American Indian Studies

Federal Policies, the Academia, and 'Rez' Realities

Cesare Marino

Welcome, and thank you for coming to this public lecture on North American Indian Studies, an overview of the interplay between politics and policies, the academia, and the realities of reservation life. As my grey hair shows, I have been "around the block" already a few times. I learned that knowledge is a two-way stream and no one "knows it all." I am still in a learning process and I consider myself fortunate to have been able to pursue a career in what interests me most. Because of my long involvement in the *Handbook* project at the Smithsonian, as Dr. Juri Abe just mentioned, and my work in Indian Country, over the years I found myself in a privileged position, so to speak; interacting with both eminent White and Indian academics, museum curators and researchers, tribal scholars and authors, Indian rights activists, BIA officials, as well as with lesser known but equally knowledgeable amateur students of Indian culture, hobbyists, and 'simple' reservation folks. I was an eyewitness to many memorable moments in contemporary Indian history, from the first Longest Walk of 1978 to the dedication of the Indian Memorial at the Little Bighorn Battlefield, Montana, in 2003, and the inauguration of the National Museum of the American Indians in Washington the following year. Such diverse yet closely knit web of professional and personal experiences has greatly enriched my life. And it has also helped me develop an open-minded approach to American Indians studies. It is thanks to Dr. Abe, that I am here today to share with you some insights on this broad and complex topic, with specific attention to Indian Studies in the United States. With this, I will try to complement the

Rikkyo American Studies 37 (March 2015)
Copyright © 2015 The Institute for American Studies, Rikkyo University

collaborative review conducted in 2007 by Professors Juri Abe and Atsunori Ito of Native American Studies here in Japan.[1] Therefore, before we begin, I wish to express my deep appreciation to Prof. Abe, and through her to the Institute for American Studies, for inviting me to Rikkyo University. Thank you, Juri san.

Context

To contextualize the significance of our gathering, I would like to underscore the timing of Dr. Abe's invitation, and of today's lecture. As we all know, this fall (2014) we celebrate the 50th anniversary of the 1964 Tokyo Olympics. The international games saw a young Billy Mills (b. 1938-, Oglala) a mixed-blood Lakota Sioux Indian from Pine Ridge, one of the poorest Indian reservations in the US, win the gold medal in the 10,000 meters race. Today, at age 76, Billy Mills is still "Running Strong," to paraphrase the name of the Indian Youth organization he co-founded. Mills, whose Lakota name *Makata Taka Hela*, means "Love Your Country / Love the Earth," is a living example of what determination, education, and dedication can achieve even

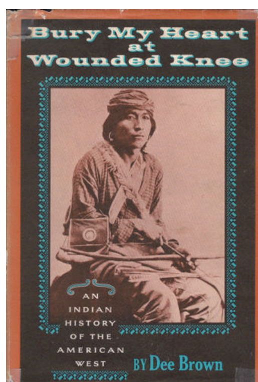
Billy Mills (center) with members of the Running Strong organization, at the 10th Anniversary celebration of the National Museum of the American Indian, Washington, September 2014. (Courtesy of SI-NMAI.)

in the face of seemingly insurmountable odds; more so, the harsh realities of "rez" life. Fifty-two years earlier, at the 1908 Olympics in London, the prized victory had eluded another great Native marathon runner, Tom Longboat (1887-1949, Onondaga). A Native Canadian from Six Nations Reserve in Ontario, at the time Longboat was considered to be the man who ran the fastest in the world.[2] This year also marks the 80th anniversary of the passage of the historic Wheeler-Howard / Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) of 1934, a turning point in modern American Indian history that continues to have major repercussions on contemporary Indian America, and by reflection in the course of Indian studies. Another significant coincidence is that in the States, in the month of November we celebrate Thanksgiving, the great American holiday born in 1621 out of the initial, peaceful relations between the Wampanoag, more precisely Pokanoket Indians, and the *Mayflower* Pilgrims at Plymouth Plantation, Massachusetts. Fast forward now to 1990, the year President George W. Bush issued a proclamation officially designating the month of November as National American Indian Heritage Month: a formal tribute to the rich heritage and contributions of the Native Peoples of America. Speaking of historic dates, exactly 190 years ago in 1824 the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), that has since played such a key role in the life of so many Indian generations, was created within the War Department by Secretary of War John C. Calhoun. The BIA was transferred to the Interior, where still is, in 1849. This year is also the 25th anniversary of the passage of the highly significant National Museum of the American Indian Act (NMAIA) of 1989. The event is being remembered in Washington as we speak, with the conference *Going Home: 25 Years of Repatriation Under the NMAI Act*, appropriately held at the Indian Museum.[3] Last, but not least, as it often happens in life, not all remembrances can be uplifting. This month and year also mark the 150th anniversary of the Sand Creek Massacre of November 1864. In his book *Sand Creek and the Rhetoric of Extermination*, (1989) David Svaldi drew an ideological comparison between what

happened to Chief Black Kettle's Cheyenne-Arapaho village in Southeastern Colorado, and the equally despicable massacre perpetrated in 1968 at My Lai, during the Vietnam War.[4] Both, he noted, while occurring in different historical contexts shared the similar political and cultural rhetoric of hate, demonization and 'extermination' of the 'other'; without distinction of age and sex, justifying the most horrific acts of violence, even towards non-belligerent women, children, and old people.

The White versus Indian Dichotomy

Understandably, given this and other deplorable episodes like Custer's attack on the Washita River in 1868, the "forgotten" Baker Massacre on the Marias River in 1870,[5] and the Wounded Knee Massacre of 1890, American Indian studies have generally been defined in the popular literature in terms of the violent juxtaposition of Whites versus Indians. Dee Brown's classic *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee* (1970),[6] is the best example. Brown, the "Mark Twain" of the Western Frontier, was instrumental in raising the awareness of the public in America and throughout the world



(left) Dee Brown; (right) cover illustration of *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*, 1970.
(Courtesy of Anthropology Library, SI-NMNH.)

about the historical wrongs inflicted upon the Native Americans. He reversed the perspective of history, from the 'west' (the Indians) looking 'east' (the invading Whites), but in doing so, his sympathetic view was, in hind-sight, too one-sided. As a historical fact, returning briefly to Sand Creek, Carol Turner recently pointed out that if there were certainly many villains among the Colorado Volunteers who struck the Cheyenne-Arapaho village that cold November morning, there were also some heroes. Including Capt. Silas Soule and Lieut. Joseph Cramer, who refused to fire against Indians who had raised the American flag and actually tried to stop the massacre.[7] Soule testified against infamous Methodist preacher turned 'Indian fighter' Col. John M. Chivington, but he too soon paid dearly for his courage to publicly denounce the Sand Creek atrocities. In the spring 1865, Soule was assassinated by a Chivington's supporter.[8] Consider also the 'massacres' perpetrated in historic times by Indians against Indians; a sensitive subject that today, in the climate of political correctness pervading American Indian studies in general, and Native American historiography in particular, tend to be overlooked or downplayed. I am not calling into question here the many American Indians who, throughout history, and especially in the second half of the 19th century, served as scouts and auxiliaries for the American Military, "wolves for the Blue Soldiers" as Thomas Dunlay called them.[9] Not only against enemy tribes, for example the Arikara and the Crow against the Sioux, but also against fellow tribesmen, or near-tribesman deemed "hostile," as in the case of Chatto (1860-1934, Chiricahua) and the White Mountain Apache scouts who helped in the final surrender of famed Chiricahua Apache chief Geronimo (1829-1909) in 1886. I am referring to the actual warfare of near "extermination" carried on by one tribe against another, like that of the Iroquois Confederacy against the Huron in the mid 1600s. Or, large expeditions that resulted in massacres as when, in the summer of 1873 in southwestern Nebraska, a combined force of several hundred Brule and Oglala warriors under chiefs

Spotted Tail, Two Strike, Little Wound, and Charging Bear attacked a large Pawnee hunting party of men, women and children, led by Sky Chief, Sun Chief, Fighting Bear, and Ruling His Son. The Sioux killed and mortally wounded over one hundred Pawnee before they withdrew with a large plunder of buffalo meat and robes. The site of the battle became known as Massacre Canyon and a monument was erected fifty years later to honor the fallen Pawnee, and, hopefully, to foster peace and reconciliation between the once fierce enemies.[10] Which goes to show how tragically inaccurate and scholarly 'reductive' can be to generalize American Indian history in simple terms of 'White versus Indian' categories.

Academic scholars, such as noted historians Wilcomb E. Washburn (1925-1997), Wilbur R. Jacobs (1919-1998), Francis Jennings (1918-2000), Alvin M. Josephy (1915-2005), Francis Paul Prucha, S.J. (b. 1921-), Robert M. Utley (b. 1929-), and others, while retaining the thematic Indian-White juxtaposition, have examined the details of the complex interplay of conflicting policies of the colonial powers, later the United States and Canada, and the role played by the Native nations and tribes themselves through diplomacy, military alliances, treaty making, and inter-tribal warfare in determining, to varying degrees, their ultimate destiny.[11] Far from being passive recipients of history, American Indians were active participants in the shaping of events. Here too, the scenario is complex and diverse. Nagasaki-born historian Yasuhide Kawashima (b. 1931-), for example, focused on the contentious issue of legal jurisdiction and judicial conflict between New England Indians and Colonists within the changed landscape imposed by the European newcomers. The tension triggered warfare with devastating and long-lasting effects on the tribes involved, whether hostile or friendly to the Colonists, as Kawashima has pointed out over forty years of study in seminal articles and in his classic books, *Puritan Justice and the Indian* (1986) and *Igniting King Philip's War* (2001).[12] The Indians fought for survival and made unprecedented, even desperate

adjustments to the rapidly changing circumstances. Jean M. O'Brien recently pointed out that in the case of the Natick Indians of Massachusetts, "the rhetoric of Indian declension and inevitable extinction, another parallel between Natick's Indian history and later U.S. policy, has misunderstood changing Indian identity in Natick and elsewhere as well, and reinforced ideas about Indian societies as rigidly bounded and Indian cultures as static and fixed in the past. Provocatively, O'Brien concluded that, "ironically, John Milton Earle's 1861 description of [Indians as] a 'race naturally inclined to a roving and unsettled life' contains more than a grain of truth."[13] While recognizing the deeply rooted identity and ethno-national boundaries of tribes, especially in eastern North America historic contact brought also flexibility and permeability, fusion and scission, and inclusion, as in the case of mixed-bloods and Freedmen. A multi-faceted adaptation that, again, presents a challenge to American Indian studies looking beyond the binary reductionism of Indian-White opposition. Today, Natick descendants are re-organized as the Praying Indians of Natick and Ponkapoag, a mixed-blood (tri-racial) non-federally recognized tribal community of about fifty members.

Diversity and Complexity

The issue of post-contact, mixed-ancestry ethnogenesis is a challenging topic for historians, anthropologists, and the American Indians themselves. Especially with regard to the sensitive process of real Indian identity, federal recognition, and Indian-to-Indian relations, there is considerable debate not only within the academia and American society at large, but also within the Indian community itself. The modern case of the Mashantucket (Western) Pequots of Connecticut, acknowledged by Act of Congress as a federal tribe in 1983, stirred much interest and controversy. The debate and controversy intensified once this small new tribe asserted its sovereignty by opening, in 1992, the highly profitable

Foxwoods Casino Resort on their small (only 1,250 acres) new reservation, also restored by Congress. At least three books, in addition to numerous articles, have been written specifically on such a small but very wealthy tribe whose population quickly rose from a mere 320 members in 1990 to 785 in 2005.[14] The antagonism of the surrounding White community towards the Mashantucket Pequots reverberated also with some American Indians. Delphine Red Shirt (b. 1957-, Oglala) for one, spoke openly against what she regarded as the spurious tribal identity of a highly mixed community that had re-created its "Indian-self" through legal ethnogenesis and Congressional paternalism.[15] As things go in Indian Country, Red Shirt was herself criticized by Indians of a different persuasion. Including former Assistant Secretary for Indian Affairs, and since 2007 NMAI Director Kevin Gover (b. 1955-, Pawnee) who reminded Whites and Indians alike of the great diversity and "blood-quantum" dilution to varying degrees that resulted from Euro-American colonization. In crude but practical terms, a genetic admixture and a "phenotypic" diversity which is today reflected on the somatic traits of so many American Indians in both "rez" and urban communities. Obviously, it is not simply a matter or degrees of "Indian look": leading American Indian Studies scholar Duane Champaign (b. 1952-, Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa) underscored that the question of authenticity between non-Indians and wannabes, Ethnic Indians, and Reservation Indians "is a puzzling feature of contemporary Indian life [...] as many tribal and reservation communities [themselves] are composed of mixed cultural heritages."[16] When race, politics, and economics are added to the picture, things become ever more complicated and contentious. Considering that the Mashantucket Pequots were a major contributor to the NMAI fundraising campaign, the intestine disagreement on their and similar cases clearly embraces more than the already complex diatribe over race, history, and politics.[17] The fact remains that in Indian Country, today, there are other instances of internal antagonism and dissent between "real"

