encompasses several major environmental regions whose resource diversity promoted a very extensive development of trade. These include Upper and Lower (Baja) California, the Great Basin, and the Desert region of Arizona, New Mexico, western and southern Texas and northern Mexico.

Shell products, including fishhooks and beads from the highly-prized abalone and olivella species, were made by the tribes around the Los Angeles area and the Gulf of California. The Central Valley of California produced acorn flour as a major staple and trade item.

Fine textiles, cast copper ornaments, brilliantly-colored macaw feathers and even live macaws came north from southern Mexico as major southern articles of trade; domesticated turkeys and corn had been traded north from Mexico earlier.

From the northern and eastern margins of the area, the Ute, Apache Navajo and Kiowa brought meat, hides, furs, and sinew and rawhide cordage into the Southwest trade system.

The Pueblo peoples and their ancestors the Mogollon, Hohokam and Anasazi put into the system highly valued turquoise from the local mines, pottery, corn and cotton textiles, and provided warehouses and other 'middleman' services in the trade system.^{cxliv} Similar contributions to the regional economy were also provided by the tribes of northern Mexico, reflecting local resources and their positions on the trade network.^{cxlv}

The major routes in the western part of this region included two west-east trails. One ran from the northern end of the Gulf of California along the Gila River to the old Hohokam community near modern Phoenix, eastward along the Salt River, then northeastward to the northern Pueblos near Santa Fe. The second ran from the Los Angeles area through the Mojave tribe's territory in the desert that bears their name and then northeast along the Colorado River toward the Havasupai and the Hopi, then beyond to the southern tribes of the Great Basin.^{cxlvi}

The major north-south path through the region was a part of a very lengthy trade thoroughfare that is variously called the Old North Trail or the Turquoise Road. One branch ran along the route presently used by Mexico's federal Highway 15 from near modern Guadalajara northward along the western coast of the Mexican mainland.^{cxlvii} An extension crossed the mountains eastward from Guadalajara to the ancient capitols of Tula and Teotihuacan, then into the populous Valley of Mexico. Another branch ran from these cities along the eastern flank of the Sierra Madre mountains, roughly taking the route presently used by Mexico's Highway 45.^{cxlviii}

In the north of Mexico, the Trail curved slightly northeast following the local river courses; it passed through what are now the towns of Nogales and Tucson before heading northeast toward the Zuni territory in western New Mexico, near the hub of the region. It passed through the Four Corners area northward past present-day Rock Springs, Colorado, and thus along the eastern edge of the Rocky Mountain range.

From Colorado, the Old North Trail ran north along the eastern edge of the Rockies through Wyoming, Montana and western Alberta. It terminated in branches that connected to the Liard River, a tributary of the northward-flowing McKenzie River, and to the Peace River, which leads to Lake Athabaska in the northern parts of Alberta and Saskatchewan.

The Turquoise Road was the major north-south overland trade route of North America for many centuries. The Siksika ('Blackfeet') of southern Alberta and northern Montana tell stories of their warrior-merchants traveling south to Mexico on this path, being gone on the journey for as much as two or three years.^{cxlix}

To the east of the Turquoise Road, overland routes connected the Santa Fe-area trading pueblos on the Pecos River with the Canadian River and Red River basins, and thence out onto the southern Plains. Another, the famed Santa Fe Trail, ran northeast to the Missouri River. Goods from the western trade connections of the Pueblos were added to regional products (obsidian, piñon nuts, salt). All these were traded east to the Kiowa and Apache, who moved the goods into Texas, Oklahoma and Kansas.^{cl} From these latter tribes, Choctaw and Chickasaw traders subsequently moved western and Mexican goods as far east as Florida, and also northward into Kansas where the Pawnee were trading partners.^{cli}

The Great Plains extended from the mid-latitudes of the Canadian provinces of Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba southward between the eastern slopes of the Rocky Mountains and near to the Great Lakes-Mississippi axis to the northeastern third

of Texas. Within this vast region, tribal cultures ranged on an economic continuum between those groups which were more-or-less nomadic hunters and those which mainly lived as farmers along the river margins.

The diversity of products between hunters and agriculturalists drove the trading economy of the region prior to Contact and the introduction of European trade in the 17th through 19th centuries. Many tribes produced both kinds of products, but the specialization of others led to exchanges of dried meats, fats, prairie turnips and other dry-land produce, hides and finished hide products like clothing and lodge coverings for many varieties of corn, beans, squashes and tobacco.^{clii} After Contact and the development of European trade, the agriculturalist villages (which got European goods first) added blankets, guns, glass beads, metal tools and kettles and other industrial manufactures to their trade with the hunters.^{cliii}

The hunting tribes, in turn, had better access to the horses which were traded north from Mexico after about 1690. Horses became a major item of intertribal trade (and raiding); they were also sold to European-Americans who entered the region in increasing numbers during the 19th century. The effects of the introduction of the horse to the Plains tribes went well beyond the addition of an item to the trade, however. The mobility horses afforded led to a cultural revolution that pervaded much of Plains material and social life; some tribes even largely abandoned settled agricultural life due to the improved ease and productivity of hunting and traveling on horseback.

The fur trade in buffalo robes accelerated as European-American demand rose. The increased productivity and trade wealth of successful horseback hunters led to a corresponding need for more help in dressing the hides for trade. Since women usually did the work of hide dressing, successful hunters became increasingly polygamous, supporting more and more wives who in turn not only aided their husbands but also added to their families' wealth by the larger number of horses prospective husbands offered for the right to marry.^{cliv} All the many changes that proceeded from the

introduction of the horse and the fur trade led to the development and ultimate collapse within about 150 years of the so-called 'classic horse culture of the Plains', a short-lived, distinctive cultural phase that has become a stereotype in U.S. history books and Hollywood films.

The Southeastern ('Mississippian Culture') region had an active trade network and great transport advantages in the form of many rivers and a large coastal margin. These waterways made canoe-borne trade easy in much of the region. Trade links in this region included the tribes of the Caribbean islands. Overland trails were also well developed in the uplands, the best-known being the Natchez Trace between modern-day Nashville, Tennessee and Natchez, Mississippi.^{clv} Regional diversity between the coastal lowlands and the interior highlands differentiated local products and so stimulated trade. Seafood, shell products and raw stone seem to have been major components of the river-borne trade in this region.^{clvi}

The Mississippi River and its tributaries also enabled a regional trade in copper from the southern Great Lakes and Appalachian regions. Salt from the West was another significant trade item.^{clvii} Villages in the Southeast traded pottery and the seeds and techniques of agriculture to the Northeastern tribes beginning around 1000 B.C.^{clviii} One major southeastern trading community located in Louisiana has revealed archaeological evidence of the manufacture and trade in fine quality stone tools, carvings and pottery as long ago as 1500 B.C. Its characteristic goods have been found in sites in Florida, Tennessee and Missouri.^{clix}

The Northeast, like the Pacific Northwest and Southeast, has an abundance of water routes on which American Indians carried canoe-borne trade for many thousands of years. These same routes were shown to and used by European traders in the fur trade era of the 17th-19th centuries. The villages in the northeastern woodlands

exchanged considerable volumes of products over a vast area. Their traders used the river and lake routes connected by overland connections the French later called portages, along with a few longer trails such as the 'Iroquois Trail' between present-day Albany, New York and the Falls of the Niagara River.

Our modern designation of the region as the 'Northeastern woodlands' obscures the diversity of environments within and adjacent to the region. Marine and freshwater resources of the eastern rivers were highly utilized by the villages on the coast. Salt and fresh-water fish formed a major portion of the diet of these tribes and also were valued as fertilizer to boost agricultural productivity, especially in the poorer soils on the northern coasts.

Highly prized white and purple shell wampum beads, valued in trade and used to record the histories of some tribes in the form of pictographic belts, were likewise an important product of the coast. The northern center of production was among the tribes on Long Island and the Connecticut-Rhode Island coasts.^{clx} Further south, the Delaware of the Pennsylvania and New Jersey coasts were prolific producers^{clxi}. For a time in the early colonial period, wampum was used as a form of currency even among immigrant Europeans. They also began to manufacture it for use in their trade with the Indians.^{clxii}

Inland, the presence of the Great Lakes, the Ohio and upper Mississippi drainages, and the headwaters of the northward-tending rivers of the Canadian Shield that lead to Hudson's Bay gave most tribes access to fish, waterfowl and aquatic plants. One notable example of the latter is the grain of *Zizania aquatica*, an aquatic grass known commonly as 'wild rice'. It is harvested even today using canoes, and it has long constituted an important dietary and trade staple for the Ojibwe of Minnesota as well as other tribes once resident in the region immediately west and southwest of Lake Superior.^{clxiii}

The economy that developed out of the varied resources of this region was always mixed and diversified, with fishing, hunting and gathering predominant in the centuries before the introduction of agriculture some three thousand years ago. Since that time, the rich agricultural potential of much of the region enabled many of its peoples to adopt a balance between agriculture and gathering (the economic domain of women) and hunting, fishing and trade (the economic domain of men). This balance promoted the economic well-being of the villages and also supported a remarkable level of social equality between the sexes. It also tended to minimize class distinctions.

Obsidian from the Rocky Mountains, obtained through connections to the Plains network, was an important product for the Hopewell culture of the Ohio basin. Some Hopewell burial mounds have revealed stocks of several hundred pounds of this extremely useful stone. Pipestone (catlinite) from Minnesota was traded to the southeast as well as east into the Iroquois country, from whence it was transshipped northward into Quebec and Labrador.^{clxiv} Great Lakes copper from Wisconsin and Michigan was a major trade item in the form of tools and ornaments since at least 3000 B.C.^{clxv} These metal goods were traded eastward for tobacco and the coastally-produced ground shell beads known as wampum. The copper also was exchanged southward, as has already been noted, probably for salt.^{clxvi}

The central trade location in the region was the southern peninsula of Ontario. Its major tribes at the time of Contact were the Iroquoian Huron, the Tionontati or Tobacco/Petun nation, and the Neutral Nation; to the west, the Ottawa, a widespread Ojibwe people, held a part of the peninsula. The region was a prime corn and tobacco-growing center and was perhaps the best situated in the region in relationship to the Great Lakes/St. Lawrence River trade routes.

The tribes here, particularly the Huron and the Ottawa, as well as the nearby Nipissing, had already established themselves as middlemen in a great trade network

based on the exchange of their agricultural produce for northern meat, fish and furs by the time French explorers entered the region.

The Huron 'Great Circle' trade route, one example which gives a sense of the extensive development of the economic system in the Northeast, was composed of three interconnected loops. These routes were thought of as belonging to the family lineage which pioneered them. Other traders who wished to use the various components of the routes had to 'buy in' to the rights of the pioneering families, as the knowledge of the system could mean great wealth and social status for successful traders.^{clxvii} The easterly loop was anchored at Trois Rivières on the middle St. Lawrence in Iroquois country. From there it ran downstream to the mouth of the Saguenay River, up the Saguenay to mid-stream on the Ashuapmucha River in Montagnais-Naskapi territory, then overland and downstream on the St. Maurice River through Attikamek territory to return to Trois Rivières.

The middle loop connected to the easterly in the Montagnais-Naskapi country, and combined river and lake portions with portages to reach Lac Matagami in the Eastern Cree lands of Quebec. The loop extended southward from there to the mid-point of the westerly loop, joining the latter on the Ottawa River.

The westerly loop of the Great Circle linked the Iroquoian Huron with the Algonquin hunting tribes of southwestern Quebec. It used most of the course of the Ottawa River, linking at its northern end via a portage to the Gatineau River and thus southward along that river to its confluence with the Ottawa River opposite the modern federal capital of Canada. This loop appears to have been the earliest established by the Huron, the others being developed later as trade in furs expanded with the French and fur-bearing animals in the Hurons' own territory became depleted.^{clxviii}

French contact with this established trade hub in the early 17th century set the pattern for initial European entry into (and economic exploitation of) much of northern

North America over the next two hundred years. The fur trade will be generally discussed in a separate section below.

The Caribbean region, until the depopulation wrought by the Spanish Conquest in the late 15th and early 16th centuries, was the densely-peopled home of two major cultural groups, the Arawak of Cuba, Hispaniola, Jamaica, the Bahamas and Puerto Rico, and the more recently-arrived Carib of the Lesser Antilles Islands further east. These peoples had highly developed marine trading systems that linked them respectively to Mesoamerica and Florida on the one hand, and to the northern coast of South America on the other. The Arawak had relations in Colombia and Bolivia. The Carib had relatives on the northern Venezuelan coast.

They were farmers after about 1000 B.C., also fishermen and gatherers of marine products, chiefly shells which they worked into ornaments or traded in bulk.^{clxix} Their ancestors are known to have built large, ocean-going canoes at least as far back as 3000 B.C.^{clxx} Their agricultural produce included cotton, corn, manioc root (cassava), tobacco, sweet potatoes and peanuts. They gathered and processed palm tree products for fiber used in ropes and matting.^{clxxi} Slaving is known to have existed, based on captives taken in intertribal warfare in the region.^{clxxii}

The Caribbean peoples traded with the Maya and other coastal peoples southward in Central America. Both the Arawak and the Carib also acquired gold and gold-copper metalwork and its techniques from their relatives along the coast in Venezuela and Colombia, who in turn obtained these articles or learned how to make them through cultural and trade contacts linked ultimately to the master metalworkers in Ecuador.^{clxxiii} It is thought that a movement of peoples from the Orinoco River Delta in Venezuela out to the central Caribbean islands about 2000 years ago brought the skills of pottery making to the tribes already there.^{clxxiv}

The southern portion of Mexico and the Mayan homelands extending further south into Honduras and Guatemala had very old and highly developed systems of economic exchange. The cultural, economic and political complexities of this region, called Mesoamerica by anthropologists, were evolved over several thousand years. This region is one of the better-studied parts of Indian America, and a detailed discussion of the development of its production and trade systems has filled many volumes. What appears in this section, perforce due to space limitations, is only a very cursory introduction to the economy of the region.

Mesoamerica was one of the two early American centers of the development of agriculture. Plant domestication appears to have begun there as early as 6000 B.C.^{clxxv} It is also a region of strongly differentiated environments and diverse natural resources, factors that promote variation in economic products and thus generate incentives to trade.^{clxxvi} A successful, diversified agricultural and technological economic base generally fosters settlement and population growth. This is what occurred in different parts of this region over a period from roughly 1500 B.C. to 300 A.D., when first villages and later cities began to arise from the Archaic and Early Formative-Era farming settlements.^{clxxvii} The early establishment in Mesoamerica of a trading system was a consequence of a mutual need for exchange of products among these developing communities.

Archaeological evidence of early Mesoamerican trade appears in the form of the remains of newly-domesticated food plants which spread from region to region. The diffusion of manufacturing techniques and styles of pottery in its many utilitarian and decorative forms also provides evidence of the trade. We know something of the spatial and temporal pattern of this diffusion of goods from the work of the archaeologists.

Later sources, including mural art, written documents and inscriptions made by Mexican and Mayan kings, and the work of Native and European historians in the early Contact period, tell us that exchange of goods also took place through a tribute system

that was regularly imposed on defeated cities and villages by military victors. We do not know how early this tribute system developed.

By 1200 - 900 B.C., the time of the first great Olmec center at San Lorenzo in the lowlands of the modern state of Veracruz, trade networks are evident. Obsidian objects and pyrite mirrors have been found at San Lorenzo far from their sources in the highlands of Guatemala (approximately 325 miles distant) and Oaxaca (about 140 miles away).^{clxxviii} At the contemporary site of Tlatilco in the Valley of Mexico, grave goods buried with high-status individuals include pottery showing the influence of Olmec designs.^{clxxix}

Mexican cities began to develop as more than ceremonial centers about 2000 years ago. The evidence of murals and the remains of *chinampa* plots (see the Science Essay) and terracing near the rising center of Teotihuacan in the Valley of Mexico indicates that intensive agricultural techniques, including irrigation, may have enabled the nascent city to trade surpluses of agricultural produce.^{clxxx} Archaeological excavations in the city's remains have shown that it was later divided into ethnic and economic wards, where Oaxacan Zapotec, Guatemalan Maya and tribespeople from the old Veracruz Olmec homeland lived and produced their distinctive trade goods.^{clxxxii}

Among the economic specialties that helped Teotihuacan grow into the sixth largest city in the world by 600 A.D. were finely-crafted obsidian ornaments, blades and points produced in over 350 workshops. The source of the raw obsidian was the mining center of Pachuca, Hidalgo, some 30 miles away. Teotihuacan also produced textiles, baskets, elegant pottery, feather capes and ornaments, and other luxury goods. These were traded throughout Mexico and are depicted in carvings at the Maya center of Tikal in Guatemala. Teotihuacan goods are found in urban centers in the Zapotec homeland of Oaxaca and on the Gulf Coast. Teotihuacan even exported itself, that is, its urban concept and plan, to the Guatemalan city of Kaminaljuyú over 650 miles away.^{clxxxiii}

In the southeastern parts of Mesoamerica, the Maya similarly began to develop extensive long-range and local trade networks and tribute systems during their pre-Classic period, beginning about 1000 B.C. Prior to their Classic Era they also created an agricultural technology which ranged from slash-and-burn or swidden farming of small plots to terraced field systems in the highlands, canals and storage reservoirs for water, and drainage systems in the swampy lowlands.^{clxxxiii}

They grew cotton, cacao for chocolate, potatoes and manioc (obtained in trade from Caribbean and South American sources), gourds, beans, chilies and a host of other food products. They domesticated the dog and the turkey, which we know were both traded over the succeeding centuries far beyond their centers in the Yucatán and Guatemala.^{clxxxiv}

Mayan trade systems utilized the rivers and coastal routes as well as overland trails and later, paved roads. By the Classic Era, beginning about 100 A.D., Mayan trade centered on great trade fairs within the major centers and villages alike. These were operated by the kings, clan nobles and elders, linking neighboring and distant Mayan kingdoms through the dispatch of merchant 'ambassadors'. The Maya also extended trade ties to the non-Mayan world. This external trade ranged throughout civilized Mesoamerica and had its connections to the Caribbean, Central American and northerly South American economies of the period.^{clxxxv}

The Maya entered a period of decline and instability around 800 A.D. Their long-distance trade after this time, in the so-called Post-Classic period, was largely handled by seafaring newcomers. These were the related Chontal-speaking Putún Maya and the invading Itzá, thought by many scholars to have Mesoamerican origins in the dissolving Toltec capital of Tula. These marine traders kept up Mayan economic ties to much of the Caribbean basin and coastal areas of the Gulf of Mexico.

The extensive Mesoamerican trade and tribute networks involved a great variety of goods. Basic agricultural produce including corn, chilies, beans and squashes were

traded in the market plazas of all the towns and cities in the region. Cotton cloth in immense quantities was woven, worked into garments, and traded. Textiles were a major tribute item and many subject towns paid annual taxes to their conquerors in the form of specified numbers of finished cotton capes and mantles. This practice, which extended to other products as well, continued into the early Conquest Era and was a means by which the Spaniards supported themselves.

Items of forest produce were also actively traded. This latter category of goods included firewood, cacao beans (often used as a medium of exchange) and processed chocolate, copal incense from tree resins, and rubber (the principal Mesoamerican use of which was for the rubber balls used in the widespread ceremonial game of *pok-ta-pok* – see the Physical Education/Health essay). The forests were also the source of the brilliant parrot and macaw feathers which were used in the fabulous feathered capes worn by members of the nobility in most of the major cities of the region.

Mines in the region were developed and worked to provide huge quantities of building stone and mineral products for both utilitarian and luxury uses. Jadeite and obsidian were worked into art and ceremonial objects as well as everyday household utensils such as knives, axes, hunting implements and weapons, and even surgical instruments. Obsidian and iron pyrite crystals were formed into mirrors for personal use as well as for ceremonial and scientific instruments. A great range of mineral pigments were mined and processed into paints for artists and personal adornment. Gold, silver, copper and semiprecious stones were mined for use in upper-class household goods and jewelry. Clay for use in pottery was a major trade item in both raw and finished forms.

Southwest of the Maya homelands in southern Mesoamerica, the peoples of the Central American isthmus were more culturally and economically related to the tribes of the Caribbean islands and northern coastal regions of South America. The economy of

the region was based on raised mound or milpa agriculture, with corn the principal crop in the highlands and manioc predominating in the lower coastal areas. Other crops included sweet potatoes and beans; the bitter form of manioc was introduced in the region after the Conquest.

These people also grew and wove cotton textiles of fine quality. The colorful decoration of the region's garments with embroidery and appliqué has become well-known and appreciated by the modern tourist trade. Metalworking techniques diffused northward through the area from the Ecuadorian masters of this craft, and some Central American tribes developed a high degree of skill in gold work as a result.^{clxxxvi}

We have reasonably good information on the native trade systems of the Andean highlands and the coastal communities of Ecuador which preceded the Andean cultures. The pre-Contact American Indian economies of other parts of South America are less well understood for a variety of environmental and historical reasons. Since the disruptions of the Conquest and colonial periods, the surviving native economies have tended to become increasingly linked to the national and tourist economies of the European-American and mestizo communities.

Where Indian farmers, herders and gatherers in South America have been able to keep up their traditional economic activities, as in the Gran Chaco region of Paraguay, Argentina and Bolivia, they have tended to remain mostly producers for their own and neighboring communities or to become 'marginal producers' in the national economies. Many other Indians, those without land or skills as gatherers, have mostly entered the modern economies as low-paid laborers or remain largely outside the economic system as unemployed squatters.

Tribes in the river lowlands of the northeastern part of South America appear to have maintained economies based on hunting and gathering until relatively recent

times, until about 1000-500 B.C. or even later. Pottery appears after this date in the archaeological record of the area, and evidence from refuse heaps of a few villages suggests that the beginnings of agriculture in this region date to around the same time.^{clxxxvii}

Cultural evolution in the area seems to have proceeded quickly and to have received technical (and possibly population) contributions from the neighboring Andean and Caribbean cultures. By about 2000 years ago, many lowland forest tribes adopted an agricultural economy principally based on root crops like cassava, peanuts and sweet potatoes, beans, pineapples, cotton and also corn introduced from Mexico via the Andean cultures. These crops were grown using swidden, or slash-and-burn, techniques.

Hunting, fishing and gathering generally became secondary economic activities. The products of hunting and fishing were mostly for immediate, local consumption. Gathering emphasized collection of rubber, feathers, medicinal plants, fruits, nuts, and fibers from the forest and fish, shellfish, eggs and turtles from the rivers and coastal margins. Much of this gathered produce became trade items. Locally-produced textiles and pottery tended to diversify in style and improve in quality.^{clxxxviii} This economic base has persisted into the 20th century among those surviving lowland tribes that have not lost their lands or integrated into the surrounding national economies.

Evidence from Contact Era reports of conquistadors, missionaries and European traders reveals that many of the cultures of the upper Amazon River and Orinoco River basins maintained trade links to the Andean economies. The forest tribes brought upstream in their bark or dugout canoes quantities of rubber, cordage products including hammocks, agricultural produce, hunting poisons including the famed curare, and especially featherwork from rainforest sources not available in the highlands. From their Andean trading partners, they brought back gold and stone objects, pottery,

highland produce and textiles, and also, after Contact, European trade goods including highly-valued and useful steel machetes.

Some of the most developed American Indian cultures and economies were those of the northern Andes and neighboring Pacific coastal regions of present-day Ecuador and Peru, as well as Bolivia and highland Colombia. Evidence suggests the coastal region was inhabited as early as 14-25,000 years ago.^{clxxxix}

The coastal margins were later utilized by villagers whose economy mixed exploitation of sea and river resources with farming beginning around 4700 B.C. Cultivated plants included gourds, squash, beans and peppers, with corn and cotton appearing at various sites somewhat later. Cultivated cotton is known on the coast from about 3000 B.C., and corn, almost certainly from Mesoamerican sources, was grown after about 1400 B.C.^{cxc}

Soon after the introduction of maize, pottery was developed in the region. The peanut and the sweet variety of manioc were introduced from the lowlands east of the Andes, and avocados were domesticated. Around 800 B.C., developments in agriculture and increased population on the coast made it feasible and necessary for the villages to expand their farms and settlements inland up the river valleys.

The upland farmers began to terrace the valley slopes. They are thought to have employed irrigation and to have used bird droppings or guano obtained from coastal islands as a fertilizer. The upland farmers also began to domesticate an important highland plant and animal, the potato and the llama. Corn hybrids suited to upland environments were developed and helped support further population growth.^{cxc}

Events followed a similar pattern in coastal Ecuador and Peru, with advances in pottery and metallurgy apparently taking place earlier in the north. The eventual outcome of the population shifts into the northern and central Peruvian highland valleys and plateaus was the rise around 800 B.C. of the first civilization of South America, the

Chavín culture. Small upland villages began erecting temples, developed true weaving using wool from the llama, pottery advanced in technique and goldwork was crafted.

By about 2300 years ago, Chavín cultural influences reached into the highland plateaus of southern Peru in the region of Ayacucho. At the same time, other, non-Chavín cultures were being established further south, as among the Nazca of the southern Peruvian coast and the highland town of Tiahuanaco, south of Lake Titicaca in Bolivia.^{cxcii}

The era between about 200-600 A.D. saw major cultural developments with the rise of the earliest regional state societies. Major towns included the older centers of Valdiva and Chorrera in Ecuador, the rising Mochica state in northern coastal Peru, and the city of Tiahuanaco, at the height of its power in the Lake Titicaca area. Trade routes were expanding throughout the region and even beyond by this time, as was warfare over control of the limited supply of arable lands.

The Ecuadorian metalsmiths introduced innovations in metal casting by the lost wax process, which eventually spread to Mesoamerica and much of northern South America. They cast copper, silver, and gold, either distinctly or as alloys, making tools, weapons and ornaments.^{cxciii}

The later political history of the region up until the Conquest is rather complex. The new coastal empire of the Chimú succeeded that of the Mochica; in the highlands, Tiahuanaco influences spread through trade and possibly conquest by the offshoot town of Wari into the regions of Cuzco and Nazca.^{cxciv} Economically, the achievements of the young Inca Tawantinsuyu ('empire') are the major feature of the final centuries of American Indian cultural independence in the Andean region.

The Inca state, a conquest empire like many of its predecessors and neighbors, arose between 1250 A.D. and its formal organization in 1438 A.D. Its center was the town of Cuzco in the southern Peruvian highlands, a locale contended for by several rival peoples until the Inca succeeded in holding it for themselves.

The Inca eventually dominated the complicated military politics of the highlands due to three major factors. The first was the innovation of the military incorporation of conquered territories into the Empire itself. The Inca state secondly exploited a growing mastery of administrative techniques. These included dispersal of conquered populations and the establishment of a system of storehouses and administrative outposts managed by a standardized record-keeping device, the quipu strings.^{CXCV}

As a third key to its predominance, the growing Inca state took over and greatly expanded the earlier Wari system of roads linking the various highland plateaus and coastal areas throughout the region. Within a century after the formal establishment of the Tawantinsuyu, by the time of the Conquest, the Inca transportation system included some 14,000 miles of well-built stone roads and suspension bridges.^{CXCVI} These roads greatly facilitated ordinary trade as well as the military and administrative needs of the state.

The Inca economy involved mass production of a range of pottery, textiles and metal consumer goods, as well as finely-crafted luxury items for the nobility.^{CXCVII} The long distance Inca trade in Amazonian lowland and coastal products is noted elsewhere in this section.

Tribes of the Chilean region based their economies on herding a variety of domesticated animals and intensive agriculture. Fishing was practiced on the coast, while, inland in the southern Andean highlands, the Araucano gathered piñon nuts as an important food source. Animals domesticated for human use as food and for fur and hides included the guinea pig, llamas, dogs, chinchillas and even the rhea, a large, ostrich-like bird.

These tribes had acquired techniques of metallurgy, pottery and agriculture from the north. Like the Peruvian peoples, they employed irrigation in their agriculture and used it to raise corn, beans, squash, potatoes and an Andean grain called quinoa.

The major trade item was woven llama-wool textiles which they exchanged with Peruvian highland cultures for various goods and produce.^{CXCviii}

The grasslands or pampas of present-day Argentina were a region peopled by hunting tribes who did little gathering and generally did not fish or farm. The major game animals since the extinction of the large Pleistocene mammals were the rhea and the guanaco, a wild relative of the llama. Trade outside the region appears to have been fairly limited. With the adoption of the horse in the 1700s, most tribes in the pampas became mounted hunters.

George Murdock has compared them to the tribes of the Great Plains after this point, saying that their homes and household goods became adapted to an equestrian nomadic lifestyle.^{CXCix} Recent generations of the Chona, Guaicura, and Puelche natives of the region have generally integrated into the modern Argentine economy as gauchos (cowboys) on the cattle ranches that now dominate their homelands.

To the north, in the Gran Chaco region, a more mixed economy prevailed. Some farming was done (corn, pumpkins, manioc, and beans) but the economic mainstay was hunting until herd animals were adopted from the Spanish. In most respects other than the minor farming, the life of the tribes in the Gran Chaco region was similar to that in the pampas to the south.^{CC}

American Indian Economic Relationships With the Land

The material in the preceding section on pre-Contact American Indian economies indicates that Indian cultures everywhere took economic advantage of much, even most, of what their respective environments had to offer. All Indian cultures demonstrated adaptability in using locally-available resources for the foods and raw materials needed to sustain human life.

Many Indian cultures went well beyond this 'subsistence' level of economic activity and altered their environments in deliberate ways so as to support larger populations

than their locales might otherwise permit, or to produce what might be called 'luxury' goods. There are several major categories of such environmental modifications, examples of which appear in the Sciences Essay.

These adaptations include the development of agriculture, especially of terracing and irrigation systems. Another type of economically-motivated modification was the use of controlled burning of woodlands and grasslands to promote habitat and species diversity in favor of preferred food plants and animals. Environments were also modified to greater or lesser extents by the domestication and selective breeding of favored plants and animals. A specialized sort of environmental modification involved in the setting up of traps for fish, birds and for a great variety of fur-bearing and meat-producing land animals.^{cci}

Another level of environmental modification can be seen in those cultures which practiced quarrying of stone for the purposes of erecting large public buildings and monuments. Still another appeared among Indian peoples who mined for metals and minerals with which to make tools, utensils, weapons and jewelry.

In most cases, the cultures which developed these diverse, adaptive practices also paid attention to the appropriateness of what they were doing. The people usually did not press their modifications to the point at which lasting, widespread damage was done to the earth and waters, for they generally understood and respected the balances necessary for the environment to continue to support not only human life, but other beings as well.

Apparently there were occasional mistakes made despite the common traditions of respect for the land. Since some negative environmental impacts are apparent only after several or many generations of human activity, such mistakes may be unavoidable.

Those European romantic authors who claimed the Americas were an 'untouched wilderness' peopled by simple nomads who altered nothing were ignorant of the facts.

They apparently did not know of the man-made environmental problems that appear to have contributed to the collapse of the Anasazi culture in the Southwestern part of the modern United States. They also did not know of the similar problems and collapse of some of the classical Mayan civilizations. From what modern archaeological and soils research is beginning to show, it appears in both areas that long-term effects of irrigation eventually resulted in such a drastic decline of soil productivity that the urban centers could not be supported.

American Indians later made another economic error in their relation to the land as they overdeveloped their fur trade with the Europeans, depleting the animals on which that trade depended. However, the economic and moral rule which was usually followed successfully by most American Indian cultures was one of sustainability – ‘take only what you need and use all of what you take, for it is a gift of another’s life which sustains yours.’

This sense of what is appropriate in the relationship between human needs and the capacity of the earth and other beings to provide persists today. This can be seen in the continuing efforts of American Indian tribes and organizations to protect the land from destructive exploitation. (Examples of these efforts are noted in Appendix A.) Despite occasional errors, American Indian understandings of the relationship with the land remind us today that Earth, too, has needs and we humans, too, have the capacity to give.

The Economic Impact of American Indian Trade

Contact Era Trade and Exploitation

The motivation behind the European 'Age of Exploration' which began in the 15th century was economics. Columbus' promise to the rulers of Spain, hard pressed for cash after their efforts to expel the last of the Muslims from the Iberian Peninsula, was a short route (free of Portuguese control) to the gold and merchantable goods of Asia. As the first imperial administrator of the American Indian lands he seized and colonized, Columbus enslaved the Indians of the Caribbean and sent hundreds to be sold in Spain. He also used armored troops, attack dogs and systematic mutilations to force the islanders to bring in periodic quotas of gold or cotton cloth if gold was unavailable in their territories.^{ccii}

The gold rushes went on in Mexico and Peru in the 16th century. Elsewhere in North and South America, European hopes were raised and dashed during Coronado's explorations of the Southwest and the vain attempts of Sir Walter Raleigh to find El Dorado in the jungles along the Orinoco River. Jamestown's colonists spent their first months exploring for gold mines they never found. Gold and silver finds were made, as history records – in Peru, Bolivia, Mexico, Colorado Nevada, California, Alaska and, in our own time, the Amazon forests of Brazil, just to mention a few of the big strikes.

For the most part, these finds of mineral wealth resulted in displacement or exploitation of American Indians (as miners, see below) and did not lead to much extensive or long-term trade between the natives and the newcomers. Much the same can be said of the development of European-American agriculture, the timber industry, and other land-intensive, extractive industries like oil, coal, or uranium mining and hydro-electric power development.

Large-scale and prolonged trade between American Indian cultures and European-Americans did develop in the Contact period between 1492 and 1900. In North America, there was a trade item valued by Europeans and their Eastern Hemisphere trading partners in China. This item was furs. The American Indians were best positioned to supply the labor necessary to trap and initially process the fur-bearing animals and the Europeans generally preferred to trade with them for furs rather than trap, skin and preserve the furs themselves.

There is a large literature on the details and development of the fur trade, and it is one of the few aspects of American Indian economics to receive much attention in conventional school texts and supportive materials. Consequently, what will be said here is limited to the impact of the trade on the cultures and economies that participated in it.

The fur trade between Europeans and American Indians involved an expansion of the traditional economic role of fur trapping and hide preparation. It began in a small way with exchanges between northerly coastal tribes and the arriving ships of French, Dutch and English explorers in the early 17th century. Since European furbearing animals had long been overtrapped and were relatively scarce, and since effective heating of houses lay well in the future, the value of furs to European markets was considerable. Initially rare European trade goods, especially those of metal or glass, gave the Indians their incentive for trade.

The early trade developed principally between Indians along the St. Lawrence River and the Hudson River, in areas penetrated and eventually settled by the French and the Dutch. By the turn of the 18th century, the trade volume and value of North American furs in Europe brought the English into the trans-Atlantic fur business in a major way. The Europeans soon employed corporate organization of the trade; once the interests of their colonial administrations became focused on furs as one of the

important northern commodities, government regulation and taxation developed as well, the whole system taking on a distinctively modern business character.^{cciii}

The Indians expanded their fur trapping to meet European demand in order to meet their own demand for European goods. As furs became depleted in traditional hunting areas, a motive arose for conflicts over control of trapping grounds and trade routes through which furs from more distant areas could be diverted or controlled by native middlemen whose lands were closer to the European trade settlements. These considerations lay behind much of the intense 17th century warfare between the Iroquois Confederacy of upper New York and their neighbors on the St. Lawrence, the eastern Great Lakes (the Huron Confederacy) and in the Ohio and Illinois country.

The tribes' choice to engage in the trade had profound consequences. Tribal economies became dependent on European goods, and traditional economic activities and products took too much time to produce by comparison with the wealth that fur trapping and trading could bring. Economic relations could substantially alter patterns of tribal social custom as well, as happened on the Northwest Coast of British Columbia when the trade in otter pelts radically increased village and families' wealth. The result was the spectacular potlatch system, which developed out of earlier, much more modest customs of clan and village politics.

Tribes became dependent, too, on European trade weapons which temporarily altered the balance of power in many intertribal conflicts. The interests of the fur trade soon brought Indians into the conflicts between the colonial powers, as in the wars between the English and the Dutch in the 17th century or those between the French and the English in the 18th century. Some native peoples resorted to open warfare in resistance to exploitation by fur traders, as occurred in Alaska between the Aleut and the Russians. In most of these conflicts, Indian communities suffered in the long term from loss of members and leadership on the battlefield as well as from deaths, crop and

land losses in the villages which were often the focal point of European and allied Indian attacks.

The presence of European-American traders also brought the tribes problems in the form of exposure to alcohol and disease. These further weakened the tribes through demoralization, disunity and population loss. Finally, even as the fur trade in an area declined substantially, the European-American fur trading posts and forts became early havens for the farmers, ranchers, miners and timber companies who followed the traders and eventually seized Indian lands for their economic activities.

The fur trade reached a peak in the century between 1750 and 1850. It gave the greatest single impetus to the efforts of European-Americans to travel into and learn the ways of Indian Country. It opened the door for the progressive spread of tens of millions of European immigrants into the interior of North America and thus fundamentally altered the ethnic, political and military balances of the continent. Its result, directly or as a consequence of what followed it, was the dispossession of the American Indians of the United States of some 97.7 percent of their original land base, as noted earlier in this Essay. It had a slightly lesser impact on the tribes of Canada only because the level of European immigration to that part of the continent was but a small fraction of what it was to the south.

The Expansion of the World's Monetary Economy

The Spanish and the other colonial powers removed about 190 tons of gold from the Americas in the century and a half between 1500 and 1650. Between 16 and 21 thousand tons of silver entered Spain in the first third of that time period alone. This unprecedented supply of precious metal rapidly diffused throughout Europe as Spain's King Charles V pursued his military ambitions as the Holy Roman Emperor.

It transformed much of Europe from the mercantile economy of the late Middle Ages to a true capitalist economy. The use of American gold and silver in the

flourishing trade between Europe and the Near East also set off a spiral of inflation. The presence of so much specie destroyed the traditional influence of West African gold and Turkish silver in the markets of the Levant. European merchants likewise used the Western Hemisphere's metals as coinage in their trade with India, China, and the East Indies. The wealth of the Americas soon brought many Asian nations under the economic influence of Europe, disrupting the local basis of their economies.^{cciv}

In the 16th and 17th centuries, Europeans used American silver and gold to transform their churches and palaces. Much of the work of the master artists of these centuries was financed with the riches provided by American Indian mining. European secular and sacred artists, architects, jewelers and plateware makers increasingly employed American gold to create spectacular works of art and decorative effects.

More significantly, American gold and silver made possible the rise of a money economy in Europe on a scale unprecedented even in Roman times. This monetary economy supported a transformation in social class structures in the 16th and 17th centuries. These social groups in turn contributed their interests and strengths to the revolutionary era which reshaped European cultures in the 18th and 19th centuries.

The Development of the Modern Corporation

Spanish exploitation of American Indian cultures and resources was managed through a system of royal grants and trading monopolies supervised respectively by viceroys and by the Casa de Contracion in Madrid. The Spanish economic system in the Americas was essentially a state monopoly. Royal economic dominion was extended from Spain into the Americas. In contrast, the initial English exploitation of Indian America's wealth was privatized by the English government. The economic and political risks faced by the English in entering into the race for American wealth were met through Crown charter of the partly public, partly private institutions called joint-stock companies and corporations.

Some of these companies, such as Sir Francis Drake's, based themselves on piracy. The Spanish and Portuguese shipping convoys and coastal towns in the Americas held the precious metals and gems the conquistadors looted from Indian cities and mined by using Indian slaves. Drake and others made a business of pirating the wealth that they could not take directly from the American Indians by plundering the ports and ship convoys of the Spanish Main.

England also created companies to carry on illegal trade and smuggling activities to supply the wants of Spanish colonists in the Americas. These demands were going unmet due to Spanish trade controls and the decline of many Iberian industries during the Hapsburg dynastic wars in Europe.^{ccv}

Some English corporations, such as the Hudson's Bay Company, the Jamestown Company, and the Massachusetts Bay Company, were founded in hopes of discovery of northern gold and silver mines to rival those of Bolivia and Mexico. The directors of these companies turned to trade with the Indians for furs or to agriculture when the original mining hopes faded. Furs usually were the primary motivation in the early phase of European economic expansion into a given Indian territory. The fur trade then was usually supplanted by agriculture on the successive frontiers of European-American settlement in North America.

As the colonial period developed in North America, land speculation firms organized access to and agricultural exploitation of frontier land resources on a commodity business basis. This economic history is quite different from the popular U.S. cultural mythology of individual and family pioneering.^{ccvi}

American Indian land became the major basis of wealth for the English colonies. English economic practices in the colonies emphasized large scale corporate land acquisition from the Indians and sales to colonial settlers, followed by exploitation of the land's extractive resources and farming. Some of the larger and better known early

corporations speculating in Indian lands were the Loyal Land Company, the Ohio Company in which George Washington participated, and Lyman's Mississippi Company.

The Dutch, Scots and French also adopted corporate systems to pursue their colonial policies. Each of these nations established a variety of plantations, mining companies, shipping firms, banks and warehouses, each with components on both American and European continents. These enterprises were interlinked in mercantilist trade and in the markets for financial capital, resulting in highly diverse patterns of economic exchange between the hemispheres and among the markets of Europe.^{ccvii}

Labor was a crucial factor in the European exploitation of American resources. The numbers of colonists was inadequate to the tasks involved for several centuries. Many of the early colonists carried hopes of becoming a newly wealthy aristocracy in the Americas and were disinclined to engage in heavy manual labor. Accordingly, the first European-American firms and the Spanish Crown faced a labor shortage and dealt with it by developing systems of American Indian and African slavery.

European labor in the Americas was organized in several ways. Some Europeans came to the Americas in military service. Those with a little capital to invest often came as partners participating in the plantation corporations. Indentured servitude provided access to America for many European immigrants too poor to invest in a joint-stock enterprise or emigrate on their own means.

The economic developments of the European colonies in the Americas resulted in the expansion and ramification of an interrelated system of European banking houses, stock exchanges and shipping firms throughout the 17th century.^{ccviii} This amounted to what economist Adam Smith in the late 18th century was to call 'a revolution in commerce.' The product of that revolution was the first true world economy, which included among its foundations the trade in American Indian land and agricultural

produce, American precious metals and furs, European manufactured goods, and African slaves.^{ccix}

This section presents an introduction to some contributions of American Indian cultures as studied in three related areas of the social sciences. The disciplines of sociology, anthropology, and political science have divided up the broad spectrum of human social organization and interaction into academic specialties at the levels of collegiate and professional study. The topics touched on in these fields are usually addressed in elementary and secondary education (if at all) in an inchoate way, usually in conjunction with history or civics curricula. For the purpose of meeting the needs of elementary and secondary teachers, the presentation which follows is not sharply divided in the usual academic pattern.

The Varieties of American Indian Social Organization

Authors have written literally thousands of texts and treatises over the past 500 years trying to give a comprehensive description of the social and political diversity of American Indian cultures. The organization of contemporary Indian societies remains extraordinarily diverse after centuries of contact and acculturation between American Indians and immigrants from around the world. The most that can be done here is to briefly discuss three topics that illustrate that diversity and give a glimpse of the complex picture of American Indian societies and politics.

Political and economic rights and their descent through the generations were recognized in three major patterns in American Indian society. These were matrilineal, patrilineal and mixed traditions. It is not safe to make assumptions about descent systems among a particular people, so the anthropological literature must be consulted if this issue is of importance. The most common Indian tradition for the tracing of family

descent, and often for delineation of political and economic rights, was the matrilineal pattern.

As a rough generalization, the agricultural societies of North America tended to be matrilineal in ownership of agricultural lands or produce. Particularly in the eastern part of the continent, rights to political positions tended to run through the womens' lines in the clans, although the positions were ordinarily filled by males. (This was also true among the fishing and whaling cultures of the Northwest Coast.) The Iroquois nations are a notable example of this matrilineal system.

A mixed tradition in regard to economic rights is that of the Hopi, where the men own the fields but the women own the produce once it is brought into the homes, which they also own.

In Mexico, Central America and much of the Andean region of South America, land ownership and the rights to political office tended to be patrilineal within the clans. The situation in the South American lowlands is much more mixed, with matrilineal and patrilineal systems both being common.

Hunting societies in both North and South America generally tended to recognize economic rights as passing through patrilineal descent. The descent of political rights in cultures based on a hunting economy is highly variable, and examples of matrilineal, patrilineal and mixed systems are common.

The social structures of American Indian societies reflected three levels of organization. The most basic, and common to all societies, was the family. In most Indian cultures, the family is a functionally extended group including several generations and collateral branches. Depending on the housing pattern common to a particular culture, such an extended family might live together in a single dwelling or might be dispersed among several structures, but social and economic cooperation among members is always close.

A great many American Indian cultures are based on clan systems, where major groupings of related families within a culture have distinctive social, ceremonial, political and economic rights and functions that are inherited through the clan line. The details of the division of rights and functions varies widely, so tribal-level study is necessary to learn them. Generally, most clans practice exogamous marriage, that is, members are required to marry outside their birth clan. Clan descent tends overwhelmingly to be matrilineal, but there are notable exceptions, as among the patrilineal Maya.

Another form of social division (often much modified from earlier patterns under today's conditions) is that of social class. In pre-Contact times, class distinctions were recognized mostly where economic conditions allowed a great excess of wealth to be accumulated and divided according to status differentials. This happened in the coastal Pacific Northwest, and among the Natchez and other Mississippian cultures of the Southeast. Social class-based systems developed among the earlier clans in the city-states and empires of the Valley of Mexico, the Mayan homelands of southern Mexico and northern Central America, and among the civilizations of the Andes and northern Pacific coasts of South America. However, the majority of American Indian cultures were not class-based and in general were egalitarian in terms of economic status and social rights.

Class-based Indian cultures in the Americas generally recognized and sanctioned social divisions into classes of nobility, commoners, and slaves with the first two classes often having a clan basis. Membership of a clan or family in the noble classes often depended on continued demonstration of the collective's capacity for leadership, creation of wealth and/or military achievements. In many respects, this class system suggests a meritocracy more than it does an hereditary nobility *per se*. In some Indian class-based societies, the nobles did differentiate themselves into royal and merely noble lineages, as among the Aztec, Maya, and Inca. Anyone could become a slave through capture in combat or by slave raiders.

The final topic to be mentioned here is the variety of American Indian political systems. 'Politics' is used here in the sense of describing how a culture organizes its formal leadership and social groupings.

American Indian cultures ranged across a very wide spectrum of socio-political structures. The anthropological literature commonly identifies the major points on that spectrum as the family, band, chiefdom, tribal and state levels. What follows is a very generalized characterization, and there are many examples of mixed systems.

Family-level social organization involved a single family group as a largely independent social and economic unit. This level tended to be common in areas where food resources were sparse, agriculture not practiced, and a high degree of mobility was necessary to exploit food resources as they became available. The adults provided the leadership of the family group.

The band-level societies grouped some small number (usually between 2 and 20 or so) of families together into a larger social group, usually led by one or a few experienced headmen. Bands frequently consisted of families organized into one or more clans. Band-level organization was common among hunting cultures, particularly those which required some mobility in pursuit of available game animals. Bands ordinarily had a loosely-defined territory which could support a larger group than a single family, and which a modest number of warriors could adequately control from outside pressures. Band leaders generally held little or no coercive authority, but led by successful example, productivity and the esteem of their peers.

Chiefdoms existed in many forms of group economics and lifestyle. They could be a single permanent village, as among many Mississippian and Caribbean agriculturalists or in villages that specialized in trade. Some chiefdoms, as among some of the mixed hunting/farming societies of the Great Plains and fishing communities of the Northwest, were a larger variety of a band. These incorporated several bands or

clan groupings whose headmen recognized one among them as a principal chief or 'first among equals'. Such a group might often be together in a semi-permanent village over the winter months, and disperse into smaller groups over the summer fishing/hunting season. This seasonal pattern of gathering and dispersal could be reversed depending on the food sources which sustained the group. Chiefdoms, particularly in the permanent villages, involved increasing responsibilities and powers for the political leaders, and they often served as religious and ceremonial heads of their people as well.

Tribal-level societies were those where a larger number of bands or villages, usually speaking the same language and with adjacent territories, formally organized a system of confederation. While each band or village retained its own leaders, those leaders also met together as representatives of their subgroup. These meetings took place at specified times or as a need arose to consider and establish common policies needed for the well-being of all. The tribe could call on all members to act as a united people. Authority still tended to be exercised by force of reputation and power to convince others, but there was some specialization by leaders in matters such as military leadership, dedication to internal affairs, or trade and diplomacy with outside groups. Tribes controlled a definite territory where any member could travel freely, although sites of economic importance still tended to be owned at the family, clan or band level. Some tribes were relatively small, numbering only one or two thousand members, while really large tribes might total well in excess of 50,000 members. Today, the term 'tribe' is used in the United States as a conventional designation for most Indian social groups, often being applied inappropriately to cultures which traditionally did not organize themselves with this level of formality or on such scale.

The final point on the Indian socio-political spectrum to be discussed here were the state-level systems. These are usually identified with certain of the urban civilizations of the Valley of Mexico (most notably the Aztec), the Maya, and the Andean cultures of the

Chimú, Chibcha and Inca peoples. These were class-based societies with centralized governments based on nobility and even kingship. They distinguished themselves as state systems by the degree to which they organized institutions and military power to impose their rule beyond their homeland borders. They were generally expansionistic, war-like nations. Within their own lands, they systematically imposed taxation, raised standing armies, and established formal codes of law for the conduct of business and the administration of justice. These states created and maintained education systems and distinguished themselves through the amount and quality of the public architecture and transportation systems that they developed. The Inca state in Peru established a system of food storehouses and public records to administer them, and resorted to command-driven food distribution in times of famine. These characteristics led many later writers to state that the Inca were socialist or at least had a government welfare system.

The Influence of Indian Models on European-American Social Practices

Indians and Social Philosophy

The dawn of the 16th century was the era of early, sustained European contact with American Indian societies in their many forms. At this time, most of the Eastern Hemisphere was politically organized into monarchies or oligarchies of various types.^{ccx} In Europe, the combination of concepts and actual practices of democracy and individual liberty were almost unknown outside of the Swiss cantons, where the *Landsgemeinde* or popular assembly governed between the 13th and 17th centuries.^{ccxi}

In the rest of early modern Europe, the idea of democracy remained forgotten and unpracticed, as it had been since the days of a few Greek city-states and the early Roman Republic. The conception and practice of participatory and representative government had been limited even in those societies, since the great majority of Athenian and Roman inhabitants were slaves, plebeians and women, all without voting rights. Equality of rights and power between men and women was virtually inconceivable to most Europeans and Asians, although various African cultures practiced sexual equity to various degrees.

This state of social affairs was changed gradually as Europeans gained exposure to the political beliefs and practices of some of the American Indian cultures. Knowledge about American Indian social practices which was sent to Europe sparked an age of philosophic and political revolutions there. These revolutions began to change the ways in which many cultures in the Eastern Hemisphere came to see the relationships among people, a process of change that continues to this day.

In characterizing the early Contact Era reports about the nature of American Indian social life, Dr. Jack Weatherford has stated:

The most consistent theme in the descriptions penned about the New World was amazement at the Indians' personal liberty, in particular their freedom from rulers and from social classes based on ownership of property. For the first time the French and the British became aware of the possibility of living in social harmony without the rule of a king.^{ccxii}

Drawing from the writings of the European explorers of the Americas, European intellectuals produced a number of treatises and other literary works which profoundly affected both educated and popular social thought, particularly among the French. The French were prolific in their examinations of American Indian cultures, and the range of their interests is suggested by the following partial list of authors and relevant works offered by Dr. Weatherford.^{ccxiii}

The essayist Michel de Montaigne ("On Cannibals," published in 1580 as part of Books I and II of his **Essais**, a literary form he created).

The often-unreliable French explorer Louis-Armand de Lom d'Arce, Baron de Lahontan (**New Voyages to North America**, 1703 and **Curious Dialogues**, also 1703).

The French playwright Delisle de la Drevetière (**Arlequin Sauvage**, 1721).

The French Jesuit missionary Joseph François Lafitau (**Customs of the American Savages Compared with Those of Earliest Times**, 1724).

The French philosopher Jean Jacques Rousseau (**Discourse on the Origins of Inequality**, 1754).

The first influential English author in this tradition was the cleric and philosopher Sir Thomas More. A man with wide contacts in both England and the Continent, it is believed he learned rudiments of American Indian social practices from many early explorers' reports, particularly those he read during a visit to Belgium on state business in 1515-16. More's famous work **Utopia**, published in 1516, wedded information from these reports with his knowledge of classical Latin works on the nature of the state.

Works by these French and British authors presented sharp contrasts between the indigenous patterns of social relationships prevalent in Europe and America. They

generally favored and often somewhat romanticized American Indian customs as a potential pattern for European social reform.

The opposite side of the comparison, which belittled the reformers' social ideal of the 'noble savage,' was upheld by the English philosopher Thomas Hobbes (**Leviathan**, 1651), the French philosophic wit François Arouet de Voltaire, and the German philosopher Immanuel Kant in his 1772 lectures at Königsberg, among others.^{CCXIV}

This Enlightenment tradition of the study of American Indian social ideas and practices continued into the 19th and 20th centuries. Alexis de Tocqueville favorably compared American Indian democracy and its European-American offshoot to the highest achievements of liberty among ancient and tribal European cultures, despite his disparagement of Indian technical and moral culture.^{CCXV} The anthropological writings of Lewis H. Morgan, a lawyer adopted into the Seneca Nation of the Iroquois Confederacy, inspired Karl Marx and Frederick Engels as they developed their social democratic theory in the latter part of the 19th century.