Indians and "other" Indians, to paraphrase social sciences Native professor Bonita Lawrence (Mi'kmaw).[18] Including the continuing opposition by the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians (EBCI) of North Carolina to the federal acknowledgment of the Lumbee Indians of Robeson County. The Cherokee oppose the Lumbee both on the issue of 'tribal' identity and of legal procedures. The Lumbee, on the other hand, have already been recognized for over a century by the state of North Carolina. With a membership of some 55,000, the Lumbee have recently renewed their efforts for federal acknowledgment as a "tribe" within the meaning of US federal law.[19] The issue of recognition and internal Indian opposition is complex and has not been limited to the mixed Indian groups east of the Mississippi; those referred to as 'marginal groups' by sociologist Brewton Berry in the "Northeast" volume of the *Handbook*.[20] A small enclave of Southern Paiutes comprising less than 200 members, have lived for years within the western boundaries of the large Navajo Reservation, Arizona. Even though the Navajo, the largest tribe in the US, opposed it, the San Juan Southern Paiutes were officially acknowledged as a separate tribe in 1990. Other formerly 'forgotten' tribes that successfully petitioned for recognition are found all over the US, including the Grand Traverse Band of Ottawa and Chippewa of Michigan (about 300 members), acknowledged in 1980; the Jamestown S'Klallam Tribe of Washington State (less than 200 members), acknowledged in 1981; the Tunica-Biloxi Indian Tribe of Louisiana (200 members), also acknowledged in 1981; the Mashpee Wampanoag of Massachusetts (some 1,450 members), acknowledged in 2007. These and several other cases and the cultural, political and legal issues relating to federal recognition are ably summarized by colleague anthropologist George Roth in his contribution to Vol. 2 of the *Handbook*.[21] A related and highly divisive issue is that affecting today the Freedmen communities of the Five Civilized Tribes of Oklahoma. Once considered members of the tribal nations, today's Black-Indian descendants of African Americans who had been integrated into the historic

tribes of the Southeast, are confronted with the process of dis-enrollment. In 2000, the Seminole Nation of Oklahoma amended its constitution to exclude the Freedmen Bands from citizenship. The Cherokee Nation followed suit in 2007, when 2,770 Cherokee Freedmen saw their tribal citizenship rescinded. This highly contentious issue, with deep racial, political, legal and economic ramifications, is addressed in the *Handbook*, Vol. 2, by Circe Sturm and Kristy J. Feldhousen-Giles; Dr. Yoshitaka Iwasaki recently reviewed the Freedmen research trend in the 70th Anniversary Special issue of your academic journal *Rikkyo American Studies*.[22] A non-specifically ‘racial’ but equally contentious disenrollment case recently involved several members of the small Pechanga Band of Luiseño Mission Indians, descendants of the historic Pechanga Temecula of Southern California. Old family feuds, political factionalism, and economic interests over casino money have brought to the disenrollment of more than two hundred Pechanga members.[23]

It should also be noted that, to counter the dilution of Indian blood and protect their distinct heritage and identity, many tribes, exercising their sovereign right to self-determination, have adopted stringent criteria for tribal membership, including the blood-quantum requirement. The right of tribes to determine their membership was officially recognized in 1978 with the famous *Santa Clara Pueblo v. Martinez* decision. The U.S Supreme Court reiterated “that Indian tribes are sovereigns. As such, they are generally protected from lawsuit” and, as far as membership is concerned, tribes have the right to set their own criteria. Even if such criteria may be considered discriminatory and in violation of civil rights by individual Indians and/or the wider American society.[24] Some tribes, like the Miccosukee and Seminole of Florida, the Mississippi Band of Choctaw, Mississippi, and the White Mountain Apache of Arizona, have the one-half blood rule. Several others set the blood quantum requirement at one-quarter, including the Absentee-Shawnee, Cheyenne-Arapaho, Kickapoo, and Kiowa, of Oklahoma; the Yakama Nation of Washington State; the Hopi and the

Navajo of Arizona. The Confederated Salish-Kootenai Tribes of the Flathead Reservation, Montana, increased the blood quantum requirement from one-sixteenth to one-quarter. Then, there is also the opposite, as occasionally, to offset population decline, a tribe may decide to actually lower the blood-quantum, as the Pawnee Nation of Oklahoma have recently done, from one-quarter to one-eighth. These introductory examples reflect the complexity of the issues and the challenges facing American Indian studies today. Academics and researchers addressing the great ethnographic diversity of Indian tribes, past and present must also contend with the historical background of early and later frontier wars; the alternating policies of the federal government in the US, and in Canada; the factional disputes in tribal politics and tribal governance; the contentious issue of blood-quantum and recognition; the dichotomy of sociological mixed-bloods and full-bloods; the culture of hostile dependency that, in modern times, has characterized much of "rez" life in Indian Country, and the impact of casino revenues on the societal fabric of the reservation communities. The recent decades have seen, on many reservations, a new political and cultural renaissance, the result of generational change, better education, and the positive impact of casino revenues on tribal economies, along with the reaffirmation of the government-to-government principle. It is an unprecedented, complex, dynamic scenario that has also seen a growing number of American Indian scholars make their voice heard across the academia; a trend reinforced by the opening of new tribal museums and cultural centers, and higher education institutions, tribal colleges and universities, on many Indian reservations.

Today, we shall look at the main academic trends of such a multi-layered historical, political, cultural and scholarly situation primarily in the United States, keeping in mind that time and space limitations will allow us only to see the proverbial "tip of the iceberg" of such a complex topic. With the examples provided herein, I wish to go beyond the simplistic portrayal

of 'victimization' resulting from the reductionist dogma of American Indian versus White confrontation. And, at the same time, acknowledge the important contributions White and Native scholars, often working together, have made in the past and continue to make today, to help tribal communities salvage the salvageable in the face of federal assimilation policies. And in more recent times, to reassert tribal identity and sovereignty through a new and aggressive process of indigenous decolonization and Native Peoples empowerment.

The Paradox That Was: Assimilation, 'Salvage' Academics, Indians in the Middle

It is said, on the "rez," that in his old age famous Chief Red Cloud (1822-1909, Oglala), urging the Lakota not to forget their identity in the face of the great changes brought upon them by the White man, once stated that "a people without history is like wind on the buffalo grass." American Indians have a strong sense of tribal history and oral tradition, tied to a profound sense of place identified with their reservation and with traditional sacred places that may be located in ancestral tribal lands now outside reservation boundaries. Paradoxically, Red Cloud's famous phrase was reported in print by Leslie Tillett in a book on the Custer Battle, to which the same Red Cloud, chief of the Agency Oglala, did not take part.[25] Whether or not the great Lakota warrior and statesman did utter those words we may never known for sure, but the admonition is well taken and a historical approach will help us put our own discussion in the proper perspective. Beginning with the formative years of the American Nation which coincided with the embryonic development of North American anthropology, as American Indians provided the 'ideal' subject of study in the new Country's own backyard. To better understand the evolution of American Indian studies, broadly defined, we ought to consider

the alternating and often contradictory Indian policies of the federal government. Initially, following the colonial example, federal policies were aimed initially at making peace with the tribes, by negotiation. Some early portrayals of Indians, showed them in a dignified way, "Red Brothers," with whom to sign treaties of peace and friendship. Soon, however, as the immigrant pressure grew, American Indians were perceived as an impediment to the advance of civilization. The westward movement called for the subjugation and pacification of the Indians by military force along with repressive policies of Indian removal and confinement on reservations. There, Indians were to be detribalized, taught the habits of civilization, and pushed to become assimilated in the great Melting Pot. This, after all, was the Manifest Destiny of the young American Republic.[26] For years prior, during the 17th and 18th centuries, European philosophers, many without ever setting foot on North American soil, had been intrigued by the Native Peoples of the New World, in Red-skinned American Indians in particular, their origins, languages, and customs. They had read the accounts of early travelers, explorers, and missionaries. The latter, especially the Catholic Black Robes, authors of the voluminous *Jesuit Relations* between the early

American Progress, 1872; allegory of Manifest Destiny by John Gast, showing the American Indian retreating before the advance of Civilization.
(Courtesy of Anthropology Library, SI-NMNH.)

1630s and the early 1670s, were scholars and ‘field workers’ (many also martyrs) in their own right. Their writings, still historically valuable today, were strictly finalized to the conversion of the Indians, but included first-hand early observations on Native cultures, tribal territories, languages, ceremonies, and socio-political organizations, often drawing comparisons with the classical Greek and Roman worlds of European antiquity. Reports and letters also had the practical purpose of eliciting financial support for the North American missions.[27] While much has been said and written, recently, by activist scholars against the legacy of Christianity in Indian Country, missionaries of all denominations were for obvious reasons particularly interested in American Indian languages.[28] They produced a vast body of Native language dictionaries, grammars, and translations that have long been used by the academia, and more recently on reservations, in education programs of language preservation and revitalization, as we discuss later. While missionaries labored in often hostile environments and risked their life in the field, so-called ‘armchair speculators’ in the safety and comfort of their homes theorized about the Native Peoples of America. These philosophers generally fell on two opposite conceptual camps, one subscribing to the innately bad image of a ‘degenerate savage’ in need of redemption (or deserving death), the other to the more humane and un-corrupt stereotype, of an innately good, ‘noble savage’; the latter commonly associated with French-Swiss philosopher Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778). In fact, Rousseau apparently never spoke specifically of a *bon sauvage*, but, as Leslie A. Fiedler wrote, “that scarcely matters; since, mistaken or not, it has possessed the minds of many important Europeans and Americans, including the most notable writers on Indian themes, beginning with James Fenimore Cooper.”[29] We should mention that French-Breton explorer Jacques Cartier (1491-1557) had originally remarked on the savage nobility of the St. Lawrence River Iroquois during his Canadian voyages of 1530s-1540s, in search of the elusive “Western passage” to Asia.[30]

Neither the irredeemably 'degenerate' portrayal nor the naturally 'noble' stereotype were correct, as academic scholarship will show with the birth of American anthropology and the beginning of systematic fieldwork among the Indian tribes in the second half of the 19th century. Another great American historian, the late Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., (1931-2012) provided a comprehensive overview of the subject in his classic *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (1978). The book actually grew out of his lengthy chapter "White Conceptions of Indians" in Washburn's *Handbook* volume which, for editorial reason, appeared only a decade later.[31]

Besides early missionaries, other notable precursors had set the stage for the shift from speculative philosophy to direct field observation. Explorers Meriwether Lewis (1774-1809) and William Clark (1770-1838) reported on the languages and cultures of some fifty Indian tribes they encountered during their historic *Corps of Discovery Expedition, 1804-1806*.[32] They also assembled a large ethnographic collection of American Indian material culture, part of which was later exhibited in Gen. Clark's pioneering ethnographic museum in St. Louis. Instrumental to their success was Sacagawea (ca. 1778-1812), the Shoshone wife of French fur trader Toussaint Charbonneau (1767-1843), also a member of the expedition. Three decades later, a strong desire to know the 'real' Indians in their natural environment led famed ethno-artist George Catlin (1796-1872) across Indian Country in the 1830s, produced hundreds of paintings and authored his classic *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians* (1844).[33] His contemporary, geographer, ethnographer and Indian Agent for the Ojibwe, Henry Rowe Schoolcraft (1793-1864), edited the first encyclopedic, six-volume treatise titled *Historical and Statistical Information Respecting the History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes in the United States* (1851-1857).[34] American freemasons, too, were interested in studying the culture of the American Indians, from whom they borrowed

(left) Buffalo Bull's Back Fat, Kanai/Blood Blackfoot chief; painting by G. Catlin, 1832.
(right) Wijunjon, or "The Light", Assiniboine, before and after his visit to Washington; painting by G. Catlin, 1844. (Courtesy of SI-AAM.)

words, personal names, symbols and even ideals. Lewis Henry Morgan (1818-1881), one of the fathers of American anthropology, became interested in the Iroquois Confederacy. He befriended and collaborated with Ely S. Parker (1828-1895, Seneca), a Union general in the Civil War and later first American Indian Commissioner of Indian Affairs from 1869 to 1871. With Parker's input, Morgan published the classic *League of the Ho-de'-no-sau-nee, Iroquois* (1851). Morgan's anthropological work also included other two classics, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family* (1871) and *Ancient Society* (1877), elaborating the tri-scaled theory of social evolution (savagery, barbarism, civilization). The *League* publicized the principles of checks and balances, economic redistribution, and political representation that had long been the guiding principles of the once powerful Iroquois Confederacy. It inspired famous 19th century political philosophers Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, the ideologists of socialism and communism. Interestingly, those same Iroquoian political principles had also inspired the United States system of federalism and representative government.[35] While Morgan favored assimilation, he recognized the aboriginal rights of Indians and was involved in the realities of Tonawanda Seneca reservation life, in

upstate New York, helping the Seneca Indians buy-back land that had been fraudulently subtracted to them by the Ogden Land Company.[36]

Even though many Indians still lived relatively free, trade goods earlier, and the massive westward movement later, had brought dramatic changes to the Native peoples. Fifty years after Ottawa Chief Pontiac (1720-1769) failed to defeat the British in the Ohio Country, the great visionary Shawnee Chief Tecumseh (1768-1813) made a new attempted to unite the Midwestern and Southeastern tribes to stop the White flood. Again, atavistic inter-tribal enmities and internal dissention prevented the realization of his dream of a great, unified, Indian Nation free of White domination. His English allies, too, ultimately failed him. More recently, British scholar John Sugden, rehabilitated the British honor by writing Tecumseh's definitive biography.[37] The great Shawnee fell in the battle of the Thames, in present-day Ontario, fighting. If the White man, more precisely the Americans, could not be stopped, Tecumseh's dream lives on to this very day, reshaped two centuries later in the hopeful realities of modern reservation life in the face of century-old problems. While we are still far from the realization of an inter-tribal, Native American Nation, as the legendary chief had hoped and fought for, the survival and continuity of tribes, strengthened by demographic recovery, reflects a new process of cultural and political decolonization, and the re-affirmation of the American Indians' own distinct Native identity. After Tecumseh, other great Indian leaders whom Alvin Josephy dubbed "patriot chiefs" tried to oppose the Americans:[38] Black Hawk (1767-1838, Sauk), Kamiakin (ca. 1800-1877, Yakima), the previously mentioned Red Cloud, along with Sitting Bull (1832-1890, Hunkpapa) and Crazy Horse (1844-1877, Oglala), Geronimo (1829-1909, Chiricahua), Chief Joseph (1840-1904, Nez Perce), as well as lesser known but equally heroic patriots like Captain Jack (1837-1873, Modoc), chose military resistance, to no vail. By the second half of the 19th century, a number of tribes had been dispersed all along the eastern seaboard, many forcibly removed to Indian

Territory, and most if not all placed on reservations. Over two hundred of them, mostly in Indian Territory and across the Midwestern and Western part of the Country, under the authoritarian control of White agents who responded to the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Washington.

Besides being the enforcers of government policy, and many of them corrupt administrators and distributors of government annuities to the Indians, agents were also *de-facto* early field workers. They sent annual reports from the reservations to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs at the Interior Department; the Commissioner position was officially created by Congress in 1832 and it has continued to this day under different official titles.[39] The Commissioner, in turn, issued yearly summaries, including the reservation and agency updates, in what are known among researchers as the ARCIA, the *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, from 1832 to 1848, and from 1849 to the present. These volumes are an important, primary source that for American Indian studies. Especially those covering the second half of the 19th and the first half of the 20th centuries, contain detailed albeit culturally 'biased' information 'from the rez' on a variety of topics, including population statistics and health conditions, education, economic activities, and the overall implementation of the federal Indian policy of assimilation. The assimilation policy's primary strategy combined an aggressive program of detribalization, economic dependency thru the rationing system, prohibition and suppression of tribal religious ceremonies and social customs (sun dance, snake dance, give-away, potlatch). And, specifically aimed at the younger generations, the mission and boarding school system. These policies were accelerated in 1887, with the passage of the Dawes General Allotment Act (Dawes Severalty Act) under President Grover Cleveland. It resulted in the break-up of the large collective tribal land base, with the assignment of individual 160 acre allotments to individual Indian heads of families, and the sale of so-called "surplus" Indian land to Whites.[40] The Five Civilized Tribes in Indian

Territory, originally exempted from Dawes, were later allotted and their tribal governments abolished under the Curtis Act of 1898.[41] It is estimated that the total American Indian land base, already reduced by a century of treaties, removals, and "sign and sell or starve" agreements, was further reduced from 136 million acres (ca. 560,000 square kilometers) in 1887, to 48 million acres (ca. 190,000 square kilometers) in 1934, a loss of two-thirds of total tribal lands. By comparison, Japan covers little over 377,000 square kilometers. The pernicious effects of the Dawes Act still affect today's life on the "rez" on many levels, as Kristin T. Ruppel pointed out in *Unearthing Indian Land: Living with the Legacies of Allotment* (2008).[42]

Tragically emblematic, Allotment coincided with the killing of Chief Sitting Bull (*Tatanka Iyotanka*) and the tragedy of Wounded Knee, the closing act of the desperate attempt on the part of the Plains Indians to seek a Messianic solution to the onslaught of the White man. As historian Frederick J. Turner argued, the American Frontier had shaped the American identity and the closing of the frontier coincided with the American Indians becoming, in the popular view, a "Vanishing Race." Turner presented his

(left) Sitting Bull, Hunkpapa chief and medicine-man; photograph by A.U. Palmquist in St. Paul, Minn., 1884. (right) Sitting Bull's log cabin, with Lodge in Sight (daughter), Four Robes (widow), Seen by Her Nation (widows), and Standing Holy (daughter), standing outside; photograph by D.F. Barry, near Grand River, South Dakota, 1891. (Courtesy of SI-NAA.)

thesis on *The Significance of the Frontier in American History* at the American Historical Association convened in Chicago in 1893 for the World's Columbian Exposition.[43] There, was exhibited the log cabin where three years prior, in December of 1890 on the Grand River, acting on Agent John C. McLaughlin's orders, Standing Rock Indian police had killed the famous Lakota chief and holy man resisting arrest. Also killed in the melee were Sitting Bull's deaf-mute son Crowfoot and other members of his *tiyospaye* (kindred camp). Some eight *ceska maza*, metal breasts (tribal police), also died. That the killing occurred between tribesmen who had fought together against the Whites, reflected the factionalism that now ran deep at Standing Rock, as in many other Indian communities. Nine years earlier, on the Brule (*Sičangu*) Rosebud Reservation, the other famous Lakota Chief Spotted Tail (1823-1881, *Sinte Gleška*) had been killed by fellow tribesman Crow Dog (1833-1912, *Kaŋgi Šunka*), in a famous case that led to the passage of the Major Crimes Act of 1885.[44] The other great Lakota leader, Crazy Horse (*Tašunke Witko*), too, had been killed at Camp Robinson in 1877, victim of the complicity between American officials and agency chiefs. Century-old wounds that have yet to heal among the Sioux, as painfully exposed for example by Earnest "Ernie" W. LaPointe (b. 1948-, Hunkpapa) in his short (and arguable) biography of his great-grandfather Sitting Bull.[45]

The end of the frontier and of the Indian wars, the almost total annihilation of the buffalo, the death of Sitting Bull, followed two weeks later by the Wounded Knee Massacre, and the high-mortality rates on Indian reservations, were the tragic backdrop to the "march of progress" and the collective euphoria White America experienced welcoming the new, Twentieth Century. American Indians, the few who were left, had been finally pacified and moved out of the White man's way, partly forgotten, but still a "persistent problem" for the government. Prolific photographer and amateur scholar Edward Sheriff Curtis (1868-1952) embraced the "vanishing race" theme and labored to save the memory of Native America

in his monumental *The North American Indian*, edited by Frederick Webb Hodge (1864-1956).[46] While Curtis with his artistically posed photographs idealized a by-gone 'romantic' Indian past, the White attitudes and federal policy toward the 'Vanishing Americans' looked at assimilation as the only solution the so-called "Indian problem."[47] The dismal realities on many reservations seemed to support the 'vanishing' view, reflected also in the stark drop of the American Indian population which, by 1900, reached the nadir of about 237,000 in the United States, and less than 130,000 in Canada.[48] The apparent paradox is that concomitant with the paternalistic, repressive government tactics and legislative assaults on Indian tribalism, early academic scholarship worked to 'salvage' the American Indians' rich cultural heritage. The academic urgency was also, to a great extent, conditioned by the 'vanishing culture' paradigm and the negative demographic trend mentioned above. This dismal scenario called for an academic response that placed new emphasis on field research, bringing the first true North Americanist scholars, ethnographers and linguists, into the local Indian communities to establish working collaborations with Native informants. Regardless of what had already been lost, on the reservations much of the traditional cultures was still retained, and worth preserving. Some of the pioneer fieldworkers who engaged in what will be known as 'participant observation,' actually went 'Native,' a combination of their genuine fascination with, and appreciation of, Indian culture, and professional self-interest. A famous example is that of the eccentric and controversial Frank Hamilton Cushing (1857-1900), a mostly self-taught anthropologist who lived among the Zuni Indians from 1879 to 1884. He dressed like a Zuni, spoke the Zuni language (an isolate that has recently been putatively linked to Japanese),[49] and was eventually accepted into the Pueblo hierarchy as a Bow Priest and a War Chief. An exceptional case of reverse acculturation for that time and thereafter, considering also the closely-knit fabric of Zuni society and the secretive nature of Pueblo

religion.[50] The academic and personal interest shown by anthropologists in the salvage and preservation of Native cultures was perceived by BIA officials and Christian organizations as detrimental to the advancement and 'civilization' of the Indians; even a self-serving academic 'conspiracy' to keep the Indians in their current 'blanket' status. In retrospect, if academic 'exploitation' at times occurred, on a professional and human level most field anthropologists pursued a concerned rapport with the Indians, and in defense of the rights. The confrontation between repressive government policies and the academic support of Indian rights will come to a much heated and acrimonious debate later, over the issue of the sacramental use of peyote by many Southern Plains tribes. These Indians found their best political allies precisely among the members of the young American anthropological discipline. It was "Maj." John Wesley Powell (1834-1902), a Civil War veteran who had lost his lower right arm at Shiloh, later a professor at Illinois Wesleyan University, geologist, anthropologist and linguist, who in 1879 founded the Bureau of Ethnology (later the Bureau of American Ethnology in 1897) at the Smithsonian, to promote "anthropologic" research. The results of intense archeological, ethnographic and linguistic fieldwork in Indian Country carried by subsequent generations of scholars, some American Indian themselves, were published in the *BAE Annual Reports* (publ. 1881 to 1965) and in nearly 200 *BAE Bulletins* (publ. 1887 to 1967).[51] One of the best known among academics and tribal scholars is *BAE Bulletin* 30, (Pts. 1-2), edited by Frederick Webb Hodge. The 'old' *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* (1907-

Tau-gu, chief of the Southern Paiute, and John Wesley Powell; photograph by J.K. Hillers, near Cedar and Virgin River, Southwestern Utah, 1873. (Courtesy of SI-NAA.)

1910) is still a useful alphabetical compilation (A to Z) of entries covering American Indian archeology, history, culture, languages, and biographical sketches. It was to update Hodge's *Handbook* that in the mid-1960s, the Smithsonian Institution began planning the production of the new, expanded, encyclopedic twenty-volume *Handbook of North American Indians* (1978-2008), under the general editorship of William C. Sturtevant (1926-2007).[52]

Academic Collaboration or Scholarly Exploitation?

Powell and his colleagues generally subscribed to Lewis Henry Morgan's tri-scaled evolutionary model of "savagery," "barbarism," and "civilization," and did not oppose assimilation, actually believing that conversion to Christianity, education and allotment would eventually improve Indian life by facilitating their transition into White America. At the same time, concerned with the loss of Indian history and culture, they pursued collaborative projects with local reservation informants, mostly mixed-bloods. The Smithsonian in particular was the leading institution in promoting interaction between "savages and scientists" — to paraphrase the title of C.M. Hinsley's book — thus greatly contributing to the development of American Anthropology.[53] An early protagonist of the new scholarly chapter in Indian-White collaboration was Francis La Flesche (1857-1932, Omaha), son of Joseph "Estamaza" (Iron Eye) La Flesche, a Métis of French and Ponca descent who had been adopted by famed Omaha chief Big Elk. Francis was a bright, inquisitive youth. He attended a Presbyterian mission school in

Francis La Flesche, Smithsonian anthropologist of Omaha, Ponca and French descent; undated photograph by unknown photographer. (Courtesy of SI-NAA.)

Nebraska, and later published the memoirs of his school experience.[54] As an adult, La Flesche moved to Washington, where he began his life-long collaboration as informant, translator, and advisor on Omaha, Ponca, and Osage culture and artifacts, with Alice C. Fletcher at the Smithsonian. Fletcher (1838-1923) was herself a determined woman who began her anthropological career at the Peabody Museum at Harvard before coming to the Smithsonian. She traveled extensively through Indian Country. Of her visit to the Rosebud Sioux Reservation she left an important unpublished account currently being edited for publication by my Smithsonian colleague Joanna C. Scherer.[55] Like other educated scholars of her generation, Fletcher fully endorsed the Dawes Act, believing, perhaps too naively, that it would benefit the Indians. It did not, as Nicole Tonkovich illustrates in her critical book on Nez Perce allotment, 1889-1892, *The Allotment Plot: Alice C. Fletcher, E. Jane Gay, and Nez Perce Survivance* (2012). E.J. Gay (1830-1919) was Fletcher's field photographer. Not surprisingly, in Indian Country Fletcher was known as "Measuring Woman" for her active role in the allotment process.[56] Still, her scholarship and collaboration with Francis, whom she later adopted, produced many seminal publications, including the classic ethnography *The Omaha Tribe* (1911). Fletcher was also a pioneered in the field of American Indian music with *A Study of Omaha Indian Music* (1893), also produced in collaboration with La Flesche.[57] This work, published on the occasion of the Chicago Columbian Exposition, inspired a young music student to pursue a professional career in the emerging field of ethnomusicology. Her name was Frances Densmore (1867-1957), who for the next fifty years conducted extensive research and recordings of tribal Indian music. Like Fletcher, Densmore, too, traveled extensively through Indian Country, gaining the trust and collaboration of Native music informants and performers. She also conducted recordings and textual analysis and interpretations at the Smithsonian, working with tribal representatives visiting the Capital City on Indian delegations; historian Herman J. Viola

dubbed “diplomats in buckskins” in his classic book by the same title.[58] A famous, staged photograph dated 1916, portrays Densmore seated outside the Smithsonian Castle in front of a phonograph, flanked by Mountain Chief (ca. 1848-1942) of the Blackfoot, in full fringed and beaded buckskin and eagle-feather warbonnet regalia.[59] Many of her works, including monographic studies of Chippewa, Mandan and Hidatsa, Teton Sioux, Pawnee, Menominee, Seminole, Pueblo, Nootka, music were published in the *BAE Bulletins*.[60]

Frances Densmore playing song in Blackfoot on gramophone for Mountain Chief, Blackfoot, who interprets it using sign language; photograph credited to Harris & Hewing, March 1916, Washington. (Courtesy of SI-NAA.)