A later generation of American anthropologists, notably Franz Boas and his students, extended this line of inquiry into Indian social structures. They were particularly interested in Indian family life as part of tribal society. Prominent among Boas' students was Margaret Mead, who dealt with these topics in her 1932 work **The Changing Culture of an Indian Tribe**.^{CCXVI} In the middle of the 20th century, Mead's writings on South Pacific Islander and American Indian social life had considerable popular influence. Her views attracted attention to women's roles in the home and society and to questions about the 'natural boundaries' of human sexual behavior.

The Influence of the Iroquois Confederacy on Democracy

Iroquoian Political Philosophy and the American Revolution

It is a popular truism that actions speak louder than words. A significant example of adaptation in social life occurred in the American Revolutionary era when the power of American Indian words helped rouse immigrant Europeans to political action.

At that time, many European colonists in North America began to consider themselves as ‘Americans’ with political rights inherent in their own social organization. Dr. Bruce Johansen has revealed the debt these colonial Europeans owed to the example of their American Indian neighbors in his volume **Forgotten Founders**.^{ccxvii}

Johansen’s book documents the intellectual and political consequences of Benjamin Franklin’s contacts with the Iroquois Confederacy. He shows that through Franklin’s influence Thomas Jefferson also adapted Iroquoian political concepts. Johansen completes his argument by showing Franklin’s role in introducing the recent immigrant Thomas Paine to Iroquois thought in 1774 and the latter’s own experience at the councils of the Iroquois during negotiations between the Six Nations and the infant United States in 1777.

Benjamin Franklin’s education in Iroquois thought began with his printing of the texts of Indian treaty councils held in Pennsylvania and New York. His understanding developed further on reading the adopted Mohawk Cadwallader Colden’s **History of the Five Indian Nations Depending on the Province of New York in America** in the 1740s. A critical item in Franklin’s education was the translation of the Iroquois sachem Canassatego’s remarks during a colonial treaty council in 1744 which came to Franklin’s print shop. He was particularly struck by Canassatego’s argument for political confederation, which became a cornerstone of his own political thought. Canassatego had advised

Our wise forefathers established union and amity between the Five Nations. This has made us formidable. This has given us great weight and authority with our neighboring Nations. We are a powerful Confederacy and by your observing the same methods our wise forefathers have taken you will acquire much strength and power; therefore, whatever befalls you, do not fall out with one another.^{CCXVIII}

The original Five Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy referred to by Canassatego were the Seneca, Oneida, Mohawk, Onondaga, and Cayuga. They later admitted the refugee Tuscarora from the Carolinas to full membership as the sixth nation of the Iroquois Confederacy in 1722.

Benjamin Franklin paid careful attention to the means by which the Iroquois “established union and amity” among themselves, reading Archibald Kennedy’s tract on tribal-colonial relations in 1751. He learned even more by participating in treaty councils between the Six Nations and Pennsylvania’s colonial government in 1753.^{CCXIX}

Out of this Indian background came Franklin’s proposal for a plan of political union among the colonies. It was modeled on the Iroquois Confederacy and presented at a congress of colonial representatives in Albany, New York in 1754. However, the colonial legislatures rejected Franklin’s now-famous ‘Albany Plan’ as a means to deal with both the growing French threat in the Ohio Valley and the relationship of the colonies to the British Crown. The reasons for Franklin’s failure to persuade the delegates to the Albany Congress to adopt the Iroquois system of confederation are suggested in this passage from Johansen:

The retention [in the Albany Plan] of internal sovereignty within the individual colonies, politically necessary because of their diversity, geographical separation, and mutual suspicion, closely resembled the Iroquoian system. The colonies’ distrust of one another and the fear of the smaller that they might be dominated by the larger in a confederation may have made necessary the adoption of another Iroquoian device: one colony could veto the action of the rest of the body...Like the Iroquois Great Council, the “Grand Council” (the name was Franklin’s) of the colonies would have been allowed to choose its own speaker. The Grand Council,

like the Iroquois Council, was to be unicameral, unlike the two-house British system.^{CCXX}

The colonies did not choose to unite on the Iroquois model at the Albany Congress. However, the fundamental conceptions of politics which Franklin had learned from the Iroquois became the basis for the first independent government of the United States two decades later. With the coming of the American Revolution, Franklin rewrote the Albany Plan into the Congressional proposal for the Articles of Confederation.^{CCXXI}

Thomas Jefferson not only followed Franklin in his service as America's ambassador to France, but was in the elder statesman's train as a political thinker. Like Franklin, Jefferson drew heavily upon his understanding of American Indian society as a model for many of his own political precepts. Dr. Johansen states

Having admired Franklin so, it was not surprising that where Franklin laid down an intellectual thread, Jefferson often picked it up. Jefferson's writings clearly show that he shared Franklin's respect for Indian thought. Both men represented the Enlightenment frame of mind of which the American Indians seemed a practical example. Both shared with the Indian the wild, rich land out of which the Indian had grown. It was impossible that that experience should not become woven into the debates and philosophical musings that gave the nation's founding instruments their distinctive character. In so far as the nation still bears these marks of its birth, we are all "Indians" —if not in our blood, then in the thinking that to this day shapes many of our political and social assumptions. Jefferson's [Declaration of Independence] expressed many of these ideas...^{CCXXII}

In developing his statements of political principles, Jefferson adhered more closely to American Indian values than did such European Enlightenment thinkers as John Locke. Locke had wedded European notions concerning the supremacy of private property rights to his Indian-influenced conception of man's 'natural rights.' Jefferson, "...like Franklin, saw accumulation of property beyond that needed to satisfy one's

natural requirements as an impediment to liberty.”^{CCXXIII} Thus, Jefferson enshrined “the pursuit of happiness” in place of Locke’s “property” when he offered his famous trilogy of natural rights in the Declaration of Independence.

The anthropologist Jack Weatherford, in expanding on Bruce Johansen’s remarks regarding the Quaker revolutionary Thomas Paine, states that this third American thinker was deeply impressed with Franklin’s written accounts and his own contact with Iroquois social practices. These inspired most of his seminal writings (**Common Sense**, 1776; **The Rights of Man**, 1792; **The Age of Reason**, 1794-1795; and **Agrarian Justice**, 1797).^{CCXXIV}

Paine went so far in his study of Iroquois ways in his service as a treaty commissioner in 1777 as to become conversant in the Iroquois language. He was probably even more familiar with Iroquois thought than was Franklin, who had to rely on interpreters and others’ written accounts.

It was Paine who first proposed the name ‘United States’ for the new American nation, thus echoing the confederation precept of Iroquoian political organization. He carried his understandings from America to France in 1792, where the revolutionary French made Paine an honorary citizen and gave him a seat in their Assembly so that he could help draft their constitution. While in Paris, he extended the synthesis of American Indian and European political traditions he had begun in **Common Sense**. His efforts resulted in two monumental treatises, **The Rights of Man** and **The Age of Reason**.^{CCXXV}

Like Jefferson, Paine also absorbed sufficient understanding of Indian democratic values to question the effect of European-style civilization on the well-being of ordinary people. In his last major work, **Agrarian Justice**, the English-born American commissioner to the Iroquois surveyed the progress of social revolution in his adopted French nation. Paine “...asked a question that still haunts our own time: can civilized

society ever cure the poverty it has created?" His skeptical answer was "that the condition of millions, in every country of Europe, is far worse than if they had been born before civilization began, or had been born among the Indians of North-America at the present day."^{CCXXVI}

The Political System of the Iroquois Confederacy

The Kaianerekowa, or 'Great Peace' of the Iroquois Confederacy was the fundamental agreement on the form and substance of the confederation of the Five Nations (Mohawk, Seneca, Oneida, Onondaga and Cayuga) of these related peoples. Deganawidah (Huron) and Hiawatha (Mohawk) codified the Kaianerekowa in pictograph form on beaded wampum belts. These two men convinced the tribal sachems to form the Iroquois Confederacy.

Traditional Iroquois history places the formation of the Confederacy at some time between 1200 and 1380 A.D., but scholarly dates for this important political event differ considerably. Proposed dates range in the period between 1000 A.D. and 1570 A.D. Many non-Indian scholars accept a date in the 1400s for the foundation of the League.

The Kaianerekowa incorporated important Indian social traditions as well as innovative political ideas. As a part of its complex system of checks and balances, the pact relied on the traditional balance of authority between women and men to safeguard the system from abuses of power.

In traditional Iroquois society, women elders from each clan lineage had the power to select and remove the League's 49 active political leaders (*sachems*). The male sachems spoke for the Confederacy and carried out the responsibilities associated with each named position of leadership, but they were always answerable to the collective wisdom of the council of the women.^{CCXXVII}

This power to elect leaders and the power to recall leaders who acted inappropriately was a frequent feature in American Indian political life. Even

Moctezuma Xocoyotzin, the huey-tlatoani or 'Great Speaker' of the Aztec Empire, was replaced by the clan representatives on the Aztec Council of Nobles when, as a Spanish captive, he urged his people to cooperate with the conquistadors.^{ccxxviii}

A further balance existed between the power of the Iroquois war chiefs (the military leaders) and the sachems (the civil leaders). No one could exercise both offices simultaneously. Thus the Iroquois Confederacy checked the scope of the powers of both civil and military leaders.^{ccxxix}

The Kaianerekowa possessed other features which the colonials and the leaders of the infant U.S. emulated in framing their early political documents. The Iroquois had established a mechanism for adding to the League. They did this by voting on the incorporation of new member tribes on a basis of equal participation. This ran counter to the long-standing European tradition of extending a political system through the establishment of subordinate colonies or dependent fiefdoms.^{ccxxx}

The system used by the Iroquois nations to choose their representatives to the Great Council Fire of the League was later emulated by the U.S. Electoral College. Similarly, the Congress adopted many of the rules of protocol which the League used to ensure orderly, respectful consideration of the business at hand. The Iroquoian rules of procedure also assured the contribution of each representative to the proceedings of the Great Council.^{ccxxxi} These protocols contrasted greatly with the noisy, often rude conduct of political business in the British Parliament.

European-Americans later also borrowed the consensual model of Indian decision-making when they incorporated the Algonkin caucus system into the deliberative processes of the political parties which arose after the adoption of the Constitution.^{ccxxxii} Other features of the Iroquois Confederacy, especially equality of rights for women and the concepts of referendum and recall, were later added piece by piece to the federal system as U.S. social philosophy developed and public opinion came to respect and support ideas that were closer to American Indian norms than to European traditions.

The Influence of American Indian Democratic Ideals Spreads

In his recent work on the impact of American Indian cultures upon world civilization, Jack Weatherford argues that “[s]carcely any political theory or movement of the last three centuries has not shown the impact of this great political awakening that the Indians provoked among the Europeans”.^{CCXXXIII} He cites the influence of the romantic idea of the ‘noble savage’ upon the explosion of anarchist thought in the 19th century, and traces one of its most significant branches, that of pacifist anarchism, from Thoreau to Gandhi to Martin Luther King, Jr.^{CCXXXIV}

20th century historians who have acknowledged (in varying degree) and described (to various extents) the influence of American Indian thought and social practice on modern social, economic, and political philosophy have included Charles Sanford, Roy Harvey Pearce, Paul Wallace, Robert Berkhofer, Michael Kraus, Henry Steele Commager, James E. Gillespie, Frank Kramer, Samuel Eliot Morrison, Ferdinand Braudel, James Axtell, and Tzvetan Todorov, among others.^{CCXXXV}

Weatherford and Johansen document in their respective books the worldwide influence of the League of the Iroquois, an example of confederation as a form of political organization. They demonstrate through organizational charters, letters and other records that this Iroquois influence extends even into the 20th century. The Iroquois Confederacy provided a model for the framers of the League of Nations and later the United Nations, beginning with the erstwhile history professor Woodrow Wilson.^{CCXXXVI}

Recall Thomas Paine’s despair at the state of European social life at the beginning of the 19th century. It is a compelling argument for the power of ideas that the progressive incorporation of American Indian democratic values into Europe and elsewhere during the 19th and 20th centuries has contributed to improvements in the

social status of many ordinary people. The impact of American Indian ideals has reduced the influence of monarchy and the status of hereditary nobility around the world. The American Indian example has also helped extend recognition of the equality of rights between women and men.

Participatory democracy, that widespread American Indian political practice, has even arisen from the ashes of the 20th century's totalitarian dictatorships to give hope and direction for Europe's entry into the 21st century. It can be argued that Mikhail Gorbachev's insistence on the concepts of 'glasnost' (openness) and 'perestroika' (restructuring) in the former Soviet Union, among peoples that have never sustained a tradition of democratic limitation of their rulers, was yet another social aftershock from the Contact between Indian America and the rest of the world. It is certain that the rapid and radical transformation of the social and political life of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union which began in 1989 was driven by one word, 'democracy,' the American Indian social ideal.

Women and Children in American Indian Cultures

Women's Social Status and Economic Roles and Rights

It is appropriate to state explicitly something that has been implicit in much of this Essay. The achievements and contributions of American Indian cultures are the combined product of Indian women and men together. Society is impossible and inconceivable (in both senses of that word!) without continual interaction and mutual support between men and women.

It is a good generalization that American Indian women in many, perhaps most, of the different cultures occupy social positions of equality with men. Most Indian cultures do recognize considerable economic and some spiritual role specialization in the relationships between the sexes. However, relatively few Indian cultures have fostered beliefs that women are inferior to men or are incapable of exercising community responsibility and power by reason of sex alone.

Women's spiritual power is widely recognized and acknowledged among American Indian cultures. Nearly all Indian societies traditionally incorporate women's talents as healers, dreamers, prophets and shamans into the accepted system of ceremonies, beliefs, stories and spiritual practices of their communities.

Women's powers in spiritual matters are generally thought of as somewhat distinctive and a proper complement to those of men; thus, women's power balances that of men. The community's spiritual gifts would be incomplete and lopsided without their contribution. As just one example, a widespread medicine society, the Midéwiwin, arose in the early 19th century among many Algonkin and Siouan tribes of the north-central part of North America in response to the social dislocations brought about by Contact. This merit-based organization of healers and holy people was equally open to women as well as men. Women earned leading positions in the Midé societies through

the practice of medical skills and observance of a high standard of morality that combined traditional Indian and Christian elements.^{ccxxxvii}

Womens' economic positions in many of the agricultural societies of North and South America are well established by rights to the ownership of the farm plots. Examples are the Iroquois of the Northeastern U.S. and the Timbira of the Amazon Basin.^{ccxxxviii}

Anthony Leeds' description of the Yaruro of southern Venezuela shows that their economic activities are ordinarily subject to a strict division of labor on a sexual basis. Among the Yaruro, ownership and inheritance of the materials and products of economic activities falls to the members of the sex that works with the materials or produces the final product. Thus, Yaruro women work with and own pottery, baskets, mats, manioc squeezers, cordware such as hammocks, garden produce and the prepared, consumable foodstuffs. They also own the female domestic animals, just as the men own the male domestic animals.^{ccxxxix}

While details naturally vary from tribe to tribe, as will be illustrated below, this pattern of sexual division of labor and ownership generally applied throughout the Americas. It persists today in the more traditional tribes.

Women traditionally filled an economic function as the agriculturalists, gatherers and food processors of the majority of tribes, those that lived by a mixed economy of hunting, gathering, and farming or gardening.^{ccxl} Men's economic roles generally tended to focus on hunting, tool making, fishing (where practiced) and the clearing of land for the fields. Both sexes also had specialties in producing manufactured items, but there is such a variability in these economic sex role assignments that it is difficult to generalize about them. This specialization pattern was sometimes altered after Contact pressures had forced the men out of significant roles as hunters, but it remains the most

common division of labor in those American Indian cultures that have preserved a traditional mixed economy.

However, here as in all aspects of American Indian life, diversity of details is evident. In Indian cultures that have a predominantly agricultural base, the division of farming tasks and the rights to ownership of the land and its products can take on the most varied arrangements. Among the matrilineal Hopi, for example, the men own the fields and do most of the planting and tending of corn. The whole family works the harvest, after which the corn becomes the property of the women of the clan. Similarly, Hopi men build the houses which then become the property of the women of the family.^{ccxli}

In the Aztec state, farming land was owned by *calpulli* (clan corporations).^{ccxlii} Men in each clan supplied the field labor while the clan women turned the raw produce into consumable forms.

In the days before the Cheyenne people largely abandoned agriculture for a hunting way of life on the Great Plains, the women were the principal farmers. They were sometimes assisted by the older men. The Cheyenne women were the practitioners of the Corn Dance ceremonies in honor of the most important crop.^{ccxlili}

These few examples show something of the diversity in the social and economic status of American Indian women. Tribal traditions about the relative social status of men and women similarly show a great diversity. Probably the most common view among American Indians is that women and men are different but equal.

This is well illustrated by a widely-distributed story in North America that is sometimes called the 'River of Separation' story. In one common version, it tells how, after mutual impatience between Coyote and his wife Mole, men and women tried to live apart on opposite sides of a magical river Coyote created. The isolated use of their complementary skills eventually caused their condition to decline. The men, while

surviving mostly on meat with few vegetables, suffered from poor cooking and deteriorating clothing and tents. The women's diet, being mostly plants low in fats and protein, caused them to lose weight. The women's clothing and tents were initially kept looking nice, but the lack of fresh hides caused deterioration to set in there, too. And, naturally, after a few months no children were being born. Everyone was suffering from loneliness even more than from the economic isolation. Eventually, people of both sexes saw it was best to be together and cooperate respectfully for mutual benefit. Negotiating through a man-woman who was the only person able to cross the River, they finally convinced Coyote to dry up the River of Separation.^{ccxliv}

This example suggests an understanding of the pattern of relationships and relative status between women and men in a great many American Indian cultures. The writings of many European-American explorers and anthropologists record some variations from this pattern. However, most of the literature written by outsiders about Indian women's status must be read with the understanding that the social dynamics of Indian society were often misperceived by Europeans and European-Americans. Statements about Indian women being virtual slaves to their husbands and fathers exist in earlier European-American writings and are sometimes repeated even today. Many modern scholars think that these reflect the racism, sexism or both that conditioned the social views of many of the European-American observers and writers, most of whom were male.^{ccxlv}

A very instructive contrast between the social status of 18th century Indian women and European colonial women in the Northeast appears in James Axtell's book **The Invasion Within** in a chapter entitled "The White Indians". Axtell, a professor of history at the College of William and Mary, gathered documents from captivity narratives, the utterances of contemporary historians, churchmen and military officers, and the recorded words of Shawnee leaders in the 18th century. These show that the great

majority of the English and French colonists who were adopted or married into Indian families preferred the quality of their life as Indians to that which they knew as members of European households.^{ccxlv}

One such woman, Mary Jemison, a captive adopted into the Seneca nation and later married to a Delaware, once made the telling remark the she and her Indian sisters “had no master to oversee or drive us, so that we could work as leisurely as we pleased...” She further compared women’s lives in the two cultures by stating that Indian women’s cares were “certainly...not half as numerous, nor as great.” ^{ccxlvii}

Jemison and other European women who experienced life in both their own cultures and in Indian communities offered instructive comparisons between the two ways. Combined with the facts of Indian women’s economic, social and political status, their views constitute a challenge to the historical myths about women’s place in Indian life.

Recall that in the Iroquois nations, the female clan elders elected and could remove the men who served as the sachems (the political spokesmen and legislators) of the nations that made up the Confederacy. Most relationships and property, including the inheritance of eligibility for clan, tribal, or Confederacy office, passed in the female line.^{ccxlviii} The councils of the women also had the right to send their own orators to present their concerns before the council-fires of the sachems of each tribe or the Confederacy.^{ccxlix} Women such as they were hardly slaves, and would proudly resent being thought of as such.

Despite diversity in the social traditions of the many American Indian cultures, they have long demonstrated that equality of the sexes and differentiated sex roles are compatible bases for social organization and interaction between the sexes.

Historical research by several authors has shown that the Iroquois were not unique in recognizing the social and political talents of women. Other peoples recognized

women's potential and gave them high place in tribal social structures. Women served as leaders of many American Indian communities throughout the histories recorded in both the oral and written traditions, and they continue to do so today.

During the early 1500s, it was the female *cacique* (village leader) Anacoana who organized the welcome of Nicolás de Ovando to Hispaniola in his role as Columbus' replacement as governor. Her hopes for better treatment of the Arawak were ended quickly and horribly. Ovando set fire to her house, at which the welcome was prepared, trapping her and other caciques, all of whom died in the fire.^{ccl}

The Spaniard Hernando De Soto, in his explorations in Georgia in 1540, was received at the village of Cutifachique, which was governed by a woman chief. He eventually took her hostage and removed her from her village, along with a large store of pearls. As he traveled onward he found that the 'Lady of Cutifachique' was a revered person in many of the neighboring towns as well. She eventually managed to escape him and return to her own village.^{ccli}

Among the Algonkin tribes of the Northeast, two notable Wampanoag women sachems and war leaders were Wetamoo of the village of Pocasset and Awashonks of the village of Saconnet.^{cclii}

Awashonks succeeded her late husband Tolony as sachem of the Saconnets shortly before the outbreak of King Philip's War in 1675. When hostilities broke out, she at first sent warriors to support Metacom, as the Saconnet were part of the Wampanoag Confederacy of which he was the leading sachem. However, after a meeting with one of the English commanders, Awashonks decided to support the colonists. Her son Peter Awashonks was among the Saconnet warriors who fought in defense of the New England colonies.

For a decade in the 1660s and 1670s, Wetamoo, widow of the sachem Massasoit's son Alexander, was herself recognized as the sachem or village chief of Pocasset. Her remarriage to a member of the family of the leading sachem of the

Narragansett tribe enabled her to ally the Narragansett with her own people when her former brother-in-law Metacom ('King Philip') went to war against the English colonists of New England in 1675. Wetamoo herself led the 300 warriors of her village in several important battles, and she was a survivor of the massacre in the Great Swamp Fight of December 1675. She was eventually killed in a battle against the English in August 1676.^{ccliii}

The same year in which Wetamoo died, Anne, the widow and successor of the Pamunkey sachem Totopotomoi, led her warriors in defense of the colonial government of Virginia against the rebellion of Nathaniel Bacon.^{ccliv}

In the Arkansas country of the Caddo, the Spanish explorer Solis found in 1767 another large village ruled by a woman chief.^{cclv}

The Cherokee of the Southeastern U.S. have long followed the practice of female suffrage in the selection of chiefs. Cherokee women also historically possessed their own council which had the power and authority to challenge decisions of the tribal chiefs when they disagreed.^{cclvi} Since the late 1980s, Wilma Mankiller has served as the elected principal chief of the Cherokee Nation, the largest tribe in the United States.^{cclvii}

Among the Natchez of the Lower Mississippi valley, nobility passed in the female line. The woman most closely related to the principal male noble (called the 'Great Sun') was known as the White Woman. Although she did not govern, her word carried great authority among the common people, and it was her son who would inherit the office of Great Sun.^{cclviii}

In the Okanogan country of north-central Washington State and southern British Columbia, the Sinkaietk and some of their neighbors occasionally elected female chiefs whose guidance to the tribe was on par with that of the male chiefs.^{cclix}

The Hopi, a matrilineal clan-based society, have a woman in each traditional village known as the 'Keeper of the Fire' who assists and counsels the male village leader, who is a relative. The women clan elders customarily were and remain

influential in settling family disputes. They are consulted in family and clan matters by the male village leaders.^{cclx}

Women Warriors

Effective and physically strong women with an inclination to war functioned in various tribes not only as warriors, but as war party leaders. In addition to Wetamoo Anne and Awashonks, mentioned above, other feminine Indian hunters, warriors and leaders are documented in a recent book by Walter Williams.^{cclxi}

He mentions the 1576 expedition of Pedro de Gandavo in northeastern Brazil which encountered the Tupinamba. Among them de Gandavo found a prominent group of warrior women. Likening them to the women warriors mentioned in Greek legends, de Gandavo named the river on which the Tupinamba lived the Amazon.^{cclxii}

Williams also presents a few specific accounts of women who were noted as warriors, hunters, and band leaders among the Yuma of Arizona, the Kaska and the Kutchin of the Yukon, the Ingalik of Alaska, and the Absaroka ('Crow') of Montana. Notable among these was the captured Gros Ventre girl who became known among the Crow as Woman Chief in the mid-nineteenth century. She rose through her skill as a hunter and warrior to become the third-ranked chief of her adoptive tribe.^{cclxiii}

Contemporary Indian Women

American Indian cultures have made the difficult transitions imposed in the Contact Era and have struggled for survival and a new social synthesis of native and immigrant customs and traditions. Indian women have remembered, worked and done their part to guide their communities through the transformations of the last several centuries to our own time.

The biographies of a few of these women have been written, but many others are known only to their communities and families. We know of Dr. Susan LaFlesche

Picotte, the Omaha doctor who dealt with public sanitation and alcohol problems in her community and took on problems raised by the Dawes Act.^{cclxiv} Zitkala-Sa, the Lakota woman who became known as the writer Gertrude Bonnin, was an early 20th century reform leader and a founder of the Society of American Indians.

Nampeyo (Hopi-Tewa) led a revival of her Hano Pueblo's traditions in pottery during the 1920s, helping to strengthen the economic foundation of her community in a traditional manner. Maria Tallchief (Osage) became the United States' first internationally-recognized prima ballerina in the 1950s. (See the Physical Education/Health, Language Arts, and Art Essays for an introduction to the stories of these four women.)

Mary Ross, a direct descendant of the 19th century Cherokee chief John Ross, was a practicing aeronautical engineer at Lockheed from 1942 to 1973.^{cclxv} Janet McCloud, Nisqually, has been a prominent and effective leader for the recognition of Indian treaty rights in the Pacific Northwest since the 1960s. And, Wilma Mankiller, as mentioned above, serves at the time of this writing as the principal chief of the most populous American Indian tribe in the United States.

American Indian women today contribute to the sciences, the arts, religion, politics, business and community projects in both their Indian and neighboring societies. They continue to observe and keep alive the traditions of their tribes. They do their best to hold their families together, often in the face of crushing poverty and serious personal problems. As always, and in everything, American Indian women persist in doing what always needs doing if human society is to live.

American Indian Children

Anthropologists, historians, social workers and many other writers have recorded (sometimes with clarity and often with incomprehension or confusion) a great many things about traditional American Indian child rearing practices. There are informative

works in this social science tradition, but it should be kept in mind that what is available in such works is mostly an outsider perspective.

Some Indians have offered autobiographical statements of their childhood experiences, placing their early years in the social contexts of their families, tribes and times. Three examples of this latter type of source that come to mind (interestingly, all three are Lakota, whatever that coincidence may mean) are Dr. Charles Eastman's **Indian Boyhood**, Nicholas Black Elk's accounts in several books co-authored with non-Indian writers, and the wonderfully humorous personal history of John Fire Lane Deer, told in Richard Erdoes' **Lame Deer: Seeker of Visions**.

These sources offer rather limited perspectives, whether in the form of the theory-driven, selective, outsider explanations of many of the anthropologists or the lighter, often better-interpreted and distinctively personal views of people who grew up inside American Indian homes and cultures. Frankly, text sources can only offer teachers a limited amount of help in developing an understanding of who particular American Indian children are and of their place in their communities.

A teacher or any other adult who needs such an understanding can really only seek insight through extended personal contact with Indian families and children. What is offered here, in a text source with its obvious limitations, are several observations about Indian children today from a Indian teacher who has had a chance to watch and talk with many children and read a little bit of research.

The American Indian population is young, in demographic terms. Senator Daniel Inouye, the Chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs, noted in early 1990 that "statistics tell us that by the year 2000 one-half of the Indian population will be under 10 years of age."^{cclxvi} The 1980 U.S. Census revealed that the tribe with the highest median age at that time was the Chickasaw at 27.6 years.

Many American Indian children, the majority in fact, are raised in the most extreme poverty that exists in the Western Hemisphere. The poorest county in the United States is not in Appalachia or the Mississippi Delta country, but is Todd County in South Dakota, which consists of the Rosebud Sioux Reservation. The 1980 U.S. Census reported that the Navajo Reservation is the nation's poorest (it is far larger than a single county, so this data does not conflict with the finding about Todd County in South Dakota).

Reservation families continually face unemployment rates between 30 and 90 percent. In 1986, the Department of the Interior reported that 41 percent of reservation Indians lived below the Federal poverty level. Indian family incomes average 40 percent of the level of non-Indian family incomes in the United States.^{cclxvii} Reliable statistics on American Indian poverty outside the U.S. are few, but reports indicate that the economic situation of Indian families in many other American nations is even worse.

American Indian children face other challenges as they grow up. One serious problem is that alcoholism rates among Indians remain high despite recent progress in many communities. Too many Indian children are still being born affected by the alcohol use of their parents, as the Modoc author Michael Dorris has documented in a recent book.^{cclxviii} Crime on some reservations is also a serious problem, as was documented in 1981 by the U.S. Civil Rights Commission in its report **Indian Tribes: a Continuing Quest for Survival**.

Educational opportunities on many reservations remain limited by low expenditures, although the chance to learn appropriate, tribal-specific academic content and values from Indian teachers has improved in recent decades thanks to tribal and Federal efforts. Urban Indian children, who frequently live in poorer neighborhoods, suffer from well-known problems in urban schools, are often present in small numbers

with few if any Indian teachers as role models, and generally experience a curriculum that distorts or omits most aspects of their cultural heritage.

Another challenge faced by American Indian children is in the form of a range of government policies that have (and still do in many countries) promoted the separation of Indian children from their families and communities. In the U.S., long-term separation in off-reservation boarding schools is no longer forced on Indian children, but a few of these schools still operate on a voluntary basis. The widespread practice of adoptive placement of Indian children in non-Indian homes, once practiced by many states' welfare systems, has been curtailed somewhat in the U.S. by the national Indian Child Welfare Act of 1978. However, implementation of the Act's protections has been more complete in some states than in others, and cultural isolation still results from such adoptions. Finally, in those Latin American countries which actively persecuted their Indian populations throughout the 1980s, many American Indian children have become orphaned as a result of military and paramilitary 'death squad' killings in the Indian villages.

If the challenges faced by American Indian children are great, so too is the support offered by many families, especially those which have preserved and adapted traditional child-raising practices to modern conditions. Indian children often have the benefit of a functional extended family situation, where grandparents, aunts and uncles, and other siblings and cousins take much responsibility for care giving and role modeling.

Indian children are also traditionally granted a high degree of respect and responsibility as individuals within the family. Parents and other older family members carefully watch and learn who a child is as a person, with attention paid to personal interests, proclivities and talents, which are then encouraged and nurtured. Violent discipline of children is almost universally disapproved of in American Indian society. Instead, children are preferably guided by positive examples, by joking and teasing and

by traditional stories about the consequences of inappropriate attitudes and actions. Indian children tend, as a result, not to learn so much by asking questions, but by observing and trying things out for themselves, sure of supportive feedback when they need it.

American Indian Women and Children in Latin America

Many of the Catholicized American Indian cultures of Latin America have adapted and incorporated European patterns of social relationships. These have modified the indigenous social structures to varying extents. Catholic influences seem strongest concerning sexual roles and the bonds of social and economic obligations affecting children. Michael Olien offers information on the Nahua village of Tepoztlán in Mexico to illustrate these generalizations.^{cclxix} More general studies of the status of Latin American women, including American Indian women, can be read in Helen Safa and June Nash Safa's book **Women and Change in Latin America** and in **Women in Latin America** by Marjorie Bingham and Susan Gross.^{cclxx}

The adopted practices of a sexual double standard and the norms of 'machismo' continue to powerfully influence social and sexual relations between women and men in Latinized American Indian communities, although changes to restore the traditional balance between men and women are occurring.

Young men often engage in sexual relations before (and outside) marriage, and may even gain a measure of social prestige by doing so. Young women are socially restricted while in their parents' home and are expected to conform to a value and behavior system known to anthropologists as a 'virginity complex'. Under the terms of these values, a 'proper' woman 'submits' to the 'duty' of sexual intercourse only within the marriage relationship.

Women in Latinized American Indian cultures may have limited opportunities for social contacts outside the home, and this does not substantially change when they leave the home of their parents for the home of a husband. Within her home, a Catholic Indian woman is conventionally expected to submit herself and her children to her husband's will, and may be considered by her female in-laws to have bewitched her husband should she come to dominate the household.

Actual home life often differs from these conventions, however. Among the patrilineal Maya, men hold most of a village's public positions. Women exercise substantial authority in the home. Family lineages are the major social unit in Mayan society. The major household social and economic relations within the village community are jointly arranged between the women and the village's older men.^{cclxxi} Many other modern Catholic Indian women assert their own rights and definitions of their home and social roles in ways similar to their Latina contemporaries.

Husbands in many Catholicized Indian cultures customarily expect their wives to bear many children in quick succession, but tend to be remote and formal in their own relationships with their children. The relationship between mother and children is, conversely, intimate. Many American Indian mothers in the Latinized cultures have adopted to some degree the Catholic cultural norm which encourages a mother to fill a role as the self-sacrificing center of the family. The children often accept the mother's self-image and may place great demands upon her for the satisfaction of their own needs.^{cclxxii} Thus, a modern Latin American Indian woman may find that this acculturated self-image becomes socially a self-fulfilling prophesy.

Another of the powerful patterns of social relationship in contemporary Latin American Indian communities is the *compadrazgo* system. This involves as a three-way relationship between parents, children, and godparents. Each of the possible pairs of roles is defined in a carefully managed network of social and economic obligations.

These obligations go well beyond the similar arrangements sometimes found among some social groups in the United States.

Between parents and godparents, the term *compadre* signifies 'co-parent' status in regard to their relations to the children. In their own interactions, parents and godparents are deeply involved in each other's social and economic arrangements. Parents often return a male godparent's support for a child by helping the godparent in his ambitions to fill an expensive public ceremonial office, called a 'cargo', in the village or town.^{cclxxiii}

This system of relationships supports families as a whole, as well as the children. It also adds to individual and family obligations for reciprocation. The *compadre* relationships can be expanded by choosing different godparents to be responsible for different aspects of a child's life, such as sponsoring various passage rituals. The relationships may involve elaborations of existing relationships, as when blood relatives also agree to take on the burdens of sponsoring festivals for the child as godparents.^{cclxxiv}

Intermarriage and Culture

In the first centuries of Contact, intermarriage of Indians with Europeans or Africans of either sex most often occurred when captive or runaway members of those latter geocultural groups were integrated into the family structure of the tribe. Dr. Jack Forbes (Delaware-Powhatan) has pointed out that intermarriage between the three races also sometimes occurred outside the Americas in Europe and Africa.^{cclxxv} Today, intermarriage is a common occurrence for Indian people; over half of all married Indians in the U.S. were married to a non-Indian in 1980.^{cclxxvi}

In Central and South America, many of the early Spanish colonists enslaved many Indian women and forced them to become wives and concubines. This also happened to a some extent in the early colonial period in North America. However, force was not

always involved when non-Indians entered into family relations with American Indian people and their kin networks. Sometimes these relations followed from a mutual choice and adaptation by both Indians and non-Indians. This was often true of Indian relations with the French and the Africans.

One source of information on the early relationships formed between American Indians and African-Americans (with a focus on Portland's history) is the first chapter in Elizabeth McLagan's book **A Peculiar Paradise**.^{cclxxvii} A more general source is the book **The Black Indians** by William Katz.^{cclxxviii} The most significant recent volume on the subject is **Black Africans and Native Americans** by Dr. Jack Forbes (Delaware/Powhatan).^{cclxxix}

These volumes and others attest to the fact of early and continuing relationships between Indians and Africans in both hemispheres. The books by Forbes and Katz show that marriage and adoption served to bring Africans and African-Americans into the kin and tribal networks of many Indian tribes. This occurred particularly in the Southeastern United States before the Indian Removal Act caused the two groups to become generally separated. It occurred to a lesser extent on the frontier, where James Beckwourth and other black mountain men, guides and soldiers frequently married into or were adopted into Western tribes.

'Medicine Calf' Beckwourth was notable in that he married into the Crow tribe and rose high enough in their esteem to be made a subchief. Among the Seminole, a tribe with a substantial African membership, John Horse was a respected black subchief under Wild Cat during the years before and after the Civil War. Over a period of several decades, they led their bands from Florida to Oklahoma to Texas to Mexico and back to Texas seeking freedom, land and peace for Indian and African-American tribal members alike.^{cclxxx}

In the American regions that became Canada and the United States, the European frontier communities were home to relatively few women for several generations. European men, especially the French trappers and traders, gladly entered into relationships with Indian women as an alternative to an unwelcome bachelorhood. As Europeans spread into North America, the intermarriage of Indian women with the isolated traders and fur trappers of the frontier became a major early means of establishing social relations between the geocultural groups.

A significant example was the marriage of the European-American trader William Bent to the Cheyenne Owl Woman in the mid-1800s. The Bent trading post became an important focus of economic, social and political interaction on the Arkansas River. The sons of William Bent and Owl Woman became influential warriors in their mother's band while also serving as interpreters and intermediaries with the whites as trade gave way to U.S. settlement in the region.

The establishment of interracial sexual and family relations in much of North America did not generally develop directly out of the power relationships of conquest, rape and enslavement. The nature of Indian social organization in the north gave the Europeans little chance to usurp commanding positions in Indian society, in comparison to what happened in the Spanish dominions in Mexico and Peru. Few had the opportunity to gain Indian wives or concubines by forcibly taking the position of a sachem among the Delaware, Powhatan Confederacy or Iroquois, for example.

Instead, Europeans in the north encountered American Indian groups where the predominant social systems were generally based on clan lineages. Individuals' rights to decide on matters of social relations outside those with their clan relatives were generally respected. Most American Indian women made their own decisions with regard to premarital sex, marriage and divorce.^{cclxxxix} Even where clan or tribal custom restricted women's rights as individuals to choose to enter or leave marriage, someone

in the family or clan, often the woman's parents, exercised choice in the selection of marriage partners. Europeans who wished to marry Indians thus generally had to obtain Indian consent, and Indians who wished to marry Europeans were free to choose.

Choice, whether exercised by an individual woman or her elders, was frequently influenced by considerations of the Indians' need as a group to establish traditionally sanctioned, understandable forms of relationships with other groups of people. In this regard, North American Indian societies tended to differ from those in Mesoamerica, where "marriages are not thought of as the merger of two families but rather the establishment of a bond between two individuals."^{cclxxxii}

The cosmology and value systems of most Indian peoples in North America emphasized the concept of relationship as a means of maintaining balance among the many beings and powers that are involved in personal and social life, including sexual life. Considerations of economic relations and of peace between different groups of people were, and are, among those complex forces which Indian societies tried to manage for the well-being of all their known world. When the Europeans appeared on the scene, this relational perspective was soon extended to them as a new part of the circle of life in which Indians participated.

The conquest of Paraguay in 1537 resulted in the establishment of a Spanish settlement at Asunción on the Paraná River. The few hundred conquistadors quickly intermarried with native Guaraní women and soon adopted the Guaraní practice of polygamy. They and their male mestizo descendants would frequently marry ten or more Guaraní women. Their majority in colonial Paraguayan homes enabled the women and their children to keep other Guaraní customs and the Guaraní language prominent in the home life and general culture of the region up to the present.^{cclxxxiii} Four hundred and fifty years after the Conquest, Guaraní is still one of the official

languages of Paraguay, and the Indians and mixed-bloods make up 95% of the modern population.

Examples of intermarriage too numerous to detail abound in the history of the relationship between the races. Familiar unions which can serve to show the significance of the Indians' extension of their pattern of relationships to the Europeans (and to others from the Old World who would follow) include the marriage of Wahunsonacock's (the chief known as Powhatan) daughter Pocahontas to John Rolfe of the Jamestown colony in 1614. This wedding was arranged by Powhatan to secure peace in the uneasy relationship between the Algonkian Powhatan Confederacy and the plantation of the Virginia Company.

Nearly two centuries later, the marriage of the Shoshone woman Sacajawea to the French Canadian fur trapper Toussaint Charbonneau associated her with the European-American world. This relationship enabled the Lewis and Clark expedition of 1804 to obtain Sacajawea's crucial assistance in establishing needed relations with the tribes along their journey to the Pacific Ocean.

Indian families and tribes also often benefited from marriage relationships with European-Americans. Valued trading relationships with fur trappers and frontier traders were often cemented between the newcomers and the tribes through marriage. The existing extended family, clan and band social groups gained preferential access to European-American trade goods at the same time that they gained family members. Some of the intermarried European-Americans integrated well into tribal social and economic life, becoming valued hunters, warriors, traders and even members of the council circle.^{cclxxxiv}

Further, the offspring of these interracial unions sometimes became valuable intercessors for their peoples on both sides when conflicts arose. Settlement often depended on negotiations and efforts at mutual understanding, and the mixed-bloods sometime could facilitate these better than anyone else. The example of the Bent

brothers in the mid-19th century has already been mentioned. Other mixed-bloods, like Quanah Parker of the Comanche, became influential tribal leaders in the traditional style. Parker and others were sometimes able to use their understanding of European-American ways to help their native relatives make the difficult transitions and cultural adaptations that were imposed as freedom came to an end in the 19th century and American Indians tried to cope with the reservation system.

However, some of these marriages and the mixed-blood children that resulted had their detrimental aspects. The spread of the diseases that decimated all tribes was often facilitated by contacts in trade, and the fact that intermarriage tended to prolong and multiply those contacts probably increased the impact of disease upon the tribal populations. Another problem was that traditional full-bloods (of both races) often regarded the mixed-bloods as unreliable and uncommitted to Indian (or European) ways and values. Experience was also to show that the mixed-bloods were often a means by which a significant part of the reservation lands passed out of Indian control and into non-Indian hands.

The attitudes and repercussions resulting from intermarriage have produced social tensions and divisions that persist today. Tensions over the social position of mixed-bloods are powerful factors in the contemporary internal politics of a great many tribes and urban Indian communities.

And yet...

A reality of modern Indian life for many tribes in the United States is the recovery from the demographic disaster of the 19th century. The U.S. census of 1890 found that only 248,253 Indians remained alive within the contiguous United States. The 1990 census showed that nearly 1.9 million U.S. citizens identify themselves as American Indians. A large part of that six-fold recovery during the 20th century involves persons of mixed-blood.^{cclxxxv} In a very real way, the contribution of mixed-race Indian individuals who commit themselves to participating in our traditions as well as our

modern cultures within Indian Country is an important element in the long-term survival of those cultures.

APPENDIX A: CHRONOLOGY

A Chronology of American Indian History and Contributions in the Social Sciences

Dates in **boldface** indicate events primarily due to American Indian initiatives; dates in plain type indicate events primarily due to initiatives by others.

- ca.-7000** The earliest known deliberate burial in the Valley of Mexico, a woman at Tepexpan, is face down with the legs drawn up underneath the body and without offerings.
- ca.-7000 to -5000** Burials in the Tehuacan Valley of Mexico show elaborate funerary wrapping of bodies in blankets and nets, sometimes with the heads removed and skulls smashed and placed in baskets. It is possible that one of these burials reveals an early human sacrifice.
- ca.-6000 to 1650** Russell Cave in northeastern Alabama is inhabited nearly continuously by a succession of cultures.
- 2600** Buildings and pottery which appear to be ancestral Mayan in design are created in what is now Belize [found by Norman Hammond].
- 1500** The earliest known permanent village settlement in the Americas is established at a site now called Chiapa de Corzo, in the Mexican state of Chiapas at a notable cultural crossroads just below the Isthmus of Tehuantepec.
- 600** The earliest confirmed evidence of full-fledged Mayan cities appears. The site now called Nakbe, in the forests of northern Guatemala, has several large stone pyramids up to 150 feet high, and a group of stone buildings and temples, about 100 major structures in all. Finds at the site include a limestone slab with the figures of two Mayan rulers and a god.
- 200** The Mayan city later called El Mirador is established in the northern Guatemalan lowlands.

- ca. 50** The ancient religious center of Teotihuacan in the Valley of Mexico is first developed as an urban center.
- 325** Teotihuacan is mentioned in written records for the first time as a city. It is known to have a state form of government and extensive trade, political, and cultural connections throughout Mexico, southward to the Mayan regions of the Yucatán and Guatemala, and northward into the American Southwest. Teotihuacan trade is supported by its system of conquest tribute which yields large agricultural surpluses and by the city's production of fine trade goods such as pottery, obsidian blades, textiles and art pieces.
- 378** On January 16th, warriors from the Mayan kingdom of Tikal conquer the neighboring city of Uaxactun. This marks the emergence of the concept of empire among the Maya, a turning point in their history. [Prior to this time, the wars among Mayan kingdoms had been fought for noble captives destined for sacrifice. The conquest of Uaxactun by the kingly *ahau* ('lord') Great Jaguar Paw and his general and probable brother Smoking Frog is the first Mayan war of conquest in which one kingdom is forcibly taken over and ruled by another. Teotihuacano trade ambassadors are the probable source of the concept of a war of conquest, as well as the idea for the first use by Mayan warriors of the *atlatl* ('spear thrower') as a weapon of war instead of the hunt.]
- 470** Mayan cities reach a high level of social and technical development in the Classic Era of Mayan culture.
- 600** Teotihuacan reaches its zenith as a metropolis, covering 9 square miles of completely urbanized settlement, with a population estimated at 125,000. At this time, it is the sixth largest city in the world.
- 700** Teotihuacan is destroyed and burned, possibly by northern tribes who continue to occupy the city for some 200 years. [Survivors are believed to have fled to the small city of Atzacapotzalco on the western shore of the Lake of the Moon in the Valley of Mexico, but their culture never revived significantly. The Teotihuacan state may have fallen due to weakening of its agricultural base brought on by ecological damage and a change in climate.]
- 800** The great Mayan city-states decline; the Putún Maya rise to power as seafaring and overland traders and mercenaries. They eventually introduce metalworking techniques from South America into Central America.
- The great invasion of the Chichimec peoples (Zacateca, Tepehuan, Pame, and Guachichil) from northern Mexico brings an end to the 'Classic' period of culture in Mesoamerica. This time is comparable to the disruption of cultural life in Europe at the time of the Gothic destruction of the late

Roman Empire some 400 years earlier. The Chichimec introduce the bow and arrow into Central America, although this weapon is not widely adopted by the heirs of the conquered peoples.

- 900** The Maya abandon their cities in the Mexican lowlands and central Mexico and emigrate to the Yucatán peninsula to found new centers (*circa* **964** to **1191**).
- 908** The Tolteca-Chichimeca (commonly known as the 'Toltec'), led by Mixcoatl, found their state in Mesoamerica at Colhuacan. At some time in the decade of 970, his son Topiltzin, known as Quetzalcoatl (also the name of a major god known widely throughout Mesoamerica as the 'Feathered Serpent' and with whom Topiltzin is closely identified in legendary history), moves the Toltec capital to the ancient town of Tollan, which he rebuilds into the city of Tula [in the modern Mexican state of Hidalgo].
- 987** Topiltzin, priest-king of Tula and the peaceful cult of Quetzalcoatl, is forced to leave the city with his followers after a struggle with the adherents of the warrior-sorcerer god Tezcatlipoca ('Smoking Mirror'). Tula flourishes in his absence as a Sparta-like warrior city-state. Nahuatl poetry beautifully describes the struggle and its outcome, when, after the killing of Tezcatlipoca, Quetzalcoatl is supposed to have journeyed southward beyond the Valley of Mexico, eventually arriving at the Gulf of Mexico. According to the poem, he set himself on fire only to rise into the sky as the Morning Star (the planet Venus). Another version of the legend has him sailing off to the east, leaving a prophecy of his eventual return. It is this version which later causes the Aztec Moctezuma Xocoyotzin ('Montezuma the Younger') to believe that the Spanish conquistador Cortés is the returned god. Archaeologists believe, on the basis of the sudden influx of Toltec religious and architectural features in the Mayan cities of Yucatán (particularly Chichén Itzá) at this time, that the latter version of the legend of Quetzalcoatl is close to the truth. Topiltzin and his followers may have migrated to the locale of the resurgent Mayan culture and become a leading influence there via a conquest recorded in Mayan legends.
- 1156-68** The last Toltec ruler of Tula, Huemac, leaves the city. His reign suffers from the effects of a drought. There is also renewed factionalism between the Tolteca-Chichimeca followers of Tezcatlipoca and the Nonoalco craftsmen (allies of the Toltec who built much of the city and were responsible for its artistic production). Huemac relocates the Toltec capital to Chapultepec, in the western part of modern Mexico City, then commits suicide.
- 1183** The last Toltec abandon the city of Tula, dispersing and conquering many cities southward in the Valley of Mexico, the Yucatán lowlands, and even in Mayan Guatemala. The stamp of their culture becomes prominent

throughout Mesoamerica, even after the end of their state. [A few elements of their culture and traditions are later found northward in the central Mississippi basin among the late Mississippian Moundbuilders and the Pawnee, leading a few modern anthropologists to think that a great dispersal of Toltec refugees may have brought their technical and spiritual knowledge to northern peoples in the 12th through 14th centuries.]

1191 Toltecan-Mayan culture flourishes in the Yucatán.

ca. 1200 The Wyandot visionary Deganawidah and his Mohawk disciple Hiawatha formulate the Kaianerekowa ('Great Law of Peace'), codifying it in wampum belts. The Kaianerekowa sets forth the goal of peaceful political union in a federated system for the woodland tribes of the Northeastern region of North America. The pair eventually persuade the principal sachems of the Iroquois Nations (the Mohawk, Onondaga, Cayuga, Oneida and Seneca), including the influential leader Atotarhoh, to join the proposed League of the Iroquois. Deganawidah's own Wyandot ('Huron') people decline to join with their Iroquois relatives. As a result of the formation of the League, the Five Nations of the Iroquois become the most powerful American Indian state north of Mexico. Their systems of confederation and of checks and balances on political power serve as a model from which American leaders like Franklin, Jefferson, and Paine would later draw the conception and many of the practices of the United States' Federal Union.

ca. 1250 The Tambo (the Andean highland tribe that is ancestral to the Inca) migrate from their traditional homeland of Pacaritambo to the valley of Cuzco, where they settle and begin their complex relations with the more powerful groups already in the Cuzco area. [Alliances, intermarriage and warfare will bring these groups together to form the people historically known as the Inca, who rise to dominate the region of Peru, Ecuador and northern Chile after 1438.]

1367 The Aztec ('Mexica', as they called themselves) begin to serve the powerful Tepanec kingdom of Atzcapotzalco as mercenaries. In reward, the Tepanec ruler, Tezozomoc, establishes the Aztecs' first Great Speaker, Acamapichtli. The Aztec, only recently settled in the Valley of Mexico, are absorbing the advanced culture of that region from their allies and progressing rapidly into civilization.

1427-28 The new, fourth Aztec Great Speaker or *huey-tlatoani*, Itzcoatl ('Obsidian Snake') and his Cihuacoatl ('Woman Snake' or vizier) Tlacaelel decide to challenge Tezozomoc's heir, Maxtlatzin, who has begun attempting to restrict the growth of Tenochtitlan as a state. The Aztec succeed in crushing the Tepanec kingdom which had formerly protected them and suddenly find themselves the most powerful state in Mexico.

- 1438-71** After a civil war over the succession of the Andean city of Cuzco, the tenth Inca ('emperor') Pachacutec Inca Yupanqui succeeds his father Viracocha Inca, the organizer of the first effective Inca system of imperial and military administration. He copes with an invasion from the neighboring Chanca, allying with the Quechua who had also been attacked by the Chanca. At an opportune moment in the struggle, he takes some Quechua territory himself. A long series of military campaigns results in a great expansion northward and southward of the area under Inca control; he and his sons eventually subdue the Chanca, the ancient Chimú culture of northern Peru and Ecuador, the Quechua, the Colla and the Lupaca (who controlled the basin of Lake Titicaca), along with parts of the coastal region of Peru. Pachacutec Inca Yupanqui and his son Topa Inca Yupanqui also institute a series of social and administrative reforms: rules of inheritance that force each new ruler to conquer territory to support himself, his family and retainers (organized in corporations); the forced, scattered resettlement ('mitma') of conquered peoples throughout the Empire to prevent rebellion; agricultural reclamation projects of vast size; and the institution of a militant, yet tolerant, state religion. In 1471, Pachacutec Inca abdicates in favor of his son Topa Inca Yupanqui, ensuring a stable transition for this new social order.
- 1440-80** Tlacaélel, Aztec Cihuacoatl, institutes a major series of reforms. The political, judicial and economic administration of the Aztec state is strengthened. Through historical revision and the destruction of documents, the religious and historical conceptions of the Aztec people about their destiny are altered to new beliefs. Tlacaélel presents the Aztecs as the heirs of the Toltecs, responsible for sustaining the sun by sacrifice of the hearts of war captives. He convinces Itzcoatl's successor, Moctezuma Ilhuicamina ('the Heaven Shooter'), to begin the 'Flowery War' in pursuit of this latter purpose. [The 'Flowery War' is sustained until the downfall of the Aztec in 1521. It results in the Aztec state becoming the largest seen in Mesoamerica since the collapse of the Toltec kingdom.]
- 1486-1502** Ahuitzotl, the eighth Aztec huey-tlatoani, expands the state to its greatest extent with conquests as far south as the modern Guatemalan border. He is also responsible for the completion of the Great Temple of Tenochtitlan and the building of the aqueduct to the city.
- 1492** *"As soon as I arrived in the Indies, on the first island which I found, I took some of the natives by force in order that they might learn and might give me information of whatever there is in these parts."* – Christopher Columbus' report of his first violent act toward the 'Indios' two days after his arrival at Gúanahani island in the Bahamas. The natives, which Columbus mistakenly identifies as 'Indians', are Lucayo Arawak tribesmen. Columbus took seven of them captive, according to his ship's log entry for Sunday, October 14, 1492. Two escaped to other islands in the following two days, despite pursuit. [The location of Gúanahani Island,

which Columbus chose to call San Salvador, has been a historical mystery. Over 50 published claims regarding the identity of various of the Bahamian islands as *the* landfall site have entered the literature since 1625, according to Robert Fuson, a noted Columbus scholar. Cat Cay, Watlings Island, Grand Turk Island, Samana Cay, and East Caicos Island have received major scholarly attention over the past several centuries. The uncertainty about where this contact occurred is unresolved 500 years after the event.]