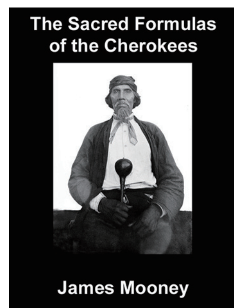
Also at the Smithsonian, John N.B. Hewitt (1859-1937, Tuscarora) collaborated with the BAE and published seminal works on the Iroquois, including his classic *Iroquoian Cosmology*, (in 2 pts., 1903, 1928).[61] The mixed-blood Iroquois scholar was also one of the first authors, Indian or White, to point out the originality and ‘revolutionary’ nature of the Iroquois system of confederate government, symbolically represented by a “tree of government” with deep historical roots and individual branches united by a strong, single trunk. It was a new, radical idea, “the idea that the authority of government could be derived from the people themselves instead of impressed upon them from the above.” It took the American colonists — who originally sought only concessions from King George II — to recognize themselves in the freedom spirit of the ‘savage’ Iroquois. Recalling the colonial treaty council meeting with Onondaga Chief Canasatego (ca. 1684-1759) at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in 1744, Hewitt noted that the American colonial delegates “perhaps laughed at the ridiculous

ideas of the childlike mind of the red men. The old orator [Canasatago] had proposed an unthinkable act — the establishment of a government by the governed themselves. It might be all right for illiterate savage [they thought], but civilized man had advanced beyond such a stage. Nevertheless [...] there must have been some who, in secret, took the idea seriously." So seriously, that it lead to the American Declaration of Independence of 1776 and the birth of the United States. As Hewitt pointed out, "the evidence seems strongly in favor of an Iroquois origin for the American system of government." Paradoxically, some of the Native American ideas were actually far too 'modern' and far too 'radical' even "for the most advanced of the framers of the American constitution [in 1783]. Nearly a century and a half was to elapse before the White men could reconcile themselves to woman suffrage, which was fundamental in the Indian government. They have not yet arrived at the point of abolishing capital punishment, which the Iroquois had accomplished by a very simple legal device. Child welfare legislation, prominent in the Iroquois scheme of things, had to wait for a century or more before the white man were ready to adopt it."[62] All this, as a historic case of reversed academics, with a Native scholar lecturing to White academia; and reversed acculturation, with an inter-tribal socio-political structure and governmental organization as a model for the White colonial society, still lagging behind.

The interaction between academic scholarship and local Indian communities at times assumed great historical significance when it came into direct, open contrast on religious and cultural issues with the dominant political establishment, government agencies, and Christian denominations. The great 'troublemaker' in this case turned out to be another Smithsonian anthropologist. James Mooney (1861-1921) was an Irish Catholic, and unlike his contemporaries he was not the product of academia, but mostly self-taught.[63] Still, his knowledge of American Indians was encyclopedic and in 1885 earned him a position in Maj. Powell's Bureau of Ethnology.

Mooney formal fieldwork began in 1887 among the Cherokee of North Carolina, remnants of the Cherokee Nation who had long been forcibly removed with the Trail of Tears of 1838-39 to Indian Territory. The North Carolina Cherokee had refused to be removed and were later granted a small reservation in the remote Great Smoky Mountains. William Gilbert, in his classic study *Surviving Indian Groups of the Eastern United States* (1948) wrote that even by the 1930s, the nearly 2,000 Eastern Cherokees of the Qualla Reservation were about 40 percent pure blood. The percentage was higher during Mooney's times. On their reservation, the Mountain Cherokee retained their language, a vast body of myths, traditional plant lore, and medico-magical 'formulas' some written down in the Cherokee, using the 85 characters of the syllabary invented in 1819 by Sequoyah (George Gist or Guess, ca. 1778-1843). Mooney established a collaborative rapport with several Eastern Cherokee informants, especially A'yun'ini, or Swimmer, and published extensively on the subject. Since the services of a medicine man or herbalist healer had justly to be paid for, Mooney — like other fieldworkers — complied. Called *Nunda* ("Moon") by the Cherokee, Mooney's work will later be instrumental for the study and revitalization of traditional Cherokee language and culture among the members of the

a	e	i	o	u	v [ə̃]
Ꭰ a	Ꭱ e	Ꭲ i	Ꭳ o	Ꭴ u	Ꭵ v
Ꭶ ga Ꭷ ka	Ꭸ ge	Ꭹ gi	Ꭺ go	Ꭻ gu	Ꭼ gv
Ꭽ ha	Ꭾ he	Ꭿ hi	Ꮀ ho	Ꮁ hu	Ꮂ hv
Ꮃ la	Ꮄ le	Ꮅ li	Ꮆ lo	Ꮇ lu	Ꮈ lv
Ꮉ ma	Ꮊ me	Ꮋ mi	Ꮌ mo	Ꮍ mu	
Ꮎ na Ꮏ hna Ꮐ nah	Ꮑ ne	Ꮒ ni	Ꮓ no	Ꮔ nu	Ꮕ nv
Ꮖ qua	Ꮗ que	Ꮘ qui	Ꮙ quo	Ꮚ quu	Ꮛ quv
Ꮝ s Ꮜ sa	Ꮞ se	Ꮟ si	Ꮠ so	Ꮡ su	Ꮢ sv
Ꮣ da Ꮤ ta	Ꮥ de Ꮦ te	Ꮧ di Ꮨ ti	Ꮩ do	Ꮪ du	Ꮫ dv
Ꮬ dla Ꮭ tla	Ꮮ tle	Ꮯ tli	Ꮰ tlo	Ꮱ tlu	Ꮲ tlv
Ꮳ tsa	Ꮴ tse	Ꮵ tsi	Ꮶ tso	Ꮷ tsu	Ꮸ tsv
Ꮹ wa	Ꮺ we	Ꮻ wi	Ꮼ wo	Ꮽ wu	Ꮾ wv
Ꮿ ya	Ᏸ ye	Ᏹ yi	Ᏺ yo	Ᏻ yu	Ᏼ yv



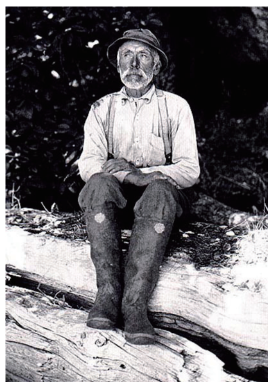
(left) Cherokee syllabary of 85 characters; (right) cover page of J. Mooney's *Sacred Formulas*, with portrait of A'yun'ini, Swimmer, Eastern Cherokee informant, wearing head turban and holding gourd rattle; photograph by J. Mooney, Qualla Reservation, North Carolina, 1888. (Courtesy of SI-NAA.)

Eastern Band. In 1890-1891, Mooney was instructed by Powell to investigate the Ghost Dance Movement and the recent Wounded Knee Massacre of 1890. The results of his field research into the causes, protagonists, and tribes involved in this messianic revitalization movement so tragically and abruptly suppressed on the frozen landscape of the Pine Ridge Reservation, were later published in his classic *The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890* (1896). Mooney also looked at another nativistic movement, the new syncretic peyote religion then spreading among the Southern Plains tribes. In 1891, while in Indian Territory, he had himself been a participant-observer in a number of peyote ceremonies. Despite some confusion on terminology between "mescal" and "peyote," only the latter being used, Mooney was impressed with the new, pan-Indian character of the new religion that combined Christian and Indian elements and symbols centered around the sacramental eating of peyote in the course of a long overnight ceremony. Shortly before his death, in 1818, Mooney, along with Francis La Flesche, and Algonquian linguist Truman Michelson (1879-1938), the three representing the Bureau of American Ethnology, testified at a contentious hearing before the House of Representatives in defense the ritual use of peyote by followers of the new religion. On the opposite bench, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, backed by assimilation advocates like the Indian Rights Association, the Society of American Indians, Col. Richard Henry Pratt (1840-1924) of Carlisle Indian School fame, and 'progressive' Indians including Yankton literary scholar Gertrude Bonnin (Zitkala-ša, 1876-1938) denounced Mooney, and by association the entire Bureau of American Ethnology. Col. Pratt in particular was enraged. As Omer Stewart noted in his classic *Peyote Religion* (1987), "the defense of peyote was led by Mooney" and Pratt had no sympathy for Mooney or ethnologists in general as he felt they were all a great impediment to the civilization of Indians. The embittered advocate of the "kill the Indian save the man" crusade accused Mooney of exploitation of the poor Indians and considered all ethnologists

like him, despicable.[64] Against Mooney spoke also Matthew K. Sniffen of the Indian Rights Association, who had conducted a field-survey tour of the Indians in Oklahoma: "all through the reservation districts — wrote Sniffen — [...] the peyote habit is on the increase and the officials are powerless, at present, to check it. To make matters worse [...] Mr. Mooney, of the Smithsonian Institute [sic], was recently working among these Indians, distinctly encouraging their old tribal customs, and particularly the use of peyote. He is said to have told them that the missionaries knew nothing about it and were not reliable, and they should pay no attention to what is said on the subject. It may be that Mr. Mooney is anxious to see the Indians retain their old ways and be regarded as interesting ethnological specimens for the study of scientists. *It does not look well for a representative of one branch of the Government (Ethnological Bureau) to try to interfere with the work of the Indian Bureau in its endeavor to advance the cause of civilization among these Indians*."[65] Mooney, for his part, replied by listing all the things ethnologists had done to help the Indians improve their lot on the "rez," the fault of corrupt agents and a repressive BIA, and offered to summon to Washington Indian representatives to speak for themselves. The 'fighting Irish' was relentless; he traveled to Oklahoma and encouraged local peyotists to incorporate under State law as a new religion called the Native American Church. In the power struggle between BIA politics and academic freedom in support of American Indian rights, the Secretary of the Smithsonian had to bow to political pressure and ordered Mooney back. The friend of the Indians died shortly thereafter; the Native American Church had won its first battle not only for religious freedom, but also for a new pan-Indian identity. When in the 1920s, Belgian linguist and Smithsonian collaborator Frans M. Olbrechts (1889-1958) went to Qualla Reservation to follow up on Mooney's studies, *Nunda*'s name was still held in high regard; it was the best introduction among the remote Mountain Cherokees who turned to Mooney's *Myths* for reference on selected aspects of their own traditional

culture. Quite appropriately, Oklahoma State University historian L.G. Moses dubbed Mooney *The Indian Man* (2002) in his biography of the famous anthropologist.

Less controversial, although at times understandably difficult due to personality issues and cultural differences, was another famous example of academic scholar and Indian informant collaboration, between Franz Boas (1858-1942) and George Hunt (1854-1933). The German-born Boas, famed professor at Columbia University and one of the fathers of American anthropology, rejected Morgan's evolutionary racism and embraced the concept of cultural relativism. Hunt was the son of an English Hudson's Bay Company Trader and a Tongass Tlingit woman of the Raven Moiety (Alaska). He was adopted through marriage by the Kwakiutl, who have since re-established their traditional ethnonym Kwakwaka'wakw, speakers of Kwak'wala (a Wakashan language).[66] Boas met George Hunt while doing fieldwork on the Northwest Coast in the late 1880s on the Jesup North Pacific Expedition sponsored by the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH). In his "Foreword" to *Chiefly Feasts: The Enduring Kwakiutl Potlatch* (1991), AMNH curator Stanley A. Freed wrote that "the close collaboration of Boas and Hunt was basic to their classic ethnographic studies and the formation of a great collection. [...] The Kwakiutl, the larger society, and scholarship have come a long way since the time of Hunt and Boas. People like Hunt, who were more or less comfortable in two cultures, were rare in his day, and great museums competed for his services."[67] A few years later, Boas took Hunt to



George Hunt, Native ethnologist and informant of Canadian-English and Tlingit descent, adopted by marriage into the Kwakwaka'wakw (Kwakiutl) tribe; photographed at Fort Rupert, British Columbia, in 1922. (Courtesy of Anthropology Library, SI-NMNH.)

the previously mentioned 1893 Columbia Exposition, where Hunt worked with other Kwakiutl on "live exhibits," transcribing Native language texts, and carving a totem pole. Unlike Sitting Bull's cabin, which at Fair's closing was dismantled and whose whereabouts became unknown, Hunt's cedar-wood totem pole stood for many years in a park in Chicago. A reminder, perhaps, that contrary to popular stereotype, Indians had not, and would not vanish. In a biographical sketch of this outstanding tribal scholar, Ira Jacknis remarked that George Hunt combined the positions of insider and outsider in his work as a Native anthropologist [...] as he grew older, Hunt was sought by many [Whites and tribal members alike] as an expert on Kwakiutl culture."[68] To preserve his culture in a time of great change, in 1900 he also asked Boas "for a camera and gramophone, and with his camera took a significant body of photographs."[69] Ultimately, as Jacknis pointed out, "while such ethnographic scholarship was initially a Western mode of comprehending Native culture, from the beginning Kwakwaka'wakw individuals have played key roles in constructing the white image of their culture, and more recently have become scholars in their own right."[70] In 1921, George Hunt's great-grandson Dan Cranmer defied the Canadian government's ban on the potlatch and was arrested along with other participants, their ritual paraphernalia confiscated. The potlatch went underground until the ban was lifted in 1951. The first "legal" potlatch was actually held among the Coast Salish Indians, and subsequently again among the Kwakwaka'wakw thanks to the leadership and determination of Chief Mungo Martin (1879-1962). Chief Martin worked from 1952 to 1962 at the British Columbia Provincial Museum in Victoria, carving totem poles, teaching, and building a Kwakiutl big house. Today, former Mungo Martin's students and members of the large Cranmer family are active in traditional Northwest Coast Indian art and academic scholarship both at the national and local community level. The daughter of Dan Cranmer, Dr. Gloria Cranmer Webster (b. 1931-) graduated in anthropology in 1956

from the University of British Columbia and has worked tirelessly for the repatriation of Kwakwaka'wakw objects, including those confiscated to her father, for Kawak'wala language preservation and cultural revitalization.[71] The U'mista Culture Centre in Alert Bay, where Dr. Cranmer was a curator for over a decade, is a testimony to her dedication and the constructive new "rez" realities of identity reaffirmation, culture and language revitalization, repatriation, and tribal museums. These "storage boxes of tradition" as tribal museums are referred to by Kwakwaka'wakw elders, reflect a much welcome change in government policies, the commitment of Native communities to cultural preservation and education, and the renewal of a long-standing collaboration between White academia and Native scholarship.[72]

Under Boas at Columbia studied a remarkable Mesquakie (Fox) Indian scholar from Oklahoma, William Jones (1871-1909), possibly the first American Indian to receive a Ph.D. in anthropology, in 1904. Jones had studied at Hampton Institute (later Hampton University), Virginia, and at Phillips Academy and Harvard, both in Massachusetts, before graduating from Columbia. In a tragic twist of fate and role reversal, Jones was killed while conducting fieldwork five years later in the Philippines among a native tribe of Northern Luzon. Apparently the result of 'field stress' and cultural misunderstanding, Jones was killed by Ilongot (Ibilao) tribesmen he had hired as collaborators. Jones was the first and only American Indian to die in the field in the course of academic anthropological research. His life story and tragic death is vividly retraced in a documentary by Collis Davis, *Headhunting William Jones* (1999, 2001).[73] George Hunt and William Jones belonged to a relatively small but very active new generation of mixed-blood speakers of American Indian languages who during the 20th century dedicated their lives to the formal study and preservation of mother tongues. Marianne Mithun summarized this positive relationship between the academia and the reservation communities as follows: "Some [American Indians] have become academics themselves, pursuing advanced degrees

in linguistics and anthropology; some have worked in collaboration with linguistics, and some have worked independently."[74]

Franz Boas is also credited for mentoring the young Ella Cara Deloria, (1889-1971, Yankton Sioux) into the field of anthropology. The daughter of Philip Joseph Deloria, the first Sioux ordained as an Episcopal priest, Ella (*Aŋpétu Waštė Wiŋ*, Beautiful Day Woman) went to mission and boarding schools, pursued higher education at Oberlin College, Ohio, and then at Teachers College of Columbia University, graduating with a bachelor of science in 1915. Living the unusual reality of an urban Indian in the Great Depression, she turned her Indian identity and ethnic exoticism to her advantage. It was a survival strategy, as her very grand-nephew Philip J. Deloria himself pointed out a few years ago here at Rikkyo University: "[Ella] posed for photographs in a beautiful buckskin dress, braided her hair, and wore beaded Indian headbands [...] she arranged speeches to women's groups, tutoring sessions with young anthropologists wishing to learn the Dakota language, and demonstrations for Camp Fire girls and other groups interested in 'authentic' Indian ways."[75] Ella soon caught the attention of Franz Boas. Under his tutelage, admittedly at times patronizing and self-serving, Deloria worked on numerous anthropological and linguistic projects, facilitated by her exceptional intellectual mind and knowledge of the three Sioux dialects. Ella's brother was Vine Deloria, Sr., also mentioned below in conjunction with his son, Vine Deloria, Jr., the famous social critic, philosopher, academic and prolific author, to whom we shall return. Ella Deloria herself published both scholarly and fictional works. Her *Waterlily* (1988) a historical novel of traditional Teton Sioux life as recounted by Lakota women, though completed in 1947 was only published posthumously; it was acclaimed as an outstanding example of American Indian literary nationalism.[76] She was also a pioneer woman scholar in her fieldwork in North Carolina among a 'mixed-race' surviving group who had been seeking official federal recognition as Lumbee

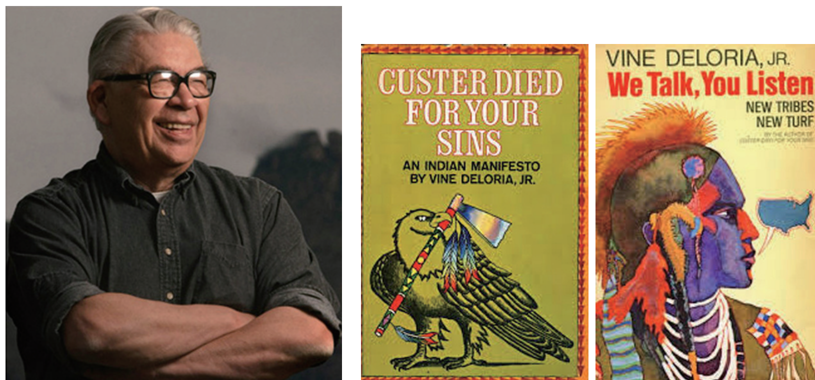
Indians; thus predating the current controversy over their hard-to-get federal acknowledgment. Ella Deloria's interests included museum and archival conservation. She worked at the W.H. Over Museum in Vermillion, emphasizing the importance of material culture studies and museum conservation at the local community level. Including the preservation of sensitive artifacts from the Wounded Knee 1890 massacre, tragically exemplified by the 'bullet proof' Ghost Dance shirts. In recognition of her outstanding scholarly contributions in cultural and language research and preservation, the University of South Dakota established the Ella C. Deloria Research Professorship in Indian Language and Culture.

Speaking of museums, the American Museum of Natural History in New York, like the Smithsonian in Washington, promoted collecting artifacts and ethnographic field research in the first half of the 20th century. Its publications in the series *Anthropological Papers* are, like the *BAE Reports* and *Bulletins*, primary sources of ethnographic information on a variety of topics: from Alfred Kroeber and Clark Wissler's studies in material culture — today of great new interest to both Indians and White hobbyists — to beliefs and rituals, including the famous sun dance of the Plains Indians. Now a classic, Dr. J.R. Walker's *The Sun Dance and Other Ceremonies of the Oglala division of the Teton Dakota*,[77] was published in 1917, during the official government prohibition of the ritual itself. A medical doctor, J.R. Walker had come to Pine Ridge Reservation in 1896, to improve the dismal health conditions of the Oglala Sioux and combat rampant diseases, especially tuberculosis. Walker's studies of Lakota religiosity and ritual practices are even more valuable because 'un-filtered' by pre-constructed, anthropological academic paradigms whereas reservation realities were caught in the middle, that is, between the proverbial hammer of the assimilation policies on one side, and academic institutions collecting material culture for museums and seeking information and collaboration for publications, on the other. Still, as modern Choctaw-Chippewa scholar Clara

Sue Kidwell (b. 1941-) recently stated, there is little doubt that, no matter how imperfect, collaborative work between White scholars and their Native protégées and informants was crucial in preserving "information that might otherwise be lost to communities, if it were entrusted only to living memory, and [today such works] have become part of the curricula of contemporary American Indian Studies programs."[78]

Reclaiming American Indian Studies as Sovereignty

As noted, native scholars were for the most part mixed-bloods who through education, dedication, and perseverance had overcome the obstacles of 'rez' life, and the self-defeatist victimization, searching instead for a compromising alternative to the oppressive politics of full assimilation and detribalization. By becoming scholars themselves, these trailblazers of a soon-to-be increasingly Indianized academia created a bridge between the 'rez' realities and the dominant society. They contributed to preserve a vast body of traditional knowledge, and set the stage for the philosophical and scholarly reclamation of American Indian studies by a new generation of educated and politically motivated Indians. Reflecting the changing demographics and socio-cultural realties of Indian Country, where the estimated blood quantum of tribal members had gone from about 50% full-blood in 1900-1910 to less than 30% in 1960-1970, like most of their scholarly predecessors the new generations of Indian academics, too, were and are today overwhelmingly mixed-blood. Still, regardless of the extent of their Indian ancestry (often indicated in parenthesis as an odd-sequence of tribal ethnonyms) or "Indian blood," today's new Indian scholars identify themselves, their theoretical framework, and methodological approaches, as "sociological full-bloods," disavowing any residue of cultural, philosophical, and even religious Euro-Americanism; hence committing in the process, metaphorically speaking, a sort of "ethnographic parricide."



(left) Vine Deloria, Jr., scholar, philosopher, and author of French-American and Yankton Sioux descent; (right) cover pages of Deloria's first books, *Custer Died for Your Sins* (1969) and *We Talk, You Listen* (1970). (Courtesy of Anthropology Library, SI-NMNH.)

Among 20th century Native scholars, no one exemplifies this "return to the future" of America Indian studies than Vine Deloria, Jr. (1933-2005), the mixed-blood son of Vine Victor Deloria, Sr., (1901-1990) a Yankton Sioux (mixed-blood) Episcopal archdeacon at Standing Rock and Pine Ridge Reservations. Vine V. Deloria, Sr., was himself the son of the Rev. Philip Joseph Deloria, (1853-1931, *Tipi Sapa*, "Black Lodge") also a mixed-blood Episcopal priest, and his wife Mary Sully (1858- *Akicita Win*, Soldier Woman), the mixed-blood daughter of Civil War veteran and famed "Indian fighter" Gen. Alfred Sully (1821-1879). Opening a brief parenthesis, for those interested in the web of historical and biographical connections in American Indian history, touched upon in this presentation, I will add that Gen. Sully played a role in the events leading to Maj. Eugene M. Baker's attack on the wrong Piegan camp in 1870. The real 'hostiles' were in Mountain Chief's camp, farther downriver on the Marias. After 'pacification,' Mountain Chief collaborated with anthropologists, as we mentioned earlier in reference to Frances Densmore. Back then, the mixed-blood issue was largely contained within the local tribal community, affecting primarily family relations and tribal politics, again at the local level. Addressing his own family

history, Vine Deloria, Jr.'s son Philip J. Deloria, (b. 1959-), also an academic, explained that the Dacota-cized "Deloria" genealogy of mixed French (François Des Lauriers) and Yankton ancestry, began with François '*Saswe*' Deloria (1816-1876), also known by his Dakota name *Ehawicasa*, Owl Man, and his Sihasapa/Blackfeet Sioux wife *Sihasapewin* (1827-1899). "If we were counting blood quantum — Philip J. Deloria, Jr., explained — Saswe (whose mother, *Mazaicuwin*, was from the northern parts of the Missouri) would have been three quarters Sioux. His son Philip Joseph — my grandfather's father — would have been seven eights." Percentages aside, concluded P.J. Deloria, Jr., "what matters as much as blood quantum is that the Delorias gave themselves up to the Sioux world. Though always recognized as mixed bloods and boundary crossers, they fought, parlayed, married, and vision quested as Indian people."[79] Still, Philip Deloria recognizes that "blood quantum" constitutes "a problematic category [...] one that remains visible and important in Native America." With the repercussions and contentious issues we saw earlier.

It is interesting that only two years before the death of Ella Cara Deloria in 1971, in a now completely new demographic, political and cultural climate marked by the rise of American Indian militancy and activism, Red Power, her own nephew, Vine, Jr., shook the public conscience and the "ivory tower" of White academia with *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto* (1969). It was the contemporary political and cultural critique of White America equivalent of Dee Brown's historical narrative. The following year, Deloria reiterated and elaborated his reclaiming of the Indian voice, long suppressed, in *We Talk, You Listen* (1970). As Brown had done with historiography, Deloria too forcefully reversed the old paternalistic roles, admonishing White America to stop telling Indians what to do. Indians, argued Deloria, with their communal way of life and traditional wisdom could very well decide for themselves. Speaking for all of Indian Country, Deloria told America, "were are not 'your' Indians,

anymore!" He emerged as a leading champion of Indian rights at a crucial time in modern Indian history. Only a few decades earlier, inconsistent and contradictory federal policies had first encouraged the "New Deal" in Indian Country with the IRA of 1934, but had later regressed to urban relocation, termination, and stripping of tribal rights in the 1950s-1960s, especially since the passage in 1953 of Public Law 83-280, soon known as the infamous 'Law 280.'[80] Nearly half of the American Indian population now lived in major cities across America, a result of BIA relocation programs, persistent poverty and lack of jobs on the 'rez.' The new American Indians were angry, and Deloria gave intellectual voice to that anger, pointing the finger also at academic scholarship for intellectual exploitation of Indian peoples and cultures. The American Indian Movement did pretty much the same, but directly on the ground, among the urban Indian communities and on reservations, in a more political, militant, at times violent way. While being a revolutionary in his outlook, Deloria was fundamentally a thinker and a scholar, not a radical moccasins-on-the-ground activist, a fact that, in retrospect, allowed him to move more freely and credibly within the academia. At least until recently, when he radicalized his critique of scientific dogma.