- 1493 Columbus forcibly abducts several Taíno Arawak tribesmen from Hispaniola to take with him on his return to Spain in addition to the Lucayo Arawaks he still holds from Guanahaní. Only six survive the voyage. He mistakenly identifies them as 'Indians' due to his belief that he had arrived in the 'Indies' of the Eastern Hemisphere. Columbus leaves 39 Spaniards behind in a fort built on Hispaniola with instructions to locate the source of the gold the Taíno Arawak wear as ornaments. The garrison is ordered to collect and bury as much of this gold as possible until Columbus' return. Caonabó, a cacique or village leader, subsequently leads his men against these soldiers, killing them all for capturing Indian women and children for use as slaves and concubines. In his report of this first voyage to the Spanish monarchs, Columbus writes this impression of the Taíno Arawak: they "*are so naive and so free with their possessions that no one who has not witnessed them would believe it. When you ask for something they have, they never say no. To the contrary, they offer to share with anyone...*" He also records the belief that "*[t]hey would make fine servants...With fifty men we could subjugate them all and make them do whatever we want.*"

Pope Alexander VI declares the Western Hemisphere to be divided between Spain and Portugal in his bull 'Inter Caetera divina'.

- 1494 Spain and Portugal agree on the terms for the division of the Western Hemisphere between them in the Treaty of Tordesillas. The two states abide by this agreement for the next 50 years.

- 1494-96 On his second expedition to the Western Hemisphere, Columbus inaugurates the large-scale enslavement of the Taíno Arawak islanders of Hispaniola (present-day Haiti and the Dominican Republic). He brings 17 ships and between 1200 and 1500 men with him. His troops force the Taíno to bring Columbus regular individual quotas of gold or cotton cloth. Those who meet the quota are given a small copper medallion as proof of their service while those who do not meet the quota have their hands cut off; most die as a result, according to Spanish historian Bartolomé de Las Casas. Several thousand Arawak, dismayed by Columbus' treatment and failing in attempts at armed resistance to the Spaniards, commit suicide by drinking a poison brewed from cassava roots. [According to a population study of Hispaniola done in 1971 by Sherburne Cook and Woodrow Borah, Columbus' invasion and administration of Hispaniola results in

deaths of some 5 million Taíno people between 1494 and 1496.] Preparing for his second return to Spain in 1495, Columbus imprisons about 1,500 Arawak in pens guarded by dogs, then selects and loads 550 aboard his ships. Over 200 Indians die on the voyage. The survivors are sold into Spanish slavery by Juan de Fonseca, a Catholic archdeacon of Seville, who was Columbus' quartermaster. A further 650 are kept enslaved by the Spaniards Columbus leaves behind at his settlement of Isabela, the first European city in the Americas.

1502-15 Early in his career in the Americas, Bartolomé de Las Casas, possessor of an *encomienda* or limited hereditary royal grant of land and Indian serfs on Hispaniola, begins to doubt the propriety of holding Indians as slaves. He gives up his *encomienda* in 1506 and goes to Rome, where he takes religious vows. Returning to Hispaniola, he becomes the first Catholic priest ordained in the Americas in 1512. For his assistance to Diego de Velasquez de Cuellar in the conquest of Cuba the following year, Las Casas is granted another *encomienda*, renouncing it in 1514 in horror at the cruelties and rapid mortality visited on the Indians by other *encomenderos*. This marks the beginning of his lifelong campaign to end the system and with it the military conquest of Indian peoples. In 1515 he goes to Spain to plead his case before Charles I where he makes the fatal proposal that Spaniards coming to the Western Hemisphere should take black African slaves with them instead of expecting to enslave Indians. [This results in a royal license permitting Lorens de Gominot to import 4,000 Africans into the Spanish colonies in 1518.] Las Casas later regrets this, coming to believe that slavery is equally unjustified for either black or red races. In the meantime, the Spanish are depopulating many of the Caribbean islands, either through killing the native people or forcing their resettlement to Hispaniola or Cuba as slaves. Many of the Arawak and Carib peoples become extinct on their smaller home islands. Las Casas reports in 1515 that only some 50,000 of the Arawak on Hispaniola survive. [Some modern scholarly estimates assert that as few as 250,000 Arawak lived there in 1495; Las Casas, a passionate, partisan eyewitness, gives a Contact figure of about 3 million.]

1502-20 Moctezuma Xocoyotzin is the ninth *huey-tlatoani* of the Aztec. A warrior-philosopher who has been compared to the Roman emperor Hadrian, he is deeply interested in the cults and beliefs surrounding the gods of conquered peoples. He is a special devotee of the Toltec traditions as instituted among the Aztec by *Tlacaélel*. He is thus inclined to believe that Hernán Cortés, arriving on the Mexican coast from Cuba in 1519, is the god *Quetzalcoatl* returning in fulfillment of prophecy, despite portents and the predictions of his Texcocan ally *Nezahualpilli* that the Aztec state is about to fall.

1503 The Guaymi Indians of the region around the Río Belén in Panama drive off Christopher Columbus and his crew. [Columbus, on his fourth and final voyage to the Americas, noticed attractive quantities of gold in the river

sediments and was preparing to leave his brother Bartholomew there with 80 men to pan for gold. His customary harsh treatment of the Indians quickly aroused their resolve to remove him from their lands. This brief battle was the only military defeat American Indians inflicted on Columbus personally.]

The Spanish establish a central colonial administration (the Casa de Contratación, also called the Casa de las Indias) in Madrid to manage Spanish affairs in the Americas.

1508-11 The conquistador Juan Ponce de León explores Boriquen (Puerto Rico) in 1508 and is initially well received by the Arawak Indians and their cacique Agueybana. The Arawak begin a series of rebellions after de León tries to force them to mine gold for the Spaniards. In 1511, Agueybana plans a revolt by the entire population of the island but is betrayed. De León attacks the cacique's camp at night with a force of 120 and kills several hundred Arawak. Agueybana escapes and counterattacks several days later, but dies in battle. His forces defeated, some of the Arawak survivors make peace with the Spanish while others seek refuge on other islands among their traditional enemies, the Carib.

1519 Enticed by reports of an exploration of the Mexican coast in 1518 by Grijalva, Hernán Cortés lands a small army of Spaniards from Cuba on the Mexican coast near modern Veracruz. He spends several weeks reconnoitering the nearby cities and learning the political situation of the Aztec Empire. Moctezuma Xocoyotzin's imperial officials and runners keep up a daily surveillance of the Spanish, sending reports back to the capital from the coast. Moctezuma believes that Cortés might be the god Quetzalcoatl returning in fulfillment of ancient Toltec prophecy. His messengers and offerings of gifts to Cortés fail to persuade the conquistador to leave Mexico. Instead, Cortés seeks allies to bolster his tiny force. He succeeds in terrorizing a number of the coastal vassals of the Aztec Empire into supporting him. He is also helped by a remarkable Aztec woman named Malintzin, whom the Spanish call Doña Marina and who acts as interpreter for Cortés. (Sold as a slave to the Maya, Malintzin speaks both Nahuatl and Maya. She is able to interpret for Cortés by working in conjunction with Geronimo de Aguilar, a Spaniard left behind in Maya territory during Juan de Grijalva's earlier exploratory visit).

1520 Hernán Cortés invades the Valley of Mexico. He is supported by 200,000 Totonac and Tlaxcalan Indian warriors who have been long at war against the Aztec in efforts to maintain their independence and who are eager to be rid of the Mexicas. As he proceeds toward Tenochtitlan, Cortés pursues his strategy of seeking allies and terrorizing any local leaders who will not support him. For instance, at Cholula Cortés invites the uncooperative rulers of that city to a dinner and then uses his concealed cannon and crossbowmen to slay them and several thousand unarmed Cholulan citizens. The huey-tlatoani of the Aztec people offers no

effective resistance to Cortés' presence in the Valley. Moctezuma even brings the small Spanish force of 508 soldiers and some of their Indian allies within the city of Tenochtitlan, which numbers between 200,000 and 300,000 people at this time (five times the size of London). Cortés succeeds in taking Moctezuma hostage during a diplomatic meeting. Moctezuma, who urges his people not to resist the Spaniards, is deposed by a vote of the Aztec supreme council. He is succeeded by his brother Cuitlahuac, who leads for only four months. Cortés is soon forced to leave for the coast to face Panfilo de Narvaez' punitive expedition, sent against him by Governor Velázquez of Cuba. His garrison in Tenochtitlan fails to maintain control of the city and is forced to flee to the mainland and the allied Indians. This nighttime battle at the end of June between the Aztec and the Spanish for control of the city results in the deposed Aztec Great Speaker's death, probably at the hands of his Spanish guards.

1521-24 The ineffective Cuitlahuac is replaced by Cuauhtemoc, the last Aztec huey-tlatoani. Cuauhtemoc directs a ferocious resistance to the small Spanish force of conquistadors and their many thousands of Indian allies. The Spanish succeed in besieging Tenochtitlan by surrounding its land approaches with Tlaxcalan Indian warriors and then conducting a naval bombardment and ship-borne assault. These naval operations are carried out from small brigantines which the Spanish build on the lake and arm with cannon hauled from their burned ships on the coast. Cuauhtemoc surrenders his city on August 13, 1521 and is hanged by Cortés in 1524.

1522 Bartolomé de Las Casas fails in an attempt to demonstrate the feasibility of peaceful Spanish colonization on a land grant in Venezuela, due to poor preparation and Indian uprisings provoked by the activity of Spanish slave raiders off the coast. He retires to the Dominican monastery on Hispaniola and begins to write his monumental **Historia de las Indias** in 1527.

Spaniards led by Cortés conquer portions of the Mayan kingdoms in Guatemala.

1525-32 The death of Topa Inca's successor, Huayna Capac, sets off a struggle between several of his sons for succession to the Inca throne. The royal Inca's death results from a European disease believed to be either smallpox or measles brought overland by Indian traders from the Spanish settlement on the Rio de la Plata. The battles between Huayna Capac's sons Huascar in Cuzco and Atahualpa in the north culminate with the defeat and capture of Huascar in April, 1532. The 'Empire' (Tawantinsuyu) is invaded by the Spanish under Francisco Pizarro (making his third attempt to find the Inca Empire) shortly before the final defeat of Huascar. The conquistadors simultaneously pursue a policy of capturing and killing leaders loyal to Atahualpa while sending him messages offering to ally with him against his remaining enemies. Atahualpa meets with the Spanish in November, 1532 and is immediately

kidnapped. The Inca pay Pizarro's demanded ransom of a roomful of gold and silver (reputed to be the greatest ransom ever paid for an individual), but Pizarro executes Atahualpa early in 1533.

- 1528-36 Panfilo de Narvaez is shipwrecked on the Texas coast while leading an exploratory voyage. Survivors, including Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca and his African slave Esteban the Moor, are rescued from starvation and cannibalism by the Karankawa tribe. Nuñez and Esteban spend the eight years after the shipwreck traveling and living among many tribes in the American Southwest between Texas and the Gulf of California before they are shown an Indian road that returns them to Spanish settlements in Mexico in 1536.
- 1527 Sebastian Cabot builds a fort called Santa Espiritu in Paraguay while leading a Spanish expedition.
- Francisco de Montejo, friend of Cortés, leads an expedition against the Maya in the Yucatán peninsula, but is defeated and withdraws.
- 1529 Bernhardino de Sahagún establishes his Franciscan mission in Mexico.
- 1530 The Portuguese begin to colonize Brazil.
- 1531-35 Francisco de Montejo fails to subdue the Maya of the Yucatán in his second attempt. His son Francisco takes over the effort and succeeds in crushing much of the Mayan resistance. He later founds the Spanish cities of Merida and Campeche on the Yucatán peninsula.
- 1533-72** In the two years after the execution of Atahualpa, the Spanish try to establish a puppet royal Inca through whom they can control the Empire. Their eventual choice is Manco Inca, a brother of the still-living Huascar. Manco Inca succeeds in defeating Atahualpa's remaining generals, but the Spanish prevent him from reasserting effective Inca control over the coast. By 1535, Manco Inca resorts to open combat with the Spanish. He is eventually driven into the remote mountains near Vitcos, in the area of Vilcabamba in the Urubamba Valley north of Cuzco. Here he founds an independent Inca state later led by Tupac Amaru and not conquered until 1572.
- 1535-36** Manco Inca's forces take advantage of the absence of Pizzaro and Diego de Almagro from Cuzco to rebel against Spanish rule and besiege the former Inca capital, governed in Pizzaro's absence by his two brothers Hernando and Alonso. The Inca kill all but 190 of the Spanish conquistadors in the ten-month siege. They also attack the coastal city of Lima, but are unable to take it. De Almagro, notified of the revolt, returns early from his unsuccessful attempt to conquer Chile, organizes an army from other Indian villages and defeats the Incan army.

- 1536 Pedro de Mendoza establishes a colony at Buenos Aires and sends expeditions in search of routes to Peru.
- 1537-39** Resisting Spanish enslavement and land encroachment in what is now Honduras, the Mayan leader Lempira organizes a Maya and allied tribal army of 30,000 warriors. He conducts a large scale war against the conquistadors until his death in 1539.
- 1537-51 After sending the Casa de Contratación a series of letters attacking the encomienda system for the “sin of oppressing the Indians”, de Las Casas writes an evangelical proposal (**De úncio modo**, “Concerning the Only Way of Drawing All Peoples to the True Religion”) and proceeds to demonstrate the efficacy of peaceful evangelization by taking an unarmed party of friars into the unconquered region of Tuzutlan, in modern Costa Rica. He succeeds in making peace with the Indians of the region and leaves for Spain in 1539 to argue for abolition of the encomienda system. While waiting for an audience with the Spanish king, he writes **Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias** (“A Brief Report on the Destruction of the Indians”, 1542), where he sets forth the facts of colonial genocide and argues that the cause is Spanish greed for quick riches. Las Casas alleges that some three million Indians died on Hispaniola alone between 1494 and his arrival there in 1508, victims of wars with the Spanish, slave labor or wanton acts of cruelty by the conquistadors and encomenderos. King Charles responds to the **Brevísima** with a set of ‘New Laws’ which forbid the granting of further encomiendas and abolish the hereditary possession of Indians on the existing lands under the system. To help enforce the laws, Las Casas is ordained Bishop of Chiapas in Guatemala. Upon his return there in 1545, he prohibits priests from granting absolution to any Spaniard holding Indian slaves and issues a series of pro-Indian sermons. Opposition to his policies forces his return to Spain in 1547. In 1550-51, at the Council of Valladolid, he and Juan Sepúlveda have their famous debate over the status and rights of Indians. However, despite the lack of official approval for Sepúlveda’s positions, his views are already the prevailing practice in the Spanish colonies, and the abuses of the encomienda system continue.
- 1538** The capital of the Chibcha Indians, Bacatá, is conquered and renamed Santa Fe de Bogotá by Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada. Bogotá becomes the capital of the Spanish viceroyalty of Nueva Granada.
- 1538-41** An alliance of various native peoples in western and northwestern Mexico aims at cultural revitalization and undertakes the Mixton War against the Spanish colonial administration of New Spain.
- 1539 Spain annexes Cuba.
- 1539-42 Guided by Esteban the Moor, a Spanish overland expedition under Father Marcos de Niza sets out in 1539 from Mexico into the Pueblo country of

the American Southwest in search of gold. They return with reports of sighting what they called the Seven Golden Cities of Cíbola, conforming to a Spanish legend of a kingdom of great riches. The following year, Francisco Coronado returns to the region with a force of 336 conquistadors and nearly 1,000 Mexican Indian allies. An advance party led by Esteban arrives at the Zuni Pueblo of Hawikuh in July 1640, where Esteban attempts to overawe the Zunis until the arrival of Coronado's main force. The Zuni kill Esteban and resist Coronado's attempt to enter the city; Coronado manages to overwhelm the defenders and destroys Hawikuh. He then sends García López de Cárdenas to scout northward for the Seven Cities of Cíbola. Cárdenas encounters the Hopi villages and becomes the first European to see the Grand Canyon of the Colorado, but finds no golden cities. Coronado's main party turns eastward into the valley of the Rio Grande, where the Spanish winter at a Tigua Pueblo, ultimately destroying it and its population of nearly 1,000. Coronado continues east with a small force of 30 horsemen in the spring of 1541, led on by Indian stories (possibly deceptions intended to entice the conquistadors to leave) of a rich kingdom called Gran Quivira. His force crosses the Staked Plains of Texas and Oklahoma and penetrates into central Kansas, contacting the Apache, Wichita and Pawnee tribes before abandoning its hopes and returning to Mexico in 1542.

- 1540-52 Pedro de Valdiva sets out from Peru to attempt the conquest of Chile in 1540. He is initially successful against the Araucano Indians and establishes his capital Santiago in February, 1541. In July, the Araucano mount an offensive against Santiago that destroys the town. The handful of Spanish survivors retreat to an island where they withstand further attacks for two years before relief from Peru arrives. Valdiva returns to Chile in 1547 and pushes the Araucano southward. He founds Concepción in 1550 and Valdivia in 1552.
- 1546 The Maya in the Yucatán revolt against Spanish rule but are suppressed. Remnants of their forces retreat into Guatemala and continue their resistance until they are defeated in 1697.
- 1548 The Spanish in Peru, after a decade of civil war among the original conquistador leaders and royal governors over which of them would control the colony, are led by Gonzalo Pizarro, who had overthrown the Spanish governor Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca in 1546. The Spanish king sends Pedro de la Gasca to reestablish royal authority in 1548. Gasca organizes an army of loyal Spaniards and Indians opposed to Pizarro's harsh rule. The two sides fight a battle at Xaquizaguana in which Pizarro's forces lose heavily and Pizarro is captured and executed.
- 1549 Thomé de Souza of Portugal founds São Salvador as the capital of the colony of Brazil. The economy of the colony is based on cultivation of sugarcane on the coastal lowlands.

- 1550 Spanish reports reveal that only 500 Arawak survive on the island of Hispaniola (later known as Haiti).
- Jesuit missionaries are sent to South America.
- 1553-61** Araucano Indians of Chile led by Lautaro successfully resist further conquest and exploitation as mining slaves by the Spaniard Pedro de Valdiva. Lautaro's forces defeat Valdiva and kill him in battle at Tucapel in 1554, then seize Concepción. The Spaniards repulse an Araucano attack on Santiago in 1557 in which Lautaro is killed. The Spanish then send forces across the Andes and establish the towns of Mendoza and San Juan in 1561. The Araucano respond by adopting the horse and developing their cavalry tactics to a point where they can match the Spaniards, creating a superb network of spies and disinformants, and rapidly evolving their social organization from small, independent villages to a military junta based on the consolidation of their territories into three cooperating provinces. These developments enable the Araucano to maintain their independence in the southern half of Chile throughout the entire Spanish colonial period and well into the 19th century.
- 1555 The French found a colony on the bay of Rio de Janeiro, seeking to exploit the forest resources.
- The Spanish crown permits the granting of encomiendas for a term of three generations in New Spain (Mexico).
- 1562-64 Bishop de Las Casas remains in Spain, for the last decade an advisor to the king and the Council of the Indies on Western Hemisphere problems, completing his **Historia de las Indias** but refusing to publish it until after his death. He does publish other works relating to the Conquest, and argues that God will punish Spain for what it has done in the Americas.
- The English mariner John Hawkins makes his first two slave trading voyages between Guinea and the Spanish West Indies. He is knighted for this by Queen Elizabeth I.
- 1567 Hawkins makes a third slave voyage, carrying Francis Drake to the West Indies for the first time.
- A massive epidemic of typhoid fever sweeps through South America; an estimated 2 million Indians die.
- 1568 The city of Rio de Janeiro is founded by the Portuguese governor Mem de Sá in order to drive out the French colony on the bay.
- 1574 The city of São Paulo, Brazil, is founded by the Portuguese.
- 1582 Founding of the first English colony in Newfoundland.

- ca. 1590 Jesuits unsuccessfully attempt to found a mission among the Powhatan Confederation of Virginia.
- 1585 Richard Grenville lands seven English ships on Roanoke Island off North Carolina. Although hospitably received, he destroys the village of his Croatoan hosts over the petty theft of a silver cup by one of the villagers. Grenville's abortive colonizing attempt, sponsored by his cousin Sir Walter Raleigh, fails within a year.
- 1586-90 Walter Raleigh attempts a second time to found a colony on Roanoke Island. The governor of this colony, John White, returns to England in 1587 to negotiate resupply. He takes with him his paintings of Indian villages on the island, the first images of North American Indian life to reach England. The colonists White left behind have vanished by the time a supply ship returns in 1590.
- 1598** The first recorded assembly of the All-Indian Pueblo Council, a coordinating and consultative body made up of representatives from the various villages and cultures of the Pueblo peoples of the Southwest. The actual founding date of the Council is unknown. The Council operates in a traditional manner until 1965, when it reorganizes with a constitution and by-laws.
- Tepic Indian miners enslaved in Mexico stage the first successful uprising against Spanish control there.
- The first Spanish colony in New Mexico is founded at what is now San Juan Pueblo by Juan de Oñate.
- 1598 - 1600** Araucano Indians in Chile, after almost 50 years of resistance to Spanish subjugation, kill Governor Martín de Loyola and destroy every Spanish settlement south of the Biobío River except Castro, effectively forcing the Spanish to retreat from the region.
- 1603 Samuel de Champlain allies his small group of French fur trade company employees to the Algonquin of the northern shore of the St. Lawrence River. The Algonquin are wide-ranging, effective middlemen in the nascent fur trade between the Indian trappers of the north and the French fur companies.
- 1607 Founding of Jamestown, Virginia, the first English colony on the mainland of North America. The English economic adventurers, led by Captain John Smith, settle in the territory of the Powhatan Confederacy, a powerful alliance of several dozen Algonkian villages. The colonists' first organized act is the construction of a fortress.

Spain extends the term of a encomienda grant to four generations in Mexico.

- 1608-09 Samuel de Champlain establishes a French colony at Quebec in 1608. He and his French fur trade company companions join with their economic allies the Huron, Algonquin and Montagnais as these Indians stage two major strikes against their Iroquois rivals the Mohawk at sites on Lake Champlain and at the juncture of the Richelieu and St. Lawrence Rivers. Champlain's visible and bloody involvement in the Indians' wars over control of the fur trade leads the Iroquois to a deep and long-lasting enmity toward the French in Canada.
- 1609-10 The third Spanish governor of the province of New Mexico, Don Pedro de Peralta, founds his capital of Santa Fe on the site of an abandoned Tiwa Pueblo village. The community functions as an administrative, ranching, and trade center at the northern frontier of Spain's Mexican possessions.
- 1610** The Guetar and Suerre of Costa Rica destroy the Spanish city of Santiago de Talamanca, founded in the Caribbean lowlands only five years before. This effectively drives the Spanish from the area, which they have been unable to master in over 60 years of attempts.
- 1612 Virginia sends colonists to settle on Bermuda.
- The Dutch begin to use Manhattan as a trading center.
- 1613** The first known treaty between a European nation and an American Indian Nation (the Treaty of Tawagonshi) is made between the Iroquois Confederacy and the Dutch of New Amsterdam.
- Beothuk tribesmen in Newfoundland kill 37 French fishermen in revenge for an earlier French shooting of several Beothuk. The French respond by arming the Beothuks' enemies the Micmac and offering bounties for Beothuk scalps. This is the earliest documented introduction of the practice of scalping into North America, where it was previously unknown. Spurred on by French weapons and the bounty for scalps, the Micmac almost completely destroy the Beothuk people.
- 1614 Virginia sends an expeditionary force to prevent establishment of French colonies in Maine and Nova Scotia.
- 1615** The Wyandot ('Huron') Confederacy attacks Onondaga villages of the Iroquois Confederacy. Samuel de Champlain again joins forces with his Wyandot fur trading partners in the military operations as part of his long-term effort to stop the Iroquois from diverting northern furs to the Dutch in their trading posts in New Netherlands.

- 1619 Virginian colonists, needing laborers for their tobacco fields and failing in attempts to make Indians do that work, buy African slaves from a Dutch trading ship visiting the Chesapeake Bay.

Tisquantum, or 'Squanto', a Pawtuxet Indian, returns from England for the second time to his Massachusetts homeland. He finds that he is the only surviving member of his tribe. [He had been captured by English explorers in 1605 and taken to England, where he learned the language before being returned to Massachusetts in 1614 by Captain John Smith. He was recaptured by Captain Thomas Hunt, a member of Smith's fleet, in 1615 and sold into slavery in Spain, from whence he returned to spend two more years in England.]

- 1620 Late in the year, English Puritan Separatists known as 'Pilgrims' arrive to establish a colony at Plymouth, Massachusetts, on the site of the former Wampanoag village of Patuxet. Patuxet had been depopulated by diseases brought to the northeastern coastal tribes by European fishermen and the slaver Captain Hunt in the preceding decade.

- 1621 Tisquantum, living with the Wampanoag tribe since his return from England in 1619, is introduced to the English Puritan colonists by Osamoset. Osamoset is an English-speaking Pemaquid Indian, a former English captive like Tisquantum, who encounters the Pilgrims early in the year. Tisquantum teaches the English the agricultural and hunting techniques of his people, helping them to survive and becoming a member of their community. Tisquantum arranges a treaty of peace between the Puritans of Plymouth and the powerful neighboring Wampanoag tribe lead by Massasoit.

English settlers attempt to colonize Newfoundland and Nova Scotia.

The West-Indische Compagnie ('Dutch West India Company') is chartered by the States General to challenge Spanish and Portuguese economic domination of the Western Hemisphere. It later claims the North American coast from Newfoundland south to the Chesapeake.

- 1622 The Jamestown colonists' attitudes and exploration practices on lands of the Algonkian Powhatan Confederacy result in frequent conflicts in the first 15 years of contact. Disputes flare despite periods of mutual tolerance, the famous 1614 intermarriage of colonist John Rolfe and the kidnapped Pocahontas, daughter of Wahunsonacock, and continuing technical and subsistence aid from the Indians to the English. Following Wahunsonacock's death, the stress of contact culminates in a heavy strike by warriors of the Confederacy (led by Opechancanough, elder brother of and second successor to the Confederacy's founder, Wahunsonacock, or Powhatan) against the settlement and its outliers on March 22, 1622. Opechancanough's attack results in 350 English deaths. The English are forced back into their fortifications at Jamestown and lose all their other

settlements, but soon begin a period of protracted war (until 1636). They resort to annual raids against the Powhatan Confederacy's villages after failing to take Opechancanough and other leaders captive at a peace conference.

Tisquantum dies.

Sir Ferdinando Gorges and John Mason obtain an English royal land grant in Maine.

1623 David Thomas establishes an English settlement in New Hampshire at Little Harbor.

Piet Hein captures the Spanish settlement of Bahia, on the Brazilian coast, for the Dutch.

The Dutch formally organize the province of New Netherlands (modern New York).

1624 The Dutch establish a permanent settlement at Fort Orange on the Hudson River (modern Albany).

1625 Osamoset and the Pemaquid sachem Unongoit sell 12,000 acres of Pemaquid territory to John Brown, the first deeded transfer of land between Indians and Europeans. [The 'sale' appears to have been intended by the Indians as more a friendly gift to the English of the use of the land than as alienation of their 'ownership' of the land.]

The French seize the Antilles and Cayenne in the Caribbean.

The English establish their Colonial Office in London and plant a settlement on Barbados.

1626 Sachems (elected leaders) of the Algonkian Manhattan agree to renegotiate the sale by the non-resident Canarsee Indians of land on Manhattan Island to the Dutch West India Company's administrator Peter Minuit. [The conventional account says that the Dutch pay the Canarsee in goods worth about 60 guilders, or 24 dollars. The actual items were not inventoried, and it is not possible to know the true value of the exchange as both sides perceive it. 24 dollars worth of then-rare trade goods at 1624 rates of exchange represents far more to the Indians at that time than it would today. It is interesting to note that this incident, often mentioned by European-American historians to suggest the gullibility of Indians in accepting a bad bargain, actually demonstrates the gullibility of the Dutch in buying land not possessed by the Indians who receive the purchase price.] The Dutch use this land to found New Amsterdam (later renamed New York City by the English).

- 1627 Cardinal Richelieu, leading minister of King Louis XIII's royal council, incorporates the 'Company of New France' for the organization of French colonies in Canada and the development of the fur trade.
- 1629 Spain extends the holding of encomiendas in Peru to three generations.
- 1630 John Winthrop and 1,000 English settlers arrive in Massachusetts to found Boston and the colony of Massachusetts. Governor Winthrop soon declares that the Pequot, Narragansett and other tribes of the area do not possess a civil right to their own lands, since they had not 'improved' them according to Biblical standards. This assertion is shown to be untrue in the Governor's own journal, which has many references to the Indian towns and farm fields which surround Boston.
- 1631 English settlements begin on St. Kitts in the Caribbean.
- 1632 Maryland is chartered as a colony under the proprietorship of Lord Baltimore.
- English settlements are established on Antigua and Montserrat in the West Indies, home to tribes of the Carib Indians.
- 1633 The Dutch settle in Connecticut among the Mohegan and Pequot peoples.
- 1634** The Pequot of Connecticut kill several disreputable English traders and slavers. A peace treaty with the Massachusetts Bay Colony leaders temporarily restores an uneasy peace.
- The Dutch seize the island of Curaçao off the Venezuelan coast from the Spanish. Most of the native Caiquetío Arawak peoples have been deported by this time, but some sources report surviving members of the tribe in remote areas of the island until 1790.
- 1635 English settlements are founded in Connecticut.
- The Dutch occupy the English Virgin Islands and French Martinique, homelands of Arawak and Carib peoples respectively.
- Following the death of Samuel de Champlain in this year, the Iroquois Confederacy begins a protracted war against the French in Canada and their Wyandot allies. French settlements and missions along the St. Lawrence and Ottawa Rivers are frequently attacked by Iroquois war parties, and negotiated peace agreements are regularly broken by the Iroquois.
- 1636-37** The Pequot War begins between the Massachusetts Bay Colony, its subordinate colony of Connecticut, and the Pequot tribe of Connecticut. The 1634 peace treaty is broken in 1636 when the Pequot kill several

more dishonest Connecticut traders, among them the slaver Captain Stone. Retaliatory depredations by the English against Pequot villages and farms take place, leading to response in kind by the Pequot. Some 30 English are killed in the settlements at Saybrook and Wethersfield. The Connecticut general court declares war and calls for the assistance of troops from Massachusetts. An expedition from Boston destroys a Narragansett village on Block Island, after which the Narragansett make peace and join the English against the Pequot. The following year, 90 Englishmen commanded by John Mason are joined by Uncas with 60 of his Mohegan warriors and several hundred Narragansett. This force surrounds and burns a Pequot fortress on the Mystic River, killing over 500 Pequot. Pequot from another besieged fortress try to escape, but are hunted down by Massachusetts troops. The women and children from this group are spared, but most of the men are killed after their surrender. Pequot survivors are dispersed to the Narragansett and Mohegan tribes, enslaved by the English in Massachusetts and Connecticut, or sold into slavery in the West Indies. The English are left in control of Connecticut as a result.

1637-42 Dutch expansion into colonies held by other European powers continues with the capture of several Portuguese outposts on the coast of Brazil. These are in the territory of the Tupi and Tapuya peoples. The Dutch proceed to round up several hundred warriors from these cultures and force them into service as auxiliary troops for the Dutch attacks on Portuguese forts and colonies in Angola and the Gold Coast of Africa. Only a few dozen of the Indian soldiers sent to Africa survive these wars; many of those who do remain in Africa and join native African communities.

1638 New Sweden is founded near the mouth of the Delaware River by Peter Minuit; he builds Ft. Christina, which later becomes Wilmington.

The first Indian reservation in what will later become the United States is established in the colony of Connecticut for the Quinipiac tribe.

1641 The second major attack by the Powhatan Confederacy upon the Jamestown colonists comes five years after the colony stops sending out its annual expeditions to disrupt the Powhatan villages.

Raritan warriors refuse to pay a tribute demanded by Dutch colonial administrator William Kieft of New Amsterdam (New York). They attack Dutch settlements on Staten Island and Manhattan, killing one farmer. Kieft responds by offering a bounty for the scalps of Raritan warriors, thus further spreading the practice of scalping into North America [see 1613]. Hostilities continue between the Raritan and the Dutch until a peace is arranged in 1642.

- 1642 Montreal, Canada is founded on the site of a Wyandot (Huron) village called Hochelaga. Paul Chomedey de Maisonneuve builds a fort, hospital, chapel and dwellings on the site.
- 1642-45** Algonkian tribes, principally the Shinnecock and Wappinger, around New Amsterdam begin a period of sporadic hostilities with the Dutch. The conflict escalates beyond skirmishing on February 25, 1642 when Governor William Kieft and his Mohawk allies attack the nearby Algonkian villages. The massacred Shinnecock are scalped by the Dutch and the Mohawk. In 1643, Dutch settlers inflict a similar fate on the Wappinger in the Pavonia Massacre. Also in 1643, the Dutch and Mohawk conclude a formal treaty of alliance. The Mohawk and Dutch eventually force the Algonkians to remove from the area and accept peace in 1645.
- 1643** Rivalries between the Narragansett under their sachem Miantonomo and the Mohegan under Uncas continue following the conclusion of the Pequot War. Miantonomo arranges several attempts on Uncas' life. The English colonists of Connecticut are allied with Uncas and negotiate with Plymouth and Massachusetts the first agreement for mutual aid among the North American colonies, the New England Confederacy. Uncas is then attacked by the Narragansett, whom the outnumbered Mohegan manage to defeat. Miantonomo is captured, and Uncas asks the leaders of the New England Confederation for advice in dealing with the leader of the still-powerful Narragansett. The Commission of the New England Confederation ultimately advises Uncas to humanely execute Miantonomo and pledges assistance to the Mohegans should the Narragansett seek revenge. This alliance between the Mohegan and the English quiets Indian warfare in New England until 1675.
- 1644** The Powhatan Confederacy again organizes a powerful strike against the Jamestown settlers, killing some 500. Opechancanough is also killed in the fighting and the tribes comprising the Confederacy begin to make individual peace with the English. The outcome is the relinquishment of extensive Indian lands to the Europeans and the negotiated settlement of the tribes in remote areas they reserve for their own use.
- 1645-97** The Tarahumara of northern Mexico rebel against Spanish rule.
- 1646 English begin settlement in the Bahamas. [The islands had been stripped of their native Lucayo Arawak people by Spanish slavers and were uninhabited at the time of the English arrival.]
- 1648-50** The Iroquois Confederacy nearly annihilates the Wyandot Confederacy in a two year war. The Iroquois are armed and supported by Dutch traders at Fort Albany in modern New York. In 1649, the Iroquois virtually destroy the Petun and Tionontati ('Tobacco') Nations, Iroquoian relatives of the Wyandot among whom some survivors took refuge. They do the same in 1650 to the Neutral Nation north of Lake Erie, who similarly harbor

remnants of the Huron. [The surviving remnants of these peoples are the ancestors of today's small Wyandot tribe in Oklahoma and the Lorette Huron in Quebec.] This war also involves the attempt of the Iroquois Confederacy to control the fur trade of the St. Lawrence River drainage. The Iroquois continue to try to divert furs to the Dutch in Fort Albany and away from the French in Montreal and Quebec City.

1650 The English and Dutch settle their North American frontiers.

Spanish reports reveal that the Arawakan Taíno, Ciboney and Ciguayo tribes have been exterminated on the Caribbean island of Hispaniola.

1654 The Dutch are driven out of Brazil by the Portuguese.

1655 The English conquer Jamaica from the Spanish. [The Arawak natives there had long since been killed or deported by the Spanish, who now used enslaved African laborers on the island.]

Remnants of the Pequot tribe are given a reservation on the Mystic River in Connecticut.

1655-64 Algonkian tribes in the area around New Amsterdam attack Manhattan and Dutch settlements on Long Island in 1655 in a dispute over land. Governor Peter Stuyvesant makes peace which lasts until 1658, when the Algonkians again attack a Dutch settlement at Esopus on Long Island. Stuyvesant defeats the Algonkians and dictates harsh terms of settlement which provoke resentment and renewed attacks on Esopus in 1663. The Dutch again defeat the tribes and force them to cede the disputed lands in 1664.

1660-66 The Iroquois Confederacy mounts several major assaults against the French settlements in Canada, threatening Montreal in 1660-61 and destroying a French force at Long Sault in 1661. Reinforcements from France in 1666 turn the tide of struggle against the Iroquois with a major defeat for the Confederacy in the Mohawk homelands. The Iroquois make peace with the French which lasts for the next 20 years.

1663 Governor Colbert organizes the French settlements in Canada into the province of New France; his capital is Quebec.

1664 The English conquer the Dutch colony of New Netherlands and begin instituting English administration, renaming the colony New York in honor of the Duke of York, the future King James II. [In 1667, the Dutch and English formally negotiate the transfer of Dutch rights in Manhattan to the English in exchange for the English-controlled Island of Run in the Spice Islands, a source of nutmeg valued by the Dutch.]

France creates the Compagnie des Indes Occidentales to manage her trade with Canada, the West Indies, South America and West Africa.

1665 Caleb Cheeshateaumuck is the first Indian to earn a B.A. degree at Harvard.

1666 The English lose their Caribbean possessions of Antigua, Montserrat, and St. Christopher to the French.

The French establish the first European settlement in Vermont on Isle La Motte in Lake Champlain. The route southward would be used later in the century by French-allied tribes to conduct kidnapping raids into Massachusetts.

1670 The English establish Charles Town (modern Charleston in what is now South Carolina) in the territory of the Cusabo tribe.

The oldest modern corporation in the world, the 'Honourable Company of Adventurers of England Trading in Hudson's Bay' (the Hudson's Bay Company) is chartered by King Charles II to conduct England's fur trade with the Indians in North America.

1671 The Illinois tribe, forced westward by their losses in a war with the Iroquois Confederacy, invade the territory of the Winnebago in eastern Wisconsin. The Winnebago lose almost half of their population in the war and the 3,000 survivors themselves are pushed to the west.

1673 Robert de La Salle and Governor Louis de Buade, Comte de Frontenac, establish Fort Frontenac in Huron territory on Lake Ontario near modern Kingston; it becomes a key center for exploration and fur trade into the Ohio and Illinois country, and serves as a French refuge during the long war with the Iroquois Confederacy. The western fur trade conducted by Frontenac makes regular (although illegal) use of alcohol in dealing with the Indians.

1675 French priests send their Indian allies (either Abenaki or Mohawk tribesmen from the Caughnawaga village reserve; the record is unclear) to raid the Massachusetts frontier town of Deerfield for captives to augment the population of New France, and, more importantly, to become converts to Catholicism as a part of the propaganda war between that religion and the Protestant English faith. In the combat, called the 'Bloody Brook massacre' by the English, many adults and children are killed, and others taken to Canada. A feverish period of ransoming and negotiation ensues. Many of the captives choose to stay in Canada with French families; some choose to stay with adopted Indian families. [This is a pattern which persists during King William's War (1689-97) and through the early and mid-18th century until the end of the Seven Years' War (actually 1754-63), or, as it is known in American history, the 'French and Indian War'.]

- 1675-78** Metacom (called 'King Philip' by the English), the second son of the Wampanoag sachem Massasoit, organizes an alliance among neighboring Algonkian tribes (those Narragansett led by Canonchet along with the Nipmuck) and the Abenaki of what is now Maine, Vermont and New Hampshire. His aim is to check English expansion and preserve control of the inland areas now that the English dominate much of the coast of New England. Metacom also resents a set of English colonial laws and practices which attempt to regulate Indian residence and behavior, as well as the death of Metacom's elder brother in English captivity. Colonial relationships are complex at this time and Metacom is reported to be ready to take advantage of divisions among the English. The Governor and General Court of Connecticut are simultaneously preparing to seize Narragansett lands while resisting Governor Andros of New York, who is pressing a claim of the Duke of York to the western half of Connecticut. However, once their first attacks lead to retaliation by Metacom, the colonies reorganize a regional confederation for their defense and ally themselves with the Mohegan tribe. After initial military successes (one sixth of the English adult males in the region die in battle) and the destruction of several settlements, Metacom's allies are defeated in battle in the 'Swamp Fight near modern Kingston, Rhode Island in December, 1675. During this battle Canonchet's Narragansett fort is forced open and nearly 1,000 warriors and family members die attempting to retreat. His forces lose a second major battle in the Connecticut River valley in June, 1676. Canonchet is killed in fighting in 1676. Metacom is killed by an Indian ally of the English after his stronghold on Mount Hope in Rhode Island is discovered in August, 1676. His wife and son are sold into slavery in the West Indies. Remnants of Metacom's forces fight on into 1678 in the northern reaches of New England, but Indian military power is effectively ended in the southern part of the region. The English settlers conclude a peace treaty with the Abenaki in the north in 1678, agreeing to pay tribute to the tribe in return for peace.
- 1676** Nathaniel Bacon of Virginia conducts two unauthorized campaigns against both hostile and friendly Indian villages after Governor William Berkeley fails to respond to frontier attacks on the English settlements. Bacon is elected to the House of Burgesses in recognition of these military efforts, but Berkeley arrests him. Upon release, Bacon reorganizes his militia and seizes Jamestown, forcing the Burgesses to authorize further attacks on the Indians. Berkeley flees Jamestown to organize countermeasures and, assisted by sachem Anne of the Pamunkey tribe, challenges Bacon's forces. In the course of battle, Bacon burns Jamestown and subsequently dies, ending 'Bacon's Rebellion' and his threat to neighboring tribes. [The Virginia frontier struggle continued, however.]
- 1677** Massachusetts buys a part of the Maine land grant held by the heirs of Sir Ferdinando Gorges.

- 1679 Much of the territory of the Pennacook tribe is incorporated into New Hampshire as that province is separated from Massachusetts to become a new colony.
- 1680** After 82 years of Spanish colonization and Catholic missionary interference with the native religions of the Pueblo villages in New Mexico, a Tewa medicine man named Popé organizes a military alliance among the Hopi, Zuni, Tewa and other Pueblos. Popé's forces overthrow the Spanish in August, 1680, killing some 400 priests and colonists and driving the remaining 3,000 Spaniards out of their ranches and the provincial capital of Santa Fe. Nearly all traces of colonization are destroyed by the traditionalist Pueblo after they regain their freedom. The Pueblos maintain their independence until 1692, but become disunited after the death of Popé in 1690.
- 1680-82 The French organize their American colonies into two continental provinces, New France and Louisiana, from the St. Lawrence at Quebec to the mouth of the Mississippi River. They are actually settled thinly along the St. Lawrence from Tadoussac at the mouth of the Saguenay River (a Montagnais fortified summer village) to the eastern end of Lake Ontario; the remainder of their claim is based on widely scattered trading posts and explorations.
- 1681 A Royal Proprietary Charter is granted in England to William Penn.
- 1683 Penn makes peace with the Algonkian Leni-Lenape (Delaware) tribes. The Delaware leaders, including the great sachem Tammany, negotiate with Penn the first purchase of lands for his new colony of Pennsylvania. Penn's European connections and promotional activities result in the first immigrants from Germany arriving in the Western Hemisphere during this year.
- 1684** The Iroquois fail in their final attempt to defeat the Illinois when they are unable to take the Illinois' Fort St. Louis on the Illinois River. This defeat marks the end of the Iroquois' decades-long attempt to establish a monopoly over the fur trade in the Great Lakes–St. Lawrence River region, although they remain the most significant Indian power in the area for another century.
- 1685 The French attempt to establish the first European settlement in Texas, at Matagorda Bay, near the mouth of the Colorado River of Texas in the territory of the Karankawa people. The Spanish slowly respond in following years by establishing missions in support of their claim to the territory.
- 1686 Henri de Tonty establishes the first French settlement in Arkansas at Arkansas Post, on the Arkansas River a few miles from its juncture with the Mississippi and in the country of the Quapaw tribes. [The post was an

important trading center, and later served as a capital for French and Spanish territorial governors and as the first U.S. territorial capital of Arkansas.]

- 1687 The French Governor of Canada, the Marquis de Denonville, attacks and destroys four Seneca villages in a strike against the restive Iroquois Confederacy.

The Yamasee of northern Florida and southern Georgia rebel against Spanish control. They migrate northward into what is now South Carolina.

- 1689 Warriors from the Iroquois Confederacy, allies of the English who are at war with the French and their Algonkian allies, seek revenge for the 1687 destruction of four Seneca villages. They destroy the settlement of Lachine near Montreal, established in 1668. The Comte de Frontenac is returned to Canada as governor for the second time; before he can reach Quebec, the Iroquois strongly attack the colony and inflict about 100 casualties. [The sporadic fighting between the French and Iroquois continues for many more years, as it had for most of the 17th century. Also at issue in 'King William's War' as the North American part of the 'War of the Grand Alliance' in Europe is known, is control of the St. Lawrence River and upper Hudson River valleys along with territory in the Canadian Maritime provinces of New France.] A peace treaty is finally forced on the Iroquois by the Comte in 1696.

- 1692 Indians around Mexico City rebel against the Spaniards, but are unable to resolve differences among themselves concerning revitalization of their traditional cultures versus taking over Spanish institutions. As a result of disunity, the revolt collapses without effecting either of these aims of its leaders.

- 1692-94 A Spanish expedition from Mexico, led by Governor Pedro de Vargas, succeeds in reconquering the New Mexico Pueblos, now weakened by the death of their leader Popé and conflicts with the neighboring Apache tribes.

- 1700 The French in America total about 15,000. The Iroquois Confederacy numbers some 16,000. The English population of the continental colonies is nearly 250,000.

- 1701 Detroit, on the border between the remnant Wyandot-Neutral tribes and the Potawatomi, is founded by Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac to control the fur trade of Illinois for France.

The French establish the first European settlement in Alabama on Dauphin Island at the entrance to Mobile Bay, in the country of the Mobile tribe of the Choctaw Nation. They quickly spread other forts throughout

the region in the next two decades. Mobile becomes the capital of Louisiana in 1711.

- 1703-13** As a part of Queen Anne's War in the Americas, the Abenaki strike the town of Wells, Maine in 1703, capturing or killing 39 inhabitants there and a total of about 300 in other towns. One of the captured girls, Esther Wheelwright, is adopted into an Abenaki family for six years, then is sent to Quebec where she becomes an Ursuline nun and eventually the superior of that order in Canada. She maintains relations with her English family, but does not consent to return to New England. [In 1759, she buries General Montcalm in her convent following his death in the defense of Quebec during the 'French and Indian War'.] Raiding continues in New England after the first assaults, and Indian allies on both French and English sides take part in the major offensives that are traded back and forth for a decade.
- 1704** In a raid upon the Puritan town of Deerfield (formerly the home of the Pocumtuc tribe), the Caughnawaga Mohawk allies of the French seize about 100 captives, including the town's minister, Rev. John Williams. His partisan account (**The Redeemed Captive, Returning to Zion**, 1707) of the march north, the captivity and Catholic conversion experiences of his flock, inflames hard English feelings toward the Indian allies of the French and the Catholic church. The book becomes a landmark of the growing body of sensational 'captivity narratives' which are popular literature in Protestant New England. Rev. Williams is returned to New England in 1706 with 57 other ransomed captives from Deerfield.
- 1708** Mayan Indians of Chiapas rebel against Spanish authority in their region of southern Mexico.
- In Brazil, a decade of friction over gold mines in the area of Minas Gerais between newly-arrived Europeans and Portuguese-Indian mestizo settlers from São Paulo results in a civil war that forces the mixed-bloods west into the territory of the Mato Grosso. The displaced Paulistas discover gold there a decade later.
- 1711-13** War breaks out between the Tuscarora people of North Carolina and the English settlers on their lands. Long at peace with the English, the Tuscarora experience a lengthy period of colonists' violation of agreements, encroachments upon reserved lands and the kidnapping and selling of their children into slavery before they strike at the settlements this year, killing some 200 English. The Carolinians organize their militia in response. Reinforced by troops from Virginia and by Indian enemies of the Tuscarora, they begin a two-year campaign of decimating the Tuscarora villages. The Tuscarora's losses force them to make peace in 1713, after which they begin migrating northward out of the area.

- 1714** Rev. John Williams, returning to Canada to try to ransom remaining captive New Englanders from his town of Deerfield, finds many converted to Catholicism, and many intermarriages with French or Indians, as well as among the captives themselves. He has little success in persuading captives to return.
- 1715-28** The Yamasee tribe of South Carolina, faced with the same pressures from English colonists that compelled a warlike response from the Tuscarora shortly before, begins a 13-year struggle against the colonists. An attack upon trading outposts in April, 1715 results in 90 English deaths. The colonial response is much as it was against the Tuscarora. The Yamasee hold out longer by winning most of the neighboring tribes as allies, but are eventually reduced in numbers and driven back south into Spanish Florida, where the remnants of the tribe ally with a tribe of the Muskogean Creek Confederation. Many of the survivors are killed in 1727 when English troops destroy their village near St. Augustine.
- 1717** Scotsman John Law, a friend of the Duc d' Orléans and a monetary theorist who is reorganizing French national finance, gains a monopoly of trade privileges in Louisiana for his Company of the West. He founds New Orleans in 1718 as the transshipment center for the Mississippi River basin.
- 1720-22** Spain extends its mission building into Texas in response to French settlements in the territory and European war between the two nations.
- Trade with the Iroquois is promoted by Governor William Burnet of New York.
- ca. 1721** Swiss and German immigrants bring the first guns with rifled barrels into America. Pennsylvania gunsmiths of German descent will later modify these shortbarreled German jaeger rifles into the longbarreled 'Kentucky rifle' that becomes prominent in the American Revolution, the War of 1812 and in frontier fighting between Indians and U.S. settlers.
- 1722** Survivors of the Tuscarora War and migration are adopted into the Iroquois Confederacy under the sponsorship of the Oneida Nation, becoming the Sixth Nation of that Confederacy.
- In the Third Abenaki War, the Abenaki and other Algonkin tribes of northern New England resist territorial encroachments in Maine until the Massachusetts General Court agrees to peace terms in 1725. Battles are fought with the colonists at Brunswick, Arrowsick, Merry-Meeting Bay, Norridgewock and Fryeburg.
- New Orleans becomes the capital of the province of Louisiana.

- 1724 The English and the Dutch establish their first settlements in Vermont in the face of stiff Indian resistance during the final year of the Third Abenaki War.
- 1725 The Massachusetts General Court puts a £100 bounty on Indian scalps in late 1724, inspiring farmer John Lovewell to organize two small raiding parties into New Hampshire and Maine in the winter and spring of this year. His first raid kills 10 sleeping Pennacook, but his second, against the Arosaguntacook, results in the death of Lovewell and half of his 34-man force.
- 1730** Several revolts against local Spanish administrators break out in a number of Peruvian provinces, resulting in the deaths of several officials until the rebellions are suppressed.
- 1731 The French build the fort of Crown Point on Lake Champlain to secure an invasion route between the English colonies and New France.
- 1732 The Russian explorer Gvozdev is the first European to land in Alaska.
- 1733 James Oglethorpe establishes Savannah, Georgia as the capital of his new English colony in the territories recently seized from the Yamasee tribe.
- 1734** Another regional revolt against a corrupt Spanish official breaks out in Andahuailles, Peru.
- 1735 The French establish a settlement at Vincennes, Indiana on the Wabash River in a border area between the Illinois and Shawnee peoples.
- 1741 Vitus Behring and Alexei Chirikov sight the Aleutian Islands along with some of the Aleut people. They explore in Prince William Sound in southeast Alaska, claiming these lands for the Russian tsar.
- 1742** Indians in the Peruvian highland town of Tarma revolt against local Spanish officials.
- 1743** The Mames people of Ixtahuacan, south of Guadalajara, Mexico, rebel against Spanish rule.
- 1744-48 The English and French begin the sixth long period of conflict over possession of the Micmac homelands of Acadia (modern Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and the Gaspé Peninsula of Quebec) as a part of the European War of the Austrian Succession that became known in North America as King George's War. After British and colonial militias capture the French fortress of Louisbourg on Cape Breton in 1745, the French and their Algonkin allies respond with attacks against towns in New England and New York. The British respond in kind with their Iroquois allies,

attacking Canadian settlements in 1746-48. The war ends with the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, returning Louisbourg to the French in exchange for the French colony in Madras, India.