It is somewhat ironic that Deloria, in his biting criticism of White America and White scholarship, expressly targeted 'anthropologists,' the long self-proclaimed friends and champions of the Indians. Deloria ridiculed the modern cohorts of peculiarly clad academic scholars who periodically descended upon Indian reservations to conduct their 'salvage' fieldwork, with apparent no immediate positive return to the over-studied and anthropologized Indian community itself. Unintentionally, Deloria sided with Col. Pratt, at least as far as the latter's vitriolic charges against ethnography in general, fifty years earlier, are concerned. If is true that one drop of ink can spoil a gallon of water, then the controversial "exploitation" by famed anthropologist Alfred Kroeber (1876-1960) and

other academics of Ishi (ca. 1860/5-1916), the last surviving of the Yana Yahi Indians of California,[81] reinforced the Indian perception of exploitation generally associated with the daughter of colonization. More so, as Ishi was 'exhibited' at the Museum of Anthropology in San Francisco, and after death his brain was removed and sent to the Smithsonian. As Duke University anthropologist Orin Starn wrote in *Ishi's Brain* (2004), "a view of Ishi as an exploited victim was surely understandable given the brutalization of Native Americans through this Nation's history, and the degradation and humiliation which other human exhibitions like Ota Benga [a pygmy from Congo exposed at the 1904 St. Louis World Fair, and in the Bronx zoo] were subjected." The case of Ishi was not as cruel and humiliating, but conceptually similar. Starn, correctly noted that "the truth was more paradoxical. Kroeber and the other Berkeley anthropologists had viewed Ishi as a specimen of another culture, yet also as a beloved friend."[82] In August 2000, Ishi's brain was repatriated to representatives of the Redding Rancheria and Pitt River Indian Tribe of California.[83] The repatriation was made possible also thanks to the passage in 1990 of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (Public Law 101-601) commonly referred to as NAGPRA. For American Indian scholars and activists alike, welcoming the resolution of a disgraceful chapter in "anthros" and Indians relations, the repatriation was long overdue as the violation of Ishi's remains should not have been permitted in the first place. It was indicative of the priority anthropologists placed on "science" over the rights of Indians, at least in the past. The debate, however, is far from over, as the controversy over the 9,000 year-old Kennewick man has shown since the skeletal remains were found in 1996 along the Columbia River in Washington State.[84]

These and other anthropological 'studies' greatly angered Vine Deloria, Jr. In his thoughtful retrospective of Deloria's life and writings,[85] Frederick E. Hoxie pointed out that for Vine, Jr., "anthros" had been and still were "too preoccupied with their own abstract theories to understand

real Indians" and created conceptual frameworks that had little to do with both 'rez' and urban Indian realities. As a result, modern White scholars monopolized the field of American Indian studies. They taught that "Indians are folk people, whites are an urban people, and never the twain shall meet" with the result that such pre-constructed habits of self-subservient 'ivory tower' mentality produced what he called "intellectual stagnation." Deloria argued that "by expecting that *real* Indians should conform to a specific list of backward traits and live as 'folk people,' anthropologists, and their missionary colleagues, convinced themselves that helping Indians required changing of even eradicating their cultures. As a consequence, Deloria declared, the Indians' friends were really 'forerunners of destruction.' " Deloria was particularly angry at Oliver LaFarge (1901-1963), accusing him of manipulating "Uncle Tomahawk"-like, complacent Indians to his benefit and for favoring termination. Kenneth Philp, too, noted that "LaFarge was convinced that Indian should join the general population because a minority of four hundred thousand could not retain its identity forever among a different culture of 150 million people."[86] LaFarge was obviously wrong, and his membership in the anthropological community strengthened Vine Deloria's point against the field and him personally. Deloria, of course, a totally opposite vision, that called for stronger American Indian identity, greater sovereignty, and intellectual autonomy. Native peoples were not to be treated as 'anthropological informants' or 'wards of the government' anymore. The reawakening of Indian tribalism through political self-determination and spiritual renaissance was to do away with that old way of thinking and the anthropologized assumption that Native cultures were destined to disappear and still in need of a big brother's keeper.[87] Much less, for Deloria, they needed anthropologists.

Deloria's argument had many valid points, and his *Manifesto* was a wake-up call that increased the awareness of the academia towards modern Indian realties. But even Deloria had to admit, as he did in an article

titled “Religion and the Modern American Indian” that “in a number of [...] tribes, the recorded observations made by scholars about the nature and substance of the old religion seem to be very important.”[88] Deloria’s ground-breaking critique provided the philosophical, political and academic foundations for the establishment of specific American Indian studies programs in colleges and universities that had until then being ‘dominated’ by strictly anthropological and historical curricula. A forerunner of the new trend was the Institute of American Indian Arts (IAIA) established in Santa Fe by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1961 and now largely expanded. To the vocational component of the program, it included a preparatory curriculum for higher college education. Famous contemporary American Indian artists, many of them reservation-based, others working in urban environments, are among IAIA’s distinguished alumni, including Kevin Red Star (Crow), Gerald McMaster (Plains Cree/Blackfoot), Diego Romero (Cochiti Pueblo), Don Tenoso (Hunkpapa). In 1970, the University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, and the University of Arizona, Tucson, both in states with a large American Indian population, established an American Indian Program, as later did most larger universities, including the University of California at Los Angeles, Harvard, Dartmouth, University of North Carolina, and University of Oklahoma. Deloria himself was hired in 1978 by the University of Arizona to head a graduate program in the Political Science Department. Not ‘new’ anthropologists, but academic curricula to educate and forge an intellectual generation of modern American Indian leaders.[89] Today, Deloria’s scholarly legacy is reflected in the nearly forty Tribal Colleges and Universities (TCUs) in the United States and a dozen Tribal Colleges in Canada. Here, too, politics and policies played an important role, this time a positive one, with the passage in 1978 of the Tribally Controlled Community College Act (Public Law 95-471), under President Jimmy Carter’s administration. Shintaro Nemoto, one of Prof. Abe’s promising students also involved in fieldwork at Rosebud Reservation, gives a summary of the contemporary

issues of Native American higher education in a recent article published in your Institute for American Studies academic journal.[90] Importantly, most of the American Indian higher education institutions, such as Diné College, Tsaile, Arizona; Chief Dull Knife, Lame Deer; Fort Peck Community College, Poplar; Little Bighorn College, Crow Agency, all three in Montana; Oglala Lakota College, Kyle, and Sinte Gleska University, Mission, both in South Dakota; and Sitting Bull College, Ft. Yates, North Dakota, and many others are located on Indian reservations, embedded in the realities of modern reservation life, to promote educational excellence and self-realization for contemporary American Indians, balancing secular science and traditional Indian spirituality. In her own insightful presentation here at Rikkyo University, Dr. Nora Antoine (Sičangu Lakota), herself a faculty member at Sinte Gleska University, recently noted that "the primary difference between TCUs and mainstream U.S. colleges and/or universities is our mission to integrate and sustain our collective Native identities and cultures. This integration is [...] directly linked to Native custom and philosophy." Antoine referred to Vine Deloria, Jr.'s, leading example and his appeal to the American Indian spirituality as 'internal strength': "as such, expressions of spirituality through prayer and song are important aspects of TCU organizational culture. [...] prayers emphasize togetherness in mind and spirit and often are initiated by those who fluency in the Native language. [...] Lakota traditional prayers conclude with the term, *Mitakuye Oyasin*, meaning, 'We are all related.' This simple but important phrase [...] acknowledges our relationship with creation [...] and provides a strong reminder — as Vine Deloria, Jr. put it: 'our responsibility to respect life and to fulfill our covenantal duties.'"[91]

"Anthros" as Indians and Friends

Given my academic background, I cannot speak for sociologists

and pure historians, but in fairness to the many anthropologists who devoted their life to the field of American Indian studies, Deloria's 'tabula rasa' against the discipline ought to be partially challenged.[92] Like many of the predecessors whose examples we mentioned in the preceding pages, also in more recent years countless 'anthros,' linguists, and ethnohistorians collaborated with the tribes on a variety of studies and projects in support of Indian rights. A major anthropological involvement took place soon after WWII, when scholars and academics provided testimonies as expert witnesses in the tribal land claims before the Indian Claims Commission, since it was established in 1946. Their contributions to the cases were gathered in the voluminous *Garland Series in Ethnohistory*, an often overlooked but indispensable source of information for anyone interested in American Indian studies. We also need to remember that a number of Deloria's academic Indian contemporaries, were themselves anthropologists, and very much involved both in academic scholarship and their own reservation communities. Edward P. Dozier (1916-1971), was a Santa Clara Pueblo who earned his Ph.D. in 1952, and helped establish the American Indian Studies program at the University of Arizona.[93] Alfonso Ortiz (1939-1997) also a Pueblo Indian anthropologist, provided a window into that ancient and still vibrant Pueblo culture with his classic *The Tewa World: Space, time, Being, ad Becoming in a Pueblo Society* (1969). He also contributed to *Handbook of North American Indians* Vol. 9, "Southwest" (1979) covering Pueblo cultures. The constructive interplay between favorable politics, academic scholarships, and reservation realities is exemplified by the work of John J. Bodine (1934-1998) also a (mixed-blood) anthropologist with family connections at Taos Pueblo.[94] With his expert witness testimony before Congress, Prof. Bodine was instrumental in helping the return of the Sacred Blue Lake to the Taos Pueblo in 1970.[95] This was the first time in American Indian history that land was returned to an Indian tribe on claims based on religious rights. Bodine convincingly pointed out that the survival

of the Taos People depended on their yearly initiation pilgrimages to Blue Lake, which had been incorporated in the Carson National Forest thus disrupting the exclusive, religious access of the Taos People to it. In August 1971, some 1,000 people joined the Pueblo Tribe celebrate with a feast the historic return of their shrine along with some 48,000 acres of surrounding land. Access to Blue Lake has since been restricted solely to Taos Pueblo enrolled members.[96] In 1972, also during the Richard Nixon administration and in a new political climate favorable to Indians, a 21,000-acre portion of Mount Adams in Washington State was returned to the Yakama Nation. Mount Adams had been included in the map of the Treaty of June 9, 1855, signed by Isaac I. Stevens, Governor of Washington Territory, and by Chief Kamiakin (ca. 1800-1877) and other Yakima headmen.

There are many more examples of positive involvement of historians, anthropologists, and linguists at the local level, assisting tribes in the affirmation of treaty rights, land and water claims, cultural and language preservation and revitalization.[97] Scores of academic linguists devoted their life to the study of American Indian languages, working closely with reservation speech communities and archival materials. It seems proper to remember Japan's own Haruo Aoki, whose life-work was dedicated to Nez Perce (Niimiipuutímt / Sahaptian), a highly agglutinated or polysynthetic language. Aoki was born in Korea in 1930, did his undergraduate work at post-WWII Hiroshima University, and received his Ph.D. in Linguistics from the University of California, Berkeley, in 1965. His outstanding contribution to the preservation of Nez Perce, now an endangered language spoken by less than 100 people, has been praised by both the tribe and the academia. Aoki was a personal friend of my senior colleague at the Smithsonian Ives Goddard (b. 1941-) who has devoted his own entire life to the study of the Algonquian languages. Now a Linguist Emeritus, he focused in particular on Fox (Mesquaki), still spoken; Unami and Munsee (Delaware), spoken only by a few elders; and Massachusett, long extinct but

in the process of being reintroduced in New England Native communities. In 1996, Goddard edited Vol. 17 "Languages" of the Handbook, in which old and new language policies, past and present academic research and scholarship, and selected sketches of Native American languages are discussed. Goddard also compiled the new consensus classification *Map* titled *Native Languages and Language Families of North America* to accompany *Handbook* Vol. 17.[98] The "Languages" volume also acknowledges the many Native speakers and researchers who over the years joined forces with academic scholars for the study and preservation of their mother tongues, especially in the face of 20th century 'rez' realities of tribal languages loss. Of little over 200 Native languages still spoken in North America at the closing of the second millennium, only 50 languages were being learned by younger children, thus guaranteeing their survival. Fortunately, in a climate of increased collaboration between the academia and the tribal communities, Native language programs have now become a major priority for many tribes. Leanne Hinton, professor of linguistics at the University of California, Berkeley, pointed out that, "after centuries of indifference and efforts at suppression, by the beginning of the twenty-first century social attitudes toward native languages [have] changed. [...] By the year 2000 language revitalization was a strong movement among indigenous groups in the United States and Canada."[99] Similarly, using powerful analogies, Northern Cheyenne educator Richard E. Littlebear, President of Chief Dull Knife College, Lame Deer, Montana, emphasized the urgency of language preservation and revitalization as cultural sovereignty, tribal identity and survival: "Our languages mean much. They encompass whole linguistic solar system of spiritual expression, whole galaxies that express universal human values like love, generosity, and belonging, and whole universes of references that enable us to cope with and ever-changing world. Because our elders are moving on it is up to us to help strengthen our languages. When one elder journeys to the spirit world, a whole Smithsonian

Institution's worth of information goes with him or her. We have to retain that information in our languages, and that is why language is so vitally important."[100]

At the Smithsonian, the National Anthropological Archives, under the past directorship of Dr. Herman Viola, and currently that of Dr. Jake Homiak, pursued a program of historical images and documents sharing with tribal museums and cultural centers throughout Indian Country. Still at the Smithsonian, in the Department of Anthropology heir to the J.W. Powell's legacy, the new program *Recovering Voices* fosters academic and tribal collaboration with speakers of endangered Native/Aboriginal languages, in North America and globally. The program aims at the preservation, recovery and support of on-reservation tribal initiatives focusing on language and traditional knowledge sustainability. The same National Museum of the American Indian, inaugurated in 2004 with a historic parade of Indian Nations representing the Native Peoples from the entire Western Hemisphere, has been instrumental in expanding the