- 1749 The Ohio Company, a speculative land venture under sponsorship of leading Virginians, including George Washington, establishes its first settlement west of the Allegheny Mountains. A series of trading posts and small fortifications is built in the next five years along the Monongahela River up toward the site of modern Pittsburgh, then in the hands of the French as Fort Duquesne. This leads to clashes with the French and their Delaware allies for control of the Ohio Valley. These skirmishes eventually develop into the 'French and Indian War' of 1754-63.

Georgia is rechartered as a Crown colony.

- 1750 Urban Peruvian Indians organize the Revolt of Huarochirí in Lima.

Spain and Portugal agree on a treaty redefining their spheres of influence in South America. Involved are a group of seven Spanish Jesuit missions, called reducciones, for the 'civilizing' and protection of the Guaraní Indians in the area of southern Uruguay. Spain agrees with Portugal to exchange these reducciones for a Portuguese port town called Colonia on the Rio de la Plata.

- 1752-56 The Jesuit missionaries of the seven Uruguayan reducciones affected by the 1750 Spanish-Portuguese agreement inform the Guaraní that the agreement requires their forced emigration to Portuguese Brazil. The Indians are persuaded to resist removal in a war with both Spanish and Portuguese forces that lasts four years. When the Guaraní lose the struggle, four Jesuit instigators are arrested and tried in Lisbon. The Portuguese minister Sebastiao Jose de Carvalho e Mello then orders all Jesuits out of government, colonial, and educational service in 1759.

- 1753 French Canadian troops begin to oust English settlers from the Ohio Valley as tensions leading to the Seven Years' War in Europe build.

- 1754 Virginia sends a troop of militia under Lt. Col. George Washington to evict the French from Fort Duquesne (modern Pittsburgh). Without Indian support or scouts, Washington is discovered on his approach and is defeated by the French and Delaware with the surrender of his command at Fort Necessity in Great Meadows, Pennsylvania. He and his men are disarmed and permitted to return to Virginia.

Delegates from the colonies meet in Albany, New York to discuss the possibility of union amongst themselves. A proposal put forth by Benjamin Franklin is modeled on the example of the Iroquois Confederacy and is called the Albany Plan. It is rejected by the delegates, but a uniform policy

for Indian - colonial relations is adopted and a colonial alliance formed with the Iroquois.

- 1755** Fearing French attack in Nova Scotia and disloyalty to English rule by the French and French-Indian (Métis, or mixed bloods, of Micmac extraction) Acadian population there, the English expel the Acadians from the region. A portion of the French and Métis Acadians migrate to Louisiana, becoming known there as the Cajun people.

A force of British regular army troops and Virginia militia attempts to take Fort Duquesne; British General Braddock is killed in battle by Ojibwe allies of the French. Col. Washington's militia saves the remnants of the British regulars in the retreat. Governor Shirley of Massachusetts is repulsed by the French and their Algonkin allies in his attempt to support Braddock's attack on Fort Duquesne; however, a detachment of Shirley's militia under General William Johnson defeats the French in a battle on Lake George, New York, capturing the French commander, Baron Dieskau.

- 1756** The British and French declare general war worldwide (the 'Seven Years' War'). The French general Louis-Joseph de Montcalm destroys the only British outpost on the Great Lakes at Oswego, New York. The French with their Algonkin allies and the English with their Iroquois supporters trade raids upon each others' frontier posts.

- 1757** Montcalm succeeds in besieging the British at Fort William Henry on Lake George. After the surrender of the garrison commanded by Colonel Munro, Montcalm's Algonkin Indian support troops ignore his orders and execute many of the British prisoners before Montcalm can restore order. Munro and the surviving British escape to Fort Edward.

- 1758** A year of British successes in the 'French and Indian War': their naval blockade keeps two French support expeditions at home; they capture the French fortresses at Louisbourg in Acadia and Frontenac on Lake Ontario, and forces under Washington and Forbes, with a small group of Cherokee supporters, take Fort Duquesne at Pittsburgh. Montcalm's sole success is in defeating a superior British and colonial force at Fort Carillon (Ticonderoga) on Lake Champlain.

- 1759** In the crucial year of the war in North America, the British lay siege to Quebec, ultimately defeating the French with the loss of the commanders (Wolfe and Montcalm) on both sides. The French and their allied Indian forces also lose forts Niagara and Carillon.

- 1760** In the last major continental combat between European forces in the war, the English are defeated by the French and Algonkin force at Quebec but are saved by the arrival of a fresh fleet. French Governor Vaudreuil withdraws to Montreal where he surrenders his unsupplied forces and control of Canada to General Amhearst in September.

- 1760** The highland Quiche Maya Indians of Santa Lucía Utatlan (near Lake Atitlan in the modern department of Sololá, Guatemala) rebel against Spanish colonial control.
- 1760-63** British and colonial forces, with their Iroquois supporters, spend the last three years of the 'French and Indian War' in subjugating the remaining independent Indian tribes on the frontier of British America. Unlike the French, who tended to coexist with the native people, the English and colonials pursue a policy of land expropriation, restricted Indian settlement and forced cultural assimilation.
- 1760-62** Attakullakulla ('Little Carpenter') of the Cherokee leads his warriors in an attempt to stop the spread of colonial settlements into the backcountry of the Carolinas. Outgunned and unable to match the strategy of the colonists, the Cherokee lose their war and are forced to cede large areas of their territory to the European-Americans.
- 1763** The Treaty of Paris ending the Seven Years' War surrenders Canada and the upper Mississippi Valley claims of the French to the British victors. King George III proclaims the Indian territory west of the Allegheny Mountains to be protected from further European settlement without tribal and Crown consent. The Proclamation of 1763 also applies to Canada; it is frequently violated by American and Canadian colonists, who often protest it in their colonial assemblies. The British also proclaim a new English colonial government for Canada following the conclusion of the war. Louisiana remains in French control.
- The Paxton Riots in Pennsylvania result from frontier settlers' frustrations over attacks against them by Pontiac's Confederacy of Ottawa and other Ohio Valley tribes. [The Scots-Irish settlements in western Pennsylvania were founded during the period of Indian land expropriation that followed the 'French and Indian War'.] The first act of the 'Riots' is a massacre of 20 Conestoga Mission Indians, a Susquehenna tribal remnant, by a force of drunken Rangers, the 'Paxton Boys'. Benjamin Franklin responds to this killing with a pamphlet entitled *A Narrative of the Late Massacres in Lancaster County of a Number of Indians, Friends of this Province, by Persons Unknown*, in which he calls for vengeance for the innocent victims. The 'Paxton Boys' answer by organizing a force of 600 to march on Philadelphia with the intention of killing 140 more Indians camped nearby. An intervention by a militia organized by Benjamin Franklin and others prevents further violence. This action eventually costs Franklin his seat in the colonial legislature when the settlers pressure the colony for his removal.
- 1763-64** After several years of hostage-taking and economic exploitation by Russian fur hunters, the Aleut plan and execute a rebellion in the winter of 1763. Three of four Russian ships in the area are burned and sunk, and

most of the Russians are killed. Following initial losses, Russian captains return and devastate the Aleutian villages, destroying the tools, houses and weapons on which the Aleut depend for survival. Over the next decade, the Russians remove most of the surviving men from the villages for long periods of service as hunters elsewhere, and starvation and epidemic diseases reduce the Aleut population from 16,000 to an estimated 2,000.

- 1763-6** Pontiac's War by a confederation of Ottawa, Ojibwe ('Chippewa') and Potawatomi tribes led by Pontiac, an Ottawa-Ojibwe chief of the Ottawa people, attempts to oust the British and Americans from the Northwest Territory. Pontiac believes the Treaty of Paris, which ends the 'French and Indian War', opens the way to unrestricted American settlement of his peoples' territory. In April, 1763, Pontiac calls a meeting of 400 chiefs and warriors and proposes to seize the fort at Detroit. His plan is betrayed by a mixed-blood girl. The confederacy's effort results in a siege with a major defeat of a relieving British army, but fails to take Fort Detroit. Eight other forts between northern New York and Virginia are taken and several English and colonial expeditions are defeated; the frontier settlements are suppressed for a time. A treaty ending hostilities is signed in Detroit in August, 1765, with a final peace negotiated on terms acceptable to the Indians at Oswego in July, 1766. Pontiac's Confederacy becomes one of the most successful sustained efforts at organized Indian resistance to European-American encroachments.
- 1764** The Cakchiquel Maya in Tecpan, Guatemala, revolt against Spanish domination.
- Pierre Laclède Liquest founds St. Louis (in modern Missouri) as a fur trading outpost of New Orleans in the country of the Illinois tribe. The new outpost is across the river from the great ancient city of Cahokia in Illinois.
- 1769** The Spanish colonizers of California open the first Franciscan mission and a school intended for Indian students in San Diego.
- 1770** The Kekchi Maya of Coban, Guatemala rebel against Spanish colonial control.
- Crispus Attucks (his last name means 'Small Deer'), son of an African-American father and an American Indian (Massachuset) mother, is a leader and martyr in the incident known as the 'Boston Massacre', a prelude to the American Revolution.
- 1774** American settlers in the Ohio Valley, led by Daniel Greathouse, massacre Shawnee and Mingo Indians at Yellow Creek. Tahgahjute ('James Logan') of the Shawnee, whose family is killed in the massacre, blames the militia commander of the region, Michael Cresap, for the killings. He joins with other hostile tribes in the area in fighting Virginian settlers and

troops in what becomes known as Lord Dunmore's War. Lord Dunmore, Governor of Virginia, leads one of two columns (the other commanded by Colonel Andrew Lewis) into the Ohio Valley in the fall. Lewis' army of 1,500 Virginians is attacked by Chief Cornstalk and the Shawnee at the juncture of the Ohio and Kanawha Rivers in October. The colonials manage to defeat the Shawnee in a hard battle. The Shawnee later make peace with Lord Dunmore, ceding their territories in Kentucky in exchange for peace.

- 1775** A group of Ipai-Tipai villages in California organize to send a force of 800 men against the Franciscan mission established six years earlier at San Diego. In one of the few successful acts of Indian resistance to the Spanish invasion of California, these villagers destroy the mission, killing the padre and two other Spaniards. The villages regain their independence from forced religious and cultural conversion for less than a year, however.
- 1776** The new Congress of the United States invites a delegation of Iroquois sachems to visit the site of the emerging national government in Philadelphia during May and June. Congressional leaders, among them John Adams, pointedly compare their new government to that of the Iroquois Confederacy, utilizing the Iroquois concept of the 'Great Council Fire' to refer to Congress. One of the Mohawk leaders, Abraham, councils the Congress to divide off its executive functions from its legislative powers. The sachems are present in Congress during the June debates on the Declaration of Independence. During the proceedings, John Hancock, President of the Congress, receives the Iroquois name Karanduawn or 'Great Tree' (referring to the Iroquois' Great Tree of Peace) from an Onondaga sachem after Hancock proclaims the brotherly unity of the Americans and Iroquois. Benjamin Franklin designs a coin of the new Continental currency displaying the colonies in the form of an Iroquois symbol, the Covenant Chain.
- 1777** The Oneida, members of the Iroquois Confederacy, supply George Washington's starving army at Valley Forge with corn over the winter months, thus helping the American commander to hold the remnants of his small army together.
- The Spanish and Portuguese again resolve disputes over their respective dominions in South America.
- 1778** The infant United States signs its first treaty with an Indian Nation, the Leni-Lenape ('Delaware') Confederacy. The Delaware are offered the right to send a delegate to the Continental Congress and are also offered the possibility of entering the Union as a State. In exchange, the United States gains permission for its troops to operate on Delaware lands.

- 1778-79** The Iroquois Confederacy, led by Joseph Brant, and allied British forces under Colonel John Butler, attack American settlements at Wyoming, Pennsylvania and at Minisink and Cherry Valley in New York as part of the British Revolutionary War effort. At Minisink, Brant lays a trap for pursuing American forces after destroying the town and kills most of the militia force. In 1779, George Washington organizes punitive forces under Generals Sullivan and Clinton; these defeat Butler's rangers and burn many Iroquois villages and crops, breaking the military power of the League.
- 1779-83** A series of rebellions against the Spanish break out in Peru and Argentina. The Chayanta revolt in Buenos Aires lasts from 1779 to 1781 against the corregidores (the administrators of the Crown lands in the Viceroyalty of La Plata). In 1780, taking the name of the last free Incan leader, José Gabriel Condorcanqui calls himself Tupac Amaru II and proclaims an uprising to end Indian slave labor in the Andean mines. His army of 75,000 Indians besieges Cuzco and La Paz. For a period of five months, his largest rebellion spreads from Colombia to Bolivia, until it is crushed by Indian armies totaling 60,000 men trained and armed by the Spanish. He and his family are captured and executed in Cuzco in March, 1781. Skirmishing continues with the remnant of his forces, led by his half-brothers, for another year and a half. In 1783, the Spanish face and put down the last of these related rebellions in Huarochirí province and issue a pardon to the remaining rebels to obtain peace.
- 1782** Following the surrender of British forces at Yorktown in the American Revolution, a combined British and Shawnee army in the Northwest territory (led by the American renegade Simon Girty) attacks frontier settlements in Kentucky. Battles at Bryan's Station and Blue Lick in Kentucky result in defeats for the Indians at the former and the Americans at the latter. American General George Rogers Clark is sent into the territory with a force of over 1,000 men in response. Clark destroys several Shawnee villages and seizes control of the territory from the British and Indian forces.
- 1784** The Territorial Ordinance for the northwestern territories drafted by Thomas Jefferson and later adopted by Congress establishes the principle that the federal government of the United States alone has the power to purchase unceded lands from the Indians and must do so before any such lands can be sold or given in turn to American citizens.
- Russian fur traders establish their first permanent settlements in Alaska among the Aleut Kodiak at Three Saints on Kodiak Island in the Aleutian Islands. The Russians institute a practice of interference with the traditional pluralistic leadership of the Aleutian villages, attempting to establish single chiefs in each village.

- 1785 Spanish artillery officer Antonio del Río reports finding the abandoned Mayan city of Palenque, a major ceremonial center in the Yucatán lowlands.
- 1786 The great Seneca sachem Cornplanter leads a delegation to Congress in New York to advise the U.S. government on its preparations to draft the Articles of Confederation. Repeating the advice of several earlier Iroquois leaders, Cornplanter urges the Congress to continue to follow Iroquois examples and promote unity among the states of the new American nation.
- 1787 Thomas Jefferson publishes his **Notes on the State of Virginia**, originally written in 1782, including a description of the “aborigines” of the state in his responses to questions by a French friend about the region. Charles Thompson (who is Jefferson's friend, Secretary of the Continental Congress, and an adopted member of the Delaware Nation) contributes an appendix on the social and political organization of Indians in Virginia.
- The Northwest Ordinance is passed by Congress to authorize the expansion of the United States west beyond the original thirteen colonies. Article III of the Ordinance declares as the United States' Indian policy that “[t]he utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians; their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and in their property rights and liberty, they never shall be invaded or disturbed unless in just and lawful wars authorized by Congress; but laws founded in justice and humanity shall, from time to time, be made for preventing wrongs being done to them and for preserving peace and friendship with them.”
- 1789 Congress gives authority for the conduct of Indian relations to the War Department.
- 1790 Governor Arthur St. Clair of the Northwest Territory orders a strike against Little Turtle's Miami Confederacy along the Maumee River in modern Ohio. The Confederacy, in part organized by the great leader Tecumseh, includes the Miami, Shawnee, Kickapoo, Potawatomi, Ojibwe, Ottawa, Mingo, Wyandot and Delaware. These tribes are actively resisting territorial encroachments by American settlers and are receiving cooperation from British forts in the Ohio Valley which have not yet been abandoned in the aftermath of the American Revolution. Governor St. Clair sends General Josiah Harmar with 1,100 militia and regular troops against Little Turtle, who defeats the Americans in a series of forest ambushes and pitched battles. Harmar is forced to retreat and ultimately resigns his commission.
- Congress passes the first Trade and Intercourse Act, which establishes a system of trade centers and regulations for the conduct of trade between Indian nations and the U.S. Private citizens are forbidden to trade with the

tribes unless licensed by the U.S. superintendents responsible for the various trading areas.

1791 Vermont becomes a state of the U.S.

Britain's Canada Constitutional Act divides the country into two provinces, Upper and Lower Canada.

Governor Arthur St. Clair of the Northwest Territory sets out in October from what is now Cincinnati with a poorly-trained Federal army of 2,100 in an effort to break Little Turtle's Miami Confederacy. His force is reduced by desertions to about 1,400 in the following month. When he is attacked by Little Turtle on the Wabash River in November, he loses about half his men in a three-hour battle and is forced to retreat from the area.

1792 Kentucky becomes a state of the Union.

1794 A confederacy of the Miami under Little Turtle and neighboring tribes (Shawnee, Kickapoo and Mesquakie) fight U.S. General 'Mad' Anthony Wayne's army at the Battle of Fallen Timbers near modern Toledo, Ohio in the Northwest Territory. Wayne has carefully trained his army for two years in order to avoid the mistakes that led to the defeat of St. Clair in 1791. He uses simultaneous negotiations and tactical maneuvers to gain an advantage over Little Turtle's forces, which outnumber him 2,000 to 1,000. During the fighting, aid promised to Little Turtle by the British at Fort Miami never comes. His warriors are forced to abandon their fortifications by Wayne's troops, who follow up their victory with the destruction of several villages in the area. Little Turtle is forced to conclude the Treaty of Greenville with Wayne, in which the United States takes possession of most of Ohio and parts of Michigan, Illinois, and Indiana.

The Oneida, Tuscarora and Stockbridge tribes negotiate the first treaty with the U.S. to make specific provisions for Indian education.

1795 In the Treaty of San Lorenzo, the U.S. settles its boundary with Spanish Florida and negotiates the right to navigate on the Mississippi, controlled by Spain since 1762.

1796 Tennessee becomes a state of the U.S.

The first Russian Orthodox missionary to Alaska, Father Heiromonk Makary, arrives at Unalaska in the Aleutian Islands.

A delegation of Aleut travel to Russia to protest their treatment by Russian fur traders.

1798 The Irish begin to emigrate to Canada in large numbers.

- 1799** Ganyodieyo ('Handsome Lake'), a Seneca, founds a cultural revivalist religion among the Iroquois based on a series of visions. His beliefs, variously called the Handsome Lake Religion or the Longhouse Religion, form an important basis for the social recovery of the Iroquois Nation, whose tribes, allied to the British, were badly shattered during the American Revolution.
- Russia grants its monopoly to the Russia-American Company to engage in fur trade in North America. The Company also is granted the exercise of governmental powers over the territory and peoples of Alaska in the name of the tsar. Aleksandr Baranof, the Company's first Governor, establishes Ft. Archangel Gabriel on the site of modern Sitka on Baranof Island in the Alexander Archipelago.
- 1802** The Tlingit destroy Baranof's fort at Sitka.
- Congress begins a period of annual appropriations to a 'Civilization Fund' to promote the adoption of European-American cultural norms among Indians.
- The French general LeClerc Milfort publishes his scholarly social and political study **Gen. Milfort's Creek Indians** in Paris. [Milfort had served the Muskogee or 'Creek' Nation as a military advisor and head of the Creek Confederacy's Army from 1776 to 1796.]
- 1803** Ohio becomes a state.
- The U.S. and France negotiate the sale of the French territory of Louisiana to the U.S.; this includes the Mississippi valley, again claimed by the French following an 1800 treaty with Spain.
- 1804** Aleksandr Baranof re-establishes his capital at Sitka, naming it Novo Arkhangelsk ('New Archangel').
- 1804-06** The U.S. sends a party under William Clark and Meriwether Lewis to explore the lands of the Louisiana Purchase and beyond to the Pacific. The team, guided by the Shoshone woman Sacajawea, eventually reaches the Columbia River and explores the environs near the river's mouth, wintering in the territory of the Clatsop people in 1804-05 before returning east. This expedition is the first contact many tribes of the northwestern interior have with Americans.
- 1809** Ecuador gains its independence from Spain, the first South American nation to free itself from European colonial domination.
- 1810** Venezuela becomes independent of Spain. Simón Bolívar begins his political career in the conspiracies that help expel the Spanish governor.

Revolts break out in the Spanish colonies of New Grenada (Colombia), Rio de la Plata (Argentina/Chile) and New Spain (Mexico). In the town of Guanajuato, Mexico, a priest named Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla issues a famous proclamation, the *Grito de Dolores*, calling for equality of the Indian and Hispanic races and urging a fair distribution of land. He leads an army of Indians and mestizos against Spanish officials and the town's Creole (American-born Spaniards) population, calling for an end to Spanish rule of Mexico. The episode results in a massacre of the Spanish and the sacking of Guanajuato and several other towns by Hidalgo's army before a royalist army crushes the rebellion in a battle near Guadalajara on January 18, 1811.

1811-13 Tenskwatawa, the Prophet, brother of the Shawnee war leader Tecumseh, precipitously attacks an offensive military encampment commanded by Governor William Henry Harrison of the Indiana Territory near the Shawnee town of Tippecanoe. Disastrously defeated, the Prophet's forces are dispersed. Tecumseh returns from a trip recruiting southern tribes to join a Pontiac-type confederacy in 1812, and joins with the British forces north of Detroit as war approaches between the U.S. and England. At the outbreak of hostilities, Tecumseh is commissioned a brigadier general in the British Army. His warriors subsequently capture Detroit and 2,500 U.S. soldiers. He journeys again to the South, and persuades the Creek Confederacy in Alabama to make war on the U.S. Tecumseh returns north in 1813 to join British General Procter in invading Ohio, where he besieges Harrison at Fort Meigs and destroys a Kentucky brigade sent to Harrison's relief. Oliver Hazard Perry's victory on the Great Lakes in September, 1813 puts the British and Indian forces on the defensive, and Harrison pursues them into Ontario. There Tecumseh is killed in a battle on the Thames River in October. Soon after the end of the war, the decimated Shawnee tribe and their allies are deported west of the Mississippi River. As a consequence of the expansion of American power in the Old Northwest after the British withdrawal at the end of the war, many tribes of the region decide in subsequent treaty councils to voluntarily remove to the west in an effort to retain some control over their own future.

A group of Iroquois are part of the party of trappers and fur traders sent out from the U.S. to the Oregon country by John Jacob Astor's Pacific Fur Company. The Iroquois remain after 1813, when Astor sells out to the rival British North West Company. The eastern Indians occupy themselves in trapping and trading with the local Indians, among them the Nimipu ('Nez Percé'). These Plateau Indians help the party recover after the arduous trip over the Rockies and guide them to the mouth of the Columbia River. One of the Astorians and some of the Iroquois return to the Nimipu country in 1812 to establish fur trade at Fort Nez Percé at the junction of the Snake and Clearwater Rivers. The Nimipu choose not to

trap for beaver, instead trading by supplying the fort with food and other necessities.

1812 Louisiana becomes a state.

Ignace La Mousse, an Iroquois and a former Hudson's Bay Company employee, settles among the Flathead. 'Big Ignace' is a devout Catholic, having been educated by missionaries on the Caughnawaga reserve in Quebec. He tells the Flathead and their visiting neighbors the Nimipu ('Nez Percé') about the European-Americans' 'Holy Book', supposedly the source of all their knowledge. This information sets off years of discussions and speculations about Christianity among the Flathead and Nimipu.

1812-17 In the Red River country of what is now Manitoba, Canada, stockholders in the Hudson's Bay Company attempt to establish in 1812 a colony of Scots, provoking opposition from the North West Company, fur trading rivals to Hudson's Bay who were already working in the area. The North West Company negotiates the removal of the Scots in 1815, but a new group returns in 1816. In response, the North West Company incites the local Métis (mixed-blood) populace against the newcomers. The Métis destroy the Scottish posts and settlements, killing all but four colonists in a skirmish at Seven Oaks in June, 1816. The Hudson's Bay Company hires Swiss mercenaries to retaliate, and captures the North West Company's post at Fort William. The factor (chief of the post) there is arrested for provoking the Métis attack. The Scots return to the Red River in 1817.

1813 In a reprise of the Indian and mestizo rebellions of 1810-11, Mexico declares independence from Spain. Mexico's first nationalist revolution occurs during a period of Spanish weakness resulting from Napoleon's Peninsular War in Europe. Royalist troops soon restore the power of the Spanish viceroy.

1813-14 The Creek Nation undertakes a war aimed at cultural revival under the leadership of Red Eagle, one of the nephews of the deceased Creek leader Alexander McGillivray. Called the Red Sticks, the Creek cultural reformers include numerous white and black adopted members. The presence of black warriors among the Creeks provokes fear of slave revolt among neighboring European-Americans, who initiate raids on the Creek villages. In retaliation, the Red Sticks attack Fort Mims on Lake Tensas and kill the 170-man garrison and some 300 settlers in August, 1813. Andrew Jackson leads a Tennesseean army into Creek territory in response, finally defeating the Creek in the Massacre of Tohopeka in March, 1814 with the loss of 557 Red Stick warriors. The resulting peace treaty strips the Creek of 23 million acres of their territory; diehard Red Sticks and some of their adopted black and white members retreat into Florida to continue the fight under the leadership of Osceola. Joining with

earlier Creek migrants into northern Florida, they become known as the Seminole.

- 1813-19 Simón Bolívar becomes military dictator in Venezuela after six brutal battles in which his forces defeat the Spanish. The Spanish and their allies, the Venezuelan cowboys led by José Boves, capture Caracas in 1814 and Bolívar goes into exile in Jamaica. He receives military aid from newly-independent Haiti and returns to Venezuela in 1815. In 1819, he leads an army of 2,500 overland through difficult terrain to surprise the Spanish and liberate the capital of New Granada, Bogotá. He is declared president of the Republic of Colombia; the Spanish still control Ecuador and Venezuela, two of the three provinces of Gran Colombia.
- 1815 Brazil declares independence from Portugal.
- 1816 Argentina declares independence from Spain; José de San Martín plays the leading role in the struggle for liberation in the southern provinces of South America.
- Indiana joins the U.S. as a state.
- 1817 Mississippi becomes a state.
- 1817-18** The First Seminole War results from an unauthorized raiding expedition by General Andrew Jackson into Florida to capture runaway slaves that have taken refuge among the Creek Seminole and the remnant Pensacola, Apalachee, Timucua, Ais, Calusa and Tekesta peoples of the peninsula still claimed by Spain. Indian villages and farms are burned and their inhabitants scattered. Jackson captures the Spanish centers of Pensacola and St. Marks. He also captures and executes several Seminole chiefs and two British traders. Despite political and diplomatic protests, no punitive action is ever taken against Jackson, who becomes a hero to Americans on the frontiers.
- 1818 Chile declares itself an independent nation.
- Illinois becomes a state of the U.S.
- The U.S. and Great Britain settle the border between the former nation and Canada at the 49th parallel. The treaty terms establish a joint occupancy of the Oregon country by Americans and British fur trade interests of the Hudson's Bay Company.
- 1819 In a treaty negotiated by President Adams, Spain sells Florida and its possessions east of the Mississippi to the United States for five million dollars. Indian tribes that are affected include the surviving native Floridian peoples as well as remnant bands of other tribes that have fled to Florida during the Yamasee, Creek, and other Southeastern wars.

Congress establishes a 'Civilization Fund' to promote education of Indians in European-American cultural norms.

A band of Western Cherokee from Tennessee, led by chiefs Duwali and Talchee, settle in east Texas in an effort to preserve traditional ways of life from the impacts of rising U.S. settlement in their homeland.

1820 As a result of the unsettled conditions following the crumbling of Spanish rule in the Mexico and elsewhere in Central America, Indians seek independence in rebellions at San Martín Cuchumatanes, Santiago Momostenango, and Ixtahuacan.

Maine enters the Union as a result of the Missouri Compromise.

1821 Simón Bolívar defeats the Spanish at Carabobo and liberates Venezuela for the third and final time.

San Martín captures Lima and declares Peruvian independence; Guatemala, Panama, and Santo Domingo declare themselves free of Spanish rule.

Missouri becomes a state; the Compromise of 1820 declares that free and slave states will enter the Union in pairs in order to preserve the political power of the slave owners in the South.

In 1821, first Spain and then newly-independent Mexico permit American settlement in Texas. Hayden Edwards and about 200 American families settle near present-day Nacogdoches on land already claimed by some Mexican settlers.

1822 Brazil succeeds in ending Portuguese domination and becomes effectively free.

1823 The Arikara ('Ree' Indians) begin to resist the encroachments of American and French-Canadian fur trappers in their territory on the upper Missouri River. The U.S. responds by sending Colonel Henry Leavenworth to destroy the Arikara villages in the first major confrontation between U.S. forces and a Great Plains tribe. The Arikara are forced northward, and their homelands are soon opened to American settlement.

In the case of *Johnson v. McIntosh*, the Supreme Court declares that the federal government of the United States alone possesses the right and authority to acquire title to Indian lands, either by conquest or by purchase. The ruling gives effect to the principles set forth in the series of Trade and Intercourse Acts. (Under this ruling, state or territorial governments and private U.S. citizens cannot lawfully acquire title to Indian lands except through grant or purchase from the United States,

which shall first have acquired title through conquest or purchase negotiated by treaty with the tribal governments.)

Mexico establishes a republican government when General Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna rebels against the rule of Emperor Agustin I (Agustin de Iturbide). Iturbide had overthrown Spanish power in 1821 with the help of mestizo and Indian armies led by Vicente Guerrero and Guadalupe Victoria. While Indians are included in the franchise granted under the new Mexican constitution, state-level restrictions on political participation of Indian peasants effectively concentrates power in the hands of a mestizo (mixed-blood Spanish and Indian) elite. Victoria becomes the first Mexican president.

By the end of the period of Spanish colonial rule in Mexico, 20 mission schools for Indians have been established from San Diego to San Francisco in the province of California. Indian resentment of the Spaniards' motives in converting their children to Christianity strongly limits the effectiveness of such schools as educational institutions, however much they contribute toward Spanish domination of the coastal tribes of southern California.

Costa Rica, San Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua and Guatemala form a confederation.

President James Monroe of the U.S. declares the western hemisphere to be closed to further colonization by European powers (the 'Monroe Doctrine').

1824

Abused Indian neophytes in the California missions of Santa Ynez and La Purísima rebel against Spanish domination and seize the missions in February. Santa Ynez is mostly burned and the Indians prepare to defend themselves in the La Purísima buildings. When news of the rebellion reaches Santa Barbara, the Indians there also seize that mission, fighting a long, winning battle with Spanish troops before retiring into the mountains. The defenders of La Purísima hold the mission for a month until a Spanish assault results in a drawn battle and a cease-fire. The free Santa Barbara Indians, reinforced by hundreds of neophytes from missions at San Fernando, San Buenaventura, and San Gabriel, fight several successful skirmishes against Spanish military columns sent to resubjugate them. Some 400 Indians choose to remain free after a truce is negotiated in May; the others return with their arms to the missions. The La Purísima defenders are disarmed after the cease-fire and tried by the Spaniards in July. Seven leaders are executed and four others are sentenced to 10 years of labor in chains. Two, Bernarde and Benito, eventually escape.

Bolívar defeats the Spanish in Peru and becomes President.

Russia and the United States negotiate a treaty on frontiers. The Russians agree to restrict the activities of the Russia-American Company to Alaska north of 54° 40', the modern southern boundary between Alaska and Canada. The Russians abandon their trading post in California as a result of the treaty.

1825 The British and Russians define their territories in the northwestern part of the North American continent by treaty.

The last Spanish army in South America surrenders, completing the liberation of the southeastern portion of Peru. This region adopts the name Bolivia in honor of Simón Bolívar.

Uruguay, lead by Juan Lavalleja, separates from Brazil. The native Charrúa tribes have become virtually extinct by this time under the impact of Spanish colonial policies.

Portugal acknowledges Brazilian independence.

1826-27 The American settlement of Hayden Edwards and some 200 other American families near present-day Nacogdoches, Texas, engages in increasing land conflicts with Mexican settlers in the area. The Americans are ordered out of Texas by the Mexican government in late 1826. Edwards and the Americans, in alliance with a group of Cherokee warriors, refuse to leave and proclaim an independent republic called Fredonia. Edwards' small American and Cherokee army is crushed in January, 1827, ending the first American attempt at Texan independence from Mexico.

1826-33 The Yaqui Juan de la Cruz Banderas leads his people in military resistance to the revolutionary Mexican government they had once supported. The Yaqui seek to retain their traditions of free elections and self-rule. Banderas is captured and executed in 1833; the Yaqui resistance continues sporadically until 1908.

1827 The Cherokee establish a constitutional government on terms similar to that of the United States. The mixed-blood leader John Ross is chosen president of the Constitutional Convention. The Cherokee Constitution permits slavery. Georgia adopts a state law attempting to nullify the Cherokee Constitution.

Peru becomes independent of the republic of Gran Colombia.

1828 Americans discover gold in the Georgia lands of the Cherokee. The state begins to forcibly remove the Indians to gain access to the gold. President Andrew Jackson assists the state officials by removing Federal troops which were supposed to preserve the integrity of Cherokee lands under the terms of several treaties. John Ross is elected principal chief of the

Cherokee Nation, and begins several years of vigorous legal resistance to Georgian encroachments.

Charles Carroll begins construction of the first passenger and freight railroad in the United States, the Baltimore and Ohio.

Brazil recognizes Uruguayan independence.

1829 In his first annual address to Congress, Andrew Jackson proposes that Congress authorize the removal of the Indian tribes remaining east of the Mississippi River to a western territory. Indian control of the proposed Indian Territory is promised; Jackson declares that no European-American intrusion other than missionaries and military forces will be allowed. Jackson argues that removal is necessary in the interests of national honor and justice to the Indians, without discussing whether the resulting violation of solemn treaty obligations formerly entered into by the United States might reflect poorly upon national honor and justice. He proposes that removal be voluntary, but with the understanding that any Indians remaining in the East will lose all distinct Indian status and become “merged in the mass of our population” as individual citizens fully subject to state laws and without any political rights as Indians. He particularly has in mind the Cherokee, whom he has already told to conform to Georgia and Alabama law or emigrate. Jackson explicitly argues that Indians cannot remain among European-Americans without the extinction of their social structures (along with their lives, to judge by the examples he offers in illustration) and the loss of lands other than those upon which they reside and make ‘improvements’ in the European-American fashion.

Venezuela becomes independent of Gran Colombia.

1830 Congress passes the Indian Removal Act, authorizing the President to exchange Indian lands east of the Mississippi River for lands in U.S.-claimed territory west of the Mississippi to which Indian title has been extinguished by purchase or grant. The Removal Act promises to “forever secure and guaranty to them” the title and possession of such western lands to which the Indians may agree to emigrate, to provide financial and logistical assistance in the emigration, and to pay for the assessed value of any ‘improvements’ made on the eastern lands being given up. [The President is also given the power of protection and superintendency over the tribes which remove, and Congress appropriates a half million dollars to put this law into effect. The law contains the provision that nothing within it “shall be construed as authorizing or directing the violation of any existing treaty between the United States and any of the Indian Tribes”; the Congressional intent is that Indian participation in removal will be a matter of voluntary cession by the Indians of old rights for new. Jackson has already violated these provisions and intentions by refusing to maintain Federal troops to guarantee the integrity of Cherokee lands against outside intrusions. Jackson has also ended the treaty-guaranteed

payment to the tribal government of annuities for lands previously ceded by the Cherokee to the U.S. As a consequence of Jackson's actions and omissions, Indian Removal Act Indian removal under this Act becomes anything but voluntary in practice.]

Jackson's annual message to Congress contains a report on Indian removal under the terms of the Act of 1830. He informs Congress that the Chickasaw and Choctaw tribes have agreed to removal. [Most of this portion of his Message consists of the assertion of Jackson's "humane and philanthropic" motives toward the Indians, along with an absolute insistence on the sovereignty of state laws over Indians who are not citizens and who possess treaty rights guaranteed by the United States to the continued possession of their lands under their own institutions. The clear policy of Jackson's administration of Indian affairs emerges in this message: under the guise of concern for the well-being of the Indians, the Federal government will first permit the states to make life on aboriginal lands intolerable, and then (in Jackson's words) will help the "few thousand savages" escape "annihilation or...melt[ing] away to make room for the whites" under terms "not only liberal but generous".]

Ecuador becomes a republic independent of Gran Colombia.

1830-38 During the Removal period of the Jackson and Van Buren administrations, approximately one hundred thousand Indians from Eastern reservations and free bands are rounded up by Federal military and state authorities, forced into detention centers, and then sent on foot, horseback, wagons, or flatboats to the trans-Mississippi West.

1831 Chief John Ross and the Cherokee Nation bring suit against the state of Georgia over violations of Cherokee property by Georgian citizens. The U.S. Supreme Court rules against the tribe in *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*, claiming that the tribe is not a "foreign State" under the terms of Article III, Section 2 of the American Constitution, but a "domestic dependent nation" (a term not used in the Constitution to characterize Indian societies). The Court therefore rules it has no jurisdiction to hear the case. [This decision was reached despite clear Constitutional language in Art. II, Sec. 2 to the effect that the Court is to have jurisdiction over cases arising under the treaties made under the authority of the laws of the United States, and the specification in Art. I, Sec. 8, that Congress' sole enumerated power in Indian affairs is confined to the regulation of commerce on the same basis as between foreign states and the U.S. or between states of the U.S. Prior to this case, the combination of the Constitution, legal precedent, administrative practice and statutory law has established that Congress' commerce power in the case of foreign states and Indian tribes is to be exercised through the treaty-making process. This decision opens the door to the future assertion by Congress of virtually unrestricted power over Indians with little regard to the fact of Indian sovereignty. Indian

sovereignty arises from the independent existence of Indian political societies on the continent prior to the creation of the United States.]

1832

The Blackhawk War in Illinois and Wisconsin pits Sauk ('Sac') and Mesquakie ('Fox') tribal forces led by Makataimeshekiakiak ('Blackhawk') against the U.S. Army and state militias. The Indians resist an order to vacate 50 million acres of village and farm lands supposedly ceded in 1804 to the U.S. by a treaty the Indians regard as unauthorized. Encroachments by European-American settlers onto these lands trigger the war. After initially defeating the Illinois militia (among which Abraham Lincoln serves as a captain), Blackhawk's band of warriors and their families are driven to the Bad Axe River in Wisconsin. There, about 900 Indians are massacred on August 2nd by troops commanded by General Henry Atkinson. Only 150 survive. Blackhawk is captured and confined after taking refuge among the Winnebago. The Sauk and Mesquakie lands in Illinois and Iowa are seized, along with lands of some sympathetic Winnebago in Wisconsin. As a consequence of the Blackhawk War, Indians abandon most of the area over the next five years, fleeing to the west to escape raids by the territorial militias and frontier settlers.

The U.S. and some of the leaders of the Creek people sign the Treaty of Cusseta or Payne's Landing. These leaders agree to removal of the surviving Creek and Seminole people to the West but the treaty is opposed by Osceola and other young leaders of the Seminole Red Sticks resistance movement. U.S. troops along with Cherokee allies force some of the Creek into unauthorized detention camps, where the men are chained and forced to march west of the Mississippi River, thus opening the 'Trail of Tears' along which the Cherokee themselves will pass in a few years.

In another lawsuit arising out of the Cherokee controversy, *Worcester v. Georgia*, the Supreme Court rules that Congress has exclusive jurisdiction to legislate in the area of Indian affairs and that Georgia may not extend her laws onto the Cherokee reservations. Addressing the claim of the state of Georgia that the Cherokee Nation has surrendered its sovereignty in entering into relations with the U.S. and is thus also subject to the laws of the state, Chief Justice John Marshall writes in his decision "[a] weaker power does not surrender its independence - its right to self-government - by associating with a stronger and taking its protection". In response, President Andrew Jackson violates the balance of powers in the Federal system by refusing to enforce the Court's decision. By failing to enforce the law, Jackson permits and encourages the state of Georgia to successfully ignore the Court. [Jackson is supposed to have responded to the *Worcester* decision with the apocryphal comment "John Marshall has made his decision, now let him enforce it."]

1834

Congress designates an 'Indian Territory' in the West as the intended segregated habitation for Indians from the eastern U.S. and declares a

'Permanent Indian Frontier'. The military is given the legal power to create detention camps for uncooperative Indians, something they have already done without authorization.

- 1835 The State of Georgia gives Cherokee homesteads away by lottery; Chief John Ross returns from lobbying in Washington, D.C. to his home near the tribal capital of New Echota only to find a Georgian family living in it. Ross is forced to flee to Tennessee.

U.S. Indian Commissioner Rev. John Schermerhorn attempts to discredit those Cherokee leaders who are resisting removal. Military and police action by Georgia and Alabama prevents the holding of the biennial Cherokee national election and Schermerhorn declares the Council of the Nation vacant. In December, while Ross and an opposing group of pro-removal Cherokees are in Washington, D.C. for negotiations, Schermerhorn assembles at New Echota a group of pro-removal Cherokee. Among them are the subchief Stand Watie, Major Ridge of the Cherokee Army and Elias Boudinout, editor of the tribal newspaper, the *Cherokee Phoenix*. These men and others at the meeting have no authority to negotiate for the Nation, but Schermerhorn signs with them a treaty which agrees to removal of the entire Cherokee people.

Andrew Jackson's annual message to Congress includes a statement on the progress and philosophy of removal. He asserts that the lands to which the eastern Indians are being sent are suitable to their survival, if they will either practice agriculture [in unfamiliar conditions] or learn to hunt buffalo. This U.S.-enforced revision of ancient ways of tribal life and the loss of intimate connections to traditional homelands Jackson characterizes as likely to discharge "a large portion of the moral debt we owe them."

The Second Seminole War begins in Florida. Led by Osceola, the remaining Seminole and their allies resist removal from their reservation near Lake Okeechobee under the terms of the Act of 1830. They take refuge in the Everglades and conduct a successful guerrilla war against the surrounding Americans. Hostilities break out when Osceola and a group of warriors kill the Creek chief 'Charley' Emathla and the U.S. Indian Agent Wiley Thompson in order to prevent the forced departure of Emathla's band. The war turns against the Indians in late 1837 when Osceola is taken prisoner on General Thomas Jesup's orders while negotiating under a flag of truce; fighting diminishes thereafter but continues until 1842. The cost of the war to the U.S. amounts to 60 million dollars and 1,500 casualties. Some 3,000 Seminole are eventually deported to the West as a result of the conflict, where most settle near relatives in what is now Oklahoma.

There are 1,098 miles of railroad in the U.S.

- 1836 Despite John Ross' protests that the signatories to the Treaty of New Echota lacked authority to bind the Cherokee, the Senate ratifies the treaty. President Jackson promptly begins enforcing its terms, which require removal of the Cherokee to lands west of the Mississippi River in two years.
- Texas becomes an independent republic. Western Cherokee warriors led by chief Duwali fight for Texan independence in cooperation with U.S. citizens.
- Arkansas joins the Union.
- 1837 Michigan becomes a state.
- 1837-38** Chief John Ross is unable to prevent the Treaty of New Echota from being implemented, although he succeeds in obtaining from Congress an increased resettlement authorization of one million dollars to help the Cherokee relocate. Federal military pressure on the Cherokee in 1838 by General Winfield Scott includes the use of deportation camps. Ross decides to end the struggle and sufferings of his people. He organizes 13,000 tribespeople into detachments for the migration, and the Cherokee Nation is gone from its homeland by the end of the year. Estimated deaths on the 1,200 mile march west, known as the Trail of Tears, total nearly 2,500 people, some 18-20 percent of the tribe.
- 1838** Osceola dies while captive in a military prison.
- Kekchi, Pipil, and Pokomam Indians in Guatemala organize a rebellion in an attempt to regain their independence.
- 1839 The Army of the Texas Republic forces Duwali's Western Cherokee to leave Texas, despite the tribe's assistance to the Texans during the revolt against Mexico three years previously. The Texas Cherokees journey to Oklahoma to join the other Cherokee resettled there under terms of the Indian Removal Act.
- 1840 The U.S. has 2,816 miles of railroads.
- 1845 Texas and Florida become states.
- 1846 The Navajo and Ute tribes ally to wage war against the Mexican settlements in New Mexico. About the same time, negotiations break down between the U.S. and Mexico. [The two nations discussed a U.S. purchase of California and New Mexico and settling the boundary between Texas and Mexico.] After talks stall, President Polk sends troops commanded by General Zachary Taylor into the disputed territory. The Mexicans respond to the invasion by attacking the Americans at Palo Alto, Texas. After repulsing the attack, the U.S. declares war and Colonel

Stephen Kearny captures Santa Fe. New Mexico is annexed to the U.S. in August. The resulting influx of American settlers into the region sets off a twenty-year period of skirmishes, slave-raiding and livestock rustling between the settlers, resident Mexicans and the Navajo, Pueblo and Ute nations.

A treaty between the U.S. and Great Britain declares the Oregon Territory to belong to the United States.

Iowa joins the Union.

1847 Mayan Indians, making another attempt to recover their independence in the Yucatán (the 'War of the Castes'), are forced to retreat into the mountains of southern Mexico and Belize. There they conduct a long guerrilla war against the Mexican Army. The struggle continues until early in the 20th century, when the Maya are forced into guarded villages. [The guerrilla war between the Maya and the governments of Mexico, Belize, Honduras and Guatemala resumes sporadically throughout the 20th century, and has been active since the 1970s.]

Zachary Taylor's troops invade Mexico and defeat General Santa Anna's army at the battle of Buena Vista in February. The Americans also occupy the city of Monterrey in the north. General Winfield Scott lands at Veracruz and marches inland to occupy Mexico City in September. American settlers in California, led by the explorer Captain John Fremont, rebel against Mexican authority there and proclaim the Bear Flag Republic.

Taos Pueblo Indians join with remaining Mexican settlers in New Mexico to temporarily overthrow the new U.S. territorial government in the region.

1847-49 Gold discoveries in California lead to massive westward migration of European-Americans and significant immigration from Asia into the Pacific West. The American period of violent and sustained genocide against Indians in California ensues, lasting until about 1910. [An earlier period of genocide occurred during the Spanish mission-building era.] In the next 30 years, over 100,000 California Indians are killed, often for bounty payments.

The tribes of the Great Plains and the Great Basin come under increasing military and ecological pressure from the transcontinental migrants to the California gold fields. Reports from both tribal and fur trade sources indicate that the buffalo herds and other game animals essential to Plains Indian life are being significantly reduced in numbers by emigrant hunting practices along the migration routes.

1847-55 In November of 1847, a party of Cayuse destroy the mission of Dr. Marcus Whitman near the site of Walla Walla in modern Washington State, killing

14 people and taking some 53 hostages. The Cayuse believe Dr. Whitman responsible for an outbreak of an epidemic (probably measles) among the tribe. They are also angry over years of friction between themselves and a growing stream of American immigrants, as well as with the missionaries personally. They have heard about the recent treaty between the U.S. and Great Britain giving their territory to the United States. The Cayuse have also heard from visiting eastern Indians what is likely to befall them should the Americans become numerous in their country. Partly in response to the emigrants' pleas for protection, President Polk establishes Oregon Territory in 1848 and dispatches a mounted regiment to the region to punish the Indians. After months of fighting and negotiations, the Cayuse tribe agrees to surrender five members [Chief Telokite, Kiamasumkin, Tomahas, Isiaasheluckas and Clokomas] for trial. Charges are eventually prosecuted for the killing of Marcus Whitman only. Despite negligible evidence of personal responsibility, these men are convicted and hung in June, 1850. The Cayuse and their allies, the Palouse continue fighting the Americans into 1855, when the defeated and depopulated tribes are placed on a reservation with the Umatilla tribe in northeastern Oregon.

- 1848 The U.S. and Mexico sign the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ending the Mexican-American War the Americans obtain a cession of Mexican rights to the southern parts of Colorado and Wyoming along with the territories of California, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, Nevada, and Utah. Article II of the treaty details the earlier Mexican treaty obligations to the Indians of these regions now assumed by the United States.

U.S. treaty Commissioners begin negotiating inter-governmental relationships and land cessions with many of California's Indian tribes and bands. Congress accepts the land cessions but compensates the tribes minimally, if at all, over the next several decades. [This results in a long series of court cases and administrative proceedings to establish federal recognition of the trust status of a great many bands of Indians in California. Some of these cases are still pending in the 1990s.]

The U.S. grants statehood to Wisconsin.

- 1849 The Seminole leaders Wild Cat and John Horse (the latter the head of the two Black Seminole bands of the Western Seminole Nation) leave the Indian Territory (Oklahoma) where they had settled after agreeing to leave Florida in the 1830s. They lead their bands to Mexico after the Black Seminoles are declared slaves in the Indian Territory. Until 1870, they serve the Mexican government by patrolling the Rio Grande border with Texas, exchanging military service for settlement rights in the region.

- 1850 California enters the Union.

The 'Robinson Treaties' are negotiated between most bands of the Ojibwe ('Chippewa') and Canada. The bands relinquish their lands north of Lake Superior and Lake Huron.

Congress passes the Oregon Donation Land Act, permitting the government of Oregon Territory to arrange for the surveying and distribution of 2.5 million acres of tribal lands to Oregon settlers prior to the negotiation of treaties with the tribes. [In passing this Act, Congress exceeds its powers to act as intermediary between the tribal governments and its own citizens and territorial governments. Much of the tribal land affected by the Donation Act was neither ceded to the U.S. by treaty nor taken in conquest in the 1847 Cayuse War. See the entry on the Supreme Court ruling in *Johnson v. McIntosh* above, 1823.]

1851

Lewis Henry Morgan, a railroad company attorney who is the United States' first modern anthropologist and also an adopted Iroquois, publishes his landmark study **The League of the Iroquois**. It becomes central to the final socio-economic studies of Karl Marx in the 1880s. Morgan's work is also used as a key reference by Marx's collaborator Frederick Engels in his book on the origins of the family as a social structure.

A federal treaty commission in California negotiates a series of 18 treaties covering relationships with most of the tribes and bands in the new state. The state's congressional delegation brings intense political pressure to bear in the Senate on behalf of the mining and ranching interests of California's European-American citizens. As a result, the treaties are never ratified; the land and other rights of many Indians in California are left open to litigation and statutory action, which continue into contemporary times.

A treaty council at Fort Laramie in Wyoming brings together some bands of the Lakota, Cheyenne, Shoshone and Arapaho peoples. The federal government's objectives at this council are to obtain guarantees for the safety of emigrants on the Oregon Trail, to establish a single 'chief' of each of these tribes with whom the U.S. can conduct binding negotiations, and to get the bands to agree to U.S. - recognized boundaries. [The Indians already had their own headmen and boundaries, even though these latter were still being actively disputed.] Among the Lakota, the Brulé leader Conquering Bear signs the treaty, but none of the Oglala or Cheyenne leaders agree to do so.

1854

A federation is formed among the Five Civilized Tribes (Creek, Cherokee, Seminole, Chickasaw and Choctaw Nations) in Oklahoma to address shared problems.

The U.S. buys the Gadsden Strip of territory from Mexico, adding to the southern parts of New Mexico and Arizona.

After an incident in which a stray cow from a Mormon emigrant wagon train is killed by a Minneconjou Lakota guest from a Brulé encampment near Fort Laramie, a U.S. Army lieutenant named Grattan is sent to arrest the Minneconjou. He precipitously opens fire on the Brulé village. Conquering Bear, the signer of the 1851 Fort Laramie treaty, and others are killed. Spotted Tail of the Brulé and Red Cloud of the Oglala attack the U.S. soldiers in turn, killing all 30 in Grattan's command. A young Oglala-Brulé boy named Curly witnesses Conquering Bear's death and, shocked, rides out of camp alone to seek a vision. He succeeds after three days of fasting at a sacred place in Nebraska. Guided by this vision, the boy grows to become the famed Lakota warrior and holy man Crazy Horse.

1854-55 In a series of treaty councils in the Pacific Northwest, Washington Territorial Governor Isaac Stevens and Oregon's Superintendent of Indian Affairs Joel Palmer negotiate a remarkable series of 16 treaties in a period of about nine months. Over 145 million acres of land are ceded to the U.S. in these treaties. Stevens employs threats, deceit, and partial interpretation of the treaty terms in his negotiation practices. He thus impedes a full understanding on the part of the tribes as to what they are agreeing. Army commanders in the area generally oppose Stevens' policies, expecting land hunger among the Americans will lead to armed conflict with the tribes. The misunderstandings that arise almost immediately touch off a series of wars throughout the Northwest as settlers and miners rush to take advantage of the treaties' terms.

1855 A new Indian agent for the troubled Platte River country, Thomas Twiss, orders all Lakota bands to move south of the Platte River or be subject to hostilities. In September, General William Harney attacks a Brulé camp where Spotted Tail is waiting for winter food supplies to be prepared before moving. Harney's attack leaves 86 dead. He takes 70 women of the village captive. The young Curly, away from the camp of his uncle Spotted Tail, returns to witness another scene of devastation. Spotted Tail, Red Leaf and Long Chin, all relatives of the dead chief Conquering Bear, had earlier avenged him by killing three mail coach operators on the Oregon Trail; these warriors surrender to Harney in October and accept imprisonment in order to put an end to the fighting with the U.S. and to free the Lakota women.