(left) Parade of Nations, inauguration of the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI); (right) W. Richard "Rick" West, Jr., Director of NMAI of Scottish-American and Southern Cheyenne descent with Sen. Ben Nighthorse Campbell, of Portuguese and Northern Cheyenne descent at NMAI inauguration, September 2004. (Courtesy of SI-NMAI.)
Note: in the early 1960s, Ben Campbell attended Meiji University in Tokyo, and in 1964 he was a member of the U.S. judo team who competed in the Tokyo summer Olympics at the Budokan.

academic dialogue on American Indians studies, "beyond anthropology." Tribal and community scholars, American Indian academics and political activists are now playing a leading role in defining and exploring new directions in field research on "the rez," in the revision of anthropological orthodoxy, and in the philosophy and methodology of exhibiting Indian cultures and key historical themes — such as treaties — in contemporary museum context. The new "Nation to Nation" exhibit at the National Museum of the American Indian in Washington, scheduled to run from 2014 to 2018, is a case in point.[101] In fact, tribal museums across the U.S. and Canada have inaugurated a new era of collaboration between the academia at large and local communities. A concerted effort of "decolonization" both the national and local tribal level, as Amy Lonetree (Ho-Chunk [Winnebago]) pointed out in her *Decolonizing Museums* (2012). Again, the charismatic and intellectual leadership of Vine Deloria, Jr., was, and his legacy continues to be instrumental in redefining tribal museums as cultural expression and voice of the Native people; but also in the tangible reclaiming of American Indian collections stored or exhibited in national museums with little or no regard to the Native cultural values and religious sensitivities. Lonetree mentions the exhibition of Iroquois False Society Masks at MAI. In fact, she wrote that "while serving as vice-director of the [Museum of the American Indian (MAI) in New York] in the 1980s, Deloria would later play a critical role in lobbying for the transfer of the [MAI] museum to the Smithsonian."[102] A symbolic sign of the new era was the removal of the Iroquois masks from public viewing. At the same time, it was clear that only a national institution like the Smithsonian could guarantee the proper conservation, along with the repatriation of selected items, of the large holdings of the George Gustav Heye Foundation, and most if not all Native American scholars and White academics supported the 1989 Smithsonian acquisition; with the intellectual understanding and the legal mandate that a new National Indian Museum would now

re-tell the story, once long the sole domain of White anthropologists and historians. A new Indian and White scholarly partnership to replace White only academic hegemony. This seemingly obvious, once long neglected, and now highly valued approach is addressed by Raney Bench, formerly at the Abbe Museum, Bar Harbor, Maine, who recently pointed out: "Native communities understand the importance of sharing information about their history and culture, and often value non-Native partners in the process because it is understood that neither Native communities nor museums have the resources needed to embark on this alone. Authors M. Scott Momaday and Vine Deloria, Jr., write about the challenges of balancing scientific perspectives with oral history, but, 'in different ways, Momaday and Deloria urge Indians to take control over their own heritage because in doing so, they will also gain control over their own identities.' This is at the core of all partnerships with native Communities, and creating opportunities to explore multiple ways of knowing about the world and the past and sharing authority to tell different stories are ways that museums can support in the process."[103]

The last decades has thus witnessed an unprecedented growth in the field of North American Indian Studies and collaborative initiatives across Indian Country with the wider American and Canadian academia. Furthermore, once the almost exclusive domain of North American scholars, Indian studies have become increasingly 'globalized,' mirroring a parallel trend in the globalization of the Indigenous rights movement. Canadian anthropologist Roland Niezen discusses Indigenous transnationalism in his contribution "The Globalized Indigenous Movement" to Vol. 2 of the *Handbook*.[104] Within the international academia, European scholars have joined their American counterparts in field research 'on the rez' and in museums and archival studies making major contributions to the field. The late British ethnologist Colin F. Taylor (1937-2004) was a leading scholar of the Plains Indians, devoting special attention to material culture,

iconography, and ethnohistory.[105] Similarly, Austrian ethnologist and ethnohistorian Christian F. Feest (b. 1945-) also exemplifies the great interest and involvement of modern European scholars in American Indian Studies. Besides countless scholarly publications on a variety of Indian-related topics, Feest founded and edited for nearly three decades the authoritative *European Review of Native American Studies* (ERNAS, 1987-2007), expanding the scope and interest of research to American Indian and European links and themes. Here in Japan, too, what was until a few decades ago only, perhaps, an academic 'curiosity,' American Indian Studies have matured into solid, interdisciplinary scholarship. As I mentioned in the beginning, my host Prof. Juri Abe, as well as other Japanese scholars and students are involved in local 'rez' realities, and their studies integrate both theoretical frameworks and field research. Dr. Abe herself has been conducting fieldwork on the Rosebud Indian Reservation of South Dakota for twenty years, with special attention to the issues of higher education and nation building. She is currently working on a new book on the subject.

New developments have also helped shift the focus of research from traditional tribal ethnographies to contemporary issues, especially among Native scholars. The militant activism of the 1970s-1980s called for retrospective intellectual and political studies, and a new genre of "militant literature" followed the initial denunciation of Deloria's *Manifesto*, and his subsequent writings. His message has been radicalized by an increasingly large and vocal segment of the new American Indian academia calling, as me have seen, for decolonization of the Indian mind and Indigenization of Indian studies. A collective effort by Native scholars, including Waziyatawin Angela Wilson (Dakota) and Michael Yellow Bird (Sahnish/Arikara and Hidatsa) even produced a *Decolonization Handbook*, (2009) an intellectual and practical guide to Indigenous liberation strategies.[106] As a sign the time, the volume was published by the prestigious School of American Research (SAR, now School for Advanced Research), originally founded by the old

anthropological academia in 1907 in Santa Fe, with the input of Alice C. Fletcher and other famous "anthros." The School promoted archeological and ethnographic studies in the American Southwest, considered an ideal "laboratory for anthropology."[107] On the current themes of decolonization and empowerment and related issues has written senior (now retired) native scholar Elizabeth Cook-Lynn (b. 1930-, Crow Creek Sioux Tribe). Cook-Lynn pursued a degree in journalism and psychology and broke the anthropological 'bond' promoting American Indian Studies as an interdisciplinary academic discipline in which Native scholars should lead. In 1985, she co-founded and edited the peer-reviewed, biannual *Wicazo Ša Review* ("Red Pencil" in Lakota), dedicated to interdisciplinary writings on a variety of American Indian topics and issues. Among the new generation of Indian scholars, Devon A. Mihesuah (b. 1957-, Choctaw) also published on a broad spectrum of contemporary American Indian and 'rez' issues: from stereotyping to decolonization, empowerment, repatriation, and activism. And, in response to dramatic health problems of most reservations, a tragic byproduct of post-Contact poor-diet and increasingly sedentary life-style, Mihesuah has addressed the 'hot' topic of traditional foods and fitness. Her most recent contributions thus range from *Indigenizing the Academia: Transforming Scholarship and Empowering Communities* (2004), to *Recovering Our Ancestors Gardens: Indigenous Recipes and Guide to Diet and Fitness* (2005). The revitalization and indigenization of the natural food movement at the local tribal level parallels the global movements against GMO/OMG, industrially-produced foods; It aligns itself with the "Slow Food" movement founded by Carlo Petrini in Italy in 1986. The movement has chapters on several Indian reservations, including the Great Lakes region for the conservation and traditional harvest of wildrice (*manoomin*); and among the Iroquois for the local promotion of the equally traditional "Three Sisters" organic gardens (corn/maize, squash, and bean). Elizabeth M. Hoover, professor of American and ethnic studies at Brown University,

covers these topics in the ongoing hand-on project "From Garden Warriors to Good Seeds."[108] Hoover will contribute a chapter on this very topic to the forthcoming Vol. 1 of the *Handbook*, scheduled to be published in 2016. Related to the food movement, the highly critical and urgent issue of climate change has also moved to the forefront of academic Indian Studies in the U.S. and Canada, as shown by the in-depth research conducted by Julie Koppel Maldonado and colleagues, *Climate Change and Indigenous Peoples in the United States* (2014), and Ashleigh Downing and Alain Cuerrier, "A Synthesis of the Impacts of Climate Change on the First Nations and Inuit of Canada" (2011).[109]

One Drop of Ink

Not all is well, though, in American Indian studies. We mentioned in the beginning the intolerance of (federally recognized — BIA card bearing) 'real Indians' towards the 'others.' The 'others' include people of minimal Indian or mixed tri-racial ancestry who have already joined in, or still want to join in, the Indigenous identity revolution (the Indian band-wagon, in the vernacular). Bonita Lawrence warned against this racial and political divisiveness, noting that: "it is not simply a matter of 'brainwashing' that pushes Native communities to wrestle continuously with the different definitions of Indianness provided by the colonizer as some means of providing boundary markers against the colonizing society. Until traditional models of governance have been reclaimed and actualized, Native communities will continue to be plagued with struggles over identity and entitlement barriers. The critical issue facing Native communities is whether they can break with the 'grammar' of government regulatory discourses to reform traditional geopolitical units and alliances without taking colonizer definitions into those recreated forms of Indigenous governance."[110] The intolerance of 'real Indians' towards individuals with

questionable 'Native' credentials is not always misplaced. Historically, there have been some individuals who, for a variety of reasons, 'posed' as Indians. Like British-born Archibald Belaney (1888-1938), better known as 'Grey Owl'; and Louisiana-born, Sicilian-American, Espera Oscar de Corti (1904-1999), who went by the name of Iron Eyes Cody and became a famous actor and an "Indian" spokesperson for the anti-littering, environmental movement. Aside from the ethical issue of "imposture," both Belaney and de Corti contributed to raise popular awareness about the American Indians, ecology, and conservation at a time when Indians were still marginalized, both in the US and Canada. Closer to the academic world, the problem is that some 'wannabes" also entered the institutions of higher education, riding the wave of political opportunism. Facetiously identifying themselves as "Indian," they infiltrated the ranks of legitimate Native American scholarship, as an academic equivalent of the "plastic medicine-men" denounced by the tribal elders for their exploitation of American Indian religion. A highly publicized case has been that of Ward Churchill (b. 1947-), ethnic studies professor at the University of Colorado, Boulder. This prolific and aggressive scholar, claiming tribal membership without proper documentation, built his academic career on the radicalization of Indian studies.[111] He was dismissed from the University of Colorado in 2007.

Looking Forward

On a less contentious level, academic scholarship has also revisited the complex issue of Native American historical demography, with an assessment of old anthropological estimates of the aboriginal population of North America, considered too low. Here, too, the political and ideological message is implicit in the research and reflected in the resulting publications, drawing a strong analogy to other historical cases of genocide, as Cherokee scholar Russell Thornton has done in *American Indian Holocaust and Survival*

(1990).[112] His critical look at the devastating impact of conquest and colonization on Indian demographics is also a testimony to the resilience and the 'survival' of Native Peoples. This is an affirmation of the demographic visibility of Indians, today more noticeable at the regional level on the political arena, and local economics; and a definitive rejection of the 'vanishing Indian' stereotype of a century ago. Updating Thornton's data, there are today, in the U.S., some 566 federally recognized tribes with nearly 2 million tribal members, half of them still living on reservations. On the total, some 4 million Americans self-identify themselves as ethnic or tribal Indians, or claim Indian descent to varying degrees even without a specific federal or state tribal membership; they represent about 1.5 percent of the total 313 million U.S. population. In Canada, there are 1.4 million Aboriginal Peoples, about 4.3 percent of the total Canadian population: 850,000, or about 60 percent of Aboriginal Peoples, are First Nations, most of them 'registered Indians." Canada recognizes some 600 First Nations, in addition to 450,000 Métis and 60,000 Inuit. To the demographic awakening across Indian Country in the 1970s, corresponded the passage of several important pieces of pro-Indian federal legislation: the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) of 1971; the American Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act (Public Law 93-638) of 1975; the American Indian Religious Freedom Act (AIRFA, Public Law 95-341) of 1978, amended in 1994, and the implementation in 1978 of the BIA Federal Acknowledgment Program, previously mentioned, calling for revised studies on the complex issue of sovereignty, blood-quantum, race and identity; and again, not without a degree of controversy *within* the American Indian community itself.[113] The right of tribes to determine their membership was officially recognized in 1978 with the famous *Santa Clara Pueblo v. Martinez* decision. The U.S. Supreme Court reiterated "that Indian tribes are sovereigns. As such, they are generally protected from lawsuit" and, as far as membership is concerned, tribes have the right to set their own criteria. Even if such criteria may be considered discriminatory and in

violation of civil rights by individual Indians and/or the wider American society. Modern tribal governance, the occasional kinship-based factional disputes, the dichotomy between elected / BIA recognized tribal governments and traditional leadership have called for new scholarly studies in light of the strengthening of the government-to-government principle in federal-Indian relations, as Sharon O'Brien has shown in her classic *American Indian Tribal Governments*.[114] Other issues tied to sovereignty have been revisited, including the crucial principle of American Indian water rights, which directly affects reservation and White communities alike.[115] Tribal water rights are protected by the famous *Winters* doctrine set forth in 1908 by the U.S. Supreme Court. The Court recognized that tribes have the right to "enough water to irrigate their lands and make the reservation viable and productive. [...] Indian reservations are created by Congress with the intention of making them habitable and productive, and whatever water is necessary to meet this goal is reserved by implication for the tribe's use."[116] On the economic front, but again with obvious sociological and political implications, sovereignty has lead to the opening of casinos on many Indian reservations, with federal intervention in 1988 with the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act (IGRA). As a result, academic studies have assessed the impact of casinos and casino-generated revenues on tribal life, showing that, against the skeptics, most but not all tribal communities has generally benefited by the opening of casinos and tribal compact agreements with the States.[117] The problem remains that casino revenues are closely linked to the overall status of the national economy, and a recent downturn has had negative repercussions on many tribal casino operations. Yet, as we speak, the U.S. economy is showing again signs of recovery, so it remains to be seen how this new economic trend will reflect also on Indian casinos and local reservation economies. On a less volatile front, as we mentioned earlier, federal policies protecting American Indian religious freedom, especially the passage of AIRFA in 1978, and NAGPRA in 1990 have affected directly the academia, museums, and

local Indian communities. This has lead to increased collaboration between scholars, museum officials, and tribal representatives, for the determination and resolution of petitions for repatriation of tribally identifiable human remains, funerary and sacred objects, and other objects of proven cultural patrimony.[118] The Repatriation Office was established in the Smithsonian Department of Anthropology in 1991, and it is has since repatriated hundreds of human remains, religious and cultural objects. The Repatriation process is helping "mending the circle," redress the century-old abuses perpetrated by the Academia "in the name of science," and bring closure to old tragic family histories and old tribal wounds.[119] Acknowledging the long overdue return of the sacred wampum to his own people the Iroquois, Richard Hill, Sr. (Tuscarora) declared: "It has taken one hundred years to undo a crime committed against our people. As long as we remember our cultural mandate, to consider the seventh generation to come, those wampum will never leave our possession again. Our very future as a people rests to those tiny shell beads."[120] Over one hundred years have also passed since Sitting Bull' cabin was disassembled and 'lost' after being exhibited in Chicago, as we said earlier. Under Repatriation, at least some other Sitting Bull personal items that had been unceremoniously removed from his body after his death have finally returned "home": in 2007, Sitting Bull's blue stroud leggings and a lock of his hair were repatriated to his great-grandson, Ernie LaPointe, previously mentioned.[121]