A revolution in Mexico ousts the dictator General Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna. Among the revolutionary officials in the new government is Benito Juárez, a Zapotec. He serves as Minister of Justice and is responsible for a major reform of Mexico's judicial system.

1855-56 In the Rogue River country of southwestern Oregon, settlers anxious to take advantage of the recent treaties negotiated by Stevens and Palmer begin to attack Indian villages. The commander of Fort Lane attempts to

interpose his forces to protect the Indians (mostly Takelma and Tutuni). He eventually shelters Indian children and women at the fort. Settlers attack a nearby village in October, killing 27 men; the Indians kill 27 settlers in revenge. The Americans in turn make repeated raids against the villages throughout the winter. Negotiations for the cessation of hostilities are made in the spring of 1856, but the warriors, resentful of their mistreatment, decide to attack the soldiers at the council grounds at Big Meadows. The troops succeed in defending themselves during two days of assaults (May 27-28) before being relieved. By July, the Indians surrender and are relocated on various reservations up north on the coast.

1855-58

Many of the tribes in Washington Territory decide to resist being placed on reservations in accordance with the terms of the treaties negotiated by Governor Stevens in 1854-55. They believe that they have been deceived as to the terms of the agreements and are resentful of white settlers' expropriation of their farms and homes following a call to do so from Stevens. Under the leadership of Yakima chief Kamiakan in the eastern half of the territory and Leschi (Klickitat-Nisqually) in the west, tribes including the Yakima, Spokane, Northern Paiute, Umatilla, Nisqually, Coeur D'Alene, Walla Walla and Cayuse fight a great many skirmishes and small battles over the next three years. The Indians are generally successful against U.S. troops and settler militias. Because of disagreements between General John Wool, commander of the Columbia Department of the Army and the governors of Washington and Oregon Territories over the settlers' call for a war of extermination, the Army frequently finds itself providing protection for many of the Indian villages in the area of hostilities. The first major action of the war comes when a column led by Major Granville Haller is defeated and forced back to Fort Dalles by 500 Yakimas in the battle of Two Buttes in September, 1855. Little is accomplished by volunteer forces under Major Gabriel Rains and Colonel James Kelly other than the murder of chief Peopeo Moxmox of the Walla Walla by Kelly's volunteers at a council later in 1855. Leschi and his Nisqually warriors besiege the settlement of Seattle in January, 1856, trapping the Americans there until being driven off by a naval bombardment. The Umatilla and other tribes of northeastern Oregon fight an inconclusive battle with volunteer troops under Colonel B. F. Shaw in the Grand Ronde valley in July, 1856. After two more years of mutual raiding, the resolution of the war comes in a series of major battles in 1858. In May, a small U.S. force led by Major Edward Steptoe is defeated by a combined army of 1,000 Coeur D'Alene, Spokane, and Palouse warriors at Pine Creek. The Palouse are also involved in another battle near Rosalia. In September, Colonel George Wright with a force of 600 men defeats the Yakima and their allies in battles at Spokane Plain and Four Lakes with heavy casualties on the Indian side. Wounded at Spokane Plain, Kamiakan flees to exile in Canada for three years, but 24 other chiefs, including Owhi, Qualchin, and Leschi, are captured and executed for their part in the war. One outcome of the so-called Yakima War and the related Coeur D'Alene War is that the U.S. provides for a

number of distinct reservations throughout Washington Territory instead of the one large reservation that Stevens tried to create through his treaties.

The Third Seminole War in Florida involves the U.S. in an effort to hunt down and expel the remnant bands of Indians from Florida. This war is less destructive than the two previous Seminole wars. Many of the surviving Seminole and other Indians in Florida agree to accept payments in exchange for their migration to the Seminole reservation in Oklahoma. About 300 Seminole continue to elude detection and capture over the next decade by hiding in the Everglades. Their descendants eventually sign agreements without surrender terms and accept four small reservations in Florida in 1934.

1857 A band of Paiute, directed by Mormon settlers led by John Doyle Lee, attack an American wagon train in the Mountain Meadows valley in southern Utah. They entrap the train's 140 members for several days. Lee and his Mormons then appear to intervene, promising to take the Americans to safety if they will disarm. When this is done, the Mormons kill all but 17 infants. The Mormons later admit their part in the killings, and Lee is tried and executed at Mountain Meadows in 1877.

Inkpaduta's Santee Dakota take revenge for the killing of several Indians by a white trader by attacking a settlement near Spirit Lake in western Iowa. 34 Americans are killed in the attack or while held hostage; two surviving women are later set free. Inkpaduta's band is pursued unsuccessfully by troops from Fort Ridgely in Minnesota.

1858 Minnesota becomes a state.

The Bedonkohe Apache under Mangus Colorado are visiting and trading in the Mexican town they call Kas-ki-yeh in Sonora, when their camp is attacked by Mexican troops. Most of the Apache men are in town, so the attack results in the death of the camp guard and many of the women and children. Their horse herd, supplies and weapons are taken. Go-khlä-yeh ('Geronimo'), a member of the band, loses his mother, wife, and children, and becomes a lifelong enemy of the Mexicans as a result.

1859 Oregon joins the Union as a state.

Geronimo is given the honor of leading three allied bands of the Apache in a battle against the Mexicans near Arispe, Sonora, in revenge for the loss of his family the previous year. He and his warriors destroy two companies of Mexican cavalry and two of infantry to the last man, with Geronimo himself killing the last two Mexicans by hand. In recognition of his achievement, he is made war chief of all the Apache. He continues raiding into Mexico over the next two decades, the Mexicans occasionally responding in kind.

1860 The Apache and the Navajo begin a period of guerrilla warfare against U.S. Army posts and settlements in the Southwest.

1861 Cochise, a chief of the Chiricahua Apache, and four other Apache men are captured and wrongly accused of a kidnapping and cattle theft. Cochise escapes, but the other Apache are hung. In revenge, Cochise escalates his war on the settlers and the small garrisons of U.S. troops remaining in the area after the outbreak of the Civil War.

Indian military assistance is sought by both the Union and Confederate governments during the Civil War. Groups of Indian warriors fight on both sides of the conflict. Some Choctaw and Creek forces side with the Confederacy while a number of Cherokee join the Union side, thus adding to divisions among the allied tribes of the 'Five Civilized Tribes'.

Following a war for consolidation of legal, economic and religious reforms in Mexico, Benito Juárez (Zapotec) is elected president for the first time.

Kansas becomes a state.

1862-64 The eastern bands of the Santee Dakota ('Sioux') in Minnesota led by Little Crow attack many American settlements on their lands, killing approximately 500 settlers. The war begins over Dakota discontent with the violation of their treaty agreements by the Americans. In August, 1862, Little Crow's warriors destroy an Army detachment from Fort Ridgely on the Minnesota River, then besiege the fort. They kill some American settlers at New Ulm later the same month. In September, an Minnesota militia force commanded by Governor Henry Sibley defeats the Dakota in a battle near Wood Lake. Little Crow escapes, only to be shot by a farmer on his return to the region in 1863. On December 26, 1862, 38 captured Dakota warriors from the Wood Lake fight are hung by the U.S. Army in the largest mass execution in American history. The related bands of the western or Teton Lakota attempt to clear their lands of Americans in 1863, angered by the reports from Santee refugees following the defeat of the eastern Sioux tribes. In response, Sibley and U.S. forces under General Alfred Sully mount victorious expeditions against the Lakota in North Dakota. Sully campaigns westward in 1864 and defeats a large Lakota force in the Badlands at Killdeer Mountain in July. His army then fights its way to the Yellowstone River in eastern Montana before returning to a new fort near modern Bismarck, North Dakota. As a result of these campaigns, the Santee are dispossessed of their lands in Minnesota and are pushed out onto the Great Plains to join their Teton relatives.

1862-68 After assuming command of the U.S. military district in New Mexico in September, 1862, General James Carleton orders Col. Christopher 'Kit' Carson's regiment of First New Mexico Volunteers into action to force the Navajo and the Mescalero Apache peoples to remove from their

homelands to a reservation in eastern New Mexico. Carson is supported by General Joseph West, commander of the District of Arizona and by companies of volunteers from California. All of these military units are ordered by Carleton to immediately kill any adult male Navajo or Apache found outside the military reserve set up at Bosque Redondo for the internment of peaceful Indians during the campaign. [The Navajo and Apache tribes had long been actively resisting enslavement and the spread of European-American settlements in their homelands in New Mexico, Arizona, Texas and northern Mexico. The bands had recently attacked American and Mexican mining camps, farms and freight wagons in their territory.] Col. Carson's raids over the next two years destroy most crop fields, orchards containing some 4,000 fruit trees, and many of the homes of the Navajo. Some 650 Navajo are killed and over 9,000 taken prisoner. The raids and several successive hard winters force many Navajo to capitulate to Gen. Carleton's demands by 1864-65. He forces them to settle on the Bosque Redondo reservation on the Pecos River in eastern New Mexico. 8,000 Navajo and 400 Mescalero Apache are marched there in what they remember as the 'Long Walk'. Four years of forced resettlement under military supervision result in great hardships and loss of life. A new treaty, negotiated in 1868, allows most of the Navajo to return to a much-reduced portion of their homelands upon a 3.5 million acre reservation.

- 1863 Tribal chief Mangus Colorado and approximately half of his Bedonkohe Apache band are captured at Apache Tejo in New Mexico. Mangus Colorado, his son and about sixty warriors are subsequently killed by a force of soldiers commanded by General Joseph West and an associated posse of territorial citizens. The Apache have just negotiated a peace agreement at Apache Tejo with the Americans and are returning to a nearby settlement area designated for them. It is reported that Mangus Colorado is tortured before he is killed; his brain is removed and his skull sent to the Smithsonian Institution by the military doctor accompanying General West. Geronimo, who suspected the settlement offer, and Cochise's son Naiche remain free with the remaining Bedonkohe in Arizona. They are soon joined by Cochise (the Chokonen or 'Chiricahua Apache' chief). They are harried by U.S. troops for the next decade and more, until most of the Apache agree to accept life on the reservations at San Carlos, Camp Grant, and Fort Bowie. [Geronimo subsequently becomes an intransigent war leader who frequently leaves the reservations to continue raiding, often persuading, tricking, or forcing others to join him.]

Miners are in the Idaho valleys of the Clearwater River and Salmon River, operating in violation of the terms of the treaty made by Governor Stevens at the Walla Walla Council in 1855. They have so outraged the Nimipu ('Nez Percé') chiefs with murders and land and stock thefts that the Indians demand a new treaty council to settle the problems. U.S. treaty commissioners negotiate a treaty with the Christianized Lower Nez Percé

that reduces the 5,000 square mile Nez Percé Reservation in Idaho and Oregon to a 500 square mile reservation in Idaho. Many bands of the Upper Nez Percé in the Salmon River country of Idaho and the Wallowa country of Oregon, including the bands led by Joseph the Elder, Looking Glass, Toolhoolhooltze and others, refuse to sign or recognize this treaty. These Nimipu abandon their former interest in Christianity and adopt the revivalistic teachings of Smohalla, a Wanapam prophet.

1864

Colorado Territorial Governor John Evans sends Colonel John M. Chivington, in command of a U.S. Army force of Colorado Volunteers, on an expedition to locate and kill independent Indians, particularly the Cheyenne and Arapaho residents of the territory. These tribes have previously skirmished with miners, ranchers and wagon trains after making an attempt to live peacefully on unsuitable lands on a reservation in Colorado. Chivington's columns begin their attacks on hunting parties and peaceful encampments in May; Governor Evans, with the agreement of Indian Agent Colley, authorizes Colorado citizens to begin killing 'hostiles' in August. Conflict escalates as Lakota warriors move into the area and retaliate for the losses inflicted on them by General Sully in the Dakota Territory. The Cheyenne are blamed by Evans for losses of American freight wagons and settlers that are caused by the Dakotas. In September, Motavato ('Black Kettle') of the Cheyenne arranges with Major Edward Wynkoop for a release of prisoners and a council with Governor Evans. Evans and Col. Chivington inform the Cheyenne that surrender to military authority is the only way to establish peace. Motavato and the other chiefs at the council decide to comply by moving to Fort Lyon, commanded by Wynkoop. By November, an allied Arapaho band also settles next to the fort, with the Cheyenne camping on Sand Creek to the north. Wynkoop is criticized in the press and by Evans for his unaggressive actions and replaced by Major Anthony of the Colorado Volunteers. Anthony disarms and later attacks the Arapaho. Black Kettle meets with Major Anthony to secure the peace and is told his camp at Sand Creek will be under the protection of the fort. However, by late November, Anthony has called up Chivington's main force for a planned attack on the peaceful Cheyenne camp. Some 750 soldiers attack the camp of 600 people at dawn on November 29; the 'Sand Creek massacre' results in the killing and mutilation of 105 Indian women and children along with 28 warriors dead against nine soldiers killed. Black Kettle's U.S. flag and flag of truce are ignored by Chivington's troops, many of whom are later reported to be drunk. Motavato's authority as a peace leader is shattered as the surviving Cheyenne warriors of his band join with the Lakota and Northern Arapaho to make war on the Americans. According to reports in the Denver press, after the massacre members of the Third Colorado Volunteers exhibit scalps and the pubic hair of Cheyenne women at an opera house in Denver to enthusiastic applause.

The U.S.' first salmon cannery is built at Washington, California.

Nevada joins the Union.

1865

Surviving Southern Cheyenne, allied with Lakota and Northern Arapaho warriors totaling about 1,000 men in all, destroy the town of Julesburg in northeastern Colorado. They also cut Denver off from supplies in retaliation for Chivington's Massacre at Sand Creek. Other tribes from Colorado to Texas conduct raids against American settlers and military posts in outrage over the Sand Creek killings. Governor Evans and Colonel Chivington are investigated by a Congressional commission and are condemned for their acts but are not punished. Following Julesburg, a war of continual raiding is kept up by the Lakota, Cheyenne and Arapaho in the north. Crazy Horse leads several major raids and decoy missions against troop columns and newly-established U.S. Army forts and is named a *Wicasa* or 'Shirt Wearer' of his people in recognition of his powers as a war leader. Along with him, American Horse, Sword and Young Man Afraid of His Horses are also named war chiefs of the Lakota. In the south, the remnants of Motavato's band of Southern Cheyenne and Little Raven's Arapaho are compelled by General Connor to agree to a treaty surrendering all lands in Colorado to the Americans. This treaty forces them to live among the Kiowa on lands south of the Arkansas River. Occasional raids by the young warriors of the Southern Cheyenne persist against American soldiers and settlements until 1868.

Lt. Colonel Ely Samuel Parker, a Seneca, serves as military secretary to General Ulysses S. Grant and writes out the surrender terms Grant dictates to Confederate General Robert E. Lee at Appomattox Courthouse, Virginia. The surrender recorded by Parker marks the end of the U.S. Civil War.

1865-68

The Oglala and Brulé Lakota led by Red Cloud, Hump and, at first, Spotted Tail begin a three-year campaign to drive Americans out of their country. They attack American miners and the troops posted in the forts established to protect them along the newly-opened Bozeman Trail fork of the Oregon Trail. The Lakota, joined by the Northern Cheyenne led by Dull Knife, Roman Nose, and Two Moon, fight an effective guerrilla war. In December 1866, Crazy Horse and the great Oglala war leader Red Cloud defeat a force of 80 soldiers at Fort Phil Kearney (the 'Fetterman Fight'). In 1867, public pressure against the emigrant and troop incursions and the resulting hostilities forces Congress to send a Peace Commission to open treaty talks with the Lakota [c.f. below under the date of 1867-68]. Attacks by the Indians at Forts C.F. Smith and Phil Kearny in the summer of 1867 fail to repeat the success of the Fetterman Fight, since the Army troops use new, breech loading rifles that greatly increase their firepower. In one of the last major military actions of the campaign, Colonel George Armstrong Custer leads his Seventh Cavalry force in a morning massacre of a Cheyenne village on the Washita River. This village is headed by Motavato, the chief of the Southern Cheyenne who had endured the

massacre of his people at Sand Creek in 1864 and who was one of the leaders of the massive Indian retaliation against the town of Julesburg.

1867 Nebraska becomes a state.

Ely Parker, a Seneca also known by his Iroquois name of Donehogawah, is promoted to the rank of brigadier general in the U.S. Army.

Russia sells Alaska to the United States without consulting or obtaining the consent of the American Indian and Inuit ('Eskimo') peoples who possess the land there.

Benito Juárez is elected president of Mexico for the second time after the defeat of the Emperor Maximilian, a puppet of Napoleon III who was installed in power by the French in 1864.

The British Parliament establishes the Dominion of Canada, granting independence to future Canadian legislative acts and equality as a state within the British Empire.

Gold is discovered in Wyoming.

1867-68 The U.S. government sends a 'Peace Commission' consisting of Army generals, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the chairman of the Senate Interior Committee onto the Great Plains. This commission makes an effort to establish treaties securing the right of U.S. citizens to pass through Indian lands on their way to the Montana and Colorado gold fields. A second major objective of the commission is to establish 'permanent' reservations for the tribes of the area and then persuade the Indians to give up their freedom and settle on the reservations. The commissioners meet with the Kiowa, Comanche, Apache, Southern Cheyenne, Crow, Arapaho and some bands of the Lakota (also known as the Western Sioux) and sign a series of eleven treaties in which these tribes of the Plains agree to cede most of their territory and move on to the reservations. Under the terms of the Lakota treaty which result from Red Cloud's astute negotiations with the Peace Commission, the Army gives up the attempt to keep the Bozeman Trail open and abandons its forts in 1868. The Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 guarantees the Lakota and Cheyenne several large reservations to which the Indian leaders agree to remove their people by 1876. The treaty also sets forth favorable trading terms and commits the United States Army to keep all Americans out of the reservation lands. Several years of relative peace follow the conclusion of this treaty as the Lakota return to their traditional economic activities and raids against their enemies to the west.

1868 The Northern Arapaho leader Black Coal journeys with his band to the Wind River area of Wyoming seeking a permanent homeland in the aftermath of the Sand Creek Massacre. He meets with the great

Shoshone chief Washakie, whose people have previously had their rights to the Wind River region recognized by treaty with the United States. Black Coal and Washakie negotiate an intertribal treaty granting the Arapaho a homeland within the boundaries of the Shoshone lands and ending traditional animosity between the two peoples.

1869 The completion of the first U.S. transcontinental railroad effectively splits the Great Plains buffalo herd into isolated northern and southern halves.

President Ulysses S. Grant appoints Donehogawah (General Ely Samuel Parker), a Seneca (Iroquois Confederacy), to the post of Commissioner of Indian Affairs as head of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. He becomes the first Indian to hold this office in the U.S. government. Parker is instrumental in pursuing Grant's 'Peace Policy' with the western tribes, and he also attempts to reform the corrupt BIA by appointing American religious leaders and missionaries to positions as Indian Agents in charge of the reservation system. In his report as Commissioner of Indian Affairs this year, he proposes an end to the system of treaty-making with the Indian nations.

1869-70 The Assiniboia Métis (mixed bloods of Indian and French ancestry) of the Red River in Manitoba refuse to permit Canadian officials into the region to establish a provincial government. The 'Red River Rebellion' is a response to Métis fears of a wave of Anglo-American settlement in their territory following the transfer of the Hudson's Bay Company's Northwest territory to the Canadian government. Louis Riel, the Métis leader, seizes Fort Garry (modern Winnipeg) in November 1869 and proclaims a provisional government. He is forced to flee into exile in August 1870, by the arrival of Canadian militia. A settlement is then negotiated which gives the Métis some concessions for self-rule and maintenance of the French language in the forthcoming Manitoba Act for the establishment of the province. [Riel is later twice elected to the Canadian Parliament as a representative of the Métis in 1873 and 1874, but is denied his seat.]

1870 The Wild Cat and John Horse bands of the Western Seminole nation leave Mexico to settle in Texas now that their Black members no longer need fear enslavement. They are offered lands near Ft. Clark in return for service as scouts in the U.S. Army. The Seminole serve in many of the final campaigns of the U.S. wars against other Indian nations in the West; three of these Seminole warriors earn the Congressional Medal of Honor for exceptionally valorous service.

While searching for the camp of the Pikuni leader Mountain Chief, Major Eugene Baker of the U.S. Army attacks by mistake a peaceful camp of the Pikuni ('Piegan Blackfeet') tribe on the Marias River in Montana. With most of the Pikuni men away hunting, the 173 victims of the massacre are mostly women and children. An investigation by Donehogawah (Ely S. Parker), President Grant's Commissioner of Indian Affairs, brings out the

facts of the incident. However, the publication of his embarrassing report costs Donehogawah much political support for his ongoing efforts to clean up the corruption of the BIA and the reservation agency system.

Chief Kintpuash ('Captain Jack') leads his band of Modoc off the Klamath Reservation in an attempt to regain their ancestral lands in northern California.

The invention by Americans of a commercial tanning process for short-haired summer buffalo hides, combined with the development of powerful Sharps buffalo hunting rifles with telescopic sights, initiates an intense period of buffalo hunting that rapidly decimates the Great Plains tribes' economic mainstay.

The Hudson's Bay Company sells most of its remaining territorial rights to the Canadian government. The area affected includes most of central and western Canada. The Canadian government begins to negotiate treaties with the Prairie tribes, establishing reserves and interfering with traditional leadership patterns by insisting that the tribes elect single chiefs with authority to bind their whole peoples to the terms of the new treaties.

Crazy Horse elopes with Black Buffalo Woman and is shot by No Water, her husband. [Black Buffalo Woman is a niece of Red Cloud and is Crazy Horse's former fiancée. Red Cloud had arranged to marry her to No Water in order to win political support from the latter's influential family.] Crazy Horse recovers from the wound, but is stripped of his status as a Shirt Wearer because he acted in his own interest rather than that of the tribe. Crazy Horse's uncles mediate an uneasy peace between the Hunkpatila band (Crazy Horse's relatives) and the Bad Faces among whom No Water lives, but the incident badly divides the loyalties of the Oglala Lakota bands over the next several years.

1871 British Columbia joins Canada as a province.

Cochise agrees to settle his band of Chiricahua Apache on a reservation near Fort Bowie, Arizona. A group of U.S. citizens from Tucson, accompanied by some Papago Indians and Mexican citizens, commit the overnight assassination of 108 sleeping Arivapai Apache, mostly women and children, living at peace on the Camp Grant Reservation near Tucson. A subsequent trial in the territorial court acquits all accused members of the assassination party. Outraged, Cochise and the Apache resume warfare against the territory and are opposed by General George Crook.

Charged with financial misconduct for sending promised annuity supplies to the reservations during a time when Congress was refusing to appropriate money to meet its treaty obligations, Donehogawah defends himself successfully before a Congressional hearing but then resigns his

post as Commissioner of Indian Affairs, believing that his political effectiveness is at an end.

General William T. Sherman, commanding general of the U.S. Army, narrowly escapes death in a Kiowa ambush in May which later destroys an Army wagon convoy along the Butterfield Stage Route in northern Texas. Sherman's response is to send the Fourth Cavalry onto the Kiowa Reservation to scatter the bands, then to invite the Kiowa leaders Satanta, Big Tree and Satank to a council where he arrests them. Satank is killed while attempting to escape; the other leaders are imprisoned in Texas for two years. In September, the Fourth Cavalry is attacked in camp at Rock Station on the Staked Plains by Kiowa led by a young mixed-blood, Quanah Parker.

Following his defeat in a Mexican presidential election, the mestizo army officer and lawyer Porfirio Díaz organizes an abortive rebellion against an increasingly dictatorial president Benito Juárez (Zapotec). Díaz flees into the mountains, where he is protected by the Indians against Juárez' troops for several years.

As a result of House of Representatives intransigence over voting funds to fulfill eleven Indian treaties negotiated by President Grant's 'Peace Commission' in 1867 and later ratified by the Senate, Congress passes an amendment to an appropriations act which formally ends U.S. treaty-making with Indian nations. By this time, 371 such treaties have been made and ratified; many other negotiated treaties have been implemented by the U.S. without formal ratification as required by the U.S. Constitution. After this time, executive agreements are entered into for the same purposes as treaties, and the U.S. Supreme Court later rules that these agreements have the same legal force as treaties. Congress begins to regulate the federal relationship with the Indian nations by means of statutes applicable to the internal affairs of the tribes, a practice with little precedent in U.S. - Indian relations. In abandoning the treaty-making process for the conduct of Indian relations and assuming the power to regulate the internal affairs of the tribes under the 'commerce clause' of the Constitution, Congress radically and unilaterally changes the legal basis of the relationship between the United States and the original Indian nations in the territories now claimed by the U.S. as its own.

- 1871-75 The Canadian government negotiates a series of five treaties with the Ojibwe ('Chippewa') in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Ontario. The Ojibwe bands cede most of their lands to the respective provinces in these treaties.
- 1872-73 General Crook forces Cochise to make peace and settle his Chiricahua Apache band on a reservation in 1872. Geronimo and Victorio, leaders of other Apache bands, continue their resistance for another year before

agreeing to settle on the Fort Bowie and San Carlos Reservations in Arizona.

The U.S. Army sends forces against the Modoc led by Kintpuash in northern California. The troops are ordered to return the Modoc to the Klamath Reservation they had left two years previously. The Modoc band of about 80 warriors and their families retreat into the lava beds near Tulelake, California where they withstand six months of continual siege. In April 1873, Kintpuash kills General R. S. Canby at a peace talk and escapes. Survivors of his band are finally forced out of the lava bed stronghold in May and captured. Kintpuash is tried and hung for the killing of Canby at Fort Klamath in October; his band is dispersed to reservations in Oklahoma and the Klamath Reservation in Oregon.

1872-74 Almost four million buffalo are killed by commercial hide hunters on the Great Plains, placing enormous stress on the economies of the remaining free tribes in the region.

1873 George Armstrong Custer, serving in the Army's Department of the Missouri, escorts a surveying party of the Northern Pacific Railroad through Lakota lands in violation of the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868, which requires the U.S. Army to keep all Americans out of the recognized boundaries of the Lakota peoples. Crazy Horse and the U.S. Seventh Cavalry escort clash in August. Over a period of seven days, Crazy Horse and 300 Lakota warriors fight Custer's troops to a standstill. The surveying party then withdraws from the area near the junction of the Tongue River and Yellowstone River following reports of financial difficulties for the railroad company.

Negotiations between chief Joseph the Younger (head of his band since the death of his father in 1871) and American ranchers over the Wallowa country in northeastern Oregon result in a Presidential Executive Order creating a 1,425 square mile reservation for the Nimipu ('Nez Percé') in that region. However, the boundaries are not those the Nimipu have agreed to in the negotiations, and the U.S. citizens are given the best grazing lands in the river valleys of this high desert area.

1874 Attempting to stop the destruction of the remaining buffalo herd on the Staked Plains of northern Texas, Kiowa, Comanche, Cheyenne and Arapaho warriors led by Quanah Parker attack a party of 28 buffalo hunters at an abandoned trading post known as Adobe Walls. Sheltered behind the walls of the post and using their long-range rifles with devastating effect, the hunters manage to stand off the 700-man Indian war party. Having failed to kill the hunters, the tribes turn their attention to ranchers and other settlers in the Red River Valley south of the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation in Oklahoma. Responding to the attacks in July, U.S. troops invade the territory of the Kiowa in an attempt to break the power of this tribe. Six columns of cavalry and infantry attack the main

Kiowa village and capture many Indians. The Kiowas' stronghold in Palo Duro Canyon is subsequently discovered and attacked by Ranald Mackenzie's Fourth Cavalry in a September dawn raid. He succeeds in scattering the Kiowa warriors (and those of other tribes taking refuge with the Kiowa during the 'Red River War', see below) and seizes most of their horse herd.

- 1874-75 Colonel George Custer again violates the Treaty of 1868. General Philip Sheridan sends him at the head of a 1,200-man expedition into the Lakotas' sacred Black Hills to verify illicit prospectors' reports of gold. Custer finds gold and his report touches off a massive illegal incursion into the Black Hills by miners. The protest by Red Cloud and Spotted Tail over the violation brings a U.S. commission out from Washington, D.C. in an attempt to buy the Black Hills. The failure of this mission leads to Sheridan's preparation of military plans to subjugate the Lakota and their allies, the Northern Cheyenne and the Arapaho. Crazy Horse and other freedom-loving warriors from these tribes spend much of 1875 attacking the mining camps.

General William T. Sherman launches the 'Red River War' in northern Texas and Oklahoma during the fall of 1874. Using the most favored strategy of U.S. 'Indian fighters', his field commanders Philip Sheridan, Nelson Miles and Ranald Mackenzie make 14 major assaults against villages during the winter, counting on the cold weather to combine with their destruction of food supplies, shelter and equipment stocks to devastate the Indians' economy and thus reduce their capacity to resist. Simultaneously, Sherman hires squads of government hunters to wipe out the remaining herds of buffalo in the southern Great Plains as a part of his strategy. The doctrine of 'total war', as this strategy becomes known, is generally credited to Sherman, although he did not originate its elements. The Southern Cheyenne, Arapaho, Comanche, Kataka, and Kiowa nations are all invaded in this fashion. The Comanche led by Quanah Parker, are the last to surrender in June, 1875; one band of the Cheyenne attempts to escape into Kansas but they are pursued and killed by Sherman's troopers. Survivors of the Red River War are forcibly settled onto reservations in Oklahoma. Some leaders, among them Lone Wolf and Satanta, are imprisoned and soon die of suicide or diseases; Kicking Bird of the Kiowa dies (perhaps of poison) soon after cooperating with American officials. Quanah Parker is allowed to live with his people on the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation, where he eventually becomes an effective leader in the struggle to hold onto land rights. He also later helps to establish the religious practices of the Native American Church among the Comanche.

- 1875 The Bureau of Indian Affairs arranges to have the Executive Order creating a Wallowa Reservation for the Nimipu rescinded.

1876 U.S. military forces under General George Crook begin attempting to force the reluctant Lakota and Northern Cheyenne onto reservations in accordance with the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868. General Sherman declares that all bands which refuse to come in to the Indian Agency posts will be regarded as hostile. At Sun Dance time in early June, the medicine man Tatanka Iyotake has a vision of many soldiers falling into the camp of the combined Lakota and Cheyenne nations. Crazy Horse, Two Moon and He Dog join Sitting Bull and prepare for a major war with Crook ('Three Stars') and General Alfred Terry. Six companies of U.S. Cavalry commanded by Majors McKenzie and Reynolds along with 262 Crow and Shoshone scouts attack Two Moon's and He Dog's Cheyenne/Lakota camp on the morning of March 17th. After sending the women and children to the safety of the nearby camp of Crazy Horse, the Cheyenne and Crazy Horse's warriors repulse the American assault, forcing Crook to withdraw. On June 24th, shortly after the inconclusive Rosebud River fight, a column of the U.S. Seventh Cavalry, commanded by Col. George Custer ('Pahuska' or 'Long Hair', sometimes 'Yellow Hair') attempts to make an attack upon the combined Lakota-Cheyenne villages led by Sitting Bull, Gall, Black Moon, Dull Knife and Crazy Horse. Custer splits his command into two columns for the attack. The troops led by Major Marcus Reno are forced to retreat and are surrounded, while Custer and his column are completely destroyed. A total of 264 soldiers and Army Indian scouts perish in the counter-attack of the villages' warriors, fulfilling Tatanka Iyotake's vision. One hundred of the allied Lakota, Cheyenne and Arapaho men also die in the battles to save the village. Major Reno's surviving men are saved when General Terry's columns arrive and the Indians withdraw. Shortly after the Custer battle, Colonel Wesley Merritt defeats a large force of Cheyenne who are traveling north from their reservation in Nebraska to join the fighting. In the fall and winter months, as forage for the Indians' horses becomes scarce and cavalry columns of Crook's and Nelson Miles' army harry them, the Lakota and Cheyenne split up and scatter. American Horse's band is captured by Miles at Slim Buttes, South Dakota in September. Dull Knife's Cheyenne are scattered by Mackenzie on the Powder River in November. In December, Nelson Miles inflicts a defeat on Crazy Horse (who is low on food and ammunition) at Wolf Mountain; in January, Crazy Horse and three other warriors hold off a charge of 500 of Miles' troops while their village escapes through deep snows. In the following May, Miles defeats the Minneconjou under chief Lamé Deer. Tatanka Iyotake and Gall lead nearly 1,000 Hunkpapa and other Lakota into Canada, where they obtain asylum for the next five years.

Geronimo and Victorio escape the Fort Bowie Reservation with a small band to travel and raid against the American settlers in the region for a year. They then agree to resettle on the San Carlos Reservation. The two leaders and other Apache chiefs and warriors begin a ten-year pattern of leaving the reservations to slip into Mexico to fight and raid against both

Mexican and American settlements, sometimes joined by Comanche bands.

An Army report made by Major Henry Wood for General Oliver Howard, commander of the Columbia Department of the Army, declares that the U.S. has no basis in its treaties for claiming the Wallowa country of chief Joseph and his .i.Nimipu;. Secretary of the Interior Zachary Chandler sends a commission to negotiate a cession of the Oregon lands and the removal of Joseph's band and others to the Nez Percé Reservation at Lapwai, Idaho. The commission meets with the Nimipu and ends with a recommendation that they be forced to go to Lapwai if they will not go peacefully on their own.

Porfirio Díaz fails to oust Mexican president Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada in a revolt. Díaz, a mestizo, takes refuge in the U.S. for six months, while organizing a new army that defeats Lerdo's force in November.

The Canadian Parliament passes the Indian Act of 1876, establishing basic policies of that government for its relations with the Indian nations of Canada. Strongly assimilationist, the Indian Act defines the 'status' of 'Indian' in legal terms and withholds the right to vote in Canadian elections from anyone the government's Indian agents declare to be an 'Indian'. The agents are given broad powers over the uses of land on the reserves and can limit the rights of Indians to travel off the reserves. [Later amendments permit the agents to interfere with cultural, social and legal activities by Indians on the reserves.] The Act's provisions also state that Indian women who marry non-Indians shall be considered non-Indian, as will any children from such marriages. The outcomes of the Indian Act are to limit the rights of 'status' Indians and to promote the reduction in their numbers so as to limit the cultural and economic presence of the First Nations in Canada.

Colorado becomes a state.

1877

Responding to a request from the Department of the Interior, General William T. Sherman orders General Howard to occupy the lands of chief Joseph's Nimipu ('Nez Percé') in the Imnaha Valley of the Wallowa Mountains in northeastern Oregon. Councils are held in March through May between Howard, Indian Agent John Monteith, Joseph and his brother Ollokot. Looking Glass, White Bird, Toolhoolhooltze and others participate at the May council. In these talks, both sides seek a peaceful solution to the impasse between the Nimipu and the Army. In the May meeting, Howard insists that he must carry out his orders and further negotiation is futile, ultimately arresting the medicine man Toolhoolhooltze and setting a thirty-day limit for the Nimipu to gather their livestock and remove to the reservation at Lapwai in Idaho. The Nimipu chiefs, opposed to war with the U.S., agree to survey sites at Lapwai for their bands to settle upon. After rounding up a portion of their stock and moving across

the Snake River into Idaho, tensions and resentments mount in the Nimipu camp in mid-June. Wahlitits, an admired young warrior, and two of his cousins are taunted into seeking revenge against the Americans for the earlier murder of Wahlitits' father by miners. This raid by the young men leads to a second, made worse by their use of whiskey, and some 15 Americans are killed in all, provoking a panic in the region. Joseph and Ollokot decide to try to move their bands out of the area and into the buffalo country east of the Rocky Mountains. However, they are attacked in their new camp at White Bird Canyon on June 17th, despite attempts to arrange a truce with the cavalry's command. The Nimipu repulse the assault, killing 34 soldiers. In early July, Howard sends troops to apprehend Looking Glass, who had not been involved in the White Bird Canyon battle; the attempt fails and pushes Looking Glass into joining Joseph. A series of skirmishes develops as the Nimipu decide on strategy to remove themselves to the upper Missouri buffalo grounds and American troops are concentrated from throughout the Northwest. A second major battle is fought on the Clearwater River on July 11-12th against troops under Howard's personal command. The Nimipu are forced to flee eastward across the Lolo Trail. Howard is not quick to pursue and the Nimipu use negotiations as a means to gain further time to move their camp. Looking Glass proposes to lead the bands to his old allies the Crow in the Yellowstone River country, expecting that they can leave the war behind in Idaho. Gen. Howard, involved in seeing that other tribes in the Columbia Basin do not rise in support of the Nimipu fails to effectively pursue the bands, and they slip eastward into the Bitterroot Mountains in late July. They enter Montana at the end of the month against the cautious opposition of small detachments of U.S. cavalry and several hundred armed citizens led by Montana's Governor Potts. The Nimipu maneuver to slip around the Americans at Fort Fizzle at the mouth of the Bitterroot Valley, avoiding bloodshed and convincing many of the Americans to do the same through negotiations. Howard's troops arrive in Montana a week later on August 8th, preceded by a detachment of cavalry from eastern Montana posts under the command of Colonel John Gibbon a few days earlier. Gibbon's force, guided by Bannock scouts, overtakes the Nimipu at Big Hole Basin on August 8th, surprising the unguarded camp in a dawn assault. The Nimipu lose the camp, nearly a third of their warriors and about 50 women and children in the first attack, but their fierce counterassaults throughout the morning cost Gibbon half his officers and some 29 killed and 40 wounded troops. Gibbon retreats to fortified positions where the warriors hold his troops while the band slips away. The Nez Percé spend the next week in circling back into Idaho in an attempt to throw off pursuit, but Howard is informed by his own Nimipu scouts of Joseph's goal and prepares to head them off. Incidents occur along the route of the Nimipus' flight through northeastern Idaho, including the August 15th killing of five teamsters on Birch Creek by an advance party. On the morning of August 20th, the Nimipu raid Howard's camp at Camas Meadows, attempting to steal his horse and mule herd. They take about 200 mules but the soldiers respond before the horse herd can be

led away. In the pursuit that follows, the Nimipu delay the cavalry for hours with carefully-placed sharpshooters at the edge of a lava field and the Americans withdraw, allowing the Nimipu to break away from pursuit. On August 22nd, they cross the Targhee Pass and enter Yellowstone National Park without resistance from poorly-located troops under Lt. George Bacon. Meanwhile, soldiers led by Colonel Samuel Sturgis and General Alfred Terry close off the exits from the Park as Howard follows Joseph's people in from the west. However, the Nimipu are able to draw Sturgis' Seventh Cavalry command out of position and, crossing the difficult Absaroka Range, they escape encirclement through the Clark Fork valley on September 9th, after several days of raiding and killing isolated tourists in the Park. Upon reaching the country of the Crow, Looking Glass finds that his friends are unwilling to assist the Nimipu. Sturgis then catches up with the Nez Percé, forcing a rear-guard skirmish at Canyon Creek on September 13th. The Nimipu slip away that night, determined by now to head for safety with Sitting Bull and his Lakota band in Canada. Sturgis' pursuit over the next few days fails to catch them, despite skirmishes between the Nimipu and several Crow and Bannock scouting parties. Joseph's bands, by now reduced to about 650, passes through the rich Judith Basin in central Montana and crosses the Missouri River on September 23rd, seizing American food supplies at a transshipment point at Cow Island. Looking Glass is given charge of the band the following day, and he orders a slowing in the pace of flight that allows Colonel Nelson Miles' command to close in on the Nimipu camp on Snake Creek in the Bear Paw Mountains on September 30th. Surprised, the Nez Percé quickly dig rifle pits as some of the women and children are hurried away along with messengers to Sitting Bull, who is camped only some 40 miles away. The Nimipu withstand and repulse Miles' first assault with severe losses to the Seventh Cavalry and supporting infantry, while losing Ollokot, Toolhoolhooltze and others on their side, along with most of their horse herd. The Americans resort to siege tactics and artillery for the next five days. Joseph is persuaded to meet with Miles on October 1st to negotiate and is taken prisoner overnight before being exchanged for a captured Army officer. Looking Glass is killed on October 3rd. On October 4th, when it becomes apparent that Sitting Bull will not intervene, Joseph and White Bird agree that Joseph will surrender all those who wish on the following day; General Howard arrives on the battlefield that evening. On October 5th, Joseph surrenders along with 418 survivors, giving a brief, memorable speech to which Miles replies with assurances that the Nimipu will be allowed to return to the reservation at Lapwai. White Bird and 28 others escape on foot that night into Canada. Miles' promise to place the Nimipu on the Lapwai Reservation is countermanded in November by Generals Sherman and Sheridan and Interior Secretary Carl Schurz. Joseph and his people are sent into exile first at Fort Leavenworth and then to the Quapaw Reservation in Oklahoma.

Colonel Nelson Miles makes several peace overtures to Crazy Horse after attacking in early January, including the return of some captured Lakota

women. In March, he sends Spotted Tail and 250 Brulé to advise Crazy Horse to surrender. After counseling with his headmen and those of Dull Knife's Cheyenne refugees he shelters, Crazy Horse surrenders his band of Oglala Lakota in May at Fort Robinson near the Red Cloud Agency to prevent their starvation and further bloodshed. Along with his headmen Little Hawk, He Dog, Little Big Man and Big Road, he and his band are deprived of their weapons and horses. A few days later, they are asked to sign a new treaty giving up land in exchange for reservations and peace. The fort's commander, Lieutenant W. P. Clark, asks many questions about the Greasy Grass ('Little Bighorn') battle. Negotiations over the treaty drag out over the next several months, with Crazy Horse reluctant to sign away his peoples' lands. Red Cloud and several other leaders are anxious to have him sign, for the treaty promises to recognize them as the chiefs of all the Lakota tribes. The Army also tries to enlist Crazy Horse and other members of his band of Oglala as scouts against chief Joseph's fleeing ('Nez Percé') during the summer, finally winning Crazy Horse's consent. However, lies told by an interpreter convince Lt. Clark that Crazy Horse means to go only to fight the Americans. This is passed around Army circles as a rumor, along with embellishments to the effect that Crazy Horse plans to meet with General Crook before going in order to kill him. As a result, in September, General Sheridan, commander of the military district of the Dakotas, orders the arrest of Crazy Horse. Crazy Horse is told he must go into Fort Robinson to have a talk with the soldiers before he can set out against the Nimipu. There he is taken prisoner by Indian police led by Little Big Man. When it becomes apparent that he is going to be put in the fort's prison, he attempts to flee but is seized by Little Big Man, Swift Bear and other jealous former friends. Crazy Horse is then bayoneted by a prison guard. He dies from the wound late on the night of September 5th.

Dull Knife surrenders his Cheyenne at the Red Cloud Agency in Nebraska in May.

In May, the mestizo Porfirio Díaz wins election as president of Mexico for the first time, following his military defeat of President Lerdo's forces the previous year.

1878

Chief Buffalo Horn leads the starving Bannock tribe off the Fort Hall Reservation in Idaho Territory after the U.S. government refuses to send supplies to end a famine there. Joined by related Northern Paiute bands, the Bannock begin raiding American settlements to obtain food. General Oliver Howard is sent to return the tribe to the reservation. His cavalry pursues and defeats the Bannock in two battles in southern Idaho, then massacres about 140 Bannock at Charles's Ford in Wyoming. This convinces the tribe to surrender and return to Fort Hall.

300 Northern Cheyenne, followers of Dull Knife and Little Wolf, escape from the Southern Cheyenne Reservation in Oklahoma where they had

been kept following their surrender to U.S. forces in the preceding year. They attempt to return during the winter to their homeland on the Platte River, fighting four battles before splitting into two groups to evade pursuit. Dull Knife's band encounters a cavalry unit and is captured. Imprisoned at Camp Robinson without food or shelter, they escape only to be tracked down. Most are killed; Dull Knife's family is hidden among neighboring tribes for a time. Little Wolf's band spends the winter in hiding, but is apprehended in the spring. Public sentiment in the U.S. over the military's handling of the Cheyenne results in improved treatment for Little Wolf's people; a reservation is eventually established for them and the remnant of Dull Knife's band on the Tongue River in Montana.

Congress authorizes and funds the establishment of Indian tribal police forces on the reservations.

1879

Chief Joseph negotiates a transfer of his band to a more suitable reservation on the Ponca lands in Oklahoma. To strengthen his hand in the negotiations, he submits an article to the *North American Review* to publicize the worsening condition of his people on the arid Quapaw reservation and win public support for better treatment of his people.

In the case of *Standing Bear v. Crook*, a U.S. district court rules for the first time that Indians are persons under U.S. law and are thus entitled to the protections of the writ of *habeas corpus*. [Standing Bear, a Ponca chief, had led a band of his people back to their Dakota homeland after they had been forced to go to a new reservation in Oklahoma. He was arrested by General George Crook and sought release with the help of sympathetic American lawyers who applied for a writ of *habeas corpus*.] The U.S. Attorney for Nebraska argues that Indians, who are not generally citizens of the U.S. at this time, are not 'persons' as defined in U.S. law and that the court therefore lacks jurisdiction to determine whether Standing Bear was lawfully detained by Gen. Crook. Judge Elmer Dundy rules that the intent of Congress in writing the *habeas corpus* act was clearly to entitle every person, including Indians, to the protections of the writ against unlawful arrest. Dundy also determines that the U.S. has no authority to compel the Ponca to remove to Indian Territory or to prevent them from returning to their homeland so long as they do not violate trespass laws.

Helen Hunt Jackson, an author, is co-founder with Senator Henry Dawes of the Boston Indian Citizenship Association. The Association offers non-Indian support to chief Standing Bear and the Ponca tribe in their efforts to gain recognition for their homeland on the border of South Dakota and Nebraska.

Senator Richard Coke of Texas introduces a bill proposing the allotment of all reservation land to individual Indian ownership and the abolishment of communal land ownership by the tribes. [Although this bill does not

become law, the debates on its purposes and provisions shape the federal policy that will be adopted in 1887 in an act introduced by Senator Henry L. Dawes of Massachusetts.] The major substantive information introduced in the debate about actual conditions on the reservations comes in the form of a petition against the measure from the 'Five Civilized Tribes' - the Creek, Choctaw, Seminole, Chickasaw and Cherokee Nations - of the Indian Territory. The petition also records the arguments of these tribes about the unsuitability of European-American land ownership practices to the needs and cultures of Indian people. The petition offers this statement of tribal opposition to the bill's provisions: "In your treaties with us you have agreed that this shall not be done without our consent; we have not asked for it and we call on you not to violate your pledge with us."

1880 There are 87,800 miles of railroad in operation in the U.S.

Canada establishes its federal Department of Indian Affairs by an act of Parliament.

Chile goes to war against Peru and Bolivia. By the war's end in 1884, Chile has taken provinces from both to add to its northern territory.

Victorio, Apache war chief, is killed in combat in Mexico.

1881 Geronimo again leaves his reservation and hides his band in the Sierra Madre mountains. Tracked by General Crook, he agrees to return to the reservation, but instead departs into Mexico to raid settlements there. Upon his return to Arizona with a large herd of Mexican cattle, Crook confiscates the animals and Geronimo is forced to take up farming again under military supervision.

Indian Agent Thomas Jordan reports that only 328 out of nearly 500 of chief Joseph's and White Bird's Nimipu have survived their four years of exile in Oklahoma.

Tatanka Iyotake ('Sitting Bull') returns with his band of 235 to the United States from exile in Canada where living conditions have rapidly deteriorated for the Lakota over the past five years. After two years of detention at Fort Randall, the U.S. decides to allow Sitting Bull to return with his people to the Standing Rock Reservation, where Tatanka Iyotake resumes serving as spiritual leader of the traditionalists among the Teton Lakota.

Helen Hunt Jackson publishes **A Century of Dishonor**, a widely-read critical account of the conduct of United States Indian policy. She provides a copy to every member of Congress. The book's theme becomes a significant argument used by the 'friends of the Indian' reform movement. Their efforts later result in the attempt to assimilate Indians

into U.S. society through the breakup and allotment of the tribal reservations and the institution of private land ownership.

1882 Helen Hunt Jackson is appointed as a special agent of the Department of the Interior and charged with investigating problems of American citizens' encroachment on reservation lands in California. Her report leads Congress to grant the Department of the Interior the power to remove illegal white settlers on the Mission Indian reservations by military force. As another result of Jackson's report, Congress also passes legislation which supports breaking the Mission reservations into individual Indian homesteads.

1883 William F. Cody, known as 'Buffalo Bill' for his exploits as a contract hunter for the U.S. Army and the railroads, begins his 'Wild West Show' in which many notable American Indians display elements of their cultures over the years, including Sitting Bull in 1885.

General George Crook is led to the escaped Geronimo's mountain stronghold by an Apache. There, he negotiates yet another surrender of the war chief's band. Some of the Apache are resettled on the White Mountain Reservation while others, including Geronimo, are put under guard on the San Carlos Reservation.

1883-87 The destruction of the northern buffalo herd is completed. The herd dwindles to a scattered few dozen animals in the U.S. under the impacts of railroad and farming development, the enclosing of ranch land with barbed wire, and hunting by government, commercial, sport and Indian hunters. The last great tribal buffalo hunt occurs in 1883 under the leadership of Sitting Bull. The near extinction of the buffalo breaks the independence of the Great Plains tribes and presages the Ghost Dance and resulting Wounded Knee massacre soon after.

1883-1916 Annual conferences are held by a national, non-Indian reform organization calling itself the 'Friends of the Indian'. These take place at Lake Mohonk, New York, a resort community. These Lake Mohonk Conferences of reformers produce a series of criticisms of federal Indian policy and recommended programs for the "solution of the Indian problem." Their reports become a powerful influence on the direction of government policy for over three decades. Among the chief programs advocated by the 'Friends of the Indian' group are U.S. citizenship for Indians, land allotment of the reservations, education of Indians in low-level industrial skills and European-American religious beliefs, and persuasion of the tribes to agree to modifications of the treaties that would promote adoption of European-American cultural norms and practices among the Indians. The program of the Lake Mohonk Conferences remains consistently assimilationist throughout its history.

1884 Frederick Engels, as literary executor to Karl Marx, publishes his extension of Marx's final researches as **The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State, In the Light of the Researches of Lewis H. Morgan**. Drawing heavily upon the adopted Seneca's massive work on Iroquois social and political culture, the Marx/Engels book becomes influential in shaping the thought of the European social reform movements of the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Porfirio Díaz, a mestizo (mixed-blood Indian and Spanish) former president of Mexico, again runs for election and becomes the virtual dictator of Mexico for the next 26 years. In his second administration, he favors the Creole (American-born Spanish), mestizo, and clerical social classes, almost totally ignoring the full-blood Indians of Mexico who make up one-third of the population.

1885 The Northwest Rebellion, or Second Riel Rebellion, occurs in Saskatchewan, where the Assiniboia Métis have relocated following the influx of English-speaking settlers into their former homelands in the Red River region of Manitoba. The Métis and allied Cree Indians led by Big Bear and Poundmaker seek Louis Riel's help in negotiating differences between them and the Canadian government over new encroachments onto the reserves. Canadian European-Americans have begun to enter the reserves to steal timber or graze their cattle illegally. Following the decline of the buffalo herds and several poor seasons of farming, the Métis and Cree are close to starvation. The Canadian government, facing a recession, offers neither economic aid nor substantial protection of the reserve lands against encroachment. In this atmosphere, Riel begins negotiations peacefully but eventually declares a second uprising and a new provisional government. The Canadian bands of the Blackfeet Nation, led by Crowfoot, decide not to accept the Cree invitations to join the armed struggle, since the Canadian government begins to show expedient concern for their equally difficult situation. After three days of battle in May with the Canadian Army and Royal Canadian Mounted Police at his headquarters at Batoche, Riel surrenders and is hanged in November. He becomes a patriot martyr to French-speaking and mixed-blood Canadians. His death sets off controversies over French-language and Catholic schooling in Quebec and Manitoba. The capture and imprisonment of Poundmaker and Big Bear in the aftermath of the Northwest Rebellion ends the last 19th century large-scale armed resistance by American Indian nations to the European invasion of Canada.

Naiche, Geronimo and 50 other Apache warriors escape with 350 women and children from military confinement on the San Carlos Reservation in Arizona. This outbreak is caused by General Crook's order to confiscate Apache horses and cattle and his order to have the protesting Geronimo arrested and killed if he offers any resistance. The Apache flee into Mexico, where most of the women and children are recaptured.

Congress and the Secretary of the Interior authorize the return of the 268 Nimipu survivors of chief Joseph's and White Bird's bands to the Northwest. 118 are allowed to live on the Nez Percé Reservation at Lapwai, Idaho, while Joseph himself and 149 others are sent to the Colville Reservation in Washington State. At Colville, Joseph encourages his people to become farmers and horse ranchers while teaching the young both the traditional and modern ways of life.

Congress passes the Major Crimes Act and claims federal authority over six serious types of crime committed by Indians against Indians on the reservations. The Act is a response to a Supreme Court decision in the case *In re Crow Dog*, which declared that the U.S. courts had no jurisdiction to hear appeals from a tribal court decision acquitting a traditional Lakota religious leader who murdered chief Spotted Tail, who favored accommodation with the Americans.

Wovoka, a Paiute and the son of Täviso (a noted dreamer and minor chief) receives a vision during an eclipse. His vision, in which he speaks with the Great Mystery, instructs him to teach his people to live in peace and work hard, and that all the Indians must pray and dance to renew the world as it was before the coming of the European-Americans.

1886 Pursued by U.S. troops under George Crook and over 2,000 Mexican troops, Geronimo and Naiche decide to surrender their warriors and leave Mexico. On the trail back to San Carlos, Geronimo suspects treachery and bolts back into the mountains with a small party of 36. This soon breaks up into small groups to evade pursuit. This small band raids and skirmishes with American and Mexican troops and civilians for another six months before making surrender agreements with the Mexicans and U.S. forces, now commanded by General Nelson Miles. As a result of the agreement with the U.S., Geronimo and several other warriors are sent in chains to military prison in Pensacola, Florida for a year. [Geronimo remains a prisoner of war until his death in 1909 and is never allowed to return to his homeland and people.]

1887 Congress passes the Dawes General Allotment Act, sponsored by Senator Henry L. Dawes of Massachusetts, the chairman of the Senate Interior Committee. [As a Congressman in charge of the corresponding House Interior Committee, Dawes had once openly admitted his ignorance of Indian tribes and conditions on the reservations.] The Dawes Act orders reservation lands to be divided according to the principles of the Homestead Act of 1862, creating individual Indian land ownership and bestowing American citizenship on Indians who take up such private ownership of land. A significant provision of the Dawes Act opens up any reservation lands left over after allotment to settlement by Americans, with the result that between 83 to 90 million acres of reservation land pass into non-Indian ownership by the time of the repeal of the Dawes Act in 1934.

- 1887-89** Wovoka begins to teach his people the way of life and the songs and dances he learned in his great vision and in subsequent visions. Indians from neighboring tribes, hearing of the new teachings, begin to visit the Paiute to investigate. Wovoka's religious instructions become increasingly accepted and a cultural revival movement based upon them begins to spread far beyond Nevada. His teachings come to be called the 'Ghost Dance'. They are increasingly modified and elaborated as tribes on the Great Plains adopt them. The Ghost Dance becomes an important religious movement among the Kiowa, Kiowa-Apache, Cheyenne, Lakota, Arapaho, Comanche, Caddo, Washoe, Pit River, and Paiute peoples. The revivalistic aspect of the religion draws strength from the social and economic difficulties of the first reservation generations, those who witness the passing of freedom and much of the traditional ways of life. The cultural revival aspect of this religion also is responsible for growing fears among the Americans that the Ghost Dance is a prelude to a widespread 'uprising' among the many embittered residents of the reservations. Ignorance of the true nature of Wovoka's teachings contributes to such fears of the Ghost Dance, as does the growing messianic militancy of a few of the Paiute prophet's disciples among some of the Great Plains tribes.
- 1889** Washington, Montana, and North and South Dakota become states.
- Congress opens the 'permanent' Indian Territory of Oklahoma to settlement by European-Americans.
- Brazil declares itself a republic following the abdication of King Pedro II.
- 1890** By late October, the increasing activity of the Ghost Dancers on the Lakota reservations of Rosebud, Cheyenne River, Pine Ridge and Standing Rock panics the new Pine Ridge Indian Agent, D. F. Royer, into calling for troops to suppress the dances. The military is given responsibility for security on the reservations in mid-November, and the Indian Agents begin to prepare for the arrest of the principal leaders of the religious activity, among them Sitting Bull, Hump, Short Bull, Kicking Bear and sixty others. The assembly of some 3,000 troops on and near the reservations provokes a similar number of Indians to flee the reservations into the stronghold of the Badlands northwest of the Pine Ridge Reservation in late November. Agent McLaughlin of Standing Rock waits until the arrival of orders from the military and bad weather in mid-December to attempt the arrest of Sitting Bull. In the hope of avoiding bloodshed, he sends Indian police commanded by Bull Head and his subordinates, Shave Head and Red Tomahawk rather than sending troops. During the arrest attempt on December 15th, 150 of Sitting Bull's followers hem in the police, then begin shooting in an attempt to free their religious leader. Sitting Bull is immediately assassinated by his police guards. Bull Head, Shave Head and twelve others on both sides

(including one of Sitting Bull's sons) die in the ensuing battle. Upon news of the killing of Sitting Bull, some of the Ghost Dance leaders bring their bands into agency or military posts to prevent further violence, while other groups flee to the Badlands under the leadership of Kicking Bear and Short Bull, two Ghost Dance leaders. At this time, chief Sitanka ('Big Foot') has his band peacefully on the move from a winter camp to the Cheyenne River agency when an arrest order is issued for him by General Miles; Big Foot had taken in 38 refugees from Sitting Bull's band. Troops under Colonel Sumner begin to move along with Sitanka's people and frequent communication is kept up between them until word of other troop movements on December 23 panics the Indians into fleeing toward the Pine Ridge Reservation. Sitanka is ill with pneumonia and cannot stop his people. They are surrounded by additional units of the U.S. Seventh Cavalry and surrender on December 28th, one day after the Lakota in the Badlands camps decide to come into the Pine Ridge Agency. With many Indian and troop movements occurring simultaneously, excitement and tension runs high on both sides. On the morning of December 29th, 470 troopers of the Seventh Cavalry, now commanded by Colonel Forsyth, surround the camp of 340 Indians (106 men and 234 women, children and old people) on Wounded Knee Creek to disarm them before proceeding. The roughness of the search for weapons provokes Yellow Bird, a medicine man, into calling on the warriors to defend their wives and children using the power of the Ghost Shirts they have worn in the Ghost Dance. The troopers attempt to continue the search for guns, and a young warrior, Black Fox, is believed to have started the shooting. With heavy Hotchkiss machine guns to back them up, the Seventh Cavalry troops quickly kill over 200 Indians, losing 31 troopers. A prolonged massacre by the soldiers of the fleeing women and children follows the initial short combat. A few days after the Wounded Knee killing, bodies and a few surviving children are found up to two miles from the camp. Total Indian deaths are variously counted as 257 to approximately 300 (the figure of 267 is given by many Lakota; the exact number is uncertain for several reasons) with some 45-80 survivors, captured prisoners and people who succeed in fleeing. The U.S. forces continue battle later in the day with Brulé Lakota warriors under Kicking Bear, Short Bull and Two Strike who have just arrived at Pine Ridge Reservation to surrender; these men ride out to Wounded Knee to help their relatives once survivors bring word of the massacre to the Agency. The Pine Ridge Agency is also besieged, with Indian police defending the American post against their own relations. The outraged Lakota leaders soon assemble a camp of 4,000 (1,000 warriors) and carry on attacks against troop columns and European-American settlements for more than two weeks. Overtures for peace from General Miles eventually persuade the Brulé that there is no future in resistance and they surrender on January 16, 1891.

The U.S. census of 1890, the first to attempt a thorough enumeration of American Indians, counts only 248,253. This is believed to be the low point of American Indian population in the territory of the United States.

Idaho and Wyoming join the Union.

1892 Charles Curtis, a mixed-blood Kaw/Osage who holds strongly assimilationist and conservative political views, is elected to his first term as a Republican Congressman from the state of Kansas.

The annual report of the Secretary of the Interior to Congress notes that the Dawes General Allotment Act of 1887 has resulted in the loss of over 30 million acres of Indian land from Indian control to ownership by the federal government and non-Indian U.S. citizens.

1896 Utah becomes a state.

A gold find on Bonanza Creek in the Yukon Territory of Canada starts the Klondike gold rush into Alaska and Canada.

1898 Charles Curtis wins congressional passage of the Curtis Act, a law abolishing tribal governments on most reservations in the U.S. Curtis holds an assimilationist philosophy and believes that traditional Indian governments and social institutions are retarding Indian 'progress' in adopting modern ways of life.

1900 Charles Curtis wins the chairmanship of the House Committee on Indian Affairs, where his assimilationist views have a profound influence on the actions of the federal government during a period when 'detribalization' is the dominant U.S. policy in its relations with Indians.

1901 Congress bestows American citizenship on the members of the Five Civilized Tribes who had been exempted from citizenship provisions of the 1887 Dawes General Allotment Act.

1904 A boom in European immigration to the United States is promoted further by a reduction in the cheapest passage rate to \$10 by foreign steamship lines. Some 10.5 million immigrants from eastern and southern Europe arrive in the U.S. between 1905 and the beginning of WWI.

Chief Joseph of the Nimipu ('Nez Percé') dies at Nespelim on the Colville Reservation, having spent much of the latter part of his life traveling and negotiating among the Americans in hopes of returning his people to their homeland in the Wallowa country of northeastern Oregon.

1905 The Quiche Maya of Totonicapan, Guatemala, revolt against continued exploitation and social control by the dominant Hispanic minority.

Canada organizes Alberta and Saskatchewan into provinces.

1906 Congress abolishes most remaining reservations in Indian Territory.

1907 Charles Curtis, a Kaw/Osage mixed-blood, is elected to the U.S. Senate from Kansas after serving seven terms as a Congressman.

Congress incorporates the Indian Territory established in the aftermath of the 1830 Indian Removal Act into Oklahoma Territory. Oklahoma acquires statehood immediately thereafter. The former Indian Territory makes up its western part. Its oil-rich lands, removed from reservation status the preceding year, are allotted to individual owners under the Dawes General Allotment Act, which had previously excluded the tribes of the Indian Territory from its provisions. As a result, newly wealthy Indian individuals are targets during two decades of local and state corruption in land and estate transfers. Murders, arson, and fraudulent wills are employed by public officials and others to deprive the individual Indian owners of their oil revenues and land titles.

Robert Owen, Cherokee, joins Charles Curtis in the U.S. Senate. Owen represents the state of Oklahoma in the Senate until 1925.

Charles Carter, Choctaw, wins his first term as a member of the U.S. House of Representatives from a district in Oklahoma. He serves until 1927.

1908 Mexico concludes the Yaqui Wars by a large-scale deportation of most surviving Yaqui to labor/death camps on the Yucatán sisal plantations. The United States cooperates with Mexico by denying asylum to Yaquis who have taken refuge in nearby Arizona.

1909-11 Civil war rages in Honduras as cliques fight over control of the government and Indians participate in protest over their living and working conditions under the U.S.-dominated fruit industry. In 1911, President Taft sends U.S. Marines to Honduras to protect U.S. fruit company investments.

1911-16 Ishi, the last surviving member of the Yahi band of the Yana people in California, leaves the mountains and faces his fate among the whites of the town of Oroville. He is soon befriended by anthropologists T.T. Waterman and Alfred Kroeber when they learn that he speaks an otherwise extinct dialect of Yana. Ishi is offered a home and work at the Museum of Anthropology at the University of California at San Francisco. He performs the tasks of a janitor and caretaker, but also instructs the scientists on the meaning and use of many of the artifacts in their collection. He even teaches them the living techniques of making many traditional upland California objects. Ishi's work is extensively photographed and even filmed before his death in 1916. He comes to be regarded as the 'last Stone Age man in America.'

Dr. Carlos Montezuma, Yavapai, is a co-founder of a pan-Indian national association, the Society of American Indians. Other Indian founders are

Rosa La Fleshe and Charles Daganett, joined by the non-Indian Fayette McKenzie. Montezuma's relationship with the SAI is fitful; he attends conferences sporadically and occasionally serves on the executive board, but often stays away and is critical of SAI journal editor Arthur C. Parker (Seneca) for his moderate position on Montezuma's central theme, the need to abolish the Bureau of Indian Affairs. In 1916, Montezuma establishes his own magazine, *Wassaja*, as a vehicle for his reform proposals.

- 1911-19** In the first successful 20th century revolution, the mestizo Emiliano Zapata organizes an Indian and mestizo army in the south of Mexico to support former Mexican President Francisco Madero in an attempt to oust the dictator Porfirio Díaz. The Zapatistas are successful, capturing Cuautla and Cuernavaca and compelling Díaz to flee for Europe. On meeting Madero in Mexico City, Zapata insists that land stolen from the Indians by the hacienda landowners of Mexico be returned to the Indian ejidos system of communal ownership. Madero refuses and Zapata announces his Plan of Ayala in opposition. The Plan of Ayala is economic and political in motivation, unlike most earlier Indian religious and cultural resistance. It calls for recompense to the hacienda owners for return of land to the ejidos, or for outright expropriation if the big landowners refuse to cooperate. Zapata and his army begin a successful guerrilla war in pursuit of the goal of the Plan, redistributing much land and establishing peasant banks, schools and local councils. Madero is assassinated by General Huerta in 1913, and Zapata moves his forces near Mexico City in opposition to the new dictator. Zapata allies himself with constitutional revolutionaries like Venustiano Carranza and Carranza's ablest military leader, the mestizo Doroteo Arango (better known by his *nom de guerre*, Francesco 'Pancho' Villa). The allies force Huerta out of Mexico in 1914. Zapata and Villa agree on the installation of General Gutiérrez as provisional president pending elections, but the ambitious Carranza refuses his consent, and war breaks out among the revolutionaries. Zapata's army of 25,000 peacefully occupies Mexico City in November, 1914; in December, Villa joins him and pledges support for the Plan of Ayala. The civil war continues until Carranza defeats Villa and isolates Zapata in 1917 and then wins a constitutional election as president. Zapata continues a guerrilla war in the south until he is assassinated at a meeting in Chinameca in 1919. Villa continues small-scale raiding in the north until 1920, when he accepts a pardon and ranch from Carranza in return for staying out of politics. He is assassinated on this ranch near Parral, Chihuahua in 1923.
- 1912** Arizona and New Mexico are admitted to statehood.
- 1915** W.W. Hastings, Cherokee, is first elected to the House of Representatives from Oklahoma. He serves until 1921, then is re-elected in 1923. He remains a Congressman until 1935.

- 1917** The entry of the U.S. into WWI results in some 8,000 Indians joining the armed services. Once serving in the army in Europe, Indians are predominantly assigned to reconnaissance units on their commanders' assumption that they possess superior skills as scouts. They suffer disproportionately high casualties as a result.
- William F. 'Buffalo Bill' Cody dies. His 'Wild West Show', which features a large number of Indian performers and some notable Native personalities, is disbanded.
- 1919** Congress passes a law granting citizenship to any honorably discharged non-citizen Indian veteran who served the U.S. during World War I and chooses to apply to an appropriate court for citizen status.
- 1920** The U.S. Census determines that in 1917 the American Indian birth rate in the United States exceeded the death rate for the first time since the Civil War.
- 1924** Congress passes an act unilaterally bestowing U.S. citizenship on the one-third of all U.S. Indians who are not already citizens under terms of other laws or treaties. This is said to be in gratitude for Indian service in the Armed Forces during WWI. The law also authorizes a study of the current conditions of Indian life. The study is carried out by the Brookings Institution beginning in 1926 under the direction of Lewis Meriam and is published in 1928.
- An Amendment to the Canadian Indian Act of 1876 prohibits Indians from raising money to pursue legal challenges in land claims cases.
- 1928** The Meriam Report documents the current conditions of Indian life on the reservations in detail and provides the impetus for later reforms in U.S. Indian policy under Franklin Roosevelt's administration. The BIA is heavily criticized in the Report for its educational philosophy and the effects of its management practices on reservation economies. The policy of individual allotment of Indian lands instituted by the 1887 Dawes General Allotment Act is identified as a major cause of the loss of reservation lands and the dependence of many American Indians on government assistance. The Meriam Report authors' critique of federal policy proceeds from the belief that the poverty found on the reservations is a result of federal mismanagement and that 'proper' policies and management will enable Indians to successfully adjust to the dominant economy. These essentially assimilationist views exclude the possible validity of traditional values and economic practices as a viable alternative way of life for Indian people in the 20th century.
- 1928-32** Senator Charles Curtis, a mixed-blood descendant of the Kaw and Osage tribes, is elected Vice-President of the United States under the Republican President Herbert Hoover.

- 1933-44 In response to long-term overgrazing and soil erosion problems on the Navajo reservation, President Roosevelt's newly appointed Commissioner of Indian Affairs, John Collier, institutes an unpopular program of stock reduction of the Navajos' horse, sheep and goat herds. In 1933, Collier proposes a reduction of some 400,000 animals from the Navajo herds. Despite any cultural insights he may have had from a long-time personal familiarity with the people of Taos Pueblo, Collier nevertheless proceeds in the face of Navajo resistance to impose a flat percentage reduction upon all individual herds, a move that disproportionately affects the smaller herdsman. Figures released in 1944 show that the stock reduction program results in a loss of 171,000 sheep on the reservation.
- 1934 Under the guidance of John Collier, Congress passes two key pieces of New Deal legislation that begin a decade-long policy shift away from some of the earlier practices of cultural assimilation and land allotment adopted in the 1880s. The Wheeler-Howard Act, or Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) ends the practice of allotment of tribal lands to individual ownership and repeals the Curtis Act of 1898, which had outlawed legitimate tribal governments. The IRA offers an opportunity for tribes to reorganize their governments if they agree to do so along the lines of European-American corporation models. Initially, this carries the consequence that the traditional influence of Indian women in many tribal social and political systems is greatly disrupted. Many tribes distrust the provisions giving effective control over IRA tribal council decisions to the Secretary of the Interior. These tribes resist the efforts of Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier to force them to reorganize under the IRA. [While many of the tribal councils instituted under the IRA are known to work in the interests of their people, there are also many which prove to be corrupt and willing participants in development and leasing schemes which benefit non-Indians more than tribal citizens.] Another portion of this complex piece of legislation abolishes the authority of the Bureau of Indian Affairs to prohibit traditional Indian ceremonial practices, reversing a half-century or more of official religious persecution. The second key piece of the Roosevelt-Collier 'Indian New Deal' legislation is the Johnson-O'Malley Act (JOM), which provides funds to states for the public school education of Indian children. Prior to JOM, states have generally barred Indian students from public schools because their parents paid no state property taxes on reservation land holdings. The JOM program becomes a major tool enabling the gradual dismantling of the Bureau of Indian Affairs' system of off-reservation boarding schools over the next several decades. These had been soundly criticized in the 1928 Congressional 'Meriam Report'.
- 1934-40 Under President Lázaro Cárdenas, (a Purepecha or 'Tarasco' Indian) Mexico undertakes a series of important social and economic reforms. By the end of his term, Cárdenas has seen to the transfer of land from large landowners to almost 40% of Mexico's peasant farmers under a traditional

Indian communal ownership form called the ejidos. In 1938, he nationalizes the oil resources of Mexico and successfully negotiates a settlement to U.S. and British threats of military and economic retaliation.

- 1935 Congress creates the Indian Arts and Crafts Board to encourage and regulate Indian artistic production and the trade in Indian art items. The Board is placed under Bureau of Indian Affairs control.
- 1936 Congress passes the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act, extending the provisions of the IRA to tribes in Oklahoma.
- 1940 Felix S. Cohen publishes the **Handbook of Federal Indian Law**, a summary history and analysis of the statutes and case law applicable to Indian citizens in the U.S. He reports that Congress has passed nearly 4,000 'Indian' statutes, most of them since it ended treaty-making with the tribes in 1871. Cohen's work becomes a major reference for attorneys practicing Indian law in the following decades.
- 1941 Charles J. Kappler completes a monumental compilation of Indian treaties, statutes and leading Supreme Court cases dealing with the federal conduct of Indian affairs. Begun under the direction of Congress in 1902, the finished work runs to five volumes and becomes the authoritative source for the text of Indian treaties, executive agreements, and statutes up to 1940.
- 1941-45** With the entry of the United States into World War II, over 25,000 Indians enter the Armed Forces. Unlike the situation in WWI, many thousands also migrate into the cities to work in war-related industries. Ernest Childers (Creek) and Jack Montgomery (Cherokee) win the Congressional Medal of Honor. 51 Indians are awarded the Silver Star, 47 the Bronze Star, 34 the Distinguished Flying Cross, and 71 the Air Medal. The 45th Infantry Division in the Army, known as the Thunderbird Division, is approximately 20% American Indian. The Thunderbird Division earns distinction in combat in North Africa and Italy and sustains over 400 casualties before it returns home in August 1945; both Childers and Montgomery serve in this unit. An Osage, Clarence Tinker, rises to the rank of general in the Army Air Corps and dies in combat in the Pacific. The Navajo make an important and unique contribution to the war against the Japanese by providing the U.S. Marines with some 400 of the famous 'Code Talkers'. These scouts and communications specialists broadcast and write military messages in coded Navajo, which the Japanese are never able to decode and translate. Traditional Indian women's societies, such as that among the Northern Cheyenne, play a role alongside mainstream organizations like the USO and Red Cross in supporting American Indian combat troops overseas. A generation develops which has much opportunity for acquiring contacts, skills, and understandings that transcend the horizons of reservation life. Many prominent Indian leaders of the second half of the 20th century share this background.

During the war years, American military bases are built for 100,000 troops in the Aleutian Islands. Many Aleut are forcibly relocated to Southeastern Alaska to protect them from the invading Japanese, but only about half of the villagers are allowed to return to their homes after the war.

1943 Will Rogers, Jr., son of the late Cherokee author and entertainer, is elected to a single term as a U.S. Congressman from California.

1944 A group of reservation community leaders, together with Indian scholar D'Arcy McNickle (Flathead/Cree) and some Indian employees of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, organize the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI). NCAI evolves into a lobbying, networking and educational group whose activities on behalf of all American Indian people in the U.S. will help to limit, and ultimately reverse, the coming federal 'termination' policies of the 1950s and 1960s. NCAI ultimately becomes the largest national Indian organization in the U.S.

Mayan Indians and poor mestizos in Guatemala overthrow a government dominated by large landowners and foreign corporate interests. The Indian and mestizo coalition drafts a new constitution, holds free elections and institutes land ownership reforms that benefit ordinary Guatemalans (85% of the population is Maya or mixed-blood).

William Stigler, Choctaw, is elected to the first of four terms in the U.S. House of Representatives from a district in Oklahoma.

1945 Ira Hayes, Pima, is one of the Marines who raises the U.S. flag atop Mt. Suribachi on Iwo Jima during the conquest of that strategically important Japanese island. [He is later used by the U.S. government as a symbol of heroism in a war bond sales campaign; despite his decorated service, he is ignored after the war when he appeals in Washington, D.C. for self-determination for his people. Disillusioned, he succumbs to alcoholism and dies in agricultural stoop labor in 1955, his life honored in statues and film (*The Outsider*, 1961), but his values and vision neglected.]

1945-46 Bolivian Indian peasants, or campesinos, form an assembly and force the government to reestablish land rights among the Indian communities. Indian miners also organize to win the right to unionize for the first time. Opposed by oligarchic landowners, the Quechua of Cochabamba respond to repression of their gains with a guerrilla revolution following the Zapata model. They ultimately destroy the old political system with much loss of life on both sides. However, the poorly-educated Indians are unable to master a new system of government, and administrative control passes to a white and mestizo urban elite, which outlaws the peasants' Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario (MNR) party.

1946 Arizona grants state citizenship to Indians living within her borders.

- 1946-78 Congress establishes the Indian Claims Commission to hear claims for lands taken from tribes by the federal government without compensation or for inadequate compensation. Originally chartered for five years, the ICC is renewed periodically for over thirty years. The ICC manages to settle only some 40 percent of the hundreds of tribal land claims filed with it at a total value of one-half billion dollars, an average of 47 cents an acre. Tribes and their attorneys raise substantial complaints about ICC procedures throughout the existence of the commission. The unauthorized use of court-style proceedings and the nature of the ICC rules of evidence place a heavy burden of proof and expense on the tribes. Compensations are set at historic value at the time of the taking of the lands rather than at current market value. Most distressing to the Indians is a rule of judgment that allows only for monetary compensation and not the return of taken lands. Congress finally terminates the ICC in 1978 and assigns its caseload to the federal Court of Claims.
- 1947 Many returning American Indian war veterans take advantage of the G.I. Bill to attend college. This increases the knowledge and skills with which this generation begins to meet the challenges of changing state and federal Indian policies in the second half of the 20th century.
- 1948 Twenty-four years after the U.S. Congress granted federal citizenship to all Indians in the United States, New Mexico grants state citizenship to Indians within the state.
- In *Harrison v. Laveen*, the Arizona Supreme Court reverses its 1928 decision in *Porter v. Hall* that had upheld the Arizona constitution's exclusion of Indians from voting in state and local elections.
- Miguel Trujillo of Isleta Pueblo takes the state of New Mexico to federal court over the state's denial of his right to vote in state elections. Trujillo wins his case and the federal circuit court strikes down the offending provision in the New Mexico constitution.
- The Mexican Congress designates Cuauhtemoc, the last Aztec hueytlatoani, a national hero for his resistance to the final stage of Cortés' conquest of the Aztec Empire.
- 1951 In the first major revision of its Indian policies since 1876, the Canadian Parliament passes the Indian Act of 1951. The new Act drops the legal prohibitions against Indian ceremonies such as the potlatch and the Sun Dance, along with the ban on fundraising for political and legal purposes, that had been added to the Indian Act of 1876 by legislative amendments. Indian agents on the reserves have some of their powers removed. The Act still bars the voting rights of 'status' Indians, however.

- 1951-52** Victor Paz Estenssoro, candidate of the outlawed Bolivian Indian peasant party MNR, wins the 1951 Bolivian presidential race. He returns from exile in Argentina to challenge a military junta appointed by the former Bolivian president to oppose his assumption of power. A popular revolt by Indians, workers, students and police supports Estenssoro and he takes power in April, 1952. [Over the next twelve years, Estenssoro institutes many reforms in land ownership and worker's rights that materially aid Indian farmers and miners in Bolivia.]
- 1952** After many interruptions for work and service in the U.S. Air Force, Edward Dozier, Tewa, becomes the first American Indian to earn a Ph.D. in anthropology. [Dr. Dozier later becomes a full professor of anthropology at the University of Arizona. Among his books are **The Pueblo Indians of North America** and **Hano: Tewa Indian Community in Arizona**, the latter a history of his own people and their joining with the Hopi after fleeing Spanish oppression in New Mexico.]
- 1953** Congress passes House Concurrent Resolution 108, authorizing the 'termination' of the treaty-established government-to-government trust relationship between the United States and Indian tribes. A long period of piecemeal dismantling of Indian tribal governments and the displacement of many Indians from reservations into American urban centers ensues as the Bureau of Indian Affairs attempts to implement this legislation.
- Congress passes Public Law 83-280 giving federal consent to state assumption of criminal and civil jurisdiction on most reservations within the states of Oregon, California, Minnesota, Nebraska and Wisconsin.
- 1954** The state of Maine permits Indians not living on federal reservations to vote in state elections for the first time.
- President Eisenhower funds a military coup against the Indian-dominated popular government in Guatemala that returns former large landholders to power. Benefiting from this intervention is the United Fruit Company, an American firm which formerly held immense acreage in its banana plantations in Guatemala.
- 1955** Mungo Martin, a Kwakiutl clan chief and famous woodcarver, renews the open public conduct of the potlatch ceremonies for the first time in two generations. Martin, asked by the Provincial Government to dedicate a replica he built of a Northwest Coast longhouse for the Provincial Museum, insists on the once-prohibited ceremony as a proper part of an authentic dedication. The potlatch ceremonies, which publicly confer new titles or status upon a person or thing, emerge from decades of secret practice to once again become an acknowledged part of coastal culture among the Kwakiutl and other American Indian nations in British Columbia.

- 1956-57 The Utah Supreme Court upholds a state statutory prohibition against Indians' right to vote in state elections in its decision in *Allen v. Merrell*. The Utah court reasons that Indians are not residents of the state if they reside on a reservation. Not being 'residents', such Indians are held to be ineligible to vote in state and local elections. *Allen v. Merrell* is appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, which vacates the state court's judgment and send the case back to the state for re-hearing in 1957. However, before the Utah Supreme Court can reopen the case, the Utah legislature repeals the statute. Utah thus becomes the last state in the Union to permit Indian citizens to vote.
- 1958 Alaska enters the Union.
- Congress authorizes the termination of dozens of the small tribal rancherias in the state of California.
- 1959 Hawaii becomes a state.
- 1960** Ben Reifel, Lakota, is elected to the first of five consecutive terms as a member of the House of Representatives from South Dakota.
- There are approximately 2,000 American Indians enrolled in college in the United States.
- Canadian Indians and Inuit gain the right to vote in federal elections while retaining their native 'status'. Some provinces and territories continue to deny the vote to members of the First Nations.
- 1961 Congress terminates the recognized tribal existence of the Klamath in Oregon. Tribal lands are divided up among individual families and the reservation is abolished, with the result that much Klamath land passes into non-Indian ownership over the next two and a half decades.
- Tribal youth representatives from around the U.S. meet to form the National Indian Youth Council, which becomes active in promoting the development of young Indian leaders and in addressing social and cultural concerns in education and on the reservations.
- In June, representatives from 210 Indian tribes in the United States meet at the American Indian Chicago Conference. The delegates draw up a Declaration of Indian Purpose to state a consensus view of the historical and contemporary status of American Indian people and to propose changes in U.S. Indian policies. The Declaration is forwarded to Congress, where it has little immediate effect in slowing the pace of termination or in promoting other policy modifications.
- The National Indian Council is formed in Canada.

- 1962 Fourteen years after a federal circuit court struck down New Mexico's constitutional provision against Indian voting in state elections, New Mexico amends its constitution to extend state voting rights to Indians.
- 1962-65 By the close of the active period of the U.S. federal government's policy of 'termination', 109 Indian tribes and over 12,000 individual Indians have lost official recognition of their treaty status as legally-recognized 'Indians.' Over 2.5 million acres of reservation land formerly protected by the trust relationship between treaty tribes and the federal government has passed into non-Indian control as a result of termination. Among the largest tribes affected are the Menominee in Wisconsin and the Klamath in Oregon.
- 1963-75** A total of 41,500 American Indians serve in the U.S. combat forces in the Vietnam War.
- 1964-67 A Bolivian military junta overthrows President Victor Paz Estenssoro's government in order to deal with striking Indian tin miners. The junta tries to play off Indian farmers against the interest of the miners, resulting in a guerrilla war that brings Cuba's Ernesto 'Che' Guevara to the country in an effort to promote a communist revolution. Guevara is ultimately captured and executed in October, 1967.
- 1964-80** The Puyallup, Tulalip Confederation, Muckleshoot, Nisqually and other tribes in Washington State conduct a long struggle for recognition and honoring of their treaty fishing rights. Led by Robert Satiacum, Janet McCloud and other local tribal activists, and supported by the occasional appearance of national figures such as Marlon Brando and Dick Gregory, the tribes repeatedly confront county, state and federal law enforcement officials in what become known as 'fish-ins'. Ultimately, the Northwest fishing tribes force the Justice Department to bring suit to enforce their treaty fishing rights against the State of Washington. In a landmark decision handed down in 1974 after extensive legal and historical research, federal district judge George Boldt upholds the tribes' treaty right to "tak[e] fish, at all usual and accustomed grounds and stations...in common with all citizens of the Territory." Later phases of the decision involve determination of a mechanism to allocate the harvestable fish between Indian fishermen and commercial and sport fishermen in the face of a recalcitrant state administration. Washington appeals the 'Boldt Decision' in *U.S. v. Washington* to the Supreme Court, but loses in 1980.
- 1965 Passage of the federal Voting Rights Act of 1965 ends the period of legal discrimination against the voting rights of Indians along with other minorities in the U.S. However, numerous instances of state and local efforts to make registration of Indian voters difficult or impossible are reported over the next two decades in the West and Mid-west. Indian participation at the polls and as candidates for local and state offices begins to rise noticeably.

- 1966** Fifteen Indians are elected to state legislatures in the U.S.
- 1968** Clyde Bellecourt, Dennis Banks, Eddie Banai and George Mitchell organize the American Indian Movement (AIM) in Minneapolis to serve as a national Indian activist organization in support of treaty rights, tribal sovereignty and traditional cultures.
- Mohawk residents on the reserve at Akwesasne, astride the U.S.–Canadian border between the state of New York and the province of Ontario, blockade the international Seaway Bridge over the St. Lawrence River to protest Canadian Customs interference with the tribe's rights of free and untaxed movement between the nations, guaranteed by the 1794 Jay Treaty. The Mohawk are also protesting to call attention to the illegal annexation of Cornwall Island on their reserve by the Canadian town of Cornwall. Several people are injured in the blockade, but Canadian officials respond to the Mohawk by opening negotiations. These produce few changes over the next two decades of episodic talks.
- The Navajo Nation establishes Navajo Community College, the first Indian-controlled post-secondary education institution in the United States.
- In Alberta, Canada, American Indian women from throughout the province organize the Alberta Native Women's Society and hold the first of their annual conferences on the challenges facing native women in the region.
- Congress passes the Indian Civil Rights Act, extending the protections of the Bill of Rights and other Constitutional amendments to individual Indians in their relationships with their tribal governments. The act also limits the sentencing powers of tribal courts to a maximum of a \$500 fine or a six-month jail sentence. Like many other Congressional reforms, the ICRA is seen by Indians as a mixed blessing which interferes with Indian social and political customs.
- 1969** Canadian Indians organize the National Indian Brotherhood. This representative and lobbying organization of the 'status' Indians and their band councils later becomes the Assembly of First Nations.
- The Canadian Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development issues a 'White Paper' calling for a change of Canada's Indian policies that will terminate the treaties, end protected status for the reserves and withdraw recognition of a distinct political identity for Indians in the nation. Harold Cardinal, a Cree leader, writes in his book **The Unjust Society** that the 'White Paper' proposals are "a thinly disguised programme of extermination through assimilation."
- 1969-71** Indians from San Francisco and American Indian Movement activists from around the U.S. seize Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay. They begin to turn the island and its abandoned federal penitentiary into a national

and international Indian cultural center. The seizure is also intended to dramatize the continuing violation of Indian cultures and treaty rights throughout the Western Hemisphere. The Indians hold the island for 18 months until federal marshals and the Coast Guard forcibly remove them.

1970

Abimael Guzmán, a Quechua mestizo intellectual in Peru, founds the Sendero Luminoso or 'Shining Path' as a political party combining modern leftist ideology with traditional Incan rural socialism. Beginning in Indian-dominated highland areas, the party adopts a program of Zapata-style peasant revolution beginning in 1980.

Hashkesilth Begay, better known as Peter MacDonald and the popular director of the Office of Navajo Economic Opportunity, is elected Tribal Chairman of the Navajo Nation for the first time.

The U.S. Census reports that the American Indian population is rapidly urbanizing, with 44.6% living in major urban centers.

There are approximately 12,000 American Indians enrolled in college in the United States, including several hundred graduate students. The U.S. Census reports that about one-third of American Indians in the U.S. have completed high school.

Bernie Whitebear, Leonard Peltier, Roque Duenas and many other Indians carry out an occupation of lands on the closed Fort Lawton military base in Seattle. They assert the right of Indian tribes and community organizations under federal law to be eligible to receive title to surplus federal lands on the same basis as other governmental units. The city of Seattle is trying to obtain all the land on the former base for use as a city park. The occupying Indians successfully manage negotiations with the federal government and city to obtain a substantial portion of the base for the establishment of an urban Indian cultural and educational center. This becomes known as the Daybreak Star Cultural Center, operated by the independent United Indians of All Tribes Foundation. The cultural, educational and organizational activities of UIATF eventually make it one of the most successful urban Indian organizations in the country.

President Nixon issues a message to Congress in July calling for a new policy ending termination and recognizing greater powers of self-determination for Indian tribal governments and Alaska Native/Inuit villages. In December, Nixon signs a bill returning 48,000 acres of land and the sacred Blue Lake to the people of Taos Pueblo, the first time that the U.S. has returned a significant piece of land to an Indian Nation.

1971

Many Indian groups in Central America return to active resistance against domination by Hispanic governments. Prominent revolts and guerrilla movements are begun this year by the Cakchiquel and the Xejuju in Guatemala. The governments generally respond by forcing Indian

villagers into concentration camps, or by terrorizing them with paramilitary and disguised military 'death squads'. The survivors of the dozen or so Indian nations in Nicaragua refuse to join the leftist Sandinista revolutionary movement, preferring to conduct their own guerrilla war in pursuit of independence for themselves.

Congress passes the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, unilaterally divesting the traditional village governments of their land base (almost 90% of Alaska) and many powers of self-rule. In the place of these institutions, Congress creates 13 Regional Corporations under Alaska state law to hold the remaining Indian and Inuit lands and resources on behalf of the Native 'shareholders'. The Act provides that the shares in these Corporations may be sold to non-Native investors after 1991, provoking fears among the Indians and Inuit that their land rights, already reduced by other provisions of the Act, will quickly vanish under economic pressures and mismanagement of the Corporations. Most American Indian/Alaskan Native land title in Alaska is extinguished by this law, which offers in return one billion dollars and 44 million acres of lands under the control of the Regional Corporations.

In Washington, D.C., a group of activist Indians attempts to place a mixed-blood Indian deputy commissioner of Indian affairs under citizens' arrest for his opposition to President Nixon's announced policy of self-determination for Indian tribes. Resistance by BIA security forces leads to a small riot which is put down by Washington, D.C. police. The arrested Indian protesters are ultimately released when Nixon's Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Louis Bruce, a Mohawk/Lakota, agrees to meet with the group to hear their complaints against the deputy commissioner.

1972

The Trail of Broken Treaties Caravan, a pre-election demonstration of evidence and protest against the violation of Indian treaties by the United States and state governments, is organized by the American Indian Movement and seven other groups. Leaders of the Caravan include Robert Burnette, the former chairman of the Rosebud Sioux tribal council along with Ralph Ware, Hank Adams, Russell Means, Clyde and Vernon Bellecourt, Dennis Banks, and Sid Mills. During their meetings with Bureau of Indian Affairs Commissioner Louis Bruce to arrange housing denied to the marchers under orders from Robert Robertson of Vice-President Spiro Agnew's office, the BIA police attempt to clear the Indians from the BIA headquarters building. The police action in the midst of negotiations provokes the AIM activists to seize and occupy the BIA offices for six days. When Commissioner Bruce and other federal officials finally meet with the Indians to negotiate an end to the occupation, the activists deliver a position paper called the 'Twenty Points' detailing nationwide Indian grievances against the federal government. This document's militancy and its open rejection of defeatism and colonialism signals a changing Indian attitude toward the relationship with the federal government in the aftermath of the termination era.

Clem Rogers McSpadden, Cherokee, is elected to the U.S. House of Representatives from Oklahoma. He serves until 1975.

Congress passes an act restoring sacred sites on Mount Adams in Washington State to the Yakima Nation.

In the Indian Education Act of 1972, Congress creates an Office of Indian Education in the Department of Education and includes provisions for local Indian parent groups to have a measure of authority over funds spent on the education of Indian children. The act also establishes the National Advisory Council on Indian Education (NACIE) as an Indian education policy advisory body.

1972-80 The Passamaquoddy tribe of what is now Maine files suit in 1972 to force the Justice Department and Department of the Interior to file suit against the State of Maine as successor to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts for land fraud and violations of a 1790 federal statute that prohibited states from entering into land deals with Indian tribes without federal participation. At issue is 12.5 million acres of Passamaquoddy land the tribe claims was wrongfully taken. In 1975, a federal judge rules that the Passamaquoddy are entitled to federal agency efforts on their behalf under the 'trust relationship' doctrine of U.S. - Indian national relations. The Departments of Justice and the Interior begin a long series of delaying tactics and negotiations between the tribe and the state, attempting to find a resolution other than the return of the 12.5 million acres or full compensation to the tribe. By 1980, a settlement also involving the Penobscot and Maliseet tribes is negotiated for \$81.5 million, \$54.5 million of which is used to purchase and hold in trust a portion of the lands for the financial benefit of the tribes. The remaining money, under the terms of the settlement act, remains 'in trust' in the U.S. Treasury and the tribes receive only interest payments expended under the control of the Secretary of the Interior. The State also receives payments from the Indian trust funds to offset the taxes lost on the lands that are placed into federal trust status for the tribes, thus reducing the value of the 'trust fund' to the tribes considerably. The tribes do not actually get to reside on or use the lands directly.

1973 In February, traditionalist Lakota 'strong-hearted women' and spiritual leaders invite AIM members to join them at a village site near that of the 1890 Wounded Knee massacre. They meet to decide their next steps in protesting a series of abuses including cheap land leases by the tribal government to non-Indians, tribal chairman Dick Wilson's suspension of his own impeachment hearings, and violence by police. [Police beat the mother of a murdered young man, Wesley Bad Heart Bull, at a courthouse protest against the prosecutor's decision to charge the white killer with involuntary manslaughter rather than premeditated murder.] In response, the traditionalists and their AIM supporters proclaim an Independent

Oglala Nation in opposition to the BIA-dominated Pine Ridge Reservation tribal council. They also call on the federal government to honor its treaty of 1868 with the Lakota people by recognizing Indian sovereignty on the reservation and removing 65 federal marshals sent to the reservation in the aftermath of the beating of Sarah Bad Heart Bull. Their encampment at Wounded Knee Village is swiftly surrounded and later attacked by Lakota tribal police, BIA police, federal marshals, tribal vigilante 'goon squads' and FBI snipers. These forces are supported with armored personnel carriers, helicopter gunships and other military hardware. Several white residents of the village at Wounded Knee also decide to remain with the Indians for several days to protect their property and shield the encampment from an all-out military-style assault. Indians from tribal and urban communities throughout North America begin arriving to smuggle in food, weapons and supplies to support the besieged 'Wounded Knee II' group; tribal councils on the Crow and Northern Cheyenne reservations cancel mining leases on their lands in support of the sovereignty claims of the Pine Ridge traditionalists. Minor armed clashes interspersed with negotiations occur over the 71-day siege; the U.S. Army recommends against a full military assault and urges restraint by the FBI and other civilian forces. Several people are wounded on both sides during sporadic small-arms firefights. Frank Clearwater (Cherokee) and Buddy Lamont (Oglala Lakota) die from gunshots. The confrontation ends in May when federal representatives agree to sit down to negotiations about the issues involved in the United States' failure to live up to the Treaty of 1868; nothing comes of the few meetings that are subsequently held.. Pedro Bissonnette, one of the principal traditional leaders at Wounded Knee II, is assassinated later in the year by BIA police on the Pine Ridge Reservation; the responsible officers are never prosecuted.

In response to a years-long effort by Ada Deer, a Menominee woman who organizes other tribal members to lobby for restoration of tribal status, Congress restores federal recognition of the terminated Menominee Tribe in Wisconsin.

1974

Some 3,000 Indians meet on the Standing Rock Reservation in South Dakota to form the International Indian Treaty Council. The aim of the IITC is to seek international assistance in compelling the United States to recognize and fully implement its treaty obligations with American Indian tribes in the U.S. Delegates from Germany, France, Italy and England attend, along with international legal experts. Issues identified for presentation to international bodies such as the United Nations include land losses, conflicts over outside development impacts on the reservations, health problems, and long-standing difficulties in getting the U.S. to take action on Indian land claims cases in its court systems. One result of the conference is a delegation of Indian representatives to the meeting of the United Nations Commission on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples which begins meeting in 1977 to work out a U.N. position on the

rights of aboriginal peoples worldwide. The International Indian Treaty Council is subsequently granted consultative representative status in the United Nations as a Non-Governmental Organization.

Dennis Banks, Russell Means, Clyde Bellecourt, Carter Camp, Leonard Crow Dog, Stan Holder and some one hundred other participants at Wounded Knee II face federal and state charges in connection with their earlier protests and self-defense at the village. A legal defense effort is organized with support from Indians and sympathetic non-Indians nationwide. The trial of Banks and Means, as principal leaders of the American Indian Movement contingent at Wounded Knee II, is held separately from trials of other AIM members and the Oglala traditionalists Bissonnette, Crow Dog and others. Most of the cases are dismissed for lack of evidence or for government misconduct; Banks and Means are acquitted. The convictions of Crow Dog, Camp and Holder are for minor offenses. No one is ever charged in the killings of Frank Clearwater and Buddy Lamont at Wounded Knee II.

Ralph Steinhauer, Stoney, is elected lieutenant-governor of the province of Alberta, the first Native to hold so high an office in the Canadian federal system.

1975 Congress passes the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975, Public Law 93-638, significantly increasing tribal control over programs on Indian reservations and helping to fund public-school construction on and near reservations.

Inuit of northern Quebec sign an agreement with the provincial government, permitting the development of the huge James Bay hydroelectric project on their lands. The agreement provides for economic and educational assistance to the Inuit. It also creates the Makivik Corporation, a native-owned holding company along the lines of the Regional Corporations set up in the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act. [Within 15 years, the Inuit stockholders of Makivik Corporation will own an airline and a travel agency, a fuel distribution firm, and a fishing operation.]

1975-77 On June 26, 1975, a shootout takes place involving approximately 200 FBI agents, SWAT teams, BIA police and armed vigilante 'goon squad' tribal members against some 30 people of a traditionalist Lakota/ AIM homestead and encampment on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota. [The inter-tribal American Indian Movement members are present at the request of Lakota traditionalists at a time of armed conflict with a tribal government they believe to be corrupt. The gun battle occurs just one day after the tribal chairman had signed away mineral development rights to one-eighth of the reservation without a required vote of the people.] The exchange of gunfire results in the death of the first two FBI agents to enter the encampment, agents Ron Williams and Jack Coler, as well as Joe Killsright Stuntz, an AIM member who is shot while covering

the retreat of women and children from the area. Ultimately, three American Indian Movement members, Leonard Peltier and Bob Robideaux (both Ojibwe and Darrelle 'Dino' Butler (Tutuni) are accused of the killing of the FBI men. Peltier flees to Oregon and later to Canada, where he is imprisoned and subjected to extradition proceedings. While these are underway, an important defense witness, Anna Mae Pictou Aquash (Micmac), is found dead on the Pine Ridge Reservation in February, 1976. FBI investigators declare that she died of exposure and bury her in an unmarked grave without notifying her family. Upon learning of her death, family members obtain an order for exhumation and autopsy of her body, and it is learned that she died of a .38 caliber gunshot to the head. No one is charged with her death. Butler and Robideaux are found innocent in a trial held in Cedar Rapids, Iowa during June and July, 1976; the Justice Department manages to move the remaining proceeding against Peltier to a court in Fargo, North Dakota. Peltier is returned to the U.S. in 1977 on the basis of extradition affidavits that government witnesses later admit are perjured testimony obtained under FBI duress. During Peltier's trial in March and April of 1977, the bench bars nearly every attempt of the defense team to introduce evidence of FBI misconduct or inconsistencies in the testimony of prosecution witnesses. Peltier is convicted and sentenced to two life terms for the deaths of the two FBI agents.

Nurses at the Indian Health Service hospital in Claremore, Oklahoma present documentary evidence of a high incidence of the sterilization of young Indian women without their informed consent. In Edmonton, Alberta, Canadian researchers report that the province's Sexual Sterilization Act, in effect from 1928 to 1973, resulted in 2,500 involuntary sterilizations, of which 25.7 percent were performed on Indians and Métis (mixed bloods) who make up only 3.4 % of Alberta's population.

1977

At a Geneva, Switzerland meeting of the United Nations Commission on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, representatives from the International Indian Treaty Council and other Indian organizations present testimony and documentary evidence of human rights abuses, treaty violations and genocidal practices against American Indians, including involuntary sterilization of Indian women by the United States. IITC representatives cooperate with other aboriginal peoples to begin a long process of developing a statement on the rights of indigenous peoples around the world, scheduled to be considered for adoption by the United Nations General Assembly in 1990.

The terminated Confederated Tribes of Siletz in Oregon obtain an act of Congress restoring federal recognition of their tribal existence and government.

Inuit peoples from Siberia, Alaska, Canada and Greenland form the Inuit Circumpolar Conference, a trans-national grouping of related peoples in

the Arctic representing the interests of some 130,000 Inuit. The ICC convenes annually to consult on Inuit concerns and strategies for both local initiatives and for dealing with the policies and practices of the dominant cultures and governments of their homelands. It also functions to strengthen cultural ties and communications, and to assist the widely-scattered Inuit with ongoing cultural developments. The ICC eventually gains status as a Non-Governmental Organization with representation in the United Nations.

1978 The national leadership of the American Indian Movement decides to disband; many local chapters continue to exist and operate.

Indians begin a march from Alcatraz Island in California to Washington, D.C. in protest over continued problems in relations between Indian Nations and the United States. By the time the 'Longest Walk' reaches the national capitol, 30,000 marchers are present in the largest Indian and supporters' demonstration to date.

Congress passes the American Indian Religious Freedom Act, declaring the public policy of the United States to "protect and preserve for American Indians their inherent right of freedom to believe, express, and exercise the traditional religions of the American Indian, Inuit, Aleut, and Native Hawaiians, including but not limited to access to sites, use and possession of sacred objects, and the freedom to worship through ceremonials and traditional rites."

Amendments to the Indian Education Act of 1972 strengthen local Indian control over Indian education programs.

The Indian Child Welfare Act gives tribal courts jurisdiction over reservation Indian children in an effort to stop the frequent adoption or foster-home placement of Indian children into non-Indian families where the children are usually isolated from their culture.

The Narragansett people of Rhode Island settle a series of lawsuits over title to ancestral lands, regaining some 1,800 acres. [The disputed lands had been purchased in 1880 by the state and private citizens in violation of a 1790 federal law which required prior Congressional approval of such transactions.]

1979 In the first major test of the American Indian Religious Freedom Act, the Cherokee Nation challenges the construction of a Tennessee Valley Authority dam that will flood the site of Chota, an ancient capitol of the Cherokee and an important religious center. A federal court holds in favor of the TVA, showing the provisions of the AIRFA to be a weak barrier to the power of development interests when these collide with Indian religious rights.

The Supreme Court refuses to review Leonard Peltier's case without stating a cause for its decision.

During a protest vigil in front of the FBI Headquarters in Washington, D.C., former American Indian Movement national co-chairman John Trudell burns an American flag. Twelve hours later, an unknown arsonist burns his home on the Duck Valley Reservation in Nevada; his wife Tina, their three children and Tina's mother die in the flames. Despite having jurisdiction under the Major Crimes Act, the FBI does not investigate the deaths.

In an effort to provide capital and business planning expertise to reservation-based financial institutions supporting the credit needs of Indian-controlled businesses, the First Nations Financial Project is established as a non-profit American Indian Development Institute under Congressional charter in Falmouth, Virginia.

1979-?? The U.S. Supreme Court makes a determination in the long-pending Black Hills settlement case with the Lakota Nation, offering the tribes \$122.5 million dollars for purchase of the Black Hills in South Dakota, which were taken by the U.S. in the 1870s. The Court's decision, which does not allow for the possibility of meeting the Indians' demand for the return of their holy mountains, sets off years of arguments and legislative and legal maneuvering by factions among the Lakota, politicians, and lawyers who fight over acceptance or rejection of the award of the funds. The great majority of the traditionally-minded Lakota refuse to authorize the acceptance of money for the Black Hills, which were guaranteed to the Indians under the Treaty of Fort Laramie in 1868. Accepting the Court's award would end any claim for the return of the land, which is a matter of sacred principle to the traditionalists. [As of 1993, the issue remains unresolved.]

The U.S. Supreme Court reverses a lower court decision (*U.S. v. Dann*) recognizing the 1863 treaty rights of Western Shoshone tribal members living on ancestral, off-reservation lands in the Ruby Valley of Nevada. Carrie and Mary Dann, two sisters ranching on ancestral land that was never settled by European-Americans, are ordered off their ranges, which are sought by the Bureau of Land Management for oil, mining and nuclear waste development. The Supreme Court, despite evidence to the contrary, declares the off-reservation Ruby Valley lands to have been settled by whites and thus part of the public domain. The Court declares the Shoshone land claims 'paid' for by offering monetary compensation which the Dann sisters and other Shoshone refuse to accept, but which the BIA accepts in a trust fund payment from the Bureau of Land Management. Subsequently, county, state and federal officials begin a series of mining and nuclear developments in the valley, harassing the Shoshone in an ongoing effort to drive them away from their homes.

- 1980** The U.S. Census reports that about 8 percent of the American Indian population in the United States, or about 109,000 people, have completed four or more years of college. This remains half the rate for the general population. 56 percent of Indians have completed a high school education, compared with 76 percent of the general U.S. population.
- Mayan Indians and mestizos in Guatemala organize petition campaigns seeking to compel the government to recognize their land rights. One such group seizes the Spanish embassy in Guatemala City after the government ignores their petition; the Guatemalan Army destroys the building, trapping most of the demonstrators inside.
- 1980-83** In Peru, Indian guerrillas of the Sendero Luminoso party launch a war against the government, beginning in the region of Ayacucho and then spreading to the capital of Lima. In 1982, the Indians attack a prison in Ayacucho and free some 250 prisoners. In other attacks in that area, they destroy electrical and railroad facilities and government buildings. A number of journalists and community leaders are killed, along with 66 villagers in one attack. In Lima, in 1983, they bomb a chemical plant and power stations, causing Peru's president to declare a state of emergency.
- 1981** American Indian Movement activists occupy sites in the Black Hills of South Dakota in an effort to draw attention to the continued U.S. occupation of the mountains sacred to the Lakota people in violation of the terms of the 1868 Treaty of Fort Laramie.
- Congress passes amendments to the Lacey Act regulating federal fisheries to make violations of the act a federal felony. The provisions of the act are later applied by the National Marine Fisheries Service almost exclusively to Indian fishermen, ignoring non-Indian poachers.
- 1981-92** Beginning in September 1981, some 700 Indian campesinos (farmers) are killed in Rabinal and other villages in Guatemala as a part of the continuing war by the government against the Maya people and their ORPA guerrilla defenders. Over 60 percent of Guatemala's population is Indian, mostly various Maya groups. The New York-based American Indian agricultural and communications assistance organization Four Arrows begins collecting and publishing information on state-sponsored and right-wing political parties' genocide against Indians in Central America. Four Arrows releases its findings in the four-part **Guatemala! The Horror and the Hope** in 1982, edited by Jerry Gambill-Rarihokwats, the first editor of *Akwesasne Notes*, the newspaper of the Mohawk Nation of Akwesasne. The Indian Law Resource Center of Washington, D.C., recognized as a Non-Governmental Organization with consultative rights in the United Nations, begins assisting Guatemalan native leaders and organizations to bring the atrocities against the Indians to the attention of the U.N. and other international human-rights organizations. The Maya in

Guatemala are being persecuted for their resistance to land seizures and to oil development in their farming regions.

By 1989, the 10-year old civil war in El Salvador has claimed over 70,000 victims, the majority of whom are Indian peasant civilians. Leaders of the ANIS (Asociación Nacional de Indígenas) group representing Indian peoples of El Salvador are frequently killed or detained by the Salvadoran military and right-wing death squads operating in the country. Over \$4 billion in U.S. aid has been provided in this period to the government of El Salvador in its struggle against the Indian and mestizo peasant guerrilla army of the FMLN (Farabundo Martí de Liberación Nacional) party.

In Nicaragua, events similar to those in Guatemala unfold. In 1981, the Nicaraguan government establishes concentration camps and forcibly resettles some 8,000 Miskito. Several thousand others flee into Honduras. After 1981, Nicaraguan anti-Sandinista rebels, many of whom are Miskito, Sumo, and Rama Indians, resist Sandinista attempts to seize their lands. The Sandinistas also attempt to force the Indians to give up tribal life and resettle out of their homelands. Many villages in the Atlantic coastal region go into armed rebellion against the Sandinistas. In 1982, Sandinista army troops cross the border into Honduras and kill over 100 Miskito living in refugee camps. The tribes form a political and military alliance initially known as MISURASATA (later called YATAMA) and conduct military action against the Nicaraguan government. Their aim is to force negotiations about Indian rights to land, self-rule, and basic human rights in Nicaragua. Assisted by the Indian Law Resource Center, in 1988 YATAMA is able to negotiate a cease fire under Costa Rican president Oscar Arias' peace plan for the region. The cease fire breaks down in 1989 when the Sandinistas place unacceptable preconditions on the negotiated return of exiled YATAMA leaders Brooklyn Rivera and others to the Indian villages on the Atlantic coast of Nicaragua. The Nicaraguan government subsequently agrees to allow the return of exiled Indian political leaders in late 1989. The YATAMA leaders organize for Indian political participation in the Nicaraguan elections of 1990, in which Daniel Ortega and the Sandinista Party is defeated by the opposition coalition of parties known as UNO and their candidate, newspaper publisher Violeta Chamorro.

1982

In a climate of growing controversy over economic development, government reform and 'Joint-Use Area' land disputes involving the Navajo, and Hopi tribes and the Federal government, Peter MacDonald loses his bid for a fourth term as Navajo president to Peterson Zah. Zah, like MacDonald before him, rises to prominence in the Navajo Nation as director of the Office of Navajo Economic Opportunity. In his first term as president, Zah institutes a series of governmental reforms that begin to make the tribal government more accessible and accountable to the Navajo people. He somewhat reduces the influence of non-Navajo businessmen on the reservation, the largest in the United States.

The new Canadian constitution, to which all provinces except Quebec are signatory, recognizes the “ancestral rights of indigenous peoples.”

The Cow Creek Band of Upper Umpqua Indians in Oregon win Congressional restoration of their status as a federally-recognized Indian tribe.

In San Francisco, leaders and working members of the American Indian Movement hold a national meeting for the first time in several years. They decide to reactivate the national office in Minneapolis and to become active in monitoring and reporting events in Indian Country throughout the Western Hemisphere.

1983

Wilma Mankiller is elected deputy chief of the Cherokee Nation, the first woman to hold that position. She becomes acting principal chief in 1985, following the resignation of chief Ross Swimmer to become Assistant Secretary of Indian Affairs in the Department of the Interior.

President Reagan issues a statement reaffirming the government-to-government relationship between the U.S. and Indian tribes within the United States and the federal government’s modern policy of self-determination for Indian nations.

The Confederated Tribes of the Grand Ronde Reservation in Oregon win restoration of Congressional recognition of their status as an Indian tribe.

346 years after their climactic conflict with Connecticut colonists, the surviving members of the Pequot tribe win federal recognition. Congress also recognizes the 2,000 surviving Narragansett of Rhode Island as a tribe for the first time.

The Department of Defense reports that some 19,000 Indians are serving in the American military forces.

The U.S. Court of Claims has a docket of 2,415 Indian land claims for lands taken by the United States or state governments within the boundaries of some 40 recognized Indian reservations in 16 states.

The states of Washington and Oregon and the National Marine Fisheries Service prepare an undercover fish buying ‘sting’ operation called Salmonscam. They arrest 50 Indian fishermen for selling undercover agents fish that the states claim are caught in violation of their regulations, which still fail to fully implement the ‘Boldt Decision’ guidelines. Prominent among the Indian fishermen prosecuted and imprisoned in 1984 are members of the traditionalist David Sohapp family of the Yakima Nation.

1983-90 A federal district court in Wisconsin hands down a decision (the 'Voight Decision') upholding the off-reservation treaty fishing rights of Ojibwe tribes in the state. Tribal fishermen using traditional spearfishing techniques become increasingly subject to violent attacks by organized groups of non-Indian sportfishermen. The non-Indian fishermen resent the presence and activity of the Indians on many small lakes in the northern part of the state. Non-Indians obstruct Indian access to the lakes' boat ramps and sometimes attempt to swamp Ojibwe boats with wakes from their own boats. By 1989, anti-Indian activists hold a number of demonstrations displaying Indian effigies pierced by spears. They put out posters and newspaper advertisements proclaiming 'Annual Indian Shoots'. One sportfishermens' group, the so-called Stop Treaty Abuse organization, attempts to market 'Treaty Beer' in 1987 and 1989 as a means to raise funds to continue legal challenges to Ojibwe treaty fishing rights. Wisconsin is forced to put increasing numbers of law enforcement personnel on the northern lakes in order to protect Indian fishermen from violence by STA members and those of another group, 'Protect Americans' Rights and Resources'. Treaty rights support organizations and other tribal groups increasingly join the Ojibwe; in counterdemonstrations and legal support actions. In 1989, another federal district court decision rejects attempts by the Wisconsin legislature to set up a system of fishing regulations which would prohibit traditional Ojibwe fishing techniques. This ruling holds that the Ojibwe retain the right to fish in a traditional manner so long as the tribes adopt appropriate regulations to prevent overfishing by tribal members. A 1989 Great Lakes Indian Fish and Wildlife Commission report shows that the Ojibwe tribal harvest for that year is only 16,053 fish, while non-Indian sport fishermen take about 839,000 fish, or more than 52 times as many fish as the Indians harvest. In January, 1990, STA and PARR sponsor a Salt Lake City meeting of county and state government representatives in an effort to organize support to lobby Congress for unilateral abrogation of Indian treaties. The exclusion of Indian representatives from most of the meeting results in a discrimination complaint being filed against the organizers in the U.S. Attorney's Office.

1984 National Indian tribal organizations from Colombia, Brazil, Peru, Ecuador and Bolivia meet in Lima, Peru to create an international representative body known as COICA (Coordinadora de las Organizaciones Indigenas de la Cuenca Amazonica, the Coordinating Body for Indigenous Peoples of the Amazon Basin). COICA's 41 member organizations represent 229 tribes with some 1.2 million members living in the Amazon basin. COICA serves to unify American Indian tribal and national groups in the Amazon region for action on shared social, political, economic and environmental concerns.

The Confederated Tribes of Coos, Lower Umpqua and Siuslaw Indians in Oregon have federal recognition of their tribal status restored by an act of Congress.

Inuit village leaders in the Yukon and western Northwest Territories of Canada negotiate a preliminary land claims agreement with the territorial governments.

1985 In an appeals hearing in the Leonard Peltier case, one of the two prosecutors admits to the panel of judges that the government "...can't prove who shot those agents." Despite this admission and its later finding that the prosecution withheld evidence that might have led the trial jury to acquit Peltier, the appeals court does not order a new trial. The Supreme Court agrees with this decision in 1987. [In the late 1980s, Amnesty International declares Peltier a political prisoner. As of late 1992, Peltier is still being held in Federal prison while his fourth appeal is organized. While incarcerated, he emerges as an important leader of Indian resistance to domination and his case becomes a symbol and rallying point in the struggle.]

Canada amends its Indian Act of 1951 to remove provisions relating to enfranchisement versus 'status' rights of Indians. Under the amendments, women no longer gain or lose Indian 'status' depending on the 'status' of their marriage partners, and many Indians who had previously lost their Indian 'status' for a variety of reasons are enabled to reclaim their 'status' as legal Indians. However, provisions of the amended Act still place barriers in the way of band membership for Indian children who have only one Indian parent.

1986 Ben Nighthorse Campbell, Cheyenne tribal member, noted Indian artist and Olympic athlete, is elected in Colorado to his first term in the U.S. House of Representatives. [He serves as a Congressman until 1992, when he is elected to the Senate.]

Dr. Henri Mann Morton, Cheyenne educator and a professor at the University of Montana, becomes the first woman Director of the Office of Indian Education Programs in the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

The Klamath Tribe in Oregon is restored to federally-recognized tribal status.

1986-89 In 1986, Peter MacDonald wins election to the Navajo tribal presidency for the fourth time on a platform of economic development for the reservation. In 1987, the Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs begins investigating some Department of the Interior practices and tribal business dealings throughout Indian Country. The Committee finds that only 12 cents of each dollar spent in federal Indian programs are reaching Indians at the grass-roots level, largely due to federal administrative and contracting practices. The Committee also uncovers evidence of abuses of tribal contracting on reservations in Minnesota, Oklahoma and elsewhere in the west. Investigation of Navajo business practices centers

on the Navajo tribal purchase in 1987 of a huge tract of land in Arizona, the Big Boquillas Ranch. This property is first purchased by business associates of MacDonald and then is immediately resold to the tribe at an \$8.4 million dollar profit. [Senate testimony from the businessmen involved and MacDonald's son Peter Jr. reveals that MacDonald had used his influence over tribal purchasing to obtain hundreds of thousands of dollars in loans, personal favors and kickbacks from these non-Indian business associates in the Big Boquillas deal.] The Tribal Council suspends MacDonald from exercise of his office in February, 1989. This suspension is upheld by the Navajo Supreme Court in April, 1989. MacDonald's supporters attempt to occupy the tribal offices in a series of clashes from February until July. Tribal police officers are beaten and wounded by MacDonald supporters. Two supporters are killed and nine are wounded by police in the demonstrations at the tribal offices in July.

1987

Wilma Mankiller is the first woman elected as principal chief of the Cherokee Nation in Oklahoma. She becomes the first woman since the Indian Reorganization Act to head a large Indian nation. She is named *Ms. Magazine's Woman of the Year*.

Jewell James, a member of the Lummi tribe in Washington State, negotiates with leaders of the Church Council of Greater Seattle to produce an historic inter-cultural declaration. James works on his tribe's Treaty Protection Task Force and frequently cooperates with church leaders in the Pacific Northwest on matters dealing with Indian treaty issues. He convinces leaders of the Church Council that the history of church participation in the destruction of traditional Indian culture and spiritual practices is a continuing barrier to closer cooperation between the region's tribes and the churches. As a result of deliberations by the Native American Task Force of the Church Council, ten bishops of various denominations decide to draft a formal 'Declaration of Apology' to the native people of the Pacific Northwest. It is offered by Archbishop Raymond Hunthausen of the Catholic church in a public ceremony in Seattle in November. The apology is accepted by a Lummi elder on behalf of the American Indian and Inuit peoples of the Northwest.

Canadian provincial premiers meet with leaders from the Assembly of First Nations (formerly the National Indian Brotherhood), Canada's largest national Indian organization, to discuss proposed amendments to the 1982 Canadian Constitution. A number of other important Canadian Indian organizations do not attend, some because they are not allowed to seat representatives at the conference, some because of political differences with the Assembly of First Nations. [The amendments would have formalized and made more uniform the governmental status of Canadian Indian bands, guaranteeing a measure of self-government. The premiers of British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan and Newfoundland oppose the amendments due to concerns about the impact of Indian nationalism. Premiers of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward

Island, Manitoba and Ontario support the amendments. The premier of Quebec does not attend, as Quebec is not a signatory to the 1982 constitution of Canada.]

1987-?? Young adults of the Guaraní tribal band known as the Kaiowa in Brazil increasingly commit suicide rather than accept the overcrowding and poverty of life on a tiny reservation near the border with Paraguay. The Kaiowa, reduced in numbers to about 6,300, formerly controlled a territory of 7,700 square miles which they lost to missionaries and plantation owners. According to tribal leader Carlito de Olivera, the young are choosing to die to recover their freedom rather than suffer the continued loss of dignity, lands and traditions.

1988 There are 24 Indian-controlled, accredited tribal community colleges in operation in the United States, enrolling some 5,000 students. Approximately 26,000 American Indians are attending college in the U.S.

Congress passes Public Law 100-297, officially repealing the termination policy of the 1950s and '60s. P.L. 100-297 also mandates greatly increased powers of self-determination for Indian tribes in the operation of tribal government and education programs.

Alaskan Native and Inuit leaders lobby Congress for modification of the 1971 Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, since 17 years' experience with the Regional Corporations set up under the ANCSA has shown them to be unable to protect the remaining native land base or consistently make money for the tribes and villages as had been intended. ANCSA has also interfered with the ability of the tribes and villages to govern themselves. In response, Congress passes amendments that give the Regional Corporations even greater powers over the native lands and make it easier for them to transfer stock to non-Native ownership after ANCSA's sheltering provisions run out in 1991.

1989 Over two dozen unrecognized tribes, rancherias and bands of California Indians, representing as many as 78,000 people, are involved in administrative and court proceedings to force the federal government to acknowledge its prior recognition of their status as Indian nations. Recognition is sought by the tribes to obtain services due under the trust relationship between the federal government and recognized tribal governments. Recognition is also crucial to the efforts of the tribes to be properly compensated for lands taken from them by the federal and state governments in the 19th and 20th centuries. Senator Alan Cranston calls for an inquiry by the Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs into the reasons for Bureau of Indian Affairs and other administrative agencies' reluctance to complete the recognition process. In some cases in California and elsewhere, this process has been underway since the 1890s.

Congress restores federal recognition to the Coquille tribe in Oregon.

A case involving a Klamath member of the Native American Church reaches the Supreme Court. The state of Oregon seeks to deny civil benefits and the right of possible later criminal prosecution of the Indian for his participation in the sacramental use of peyote in a Native American Church ritual, despite a long history of federal and other states' recognition of the rights of the members of the 100-year old Church to practice its traditional forms of worship.

The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation grants \$1 million in investment funds to the First Nations Financial Project's Oweesta Fund for use in supporting reservation business investment.

The Western American Indian Chamber of Commerce is established with headquarters in Denver, Colorado. The Chamber's purpose is to assist American Indian-owned firms in doing business with government agencies and private corporations.

Inuit peoples and the government of the Northwest Territories in Canada work out an agreement in principle which is expected to culminate in a major land claims settlement. The agreement proposes to recognize Inuit sovereignty rights in the eastern part of the NWT to 87,000 square miles of territory (over 225,000 square kilometers) and mineral rights to another 14,000 square miles (about 36,000 square kilometers). A cash annuity totaling \$580 million (Canadian) is also a part of the proposal. The Inuit propose creating the territory of Nunavut as a potentially independent homeland of the Inuit peoples.

The first annual, international meeting of over 100 American Indian organizations is held in Quito, Ecuador in April. The purpose of the Quito Conferences is to address the challenges faced by American Indian communities and tribal groups in maintaining and defending their land, treaty rights and civil rights. The conferences serve as a networking system and provide a forum for the development of coherent, cooperative international policies among American Indian governments and support organizations.

The federal Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals rules in *Noastak v. Hoffman* that 197 Alaskan Native and Inuit villages are federally recognized and will henceforth have a government-to-government relationship with the U.S. like that of the treaty tribes.

The Alaska Supreme Court overturns its own 1988 decision in the *Stevens Village* case, declaring that non-reservation Alaskan Native and Inuit villages are 'tribes' as defined by provisions of the federal Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. The Alaska court decision only recognizes the sovereign right to inalienable lands held by the village councils and

does not address the issues of other governmental powers the villages may possess as 'tribes'. The decision opens the way for some 130 village councils to obtain fuller recognition of their governmental status if they apply for organization under the terms of the IRA. Organization and recognition may help Alaskan Natives to prevent or mitigate land losses that may otherwise occur after provisions of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act go into effect in 1991 allowing non-Natives to become stockholders in the 13 Regional Corporations.

There are 308 federally recognized American Indian tribes and 197 recognized Alaskan Native and Inuit villages in the United States. There are also about 200 unrecognized or terminated tribes and bands, many of which continue a decades-long struggle to obtain federal recognition. 'Indian Country' (the sum of recognized reservations, villages and trust lands) in the U.S. has been reduced to a total of about 53 million acres out of the 2,316,012,800 acres of land possessed by American Indians at the time of Contact. The Indian nations, tribes, and villages in the U.S. have been dispossessed of 97.7% of their original land base.

There are 583 recognized bands and villages of American Indians and Inuit in Canada. The Inuit population of Canada is about 27,000; 'status' American Indians number about 710,000, or about 3% of the nation's population. They live on 2,284 reserves, 1,610 of which are in the province of British Columbia alone (most of them very small and of minimal economic value). 'Indian Country' in Canada comprises approximately 6,500,00 acres of land at this time. The Canadian bands are just beginning their legal claims for the return of lands taken without compensation. Legal experts estimate that about 40% of the land area of Canada may ultimately be subject to Indian and Inuit claims under Canadian law. Most of this land is in the northern provinces and territories.

1990

The U.S. Supreme Court rules that federal and state anti-drug laws must take precedence over guarantees of religious freedom. The case involves a Klamath member of the Native American Church, which uses the hallucinogenic cactus peyote as a sacrament in its ceremonies. The Court declares the Klamath man is not entitled to protections or unemployment benefits relating to his being fired from jobs with the state of Oregon because of his peyote use within the Church. The decision substantially weakens the guarantees of the freedom to observe traditional Indian religious practices that are contained in the American Indian Religious Freedom Act (AIRFA) of 1978.

In *Duro v. Reina*, the U.S. Supreme Court rules that Indian tribal governments lack criminal jurisdiction over crimes committed on reservations by Indians who are not members of the particular reservation involved. Many states also lack criminal jurisdiction on reservations within their boundaries and federal jurisdiction extends only to 'major crimes'

committed on reservations; such federal jurisdiction is frequently not exercised, according to a 1981 report by the U.S. Civil Rights Commission. Thus, the *Duro v. Reina* decision threatens to remove all effective criminal jurisdiction over a large proportion of the Indian population on many reservations. In response to this threat, Senator Daniel Inouye of Hawaii organizes passage of an amendment to an appropriations bill continuing tribal jurisdiction over nonmember Indians for one year while attempts are made in Congress to pass permanent legislation overturning the Supreme Court decision. [Congress permanently overturns the decision in *Duro* in 1992.]

The Canadian government of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney reduces federal support to provincial governments and Indian organizations. The Ottawa government cuts its support of Indian governments, communications networks and newspapers, education programs, and Indian cultural and legal associations from \$55 million to \$45 million, a decrease of 22%. 28 elective Indian and Inuit representative organizations, including Canada's major Indian representative body, the Assembly of First Nations, suffer reductions or complete elimination of federal financial support for their work on behalf of Native people. These reductions total \$2.5 million from the budget of the government's Aboriginal Representative Organization Program. The action reduces the capacity of the American Indian and Inuit organizations to handle the tasks of land claims litigation and negotiations with provincial and local governments or private business groups whose activity affects Indian people. Native leaders regard with irony the fact that the \$10 million cuts take effect on Canada Day, in celebration of which the national government plans to spend \$13 million with no budget reduction.

Elijah Harper, a Cree representing Rupert's Land in the Manitoba Provincial Legislature, blocks provincial approval of the Meech Lake Accord, an agreement between Quebec and the English-speaking provinces on the sharing of power under a proposed Canadian Constitution. Under the terms of the Meech Lake Accord, Canada's aboriginal First Nations would have no role and no voice in the future national government.

Violence escalates over unsanctioned gambling establishments on Mohawk reservations in northern New York and in Ontario and Quebec, Canada. Claiming that tribal sovereignty shields them from the prohibitions of state and provincial gambling laws, the casino operators on the St. Regis Reservation and the Akwesasne Reservation organize and arm paramilitary 'warrior societies' to protect their operations from interference by tribal, state and provincial police. Months of sporadic incidents including shootings, road blockades, attacks on tribal police vehicles and facilities, and intimidation of tribal leaders occur. Anti-gambling residents of the reservations set up roadblocks for 32 days to prevent patrons of the casinos from entering the reservations in March. In

response to anti-gambling resistance, in late April the 'warriors' storm the barricades at the St. Regis Reservation in New York and the Akwesasne reservation on the U.S.-Canadian border. Tribal pleas for state police support of the anti-gambling faction are ignored by Governor Mario Cuomo of New York until the gunfire results in the deaths of two young Mohawk men in early May. The 'warriors' set up roadblocks of their own in order to prevent the execution in May and June of casino search warrants by New York state police and Ontario provincial police. The anti-gambling tribal groups attempt to control the movements of both the 'warriors' and the police in an attempt to retain representative tribal government control over the situation. This is complicated by conflicts between elected tribal councils and some of the traditional clan leaders who favor involvement in gambling for economic reasons. Bureau of Indian Affairs officials in April threaten to cut off all government assistance programs to the Mohawk unless the tribal officials are able to regain control over tribal lands from the casino operators. Armed assaults by the 'warriors' against unarmed Mohawk anti-gambling blockade groups escalate. Non-Indian police then surround and occupy the reservations for 11 days in June. An Army National Guard medivac helicopter flying over Akwesasne is shot down in disputed circumstances, landing in the nearby Ganienkeh tribal settlement. Ganienkeh is then surrounded and occupied for investigative purposes by New York police. Elected tribal leaders are accused by the 'warriors' of inviting in outside authorities in violation of tribal sovereignty. The elected leaders denounce the 'Mohawk Sovereignty Security Force' as unauthorized and illegal, and the Mohawk Nation Council of Chiefs orders the 'warriors' to cease their activities or face possible loss of membership in the reservation communities. Appeals are made to New York's governor and Senators and to Rev. Jesse Jackson in a tribal effort to gain emergency appropriations. \$1.5 million in federal funds are requested to build up the tribal law enforcement agencies on the reservations so that the tribes themselves can more effectively deal with the illegal gambling operators and their 'security forces'.

The Mohawk Reserve of Kahnawake (also spelled 'Caughnawaga) in Quebec is threatened by a proposed expansion of a golf course by the mayor and council of the neighboring town of Oka. The land involved is the site of a Mohawk burial ground. In March, the Mohawk erect a barricade of the county road adjacent to the property. They hold it peacefully for 78 days until the mayor of Oka requests a court injunction to remove the barricade. A provincial police unit attacks in an attempt to remove it in July, one day after the expiration of the court injunction. A corporal in the police unit is killed in the fighting that results. In reaction, armed members of the unauthorized Mohawk paramilitary 'Warriors Society' enter from other reserves and seize control of the area. The 'warriors' also barricade the bridge to the Kahnawake Reserve in support of their position at the small reserve community of Kanesatake. The provincial police respond by surrounding both reserve communities.

Canada's prime minister, Brian Mulroney, responds to the crisis between police and the 'warriors' in August by sending Canadian Army units into the area to separate the two sides and attempt to restore peace. The 'warriors' respond by destroying two police cars on the Canadian side of the Akwesasne Reservation. Negotiations about the crisis and the original golf course/burial ground issue begin between the traditional Iroquois Confederacy government and the provincial ministry of Indian Affairs at about the same time. Caught in between these groups are the residents of the Kanewasake community, many of whom have been injured and victimized by both the police and the 'warriors'. These Mohawk also suffer from attacks by angry white residents of Oka as they attempt to evacuate the Reserve in early August. One elder dies of a heart attack following a stone-throwing incident during the evacuation. [Following a negotiated resolution of the dispute in the late fall, Kahnawake residents led by Rita McComber organize a food drive on the reserve to benefit poor people in Montreal as a way of returning help the reserve's residents received during the months of the blockade and occupation.]

The second annual Quito Conference deals with the theme of an organized American Indian response to the hemispheric and world-wide plans for a 'celebration' of the 500th anniversary of Christopher Columbus' accidental arrival in the Americas. The South and Meso American Indian Information Center, headquartered in Oakland, California, is one of the participating organizations that calls for an examination of how the proposed anniversary celebrations are portraying American Indian people. Many Indian organizations at the Conference demand that the expected glorification of Columbus and the subsequent Conquest be challenged and met with factual information on the true nature of American Indian cultures and the impact of 500 years of colonization on American Indian people.

The Hitachi Corporation announces a four-year grant commitment to provide funds in support of the First Nations Financial Project's Oweesta Fund. Oweesta provides funding and technical assistance to promote the development and growth of reservation-based Indian 'micro-businesses'. Among the reservation programs supported are the Lakota Fund on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota and the Cherokee Community Loan Fund on the Cherokee reservation in Oklahoma. Over 40 tribes and 100 small Indian businesses are aided by the Oweesta Fund.

A two-year study by a Senate Special Subcommittee on Investigations concludes in 1990 with a recommendation that Congress pass statutes authorizing the President and American Indian tribes in the U.S. to negotiate the complete takeover of federally-supported Indian services by the tribes. This recommendation is seen as an appropriate response to long-standing problems of Bureau of Indian Affairs corruption and failure to conscientiously administer Indian laws for the benefit of tribes. Under this proposal, tribes would receive and directly administer funds equal to

the proportion of the total Indian budget each tribe now receives. The tribal government would be held accountable for the proper expenditure of such funds, but would be free to determine the purposes and uses of money now controlled by the BIA and other federal agencies concerned with Indian matters.

Larry Echo Hawk, a Pawnee attorney and former Idaho state legislator, is elected Attorney General of Idaho. He is the first American Indian to win this office in any state.

During the month of December, several hundred Lakota tribal members stage a commemorative horseback journey through the Standing Rock Reservation and the Pine Ridge Reservation. The trip honors and recalls the flight of their ancestors from U.S. military persecution of the Ghost Dance religion which resulted in the massacre of 267 Lakota at Wounded Knee Creek one hundred years earlier.

U.S. President George Bush signs into law the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act, Public Law 101-601. This federal statute places restrictions on the removal and holding of American Indian human remains and funeral objects. It affects public museums and federally-funded private collections of such remains. The act has provisions for repatriation (the return of burial remains) to the tribes, along with penalties for illegal trafficking in American Indian human remains.

The 1990 U.S. Census reports that 1,959,207 U.S. citizens claim American Indian or Alaskan Native ancestry.

103,000 American Indians enroll in colleges and universities in the United States, according to the American Council on Education. However, the Council notes that 53% of Indian freshmen continue to drop out of college during their first year due to a variety of personal, financial and cultural reasons.

American Indian and Alaskan Native small businesses operated by men average \$47,000 per year in annual receipts, according to the 1990 U.S. Census. The same data show that women-operated Indian businesses average \$32,000 per year in receipts. These are the smallest returns among ethnic-owned businesses in the United States.

Businesses owned by black men average \$50,000 in receipts, while those owned by black women average \$41,000.

Hispanic male-owned firms average \$66,000 in receipts, but Hispanic female-owned firms average only \$38,000.

Businesses operated by Asian-American and Pacific Islander American men average \$107,000 in revenues. Those owned by women in these two groups average \$64,000 annually.

White male-owned small firms average \$189,000 in receipts in 1990, while firms owned by white women average \$70,000 in revenues.

1990-91 Some 12,000 American Indians serve in the U.S. volunteer military forces engaged in the 'Operation Desert Shield/Desert Storm' war against Iraq in the Middle East. These men and women are almost 25% of the total American Indian complement of 48,300 in the U.S. Armed Forces, a very high ethnic participation rate in the conflict.

1991 In a political experiment authorized by Congress, 15 tribes resume nearly autonomous control of their own tribal governmental affairs. The act authorizing this initiative frees these tribes of the bureaucratic controls long exercised by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The tribes regain complete authority over their tribal budgets and federal assistance programs totaling \$30.4 million dollars. The tribes now are authorized to negotiate for federal program services directly with the responsible agencies rather than through the BIA. The tribes involved in the Self-Governance Demonstration Project are the Tlingit-Haida of Juneau and Klawack, Inc. of Nome, Alaska; Quinault, Lummi, Makah, Port Gamble Klallam and Jamestown Klallam tribes of Washington State; the Siletz tribe of Oregon; the Hoopa Valley tribe of California; the Ely Shoshone tribe of Nevada; the Absentee Shawnee, Sac and Fox and Cherokee tribes of Oklahoma; and the Mille Lacs Ojibwe and the Leech Lake Band of Chippewa tribes of Minnesota. If the experiment proves successful in improving the delivery of federally-funded services on these reservations, Congress proposes to extend the expanded definition of tribal sovereignty to twenty more tribes in 1993. This new initiative in the federal-tribal government-to-government relationship may ultimately mean that the recognized tribes in the United States will be able to restore much of their independence as "domestic nations" within the federal system.

There are 27 Indian-controlled two- and four-year colleges accredited and operating in the United States, most of them on reservations.

In November, representatives of the Tangaash Tlingit Nation and the South Kuiu Tlingit Nation sign an international treaty of friendship and mutual recognition with representatives of Ka Lahui Hawai'i, a native Hawaiian governmental group. In addition to establishing diplomatic relations, these native nations also formally pledge cooperation in perpetuating their respective cultural, political and economic self sufficiency. The representatives, meeting in New York City, state that they expect their treaty to become a foundation for developing an international organization to represent indigenous nations in their relations with other nations.

The leaders of the Yanomamo tribes of Brazil and Venezuela (the largest surviving American Indian culture in the Amazon Basin) conduct lobbying and informational efforts in Brasilia and other capital cities around the world in an effort to gain protection for their rainforest homelands. These lands in northern Brazil and southern Venezuela have been recently

sought for development by cattle ranchers and mining interests. As a result of their efforts and international support, Brazilian President Fernando Collor de Mello designates 72 new Indian reservado sites in the rainforest totaling 176,000 square kilometers or 67,936 square miles, an area almost as large as Washington State. The 9,500 Yanomamo have a reservado of 23 million acres returned to them under the decree.

Robert Redford produces *Incident at Oglala*, a feature film based on interviews, historical film and re-enactments of the events that led to the trial and imprisonment of American Indian Movement activist Leonard Peltier (Ojibwe) for the deaths of two FBI agents on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota in 1975. While presenting both prosecution and defense views of what happened, the film is sharply critical of government misconduct in handling the evidence used to convict Peltier, whom many American Indians and Amnesty International regard as a political prisoner.

1992 In response to a Congressional resolution, President George Bush proclaims 1992 as the 'Year of the American Indian', the first time such a recognition has been extended to the native inhabitants of the country by the United States government.

Inuit representatives from the Tengavik Federation of Nunavut organization complete negotiations on a land settlement with the federal government of Canada. In return for the surrender of claims to 80 percent of their original homelands, the Inuit are recognized as partly self-governing and their remaining lands are granted territorial status in the Dominion. Nunavut, as the new territory is known (the name means 'Land of the People'), consists of 770,000 square miles constituting the northern two-thirds of the old Northwest Territories. The Inuit also are entitled to \$1 billion for their surrendered lands along with a \$13 million training fund to assist in setting up their new government. They also retain mineral rights on an additional 14,000 square miles and hunting, fishing and trapping rights on their entire former territory.

There are 325 recognized American Indian tribes in the U.S., and another 242 recognized Alaskan Native band and village governments. Several other tribal communities await pending federal recognition.

The Sendero Luminoso ('Shining Path') guerrillas in Peru mount increasingly effective assaults in their long war to oust the government. Peruvian journalists report that citizens and business leaders are losing confidence in the government and that thousands of poor Peruvian farmers, many of them Indian, are fighting for Sendero Luminoso. However, in September the government traps and captures Abimael Guzmán, the mestizo leader of the movement for 22 years, along with his second-in-command. In October, a military court sentences Guzmán to life imprisonment without parole; the Sendero Luminoso forces continue

their assaults, which have spread in recent years from government installations to Peruvian communities generally sympathetic to the government.

Billy Frank, Jr., the Nisqually leader of the Indian fishing rights struggle in Washington state and long-time head of the Northwest Indian Fisheries Commission, is awarded the Albert Schweitzer Award for promoting peaceful negotiation of differences between tribal, state and commercial fishing interests in recent decades.

Rigoberta Menchu, Maya, receives the Nobel Peace Prize for her efforts to bring an end to the violence against Indians in her homeland of Guatemala. Menchu, who lost most of her family to death squads and government assaults against Mayan villages in the early 1980s, works from exile in Mexico to bring attention to the survival crisis there and to seek negotiations to end the genocide against her people.

Ben Nighthorse Campbell, long-time Cheyenne Congressman from Colorado's Third District, wins election to the United States Senate in November. Ada Deer, a leader of the Menominee tribal restoration effort in Wisconsin, loses her first bid to become a member of the House of Representatives.

37 Mohawk are acquitted on charges stemming from their 1990 resistance to a golf course development on a tribal burial ground near the reserve of Kahnawake in Quebec.

The United States government formally apologizes for its role in the overthrow of the native Hawaiian monarchy in 1893 and the annexation of Hawaii as a U.S. territory in 1898. The U.S. Senate proposes talks with native Hawaiian leaders to consider recognition of an aboriginal status and land rights similar to those held by many American Indian nations.

Cultural and political leaders of the Navajo Nation begin an effort to have the traditional name of the Navajo people, Dineh, used as the official name for the Nation.

Ecuador recognizes the land rights of several Auca tribes totaling 20,000 members to their rain forest homelands in Pastaza province. 2.8 million acres are involved in the transfer of title, but the Ecuadorian government has reserved mineral rights, indicating that a struggle over control of the land is likely despite the transfer.

The Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs Reservation in central Oregon becomes the first tribal government to issue public tax-exempt bonds as a funding measure. The tribe offers \$3.4 million of bonds rated A1 by Moody's Investors Service to fund a tribal Early Childhood Education Center.

The U.S. Office of Personnel Management reports that 28,690 American Indians make up about 1.8 percent of the federal government workforce of nearly 2 million. Over 11,000 of these Indian employees work for the Bureau of Indian Affairs and make up about 87 percent of the BIA workforce. Only 55 federal Indian employees are listed as members of the Senior Executive Service, the highest level of the Civil Service System.

1993

Ada Deer, former chairperson of the Menominee tribe, is the first Indian woman nominated to be the Assistant Secretary of the Interior for Indian Affairs.

The Snoqualmie Nation of Washington state achieves an important preliminary success in its 14 years-long effort to gain recognition from the United States.

APPENDIX B: Recognized Indian Tribes in the United States

Note: This Appendix lists only the 326 tribes and 242 Alaskan Native bands and villages which have received Federal recognition as sovereign tribal governments, as that term is used by the United States government. (The 'recognized community' situation is notably complex in Alaska, where recognition is not a result of treaty relationships but a product of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act and recent Supreme Court decisions. In Alaska, recognition extends to Indian bands and Inuit villages, and, to a lesser extent, 'native' regional corporations and locally-based native community associations.)

There are approximately 200 other American Indian communities in the United States which have not received Federal recognition. A few of these communities are recognized as tribes by the State in which they are located.

My apologies are offered to those nations, tribes and communities which name themselves differently; I used what names I had available. I also regret not being able to include in this list the unrecognized tribal communities. I have not had the opportunity to learn and record all their names. – CL

ALABAMA

Poarch Band of Creek Indians of Alabama

ALASKA

Afognak

Akhiok

Akiachak, Akiachak Native Community

Akiak Native Community

Akutan

Alakanuk

Alatna

Aleknagik

Alexander Creek
Algaaciq, Native Village of Algaaciq
Allakaket
Ambler
Anaktuvuk Pass
Andreafski
Angoon
Aniak
Anvik
Arctic Village
Atka, Native Village of Atka
Atqasuk
Atmautluak
Ayakulik
Barrow
Beaver
Belkofski
Bells Flats
Bethel
Bill Moore's Slough Native Village
Birch Creek
Brevig Mission
Buckland, Native Village of Buckland
Candle
Cantwell
Canyon Village
Caswell

Central Council of Tlingit and Haida Indian Tribes of Alaska

Chalkyitsik

Chanega, Native Village of Chanega

Chanilut

Cherfornak

Chevak

Chickaloon

Chignik Lake

Chilkat Indian Village of Klukwan

Chinik Eskimo Community

Chistochina

Chitina

Chuathbaluk

Chuloonawick, Native Village of Chuloonawick

Circle

Clark's Point

Copper Center

Council

Craig

Crooked Creek

Deering, Native Village of Deering

Dillingham

Diomedes, Native Village of Diomedes

Dot Lake

Eagle

Eek

Egegik

Eklutna
Ekuk
Ekwok
Elim, Native Village of Elim
Emmonak
English Bay
Evanville
Eyak
False Pass
Fort Yukon, Native Village of Fort Yukon
Gakona
Galena
Gambell, Native Village of Gambell
Georgetown
Gold Creek-Sustina
Golovin
Goodnews Bay
Grayling, Organized Village of Grayling
Gilkana
Hamilton
Healy Lake
Holy Cross
Hooper Bay
Hughes
Huslia
Hydaburg
Igiugig

Iliamna
Ingalik
Inupiat Community of the Arctic Slope
Ivanof Bay
Kaguyak
Kake, Organized Village of Kake
Kaktovik
Kaltag
Kanatak, Native Village of Kanatak
Karluk, Native Village of Karluk
Kasaan, Native Village of Kasaan
Kasigluk, Native Village of Kasigluk
Kenaitze Indian Tribe
Kiana
King Island Native Community
King Cove
Kipnuk
Kivalina, Native Village of Kivalina
Klawock
Kluti-kaah, Native Village of Kluti-kaah
Knik
Kobuk
Kokhanok
Koliganek
Kongiganak
Kotlik
Kotzebue, Native Village of Kotzebue

Koyuk, Native Village of Koyuk

Koyukuk

Kwethluk, Organized Village of Kwethluk

Kwigillingok, Native Village of Kwigillingok

Kwinhagak, Native Village of Kwinhagak

Larsen Bay, Native Village of Larsen Bay

Levelock

Lime Village

Litnik

Manley Hot Springs

Manokotak

Marshall

Mary's Igloo

McGrath

Mekoryuk, Native Village of Mekoryuk, Island of Nunivak

Mentasta Lake

Metlakatla Indian Community, Annette Island Reserve

Minto, Native Village of Minto

Montana Creek

Mountain Village

Nagamut

Naknek

Nanwalek

Napaimute

Napakiak, Native Village of Napakiak

Napaskiak

Nelson Lagoon

Nenana
New Stuyahok
Newhalen
Newtok
Nightmute
Nikolai
Nikolski, Native Village of Nikolski
Ninilchik
Noatak, Native Village of Noatak
Nome Eskimo Community
Nondalton
Noorvik Native Community
Northway
Nuigsut
Nulato
Nunapitchuk, Native Village of Nunapitchuk
Ohogamiut
Old Harbor
Olsonville
Orutsararmiut Native Council
Oscarville
Ouzinkie
Paimiut
Pauloff Harbor
Pedro Bay
Perryville
Pilot Point

Pilot Station

Pitka's Point

Platinum

Point Hope, Native Village of Point Hope

Point Lay, Native Village of Point Lay

Point Possession

Port Alsworth

Port Heiden (including the community of Meshick)

Port Lions

Port Graham

Port Williams (including the community of Shuyak)

Portage Creek (including the community of Ohgsenakale)

Pribilof Aleut Communities of St. Paul and St. George Islands

Qualingin

Quinhagak

Rampart

Red Devil

Ruby

Russian Mission of Chauthalue (including the community of Kuskokwim)

Russian Mission (including the community of Yukon)

Salamatof

Sand Point

Savoonga, Native Village of Savoonga

Saxman, Organized Village of Saxman

Scammon Bay

Selawik, Native Village of Selawik

Seldovia

Shageluk Native Village
Shaktoolik, Native Village of Shaktoolik
Sheldon's Point
Shishmaref, Native Village of Shishmaref
Shoonaq Tribe of Kodiak
Shungnak, Native Village of Shungnak
Sleetmute
Solomon
South Naknek
St. George
St. Mary's
St. Michael, Native Village of St. Michael
St. Paul
Stebbins
Stevens, Native Village of Stevens
Stoney River
Takotna
Tanacross, Native Village of Tanacross
Tanana, Native Village of Tanana
Tatitlek, Native Village of Tatitlek
Tazlina
Telida
Teller
Tetlin, Native Village of Tetlin
Togiak
Toksook Bay
Tuluksak Native Community

Tuntutuliak

Tununak, Native Village of Tununak

Twin Hills

Tyonek, Native Village of Tyonek

Uganik

Ugashik

Umkumiut

Unalakeet, Native Village of Unalakeet

Unalaska

Unga

Uyak

Venetie, Native Village of Venetie

Village of Lower Kalskag

Village of Upper Kalskag

Wainwright

Wales, Native Village of Wales

White Mountain, Native Village of White Mountain

Woody Island

Yakutat

ARIZONA

Ak Chin Indian Community of Papago Indians of the Maricopa, Ak Chin
Reservation

Cocopah Tribe of Arizona

Colorado River Indian Tribes of the Colorado Indian Reservation

Fort McDowell Mohave-Apache Indian Community of the Fort McDowell
Indian Reservation

Gila River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community of the Gila River Indian
Reservation of Arizona
Havasupai Tribe of the Havasupai Reservation
Hopi Tribe of Arizona
Hualapai Tribe
Kaibab Band of Paiute Indians of the Kaibab Indian Reservation
Navajo Nation (Dineh)
Pascua Yaqui Tribe of Arizona
Quechan Tribe of the Fort Yuma Indian Reservation
Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community of the Salt River Reservation
San Carlos Apache Tribe of the San Carlos Reservation
San Juan Southern Paiute Tribe
Tohono O'odham Nation of Arizona (including the Sells, Gila Bend and
San Xavier Reservations)
Tonto Apache Tribe of Arizona
White Mountain Apache Tribe of the Fort Apache Reservation
Yavapai-Apache Indian Community of the Camp Verde Reservation
Yavapai-Prescott Tribe of the Yavapai Reservation

ARKANSAS

(There are no Federally-recognized American Indian tribes in the state of
Arkansas.)

CALIFORNIA

Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians of the Agua Caliente Indian Reservation
Alturas Rancheria of Pit River Indians of California
Augustine Band of Cahuilla Mission Indians of the Augustine Reservation
Berry Creek Rancheria of Maidu Indians of California

Big Lagoon Rancheria of Orick Yurok Indians of California

Big Pine Band of Owens Valley Paiute-Shoshone Indians of the Big Pine Reservation

Big Sandy Rancheria of Mono Indians of California

Big Valley Rancheria of Pomo and Pit River Indians of California

Blue Lake Rancheria of California

Bridgeport Paiute Indian Colony of California

Buena Vista Rancheria of Me-Wuk Indians of California

Cabazon Band of Cahuilla Mission Indians of the Cabazon Reservation

Cachil DeHe Band of Wintun Indians of the Colusa Indian Community of the Colusa Rancheria

Cahuilla Band of Mission Indians of the Cahuilla Reservation

Cahto Indian Tribe of the Laytonville Rancheria

Campo Band of Diegueño Mission Indians of the Campo Indian Reservation

Capitan Grande Band of Diegueño Mission Indians of California (including the Barona Group of the Barona Reservation and the Viejas Group of the Viejas Reservation)

Cedarville Rancheria of Northern Paiute Indians of California

Chemehuevi Indian Tribe of the Chemehuevi Reservation

Cher-Ae Heights Yurok Indian Community of the Trinidad Rancheria

Chicken Ranch Rancheria of Me-Wuk Indians of California

Cloverdale Rancheria of Pomo Indians of California

Coast Indian Community of Yurok Indians of the Resighini Rancheria

Cold Springs Rancheria of Mono Indians of California

Colorado River Indian Tribes of the Colorado Indian Reservation

Cortina Indian Rancheria of Wintun Indians of California

Covelo Indian Community of the Round Valley Reservation

Coyote Valley Band of Pomo Indians of California
Cuyapaipe Community of Diegueño Mission Indians of the Cuyapaipe
Reservation
Death Valley Timbi-Sha Shoshone Band of California
Dry Creek Rancheria of Pomo Indians of California
El-Em Indian Colony of Pomo Indians of the Sulphur Bank Rancheria
Elk Valley Rancheria of Smith River Tolowa Indians of California
Enterprise Rancheria of Maidu Indians of California
Fort Bidwell Indian Community of Paiute Indians of the Fort Bidwell Reservation
Fort Independence Indian Community of Paiute Indians of the Fort Independence
Reservation
Mohave Tribe of the Fort Mojave Reservation
Greenville Rancheria of Maidu Indians of California
Grindstone Indian Rancheria of Wintun-Wailaki Indians of California
Hoopa Valley Tribe of the Hoopa Valley Reservation
Hopland Band of Pomo Indians of the Hopland Rancheria
Hualapai Tribe of the Hualapai Indian Reservation
Inaja Band of Diegueño Mission Indians of the Inaja and Cosmit Reservation
Jackson Rancheria of Me-Wuk Indians of California
Jamul Indian Village of California
Karuk Tribe of California
Kashia Band of Pomo Indians of the Stewarts Point Rancheria
La Jolla Band of Luiseño Mission Indians of the La Jolla Reservation
La Posta Band of Diegueño Mission Indians of the La Posta Reservation
Lemoore Tachi Tribe of the Santa Rosa Rancheria
Los Coyotes Band of Cahuilla Mission Indians of the Los Coyotes Reservation
Manchester Band of Pomo Indians of the Manchester-Point Arena Rancheria

Manzanita Band of Diegueño Mission Indians of the Manzanita Reservation

Mesa Grande Band of Diegueño Mission Indians of the Mesa Grande Reservation

Middletown Rancheria of Pomo Indians of California

Mooretown Rancheria of Maidu Indians of California

Morongo Band of Cahuilla Mission Indians of the Morongo Reservation

North Fork Rancheria of Mono Indians of California

Paiute-Shoshone Indians of the Bishop Community of the Bishop Colony

Paiute-Shoshone Indians of the Lone Pine Reservation

Pala Band of Luiseño Mission Indians of the Pala Reservation

Pauma Band of Luiseño Mission Indians of the Pauma and Yuima Reservation

Pechanga Band of Luiseño Mission Indians of the Pechanga Reservation

Picayune Rancheria of Chukchansi Indians of California

Pinoleville Rancheria of Pomo Indians of California

Pit River Tribe of California (including the rancherias of Big Bend, Lookout, Montgomery Creek and Roaring Creek, the Likely Reservation, and the XL Ranch community)

Potter Valley Rancheria of Pomo Indians of California

Quartz Valley Rancheria of Karuk, Shasta and Upper Klamath Indians of California

Ramona Band of Cahuilla Mission Indians of California

Redding Rancheria of Pomo Indians of California

Redwood Valley Rancheria of Pomo Indians of California

Rincon Band of Luiseño Mission Indians of the Rincon Reservation

Robinson Rancheria of Pomo Indians of California

Rohnerville Rancheria of Bear River or Mattole Indians of California

Rumsey Indian Rancheria of Wintun Indians of California

San Manuel Band of Serrano Mission Indians of the San Manuel Reservation

San Pasqual Band of Diegueño Mission Indians of California

Santa Rosa Band of Cahuilla Mission Indians of the Santa Rosa Reservation

Santa Ynez Band of Chumash Mission Indians of the Santa Ynez
Reservation

Santa Ysabel Band of Diegueño Mission Indians of the Santa Ysabel
Reservation

Sheep Ranch Rancheria of Me-Wuk Indians of California

Sherwood Valley Rancheria of Pomo Indians of California

Shingle Springs Band of Me-Wuk Indians, Shingle Springs Rancheria

Smith River Rancheria of California

Soboba Band of Luiseño Mission Indians of the Soboba Reservation

Susanville Paiute, Maidu, Pit River and Washoe Indians of the Susanville
Rancheria

Sycuan Band of Diegueño Mission Indians of California

Table Bluff Rancheria of Wiyot Indians of California

Table Mountain Rancheria of California

Torres-Martinez Band of Cahuilla Mission Indians of California

Tule River Indian Tribe of the Tule River Reservation

Tuolumne Band of Me-Wuk Indians of the Tuolumne Rancheria of California

Twenty-Nine Palms Band of Luiseño Mission Indians of California

Upper Lake Band of Pomo Indians of Upper Lake Rancheria of California

Utu Utu Gwaitu Paiute Tribe of the Benton Paiute Reservation

Walker River Paiute Tribe of the Walker River Reservation

Washoe Tribe of Nevada and California (including Alpine Colony and Woodsford
Colony in California)

Yurok Tribe of the Yurok Indian Reservation

COLORADO

Southern Ute Indian Tribe of the Southern Ute Reservation

Ute Mountain Tribe of the Ute Mountain Reservation

CONNECTICUT

Mashantucket Pequot Tribe of Connecticut

DELAWARE

(There are no Federally-recognized American Indian tribes in the state of Delaware.)

FLORIDA

Miccosukee Tribe of Indians of Florida

Seminole Indian Tribe of Florida (including the Dania, Big Cypress and Brighton Reservations)

GEORGIA

(There are no Federally-recognized American Indian tribes in the state of Georgia.)

HAWAII

(The Native Hawaiian Islanders were initially recognized as Native peoples with limited rights of self-government by the Federal government in 1994.)

IDAHO

Coeur D'Alene Tribe of the Coeur D'Alene Reservation

Kootenai Tribe of Idaho

Nez Percé Tribe of Idaho

Northwestern Band of the Shoshone Nation

Shoshone-Bannock Tribes of the Fort Hall Reservation of Idaho

ILLINOIS

(There are no Federally-recognized American Indian tribes in the state of Illinois.)

IOWA

Sac and Fox Tribe of the Mississippi in Iowa

KANSAS

Iowa Tribe of Kansas

Kickapoo Tribe of Indians of the Kickapoo Reservation in Kansas

Prairie Band of Potawatomi Indians of Kansas

Sac and Fox Tribe of the Missouri

KENTUCKY

(There are no Federally-recognized American Indian tribes in the state of Kentucky.)

LOUISIANA

Chitimacha Tribe of Louisiana

Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana

Tunica-Biloxi Indian Tribe of Louisiana

MAINE

Houlton Band of Maliseet Indians of Maine

Passamaquoddy Tribe of Maine

Penobscot Nation of Maine

MARYLAND

(There are no Federally-recognized American Indian tribes in the state of Maryland.)

MASSACHUSETTS

Gay Head Wampanoag Indians of Massachusetts

MICHIGAN

Bay Mills Indian Community of the Sault Ste. Marie Band of Chippewa Indians,
Bay Mills Reservation

Grand Traverse Band of Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of Michigan

Hannahville Indian Community of Wisconsin Potawatomi Indians of Michigan

Keweenaw Bay Indian Community of L'Anse and Ontonagon Bands of
Chippewa Indians of the L'Anse Reservation

Lac Vieux Desert Band of Lake Superior Chippewa Indians of Michigan

Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan, Isabella Reservation

Sault Ste. Marie Tribe of Chippewa Indians of Michigan

MINNESOTA

Lower Sioux Indian Community of Minnesota Mdewakanton Sioux Indians of the
Lower Sioux Reservation in Minnesota

Minnesota Chippewa Tribe (including the six reservation communities of the Bois
Forte, Fond du Lac, Grand Portage, Leech Lake, Mille Lac and White Earth
Bands)

Northwest Angle No. 33 Band of Chippewa

Prairie Island Indian Community of Minnesota Mdewakanton Sioux Indians of the
Prairie Island Reservation

Red Lake Band of of Chippewa Indians of the Red Lake Reservation

Shakopee Mdewakanton Sioux Community of Minnesota

Upper Sioux Indian Community of the Upper Sioux Reservation

MISSISSIPPI

Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians

MISSOURI

(There are no federally recognized American Indian tribes in the state of Missouri. However, as of 1992, the tribal offices of the Eastern Shawnee Tribe of Oklahoma were located in Missouri.)

MONTANA

Assiniboiné and Sioux Tribes of the Fort Peck Indian Reservation

Blackfeet Tribe of the Blackfeet Indian Reservation of Montana

Box Elder Chippewa-Cree Indians of the Rocky Boy's Reservation

Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes of the Flathead Reservation

Crow Tribe of Montana

Gros Ventre and Assiniboiné Tribes of the Fort Belknap Reservation of Montana

Northern Cheyenne Tribe of the Northern Cheyenne Indian Reservation

NEBRASKA

Omaha Tribe of Nebraska

Santee Sioux Tribe of the Santee Reservation of Nebraska

Winnebago Tribe of Nebraska

NEVADA

Battle Mountain Shoshone Band of the Battle Mountain Colony

Duckwater Shoshone Tribe of the Duckwater Reservation

Elko Shoshone Band of the Elko Colony

Ely Shoshone Band of the Ely Colony of Nevada

Fort McDermitt Paiute and Shoshone Tribes of the Fort McDermitt Indian Reservation

Las Vegas Tribe of Paiute Indians of the Las Vegas Indian Colony

Lovelock Paiute Tribe of the Lovelock Indian Colony

Moapa Band of Paiute Indians of the Moapa River Indian Reservation

Paiute-Shoshone Tribe of the Fallon Reservation and Colony

Pyramid Lake Paiute Tribe of the Pyramid Lake Reservation

Reno-Sparks Washoe and Paiute Colony

Shoshone-Paiute Tribes of the Duck Valley Reservation

Shoshone Tribe of the Ruby Valley Reservation

Shoshone Tribe of the South Fork and Odgers Ranch Reservations

Summit Lake Paiute Tribe of Nevada

Te-Moak Tribe of Western Shoshone Indians of Nevada

Walker River Paiute Tribe of the Walker River Reservation

Washoe Tribe of Nevada and California (including the Stewart Community, Carson Colony and the Dresslersville Ranch in Nevada)

Wells Indian Colony (Shoshone)

Winnemucca Paiute and Shoshone Colony of Nevada

Yerington Paiute Tribe of the Yerington Colony and Campbell Ranch

Yomba Shoshone Tribe of the Yomba Reservation

NEW HAMPSHIRE

(There are no Federally-recognized American Indian tribes in the state of New Hampshire.)

NEW JERSEY

(There are no Federally-recognized American Indian tribes in the state of New Jersey.)

NEW MEXICO

Jicarilla Apache Tribe of the Jicarilla Apache Indian Reservation

Mescalero Apache Tribe of the Mescalero Reservation

Navajo Nation (Dineh) (includes the Ramah, Alamo and Canoncito Reservations in New Mexico)

Pueblo of Acoma

Pueblo of Cochiti

Pueblo of Jemez

Pueblo of Isleta

Pueblo of Laguna

Pueblo of Nambe

Pueblo of Picuris

Pueblo of Pojoaque

Pueblo of San Felipe

Pueblo of San Juan

Pueblo of San Ildefonso

Pueblo of Sandia

Pueblo of Santa Ana

Pueblo of Santa Clara

Pueblo of Santo Domingo

Pueblo of Taos

Pueblo of Tesuque

Pueblo of Zia

Pueblo of Zuni

NEW YORK

Cayuga Nation of New York

Oneida Nation of New York

Onondaga Nation of New York

Seneca Nation of New York

St. Regis Band of Mohawk Indians of New York

Tonawanda Band of Seneca Indians of New York

Tuscarora Nation of New York

NORTH CAROLINA

Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians of North Carolina

NORTH DAKOTA

Devils Lake Sioux Tribe of the Devils Lake Sioux Reservation

Standing Rock Sioux Tribe of the Standing Rock Reservation

Three Affiliated Tribes of the Fort Berthold Reservation (the Three Tribes are the Arikara, Hidatsa, and Mandan)

Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians of North Dakota

OHIO

(There are no Federally-recognized American Indian tribes in the state of Ohio.)

OKLAHOMA

Absentee Shawnee Tribe of Indians of Oklahoma

Alabama-Quassarte Tribal Town of the Creek Nation of Oklahoma

Apache Tribe of Oklahoma

Caddo Indian Tribe of Oklahoma

Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma

Cheyenne-Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma

Chickasaw Nation of Oklahoma

Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma

Citizen Band Potawatomi Indian Tribe of Oklahoma

Comanche Indian Tribe of Oklahoma
Creek Nation of Oklahoma
Delaware Tribe of Western Oklahoma
Eastern Shawnee Tribe of Oklahoma
Fort Sill Apache Tribe of Oklahoma
Iowa Tribe of Oklahoma
Kaw Indian Tribe of Oklahoma
Kialegee Tribal Town of the Creek Indian Nation of Oklahoma
Kickapoo Tribe of Oklahoma (including the Texas Band of Kickapoo Indians)
Kiowa Indian Tribe of Oklahoma
Miami Tribe of Oklahoma
Modoc Tribe of Oklahoma
Osage Tribe of Oklahoma
Ottawa Tribe of Oklahoma
Otoe-Missouria Tribe of Oklahoma
Pawnee Indian Tribe of Oklahoma
Peoria Tribe of Oklahoma
Ponca Tribe of Indians of Oklahoma
Quapaw Tribe of Oklahoma
Sac and Fox Tribe of Oklahoma
Seminole Nation of Oklahoma
Seneca-Cayuga Tribe of Oklahoma
Thlopthlocco Tribal Town of the Creek Nation of Oklahoma
Tonkawa Tribe of Indians of Oklahoma
United Keetoowah Band of Cherokee Indians
Wichita Indian Tribe of Oklahoma
Wyandotte Tribe of Oklahoma

OREGON

Burns Paiute Indian Colony

Confederated Tribes of the Coos, Lower Umpqua and Siuslaw Indians of Oregon

Confederated Tribes of the Grand Ronde Community of Oregon

Confederated Tribes of the Siletz Reservation

Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Reservation

Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs Reservation of Oregon

Coquille Indian Tribe

Cow Creek Band of Umpqua Indians of Oregon

Klamath Indian Tribe of Oregon

PENNSYLVANIA

(There are no Federally-recognized American Indian tribes in the state of Pennsylvania.)

RHODE ISLAND

Narragansett Indian Tribe of Rhode Island

SOUTH CAROLINA

(There are no Federally-recognized American Indian tribes in the state of South Carolina.)

SOUTH DAKOTA

Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe of the Cheyenne River Reservation

Crow Creek Sioux Tribe of the Crow Creek Reservation

Flandreau Santee Tribe of South Dakota

Lower Brulé Sioux Tribe of the Lower Brulé Reservation

Oglala Sioux Tribe of the Pine Ridge Reservation

Ponca Tribe of Nebraska (tribal offices located in South Dakota as of 1992)

Rosebud Sioux Tribe of the Rosebud Indian Reservation

Sisseton-Wahpeton Sioux Tribe of the Lake Traverse Reservation

Yankton Sioux Tribe of South Dakota

TENNESSEE

(There are no Federally-recognized American Indian tribes in the state of Tennessee.)

TEXAS

Alabama and Coushatta Tribes of Texas

Kickapoo Traditional Tribe of Texas

Ysleta Del Sur Pueblo of Texas

UTAH

Confederated Tribes of the Goshute Reservation

Northwestern (Washakie) Band of Shoshoni Indians of Utah

Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah

Skull Valley Band of Goshute Indians of Utah

Ute Indian Tribe of the Uintah and Ouray Reservation

VERMONT

(There are no Federally-recognized American Indian tribes in the state of Vermont.)

VIRGINIA

(There are no Federally-recognized American Indian tribes in the state of Virginia.)

WASHINGTON

Confederated Tribes of the Chehalis Reservation

Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation

Confederated Tribes and Bands of the Yakima Indian Nation of the
Yakima Reservation

Hoh Indian Tribe of the Hoh Indian Reservation

Jamestown Band of Klallam Indians of Washington

Kalispel Indian Community of the Kalispel Reservation

Lower Elwha (Clallam) Tribal Community of the Lower Elwha Reservation

Lummi Tribe of the Lummi Reservation

Makah Indian Tribe of the Makah Indian Reservation

Muckleshoot Indian Tribe of the Muckleshoot Reservation

Nisqually Indian Community of the Nisqually Reservation

Nooksack Indian Tribe of Washington

Port Gamble Clallam Community of the Port Gamble Reservation

Puyallup Tribe of the Puyallup Reservation

Quileute Tribe of the Quileute Reservation

Quinault Tribe of the Quinault Reservation

Sauk-Suiattle Indian Tribe of Washington

Shoalwater Bay Tribe of the Shoalwater Bay Indian Reservation (Quinault, Chinook and Chehalis)

Skokomish Indian Tribe of the Skokomish Reservation

Snoqualmie Nation

Spokane Tribe of the Spokane Reservation

Squaxin Island Tribe of the Squaxin Island Reservation

Stillaguamish Tribe of Washington

Suquamish Indian Tribe of the Port Madison Reservation

Swinomish Indian Tribal Community of the Swinomish Reservation

Tulalip Tribes of the Tulalip Reservation

Upper Skagit Indian Tribe of Washington

WEST VIRGINIA

(There are no Federally-recognized American Indian tribes in the state of West Virginia.)

WISCONSIN

Bad River Band of the Lake Superior Tribe of Chippewa Indians of the Bad River Reservation

Forest County Potawatomi Community of Wisconsin Potawatomi Indians

Lac Courte Oreilles Band of Lake Superior Chippewa Indians of the Lac Courte Oreilles Reservation of Wisconsin

Lac du Flambeau Band of the Lake Superior Chippewa Indians of the Lac du Flambeau Reservation of Wisconsin

Menominee Indian Tribe of Wisconsin

Oneida Tribe of Wisconsin

Red Cliff Band of Lake Superior Chippewa Indians of Wisconsin

Sokaogon Chippewa Community of the Mole Lake Band of Chippewa Indians

St. Croix Chippewa Indians of Wisconsin

Stockbridge-Munsee Community of Mahican Indians of Wisconsin

Wisconsin Winnebago Indian Tribe of Wisconsin

WYOMING

Arapahoe Tribe of the Wind River Reservation

Shoshone Tribe of the Wind River Reservation

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 Dobyns, Henry F., **Native American Historical Demography: A Critical Bibliography**.
 Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1976, p. 1, 12. Tzvetan Todorov, in his **The Conquest of America** (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1984, p. 133) accepts the estimate of a 90% decline in the hemispheric American Indian population during the 400 years of the Contact era. In 1845, the first Federal Indian agent in the Pacific Northwest reported an estimated decline in that region's Native population of 94% since 1800 (see Miller, Christopher, **Prophetic Worlds**. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1985, p. 35). The question of the aboriginal population of the Americas is one that has seen great dispute since Contact, and many estimates provided by earlier explorers and scholars have been decisively discredited by scholarship in the second half of the 20th century. Leading the newer area research in the application of more reliable estimation techniques were Sherburne Cook and Woodrow Borah. Henry Dobyns has contributed

valuable hemispheric studies that elaborate on their findings. Dobyn's bibliography, cited above, is the generally respected work on the literature dealing with the population question. He is also the author of the somewhat more controversial **Their Number Become Thinned** (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1983), a study of Indian population changes in the Eastern United States, especially Florida. A more recent and broader work by the Cherokee scholar Russell Thornton is **American Indian Holocaust and Survival: A Population History Since 1492**. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987). It has been noted by a number of scholars, including Rupert Costo in his **The American Indian Reader: History** (San Francisco: Indian Historian Press, 1974, p. 3-5) that there may well have been an attempt on the part of some scholars and governmental agencies over the years to estimate the aboriginal population of the Americas at absurdly low levels in order to diminish the apparent magnitude of the genocide that has resulted from European colonization of the Western Hemisphere. Of course, simple ignorance, lack of first-hand information, and the loss of Native records and oral histories may also have contributed to the earlier scholars' poor estimates. However, there is little excuse nowadays for the continued republication of gross underestimates of aboriginal American Indian populations, as one can find in a high school text such as Joseph Conlin's **Our Land, Our Time: A History of the United States** (San Diego: Coronado Publishers, 1985, p. 4), which gives a figure 5 to 6 times lower than the Cook/Borah and Dobyns estimates.

ⁱⁱFigures are based on data from current editions of the **Encyclopaedia Britannica** and the **Statistical Abstract of the United States**.

ⁱⁱⁱBoorstin, Daniel, **The Discoverers**. New York: Vintage Books, 1983, 1985. See the excellent discussion of the formation and influence of Christian worldviews in Europe, and how these shaped Columbus' endeavors and misunderstandings about the Western hemisphere, in chapters 11-14 and 30-33.

^{iv}Kopper, Philip, **The Smithsonian Book of North American Indians Before the Coming of the Europeans**. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Books, 1986, p. 31-35.

^vKrieger, Alex D., "Early Man in the New World" in Jennings, Jesse and Norbeck, Edward (eds.), **Prehistoric Man in the New World**. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964, p. 24-25.

^{vi}Krieger, p. 28-68.

^{vii}Haddingham, Evan, "Tracking the First Americans: An Ice-Age Mystery", *World Monitor*, vol. 3, no. 3, March, 1990, p. 37.

^{viii}Müller, Werner, **America: the New World or the Old?** New York: Peter Lang Publishers, Inc., 1982, p. 17 (English edition).

^{ix}Jefferson made this proposal at a time when linguistic analysis was in its infancy. The past two hundred years of research and theorizing have failed to clarify the relationships of most of the American Indian languages to any of those in the Eastern Hemisphere. Philip Ross offers a recent survey of the contemporary debate over the development of American Indian and other languages from supposed ancestral languages; see "Hard Words" in *Scientific American*, Vol. 264, no. 4, April, 1991, p. 138-147. Ross includes a brief bibliography on the major theoretical divisions in the debate; he also uncritically accepts the "land bridge migration hypothesis" as a basis for presuming a language relationship of some sort between Eurasia and the Americas.

^xOlien, Michael, **Latin Americans: Contemporary Peoples and Their Cultures**. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1973, p. 153-154.

^{xi}There is an extensive discussion of the origins and development of the "right of discovery" doctrine in Chapter 5 of Deloria, Vine Jr., **Behind the Trail of Broken Treaties**. New York: Dell Publishing Co, Inc., 1974, p. 85-111.

^{xii}See "The Treaty of Tawagonshi" by Dr. L.G. Van Loon in Costo, p. 38-44.

^{xiii}See the discussion of the Ohio issue in Blumenthal, Walter H., **American Indians Dispossessed**. Philadelphia: George S. MacManus Company, 1955, p. 19-20; also see Weslager, Clinton A., **The Delaware Indians**. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1990, pp. 205, 214, 240. Benjamin Franklin's land speculation in the Ohio is mentioned in Johansen, Bruce, **Forgotten Founders: Benjamin Franklin, the Iroquois, and the Rationale for the American Revolution**. Ipswich: Gambit, Inc., Publishers, 1982, p. 106-107f; other details of Franklin's involvement in the schemes of the Vandalia Company and the Charlottiana Company are given in Morison, Samuel E., Commager, Henry S. and Leuchtenburg, William E., **The Growth of the American Republic**. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980, p. 142. George Washington's deep involvement in the Ohio Company is sketched in Richard Harwell's abridgment of Freeman, Douglas, **Washington**.

New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1968, pp. 25-26, 28, 32, 47-48, 175, 185. Consult the excellent Map 6 in this volume for a showing of the geography, settlements and treaties affected by the Proclamation of 1763. Among other prominent leaders of the American Revolution who promoted their personal fortunes in schemes to take possession of Indian lands was Patrick Henry of Virginia. In the early 1790s, Henry became a principal investor in the notorious Yazoo Land Company. Along with three other land speculation firms, the Yazoo Company used bribery and political influence to win a huge grant of land (comprising much of the present states of Alabama and Mississippi) from the Georgia legislature. Henry's participation is mentioned in Freeman, Douglas, p. 593.

xiv Thornton, Russell, p. 114-115.

xv Waldman, Carl, **Atlas of the North American Indian**. New York: Facts on File Publications, 1985, p. 109-112.

xvi See Waldman, Carl, p. 114-115 for an account of the Little Turtle's struggle to retain Indian lands in the Ohio country.

xvii Costo, Rupert, p. 95.

xviii Costo, Rupert, p. 95.

xix Waldman, Carl, p. 115-117.

xx Costo, Rupert, p. 96.

xxi Thornton, Russell, p. 50.

xxii See an excerpt from Jefferson's letter to Territorial Governor Harrison in Prucha, Francis P. (ed.), **Documents of United States Indian Policy**. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1975, p. 22-23. The whole letter is reproduced in Peterson, Merrill (ed.), **Jefferson**. New York: Literary Classics of the United States, Inc., 1984, p. 1117-1120. This latter volume is part of The Library of America series of collections of papers of notable American statesmen.

xxiii See the well-documented essay by Gary Moulton on Principal Chief John Ross discussing divisions among the Cherokee people during the removal crisis in Edmunds, R. David (ed.) **American Indian Leader**. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980, p. 97-100.

xxiv Costo, Rupert, p. 132-134.

xxv Jackson addressed a series of messages to Congress in support of his removal plan; these messages and reports should be read to help reveal a part of the 19th century American mindset regarding American Indians. Relevant portions are reproduced in Prucha, Francis, p. 47-48 and p. 71-72; see also the views of Senator

Frelinghuysen, who opposed Jackson over removal, p. 49-52. Cherokee views on removal can be found in two speeches reproduced in Moquin, Wayne and Van Doren, Charles, **Great Documents in American Indian History**. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973, p. 149-15 and p. 151-153. The major figure in the Cherokee resistance to removal was Principal Chief John Ross; see the essay by Gary Moulton in Edmunds, R. David, p. 88-106. An especially useful source for several of Ross' letters and Cherokee state documents with which he was involved is The Council on Interracial Books for Children's **Chronicles of American Indian Protest**. New York: The Council on Interracial Books for Children, 1979, p. 110-161.

xxvi Prucha, Francis, p. 64-68 and p. 68-71.

xxvii Prucha, Francis, p. 80.

xxviii I am indebted to Stephen Jay Gould, the Harvard paleontologist for the kernel of this argument; see the discussion of the influence wielded by the paleontologist Dr. Louis Agassiz and the physician Dr. Samuel Morton in American intellectual and political circles in Gould's essay "American Polygeny and Craniometry". Reprinted in Gould, Stephen J., **The Mismeasure of Man**. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1981, p. 31-72. Also see Gould's essay "Flaws in a Victorian Veil" on Agassiz's racial views, reprinted in **The Panda's Thumb**. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1980, p. 169-176. Consult further his book **Ontogeny and Phylogeny** [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977] where he discusses the concept of the "ladder of progress" in greater, and technical, depth. Dr. Fred Hoxie of the D'Arcy McNickle Center in Chicago points out that these issues are also discussed in Bieder, Robert, **Science Encounters the Indian** [Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986], which should also be a worthwhile and more specific source.

xxix For an authoritative statement of these views within the U.S. military and Congressional establishments of this period, see the comments in the introductory pages of **Condition of the Indian Tribes**. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1867, p. 3-7. [Hereinafter cited as the Doolittle Report.] Some of the testimony of the military officers indicated that they knew full well that there were other factors than position on the "ladder of progress" that accounted for the rapid decline in Indian populations on the frontier.

xxx For instance, see the testimony of the chiefs of the Yankton Sioux in 1865 appearing in the Doolittle Report, p. 366-372.

xxxixThe Doolittle Report, p. 5, 6.

xxxiiHacker, Andrew (ed.), **US: A Statistical Portrait of the American People**. New York: The Viking Press, 1983, p. 14.

xxxiiiA comprehensive account of the decline of the buffalo herds and the impact on the Plains tribes appears in Haines, Francis, **The Buffalo**. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1970, 1975. See also Utley, Robert, p. 227-229.

xxxivSee Cook, Sherburne F., **The Conflict Between the California Indian and White Civilization**. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976. Also see the summary account of the California and Southern Oregon genocide in Thornton, Russell, p. 107-113. A personalized account of the end of this genocide in the Pacific West is the well-known account of Ishi, the last Yahi Yana Indian; see Kroeber, Theodora, **Ishi In Two Worlds**. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961.

xxxvSee Utley, Robert, **The Indian Frontier of the American West 1846-1890**. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984, p. 134-140.

xxxviThe *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* for 1872 has a section by Commissioner Francis Walker that details the implementation of the scheme of assigning reservation agents through church nomination. Included are data on the number of Indians proportioned out to the various denominations; see the relevant extract in Prucha, Francis, p. 141-143. See also Utley, Robert, p. 131-134 for an account of the involvement of the churches in the "Peace Policy" of President Grant. Also consult the brief historical sketch concerning the background of Federal Indian education efforts in this era in Szasz, Margaret C., **Education and the American Indian**. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1977, p. 8-12. There is a valuable discussion of the colonial background of church missions and church schools among the Eastern Indian nations in Axtell, James, **The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America**. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.

xxxviiPrucha, Francis, p. 136, presents the relevant extract from the Appropriations Act of March 3, 1871.

xxxviiiSee the essay by Hagan, William T., "The Reservation Policy: Too Little and Too Late" in Smith, Jane F. and Kvasnicka, Robert M. (eds.), **Indian White Relations: A Persistent Paradox**. Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1981, p. 157-169.

xxxixUtley, Robert, p. 218-221, 245. Marriott, Alice and Rachlin, Carol K., **American Epic: The Story of the American Indian**. New York: New American Library, 1969, p. 153-158.

xlSee the extract on "Allotments in Severalty" from Commissioner Smith's *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* of October 30, 1876 in Prucha, Francis, p. 148.

xliGates, Paul W., "Indian Allotments Preceding the Dawes Act", in Rupert Costo, p. 65-90.

xliiMinority Report of the Committee on Indian Affairs on the Dawes Act, 1880, quoted in part in O'Brien, Sharon, **American Indian Tribal Governments**. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989, p. 78.

xliiiThe quote from Commissioner Manypenny can be found in Gates' essay in Costo, Rupert, p. 88.

xlivDeloria, Vine (jr.), **Custer Died for Your Sins**. New York: Avon Books, 1969, p. 53. See also the slightly different figures for the land loss given by Rupert Costo, p. 105, where an initial figure of 139 million acres and an ending figure of 47 million are presented, for a loss of 92 million acres. Costo elsewhere gives an initial figure of 145 million acres and a loss of 90 million acres, see p. 146. Sharon O'Brien gives the 90 million figure for the acreage lost and is the source for the proportion cited; see p. 78. The figure of 83 million acres for the land loss due to the Dawes Act can be calculated from the initial and ending acreages of 138 million and 55 million given in Utley, Robert, p. 269. The variation in the figures presented in these and other sources is principally due to differences in the accuracy of records on the acreage held in trust for individual Indian owners under terms of treaties preceding the Dawes Act and how various federal reports treated the transfers of much this land into non-Indian ownership. The general magnitude of the impact of the Dawes Act on the Indian land base is clear, despite the imprecision of the sources. See further McNickle, D'Arcy, **They Came Here First**. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1949, 1975, p. 220-224 for a detailed account of how the Dawes Act affected one reservation community, that of the Sisseton Lakota in South Dakota.

xlvcosto, Rupert, p. 105.

xlviThe Smithsonian ethnologist James Mooney collected extensive, contemporaneous information on the Ghost Dance. In 1890-91, he visited most of the tribes that had practiced the Ghost Dance shortly before and after the Wounded Knee Creek massacre. His report to the Smithsonian was published in 1896. See Mooney, James, **The**

Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965 (abridged by Anthony C.F. Wallace.

Mooney's full report is contained in Part 2 of the *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1892-93*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1896.)

xlviCosto, Rupert, p. 105.

lviiiSee the biographical essay on Charles Curtis by William E. Unrau, "The Politics of Allotment", in Moses, L.G. and Wilson, Raymond (eds.), **Indian Lives**. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1985, p. 113-137.

lixU.S. Civil Rights Commission, **Indian Tribes: A Continuing Quest for Survival**. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1981, p. 141.

lSee, in addition to the Report of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, these works: Russel Barsh and James Henderson, **The Road: Indian Tribes and Political Liberty** (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980); Vine Deloria, Jr. and Clifford Lytle, **American Indians, American Justice** (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1983) and **The Nations Within** (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), also Vine Deloria, Jr. (ed.), **American Indian Policy in the Twentieth Century** (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985); William Canby, Jr., **American Indian Law in a Nutshell** (St. Paul: West Publishing Co., 1981); and William Hagan, **Indian Police and Judges** (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980).

liStanding Bear, Luther, **Land of the Spotted Eagle**. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978, p. 248.

liiThornton, Russell, p. 60; Waldman, Carl, p. 80-81.

liiiLittle data exists on the extent of the depopulation in eastern Canada in the 16th century, since documented visits by Europeans were few in that time. Henry Dobyns, in estimating the depopulation of North America that took place in the first continent-wide smallpox pandemic of 152-1524, suggests that a death rate of 75% is probably a conservative estimate; see Dobyns, Henry, p. 13-16, especially Table 1 on p. 15-16. During the 17th century, as European colonization of eastern Canada developed, seven major smallpox epidemics broke out. Dobyns reports smallpox epidemics in eastern Canada or neighboring New England in 1592-1593, 1639, 1649-1650, 1662-1663, 1669-1670, 1677-1679,

and 1687-1691. Dobyns also reports the following epidemics of other diseases in the region during the 16th and 17th centuries: measles in 1633-1634 and 1658-1659 (p. 17); influenza in 1647 and 1675 (p. 19); bubonic plague in 1612-1619 (p. 20); diphtheria in 1659 (p. 20); scarlet fever in 1637 (p. 22); and typhus and other unidentified disease in 1528, 1535, and 1564-1570 (p. 23).

livWaldman, Carl. **Who Was Who in Native American History**. New York: Facts on File, 1990, p. 102-103.

lvWaldman, Carl, p. 62.

lviA good brief introduction to the fur trade is the chapter "Unstable Symbiosis" in Jennings, Francis, **The Invasion of America**. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1975, p. 85-104.

lviiWaldman, Carl, **Atlas of the North American Indian**, p. 94. The story of the northeastern fur trade and the wars and diplomacy waged to control it is a complex one. Among sources useful for an introductory study of this aspect of Canadian and U.S. history are: Axtell, James, **The Invasion Within**, p. 33-49; Jennings, Francis, p. 94-104; Hunt, George, **The Wars of the Iroquois: A Study in Intertribal Trade Relations**. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1940, 1960; Eccles, William J., **The Canadian Frontier, 1534-1760**. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969; Patterson, E. Palmer, **The Canadian Indian: A History Since 1500**. Don Mills: Collier Macmillan Canada, Ltd., 1972, p. 58-59, 65-69. A bibliography of sources on the French colonial period in Canada appears in Surtees, Robert J., **Canadian Indian Policy**. Bloomington: Indian University Press, 1982.

lviiiAxtell, James, p. 36-37.

lixAxtell, James, p. 43-49.

lxAxtell, James, p. 54.

lxiSee Axtell, James, p. 71-90 for his accounts of the "flying missions" among the more remote bands. Missionary success in these missions depended greatly on the ability of the priests and lay brothers to adapt quickly to the lifestyles and skills of the Indians.

lxiiAxtell, James, p. 62.

lxiiiAxtell, James, p. 64-67.

lxivAxtell, James, p. 62.

lxvAxtell, p. 111-112.

lxviAxtell, p. 117-118.

lxviiSurtees, Robert, p. 16-17.

lxviiiSurtees, Robert, p. 21-23.

lxixWaldman, Carl, p. 206.

- lxxSurtees, Robert, p. 24-27.
- lxxiWaldman, Carl, p. 159.
- lxxiiWaldman, Carl, p. 159.
- lxxiiiSurtees, Robert, p. 32.
- lxxivSurtees, Robert, p. 23-25, 27-31.
- lxxvSurtees, Robert, p. 34-35.
- lxxviSurtees, Robert, p. 31-35.
- lxxviiWaldman, Carl, p. 206; Surtees, Robert, p. 37.
- lxxviiiSurtees, Robert, p. 39-41.
- lxxixWaldman, Carl, p. 187; Fisher, Robin, "Joseph Trutch and Indian Land Policy" in *B.C. Studies*, no. 12, Winter 1971-72 edition.
- lxxxPatterson, E. Palmer, p. 122.
- lxxxiWaldman, Carl, p. 160.
- lxxxiiWaldman, Carl, p. 206-207.
- lxxxiiiPatterson, E. Palmer, p. 123-124.
- lxxxivSurtees, Robert, p. 44.
- lxxxvSurtees, Robert, p. 46.
- lxxxviWaldman, Carl, p. 161-162.
- lxxxviiWaldman, Carl, p. 162-164. Consult further the bibliographic references given in Surtees, Robert, p. 50.
- lxxxviiiThornton, Russell, p. 25, cites William Denevan's 1976 estimate of about 27 million people for this region in 1492 as a moderate figure. Earlier estimates by Kroeber (3.3 million) and Dobyns (ca. 41-51 million) cited on p. 24 illustrate the range of 20th century estimates for this region in 1492.
- lxxxixRalph Beals, quoted in Olien, p. 64.
- xcMcNickle, D'Arcy, p. 118-119.
- xciMcNickle, D'Arcy, p. 120-121.
- xciiMcNickle, D'Arcy, p. 119-122; Todorov, Tzvetan, p. 134; Waldman, Carl, **Encyclopedia of American Indian Tribes**. New York: Facts on File Publications, 1988, p. 22.
- xciiiMcNickle, D'Arcy, p. 126.
- xcivMenkart, Deborah, "Indians Fight Modern Conquistadores" in *Rethinking Columbus*, a special edition of *Rethinking Schools*, p. 60--61, 1991.
- xcvSuzuki, David, "Let's Not Forget How We Treat Our Own Native Peoples" in *Akwesasne Notes*, vol. 21, no. 5, p. 6, Late Fall, 1989.
- xcviComstock, W. Richard, "Seeing With the Eye of the Native European" in Capps, Walter H., **Seeing With a Native Eye**. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1976, p. 73.
- xcviiOlien, Michael, p. 68.
- xcviiiOlien, Michael, p. 100-101.
- xcixOlien, Michael, p. 67, 69; Weatherford, p. 17-18.
- cOlien, Michael, p. 78, 99.
- ciOlien, Michael, p. 76.
- ciiOlien, Michael, p. 78.
- ciiiCompiled from information published in the *Federal Register* and in Furtaw, Julia (ed.), **Native American Information Directory**. Detroit: Gale Research, Inc., 1992.
- civDobyns, Henry, p. 43-44, 56-57.
- cvSee the essay on Dr. Carlos Montezuma, a founder of the Society of American Indians, in R. David Edmunds **American Indian Leaders: Studies in Diversity**. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980. See also the discussion of the non-Indian reform movement in Szasz, Margaret C., p. 8-22.
- cviiFor a discussion of the social and educational reforms resulting from the Meriam Report, see Szasz, Margaret C., particularly Chapters 3-8.
- cviiGreen, Rayna, **Native American Women**. Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1983, p. 6.
- cviiiGreen, Rayna, p. 15.
- cixSzasz, Margaret C., p. 92-105.
- cxO'Brien, Sharon, in Deloria, Vine, Jr. (ed.), **American Indian Policy in the Twentieth Century**. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985, p. 44.
- cxiiO'Brien, Sharon, in Deloria, p. 44-45.
- cxiiBarsh, Russell and Henderson, James, p. 129.
- cxiiiO'Brien, Sharon, in Deloria, p. 46-47. See particularly the discussion of the effects of Federal legislation and agency practices on reservation law enforcement in the U.S. Civil Rights Commission Report, p. 137-177.
- cxivO'Brien, Sharon, p. 311.
- cxvA discussion of the literature and census data on the urbanization of U.S. Indians can be found in Thornton, Russell, Sandefur, Gary and Grasmick, Harold, **The Urbanization of American Indians**. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982.
- cxviMany of the events referred to here and above are documented in The Council on Interracial Books for Children's **Chronicles of American Indian Protest**, p. 322-338, 383-390.
- cxviiSee the Chronology in Appendix A for listings of other American Indians who have served in the national legislature.

cxviii O'Brien, Sharon, in Deloria, p. 49.

cxix The case of the Nishga people of the Nass River Valley in British Columbia, which ran from 1913 until a decision in the Supreme Court of Canada in 1973, and its aftermath, is documented in detail in Lewis, Mike, **The Struggle Continues: Land Claims in British Columbia**. Vancouver: RAVEN Society of B.C., 1976. Other useful references appear in Surtees, *op. cit.*

cxx Waldman, Carl, **Atlas of the North American Indian**. New York: Facts on File Publications, 1985, p. 207.

cxxi Waldman, Carl, p. 207.

cxxii Waldman, Carl, p. 208.

cxxiii Waldman, Carl, p. 207-209, especially see maps on p. 207 and 208.

cxxiv Report in the *Native Monthly Reader* column "Indigenous News", Vol. 3, No. 8, May 1992, p. 3.

cxxv Reported in *Native American News*, Vol. 4, No. 2, November 1992, p. 7 from data compiled by Enrique Mayer and Elio Masferrer in their publication **La Poblacion Indigena de America**.

cxxvi Waldman, Carl, p. 209-210. The best sources of current information on these issues are the publications of the Indian Brotherhood of Canada and the newsletters of the various reserve communities. Other up-to-date information about a range of Indian rights issues throughout the Western Hemisphere appears in the Mohawk Nation journal *Akwesasne Notes* and the publications of the Native American Rights Fund and the Association on American Indian Affairs.

cxxvii Information collected by Counce and Davidson appeared in *Cultural Survival Quarterly* (November, 1989 issue) and is cited here from a reprint in *Skipping Stones*, vol. 2, no. 1, p. 16-17.

cxxviii *Akwesasne Notes*, vol. 14, no. 6 (Early Winter, 1982 edition), reprinted in vol. 20, no. 6 (Midwinter 1989 anniversary edition), p. 20-21.

cxxix Reported in *Native American News*, Vol. 4, No. 2, November 1992, p. 7 from data compiled by Enrique Mayer and Elio Masferrer in their publication **La Poblacion Indigena de America**.

cxxx Olien, Michael, p. 106.

cxixi Reported in *Native American News*, Vol. 4, No. 2, November 1992, p. 7 from data compiled by Enrique Mayer and Elio Masferrer in their publication **La Poblacion Indigena de America**.

cxixii NBC morning television news report of October 10, 1989; also see W. Richard Comstock, "Seeing with the Eye of the Native European" in Capps, Walter H., **Seeing with a Native Eye**.

New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1976, p. 73.

cxixiii Kietzman, Dale W., "Indians and Culture Areas of Twentieth Century Brazil", in Hopper, Janice (ed.), **Indians of Brazil in the Twentieth Century**. Washington, D.C.: Institute for Cross-Cultural Research, 1967, p. 3-50.

cxixiv Report in *Native Monthly Reader* section on "Indigenous Global News", Vol. 3, No. 7 p. 3 and article by Brezt, Laurie, "Earth parliament Convenes native Peoples from Around the World" in Vol. 4, No. 1, p. 7.

cxixv Council on Interracial Books for Children, p. 323.

cxixvi Council on Interracial Books for Children, p. 347-371.

cxixvii McNickle, D'Arcy, p. 28-29.

cxixviii Driver, Harold E., **Indians of North America**. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969, p. 211.

cxixix One good source, although a little dated, that provides access to the technical literature on pre-Contact trade throughout the Western Hemisphere is the volume edited by Jennings, Jesse and Norbeck, Edward, *op. cit.* Another more general source is Driver, Harold E., *op. cit.*

cxli Driver, Harold, p. 213.

cxlii Driver, Harold, p. 212.

cxliii Driver, Harold, p. 212-213; Waldman, Carl, p. 4, 36-38; Deloria, Vine Jr., **Indians of the Pacific Northwest**. Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1977, p. 15-18.

cxliiii For a good brief discussion of trade goods and routes in the Pacific Northwest, see Zucker, Jeff, Hummel, Kay and Høgfoss, Bob, **Oregon Indians: Culture, History and Current Affairs**. Portland: Oregon Historical Society Press, 1983, 1987, p. 42-47.

cxliv Driver, Harold, p. 214; Riley, Carroll and Hedrick, Basil, **Across the Chichimec Sea**. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1978, p. 55-59.

cxlv For a good recent discussion of Southwestern trade, see Ford, Richard, "Inter-Indian Exchange in the Southwest" in the Smithsonian Institution's **Handbook of North American Indians**, vol. 10, p. 711-722.

cxlvi Driver, p. 214; McGuire, Randall and Downum, Christian, "A Preliminary Consideration of Desert-Mountain Trade Relations" in Beckett, Patrick (ed.), **Mogollon Archaeology**. Ramona: Acoma Books, 1982, p. 111-112. A good, detailed

discussion of trade relationships within the region into historical times is in McNitt, Frank, **The Indian Traders**. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962.

cxlviiSee McNickle, D'Arcy, p. 84-87 for a description of this part of the route.

cxlviiiSee Coe, Michael, p. 134-136 for his discussion of the Turquoise Road in Mexico and the Southwest. Neither McNickle or Coe provide a full description of the route, so the statements here and below represent a synthesis of their comments with information provided by a study of modern Mexican maps.

cxlixMcClintock, Walter, **The Old North Trail: Life, Legends and Religion of the Blackfeet Indians**. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1968, p. 3. [The volume was originally published under the same title in 1910.]

clRiley, Carroll and Hedrick, Basil, p. 61-63.

cliMarriott, Alice and Rachlin, Carol, **American Epic: The Story of the American Indian**. New York: New American Library, Inc., 1969, p. 118.

cliiDriver, Harold, p. 214.

cliiiDriver, Harold, p. 214-215.

clivDriver, Harold, p. 215; he also offers examples of how material possessions shifted to better accommodate the horse-borne hunting lifestyle.

clvWaldman, Carl, p. 179.

clviKopper, Philip, p. 147, 156-157.

clviiDriver, Harold, p. 217-218.

clviiiKopper, Philip, p. 125.

clixKopper, Philip, p. 151-154.

clxSalwen, Bert, "Indians of Southern New England and Long Island: Early Period" in the Smithsonian Institution's **Handbook of North American Indians**, vol. 15, p. 166.

clxiGoodard, Ives, "Delaware" in the Smithsonian Institution's **Handbook of North American Indians**, vol. 15, p. 217.

clxiiTooker, Elizabeth, "The League of the Iroquois: Its History, Politics and Ritual" in the Smithsonian Institution's **Handbook of North American Indians**, vol. 15, p. 422-423.

clxiiiRitzenhaler, Robert, "Southwestern Chippewa" in the Smithsonian Institution's **Handbook of North American Indians**, vol. 15, p. 746.

clxivDriver, Harold, p. 216.

clxvGriffin, James, "The Northeast Woodlands" in Jennings, Jesse and Norbeck, Edward, p. 233.

clxviDriver, Harold, p. 216-217.

clxviiHeidenreich, Conrad, "Huron" in the Smithsonian Institution's **Handbook of North American Indians**, vol. 15, p. 384.

clxviiiThe bulk of this information on the Huron Great Circle trade route comes from a map in Waldman, Carl, p. 75. The comment on the priority of the western loop is drawn from Heidenreich, Conrad, "Huron" in the Smithsonian Institution's **Handbook of North American Indians**, vol. 15, p. 385.

clxixRouse, Irving, "The Caribbean Area" in Jennings, Jesse and Norbeck, Edward, p. 400.

clxxRouse, Irving, "The Caribbean Area" in Jennings, Jesse and Norbeck, Edward, p. 397.

clxxiWaldman, Carl, p. 44-45.

clxxiiSteward, Julian, "American Culture History in the Light of South America" in Lyons, Patricia J. (ed.), **Native South Americans**. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1974, p. 11-13.

clxxiiiMurdock, George, "South American Culture Areas" in Lyons, Patricia, p. 25, 39.

clxxivRouse, Irving, "The Caribbean Area" in Jennings, Jesse and Norbeck, Edward, p. 411.

clxxvCoe, Michael, p. 38; Armillas, Pedro, "Northern Mesoamerica" in Jennings, Jesse and Norbeck, Edward, p. 298.

clxxviArmillas, Pedro, "Northern Mesoamerica" in Jennings, Jesse and Norbeck, Edward, p. 305

clxxviiCoe, Michael, p. 44.

clxxviiiCoe, Michael, p. 70-71.

clxxixArmillas, Pedro, "Northern Mesoamerica" in Jennings, Jesse and Norbeck, Edward, p. 301.

clxxxCoe, Michael, p. 100-101.

clxxxiCoe, Michael, p. 92.

clxxxiiCoe, Michael, p. 98-101.

clxxxiiiSchele, Linda and Freidel, David, **A Forest of Kings**. New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1990, p. 61; Wauchope, Robert, "Southern Mesoamerica" in Jennings, Jesse and Norbeck, Edward, p. 332.

clxxxivWauchope, Robert, p. 332.

clxxxvSchele, Linda and Freidel, David, p. 92-93, 97-98

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clxxxviiEvans, Clifford, "Lowland South America" in Jennings, Jesse and Norbeck, Edward, p. 423-426.

clxxxviiiEvans, Clifford, "Lowland South America" in Jennings, Jesse and Norbeck, Edward, p. 426-

437; Murdock, George, "South American Culture Areas" in Lyons, Patricia, p. 31-36.

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cxc Kidder, Alfred II, "South American High Cultures" in Jennings, Jesse and Norbeck, Edward, p. 454-457.

cxci Kidder, Alfred II, "South American High Cultures" in Jennings, Jesse and Norbeck, Edward, p. 457-459.

cxcii Kidder, Alfred II, "South American High Cultures" in Jennings, Jesse and Norbeck, Edward, p. 458, 463-465.

cxciil Kidder, Alfred II, "South American High Cultures" in Jennings, Jesse and Norbeck, Edward, p. 465-468.

cxciiv Kidder, Alfred II, "South American High Cultures" in Jennings, Jesse and Norbeck, Edward, p. 468-470.

cxciiv Kidder, Alfred II, "South American High Cultures" in Jennings, Jesse and Norbeck, Edward, p. 471-472.

cxciiv See Landon, Chris, "Inca Roads and Bridges" in the **Sciences Baseline Essay**, p. 32.

cxciiv Kidder, Alfred II, "South American High Cultures" in Jennings, Jesse and Norbeck, Edward, p. 471. For a much more detailed description of the late period of the Inca society and its economy, see Brundage, Burr, **Lords of Cuzco**. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967.

cxciiv Murdock, George, "South American Culture Areas" in Lyons, Patricia, p. 26-27.

cxciiv Murdock, George, "South American Culture Areas" in Lyons, Patricia, p. 27-28.

cc Murdock, George, "South American Culture Areas" in Lyons, Patricia, p. 28.

cci See the excellent discussion of this level of environmental modification which appears in Cronon, William, **Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists and the Ecology of New England**. New York: Hill and Wang, 1983.

ccii Koning, Hans, **Columbus: His Enterprise**. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1976, 1991, p. 13, 17, 83-84. There is a great deal of recent scholarship being done on Columbus and the early period of Contact. Most of this work is in anticipation of the 500th anniversary of his accidental arrival in the Americas. Much of this work is being done by American Indian scholars and others who have examined the journals and

letters of the early conquistadors and debunked much of the romantic and "sanitized" version of the Conquest era. See additionally, Thornton, Russell, *op. cit.*, and the many good articles in the Fall, 1990 edition of *Northeast Indian Quarterly*. Current events dealing with the Quincentenary and its issues are reported in the periodical *Indigenous Thought*, published by the Committee for American Indian History, 6802 SW. 13th St., Gainesville, FL. 32608.

cciii Weatherford, Jack, **Indian Givers**. New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1988, p. 24-26.

cciv For a discussion of the economic impact of American precious metals on the Old World, see Weatherford, Jack, p. 10, 13-14, 16-17. See also the discussion of the transformation of European and Asian economies in Braudel, Fernand, **The Structures of Everyday Life: Civilization and Capitalism 15th-18th Century, Volume 1**. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1981, p. 454-457, 460-464. See also Braudel's discussion of American silver output and its channels of trade in **The Wheels of Commerce: Civilization and Capitalism 15th-18th Century, Volume 2**. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1981, p. 160-163, 172-176, 194-204.

ccv Olien, Michael, p. 74, 81.

ccvi Weatherford, Jack, p. 32-33, 36.

ccvii Braudel, Fernand, Vol. 2, p. 272-282, provides an example based on the sugar industry.

ccviii Braudel, Fernand, Vol. 2, p. 522-528, discusses the Genoese banking families, the Welsers and Fuggers of Germany, and the Dutch Protestant bankers during the 16th and 17th centuries, and the centralization of banking in England in the 17th and 18th centuries as examples, showing their ties to the New World.

ccix Weatherford, Jack, p. 37-38.

ccx O'Brien, Sharon, p. xvi.

ccxi Boorstin, Daniel, **Hidden History**. New York: Random House, Inc., 1987, p. 68.

ccxii Weatherford, Jack, p. 121-122.

ccxiii Weatherford, Jack, p. 122-124.

ccxiv Weatherford, Jack, p. 127.

ccxv Weatherford, Jack, p. 126.

ccxvi Mead, Margaret, **The Changing Culture of an Indian Tribe**. New York: Columbia University Press, 1932.

ccxvii In addition to this volume (cited above), Dr. Johansen has collaborated with Dr. Donald Grinde on a more recent volume and on a historiographic essay on the subject of American Indian

contributions to the development of democracy. Their book is **Exemplar of Liberty: Native America and the Evolution of Democracy** (Los Angeles: UCLA American Indian Studies Center, 1990); the article is entitled "The Debate Regarding Native American Precedents for Democracy: A Recent Historiography." It appeared in the *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, vol. 14, no. 1, 1990, p. 61-88. Another worthwhile contribution to the literature on the influence of the Iroquois Confederacy on the political precepts of the U.S. Constitution is an undated booklet written by Dr. Gregory Schaaf and Jake Swamp (Mohawk) entitled **The Great Law of Peace and the Constitution of the United States of America**. This booklet presents a summary essay by Dr. Schaaf and a side-by-side comparison of relevant parts of the texts of the wampum belts that record the Kaianerekowa of the Iroquois and the Constitution of the United States. It is available from the Tree of Peace Society, Box 188-C, Cook Road, Mohawk Nation via Akwesasne, New York 13655.

CCXVIII Johansen, Bruce, p. 61-62.

CCXIX Johansen, Bruce, p. 64, 67.

CCXX Johansen, Bruce, p. 71-72.

CCXXI Johansen, Bruce, p. 75.

CCXXII Johansen, Bruce, p. 101.

CCXXIII Johansen, Bruce, p. 103.

CCXXIV Weatherford, Jack, p. 125-126.

CCXXV Weatherford, Jack, p. 125-126.

CCXXVI Weatherford, Jack, p. 126.

CCXXVII Niethammer, Carolyn, **Daughters of the Earth: The Lives and Legends of American Indian Women**. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1977, p. 140.

CCXXVIII Weatherford, Jack, p. 143-144.

CCXXIX Weatherford, Jack, p. 138-139.

CCXXX Weatherford, Jack, p. 139-140.

CCXXXI Weatherford, Jack, p. 140.

CCXXXII Weatherford, Jack, p. 143.

CCXXXIII Weatherford, Jack, p. 130.

CCXXXIV Weatherford, Jack, p. 130-131.

CCXXXV Johansen, Jack, p. 119-123.

CCXXXVI Weatherford, Jack, p. 149; Johansen, Bruce, p. 10-12.

CCXXXVII Eastman, Charles, **The Soul of the Indian**. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1911, p. 64-66.

CCXXXVIII Morgan, Lewis H., **League of the Iroquois**. New York: Citadel Press, 1962, p. 326-327; also see Nimuendajú, Curt, "Farming Among the Eastern Timbira" in Lyons, Patricia J., p. 114.

CCXXXIX Leeds, Anthony, in Lyons, Patricia, p. 227.

CCXL Morgan, Lewis H., p. 329; this observation is commonly encountered throughout anthropological literature regarding the relative contributions made by farming and hunting to the tribes practicing a mixed economy.

CCXLI Page, Susanne and Page, Jake, **Hopi**. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1982, p. 99.

CCXLII Coe, Michael, p. 154.

CCXLIII Grinnell, George Bird, **The Cheyenne Indians**. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1972, Vol. I, p. 251-253.

CCXLIV See the similar stories in Marriott, Alice and Rachlin, Carol, **American Indian Mythology** (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1968, p. 116-122) and Erdoes, Richard and Ortiz, Alfonso, **American Indian Myths and Legends** (New York: Pantheon Books, Inc., 1984, p. 324-325).

CCXLV Niethammer, Carolyn, p. 106.

CCXLVI Axtell, James, p. 302-327, particularly the quoted account of Mary Jemison on p. 324-325.

CCXLVII Axtell, James, p. 324.

CCXLVIII Morgan, Lewis H., p. 84; Niethammer, Carolyn, p. 139-140.

CCXLIX Morgan, Lewis H., p. 106.

CCCL Koning, Hans, p. 103-104.

CCCLI Niethammer, Carolyn, p. 141-142.

CCCLII Niethammer, Carolyn, p. 141.

CCCLIII Gridley, Marion, **American Indian Women**. New York: Hawthorn Books, Inc., 1974, p. 15-20.

CCCLIV Gridley, Marion, p. 21.

CCCLV Niethammer, Carolyn, p. 142.

CCCLVI Niethammer, Carolyn, p. 142-143.

CCCLVII See the article on Wilma Mankiller by Wallis, Michael, "Hail to the Chief", *Phillip Morris Magazine*. September/ October 1989 edition, p. 37-39.

CCCLVIII Niethammer, Carolyn, p. 143.

CCCLIX Niethammer, Carolyn, p. 143-144. Niethammer mistakenly identified the Sinkaietk as living on the lower Columbia River.

CCCLX Niethammer, Carolyn, p. 144-145.

cclxi Williams, Walter, **The Spirit and the Flesh: Sexual Diversity in American Indian Culture**. Boston: Beacon Press, 1986.

cclxii Williams, Walter, p. 233.

cclxiii Williams, Walter, p. 234-235, 244-246.

cclxiv Mathes, Valerie, "Dr. Susan LaFlesche Picotte: The Reformed and the Reformer" in Moses, L.G. and Wilson, Raymond, p. 61-90.

cclxv Card, Ann (project director), "Mary Ross" in *American Indian Scientists and Engineers*. Boulder: American Indian Science and Engineering Society, undated 1980s, vol. 1, p. 23.

cclxvi Statement by Senator Inouye appears in *Indian Affairs*, the newsletter of the Association on American Indian Affairs, Inc., No. 122, Summer, 1990, p.3.

cclxvii O'Brien, Sharon, p. 226.

cclxviii Dorris, Michael, **The Broken Cord**. New York: Harper and Row, 1990.

cclxix Olien, Michael, p. 249-258, especially p. 256.

cclxx Helen Safa and June Nash Safa, **Women and Change in Latin America: New Directions in Sex and Class**. Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1985. Bingham, Marjorie and Gross, Susan, **Women in Latin America: From Pre-Columbian Times to the 20th Century**. St. Louis Park: Glenhurst Publications, 1985.

cclxxi Schele, Linda and Freidel, David, p. 42.

cclxxii This characterization of Catholicized Indian family norms is drawn from the comments in Olien, Michael, p. 214-218. Evidence from the writings and public social activities of Native Latin American women since the publication of Olien's book suggests that the pattern and challenges to it persist, with transformation in women's customary social roles coming slowly but at a greater pace than changes in men's customary roles.

cclxxiii Olien, Michael, p. 240-242. See also Schele, Linda and Freidel, David, p. 42-43.

cclxxiv Olien, Michael, p. 200-204

cclxxv Address before the National Association of Black School Educators, 1988.

cclxxvi Thornton, **American Indian Holocaust and Survival**, p. 236.

cclxxvii McLagan, Elizabeth, **A Peculiar Paradise: A History of Blacks in Oregon, 1788-1940**. Portland: The Georgian Press Company, 1980.

cclxxviii Katz, William Loren, **Black Indians: A Hidden Heritage**. New York: Atheneum, 1986.

cclxxix Forbes, Jack, **Black Africans and Native Americans**. Cambridge: Blackwell Publications, 1988.

cclxxx Katz, chapters 6 and 7 tell the story of the Black Seminoles and John Horse's role in the tribe.

cclxxxi Jennings, Francis, p. 49.

cclxxxii Olien, Michael, p. 219.

cclxxxiii Olien, Michael, p. 66-67.

cclxxxiv See the chapter on "The White Indians" in Axtell, James, p. 302-327. See also the works of James Willard Schultz, a turn of the century American author who was adopted and lived among the Blackfeet for several years. (For example, see **My Life As An Indian**. New York: Fawcett Columbine Books, 1907, 1981; also see **Why Gone Those Times?** Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1974. Schultz published most of his material as articles in *Forest and Stream*, the predecessor to today's *Field and Stream* magazine. In the early 20th century, that publication was edited by George Bird Grinnell, who was an avid amateur ethnographer. Grinnell, like Schultz, published extensively from his experiences gained while living with the Cheyenne and other tribes as they transitioned from freedom to reservation life.)

cclxxxv For an understanding of the demographic collapse and renewal of American Indian populations, see the extensive discussions and documentation in the following works: Dobyns, *op. cit.*, Todorov, *op. cit.*, and Thornton, *op. cit.*