Ernie LaPointe, great-grandson of Chief Sitting Bull, photographed in South Dakota, 2007; Sitting Bull's leggings, repatriated along with a lock Sitting Bull's hair by the Smithsonian Institution to E. LaPointe in 2007. (Courtesy of Repatriation Office, SI-NMNH.)

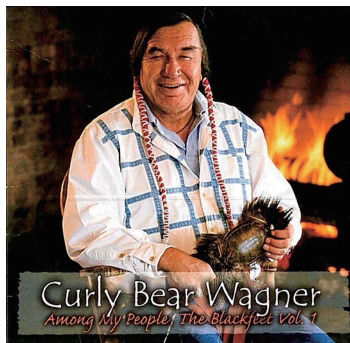
In addition to ongoing process of repatriation, decolonization, empowerment, and the great vitality of American Indians studies with new generations of Native and non-Native scholars joining the academia, new developments have occurred in the most recent months (2014) in Indian Country affecting the relationship between politics and 'rez' realities. First, this years has finally seen the long awaited payment, to the tribes and eligible individual recipients, of the Elouise Cobell (1945-2001, Blackfeet) $3.5 billion settlement for BIA mismanagement of Indian trust funds. Some $950 million have been sent out in the forms of checks to individual Indians, while another $1.9 billion have been set aside as a new Trust Consolidation Fund. The fund will be used to implement a "fractional land buy-back program" on some 150 reservations. The second significant event this year has been the signing by a dozen Northern Plains tribes of the historic inter-tribal Buffalo Restoration Treaty (2014) to create and co-manage a large common buffalo range across the US-Canada international border. The participating tribes included, on the American side, the Blackfeet Nation, the Assiniboine and Gros Ventres Tribes of the Fort Belknap Reservation, the Assiniboine and Sioux Tribes of the Fort Peck Indian Reservation, and the Salish and Kootenai Tribes of the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Indian Reservation; on the Canadian side, the Blood, Siksika, and Piikani Nations, and the TsuuT'ina (Sarsi) Nation of Alberta.[122] The third policy development was the passage of the Tribal General Welfare Exclusion Act (TGWEA, 2014), signed this Fall by Pres. Barack Obama, to exclude Indians living on reservations from taxation on benefits from tribal governments. Political partisanship aside, President Obama has had a special, personal relationship with the American Indians. In 2008, then Senator Obama was adopted by the Crow Nation while campaigning on the Crow Reservation for his historic presidential election. Once he became president, in 2009, he awarded the Presidential Medal of Honor to centenarian Crow tribal scholar, anthropologist and historian Joe Medicine Crow (b. 1913-), recognizing

the great humanity and contributions of this great man and a symbol for all Indian people. The academia, I suppose, will soon look into these new issues, their scholarly implications, and impact on the realities of 'rez' life.

Considerable progress has been made in the past forty years all across Indian Country. Still, many harsh realities remain. In a recent editorial bearing the heavy title "Homicide, Suicide, Violence, Abuse and Neglect on the Rez," Harold Monteau (Chippewa Cree), broke the barrier of "political correctness" and "victimization," and with plain and painfully honest language drew an alarmed picture of the social pathologies *still* affecting today much of Indian Country; he launched and an urgent call to individuals and communities to assume due responsibility for decisive intervention.[123] The picture Monteau drew is not very different from that of many poor enclaves in big and medium-size American cities, struggling with sociological, racial, and economic issues. On many Indian reservations, today, socio-economic problems are compounded by the perpetuation of dysfunctional family structures and the "hostile dependency" mentality, in a vicious cycle of cause and effect to which there seems to be no ending. Fortunately, in recent years American Indians studies have shown that along with the emphasis on Indigenization, sovereignty, empowerment, and decolonization, all necessary for the rebuilding of tribal Nations, the Native discourse in Indian country has focused also on individual commitment, personal effort, accountability, and responsibility — all traditional Indian values. The promotion of this critical message to the younger generations is what makes culture-sensitive strategies so important across Indian America, especially when included in the educational program from elementary school all the way up to tribal college and university. To the political recognition of Indian sovereign rights, the decolonization and Indigenization of academic studies, and economic empowerment, there must correspond also an ethical revolution, an awakening of the 'core spirituality' Vine Deloria, Jr., referred to during his exemplary life. In his

reply to a concerned tribal member who portrayed life on her Northwestern reservation as mere ʻsurvivalʼ Duane Champaign put it best when he wrote: "Indigenous communities have become more politically self-aware, and have mobilized to realize their political and human rights at the national and international levels. [...] National governments should be helpful materially and politically [honoring treaty obligations], but indigenous peoples cannot look there for full realization of their communities and values. Indigenous communities are their own strongest asset. Ultimately, indigenous people must look inward to themselves for leaders, institutions, innovation, and community consensus for taking on the task of developing healthy, sustainable, culturally grounded indigenous communities [...] into the indefinite future."[124] I agree wholeheartedly with Prof. Champagne, and I would like to conclude this long excursus with a personal note, quoting my late Blackfeet friend and mentor Clarence Curly Bear (1944-2009) who, while visiting at my old red-brick rambler in Virginia, sipping ʻsoda pop,ʼ once told me: "**you know Cez, Indians are real people, too. We have our issues, our problems, and our dreams, just like everyone else. The difference, perhaps, is that we are Indians!**"[125]

Thank you.



Clarence Curly Bear Wagner, Blackfeet culture historian and story-teller; cover photograph of his CD *Among My People, The Blackfeet Vol. 1* (2001).
(C. Marino's collection, gift of C.B. Wagner, 2002.)

This paper is a revised version of the public lecture I delivered at Tachikawa Hall, Ikebukuro Campus, Rikkyo University, on November 14, 2014. The lecture was chaired by Prof. Juri Abe, Institute for American Studies, Rikkyo University, whom I thanked in my introductory remarks. Rio Okumura and Shintaro Nemoto, also of the Institute, assisted with logistics; their cooperation in this and previous lectures is duly acknowledged.

Notes & References

1. Juri Abe, and Atsunori Ito, "A Review of Literature and Trends in North Native American Studies in Japan," *Japanese Review of Cultural Anthropology*, Vol. 8 (April 2007): pp. 137-170.

2. David Davis, *Showdown at Shepherd's Bush: The 1908 Olympic Marathon and the Three Runners Who Launched a Sporting Craze* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2012); the three runners were Tom Longboat, the Italian Dorando Pietri, and the Irish-American Johnny Hayes. See also: Jack Batten, *The Man Who Ran Faster Than Everyone: The Story of Tom Longboat* (Toronto: Tundra Books, 2009), a juvenile book with good historic photographs.

3. The all-day symposium was held on November 19th, 2014. The official announcement (copy in my possession) stated: "The 1989 National Museum of the American Indian Act (NMAIA) opened a new era in Native American-museum relations by giving legal weight to the spiritual and ethical concerns of tribes." Other important American Indian events are celebrated in Washington this November 2014: the 90th anniversary of the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924, and the 70th anniversary of the founding in November 1944 in Denver of the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI). On November 20, 2014, one of NCAI former executive directors, noted activist, author, and museum curator Suzan Shown Harjo (b. 1945-, Cheyenne-Hodulgee Muscogee), received the Presidential Medal of Freedom from President Barack Obama.

4. David P. Svaldi, *Sand Creek and the Rhetoric of Extermination: A Case Study in Indian-White Relations* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1989). See also: Ari Kelman, *A Misplaced Massacre: Struggling over the Memory of Sand Creek* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2013).

5. Perhaps as many as 200 Piegan Blackfeet, mostly women and children were killed on Jan. 23, 1870, near the Marias River, Montana, by troops of the 2nd U.S. Cavalry under the command of Maj. Eugene Baker; see: Robert J. Ege, *Tell Baker to Strike Them Hard*, introduction by Don Russell (Bellevue, Nebr.: Old Army Press, 1970); Andrew R. Graybill, *The Red and the White: A Family Saga of the American West* (New York: Liveright, 2014); Jerry Keenan, "Blood on the Snow," *Wild West* Vol. 27, No. 4 (2014): pp. 48-53.

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

7. Carol Turner, *Forgotten Heroes and Villains of Sand Creek* (Charleston, SC.: The History Press, 2010).

[8.] Every year, on the commemoration of Sand Creek, representatives of the Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes hold a ceremony at the gravesites of their righteous 'friends' Capt. Silas Soule and Lieut. Joseph Cramer, in Riverside Cemetery, Denver. Conversely, final reparation to the Cheyenne and Arapaho descendants of the massacre is opposed the federal government: Carol Berry, "Government Seeks to End Claims from 1864's Sand Creek Massacre," *Indian Country Today*, Oct. 10, 2013.

[9.] Thomas W. Dunlay, *Wolves for the Blue Soldiers: Indian Scouts and Auxiliaries with the United States Army, 1860-90* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987).

[10.] John W. Williamson, "Last Buffalo Hunt of the Pawnees," in Samuel C. Bassett, *Buffalo County, Nebraska, and Its People*, Vol. 1 (Chicago: S.J. Clarke, 1916), pp. 383-392; Paul D. Riley, "The Battle of Massacre Canyon," *Nebraska History* Vol. 54, No. 2 (1973), pp. 221-249; James Riding In (Pawnee), *Massacre Canyon: a Brief History* (Trenton, Neb.: Prepared for the Massacre Canyon Monument and Visitor's Center, 1999).

[11.] Wilcomb E. Washburn, ed. "History of Indian-White Relations," *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 4. (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1988). A Dartmouth College and Harvard University graduate, from 1968 to 1997 Washburn was Director of the Smithsonian American Studies Program and a major contributor to the *Handbook*. I had the pleasure of working with "Wid" Washburn since I first joined the Smithsonian in 1983. As Prof. Abe recalled in her introductory remarks, it was Washburn who introduced me to Sensei Tomita Torao when the distinguished Japanese scholar visited the *Handbook* Office. Francis Jennings examined Parkman, the 'covenant chain,' and the invasion of America. Wilbur Jacobs focused on the Colonial frontier and the dispossession of the tribes. Father Prucha, whom I also had the pleasure of knowing personally, has contributed a voluminous scholarship to many aspects of American Indian history, including federal policies, treaties, and peace medals. Alvin Josephy opposed Termination, introduced the 'patriot' theme to the Indian side of history, and addressed the rise of Red Power. Robert Utley (in my opinion) has performed best as a military historian of the Western Frontier, less so as a biographer of Indian chiefs.

[12.] Yasuhide Kawashima, "Jurisdiction of the Colonial Courts over the Indians in Massachusetts, 1689-1763," *New England Quarterly* Vol. 42, No. 4 (1969): pp. 532-550; also his: *Puritan Justice and the Indian: White Man's Law in Massachusetts, 1630-1763* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1986); and: *Igniting King Philip's War: The John Sassamon Murder Trial* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2001).

[13.] Jean M. O'Brien, *Dispossession by Degrees: Indian Land and Identity in Natick, Massachusetts, 1650-1790* (Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 215.

[14.] Compare, for example, Jeff Benedict, *Without Reservation: How a Controversial Indian Tribe Rose to Power and Built the World's Largest Casino* (New York: Harper, 2001); Kim Isaac Eisler, *Revenge of the Pequots: How a Small Native American Tribe Created the World's Most Profitable Casino* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2002); Brett D. Fromson, *Hitting the Jackpot: The Inside Story of the Richest Indian Tribe in History* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2003); Laurence M. Hauptman, "A Review of: Jeff Benedict, *Without Reservation* [etc.]," *Indian Gaming*, 19 March 2009. (Washington: National Indian Gaming Association (NIGA)); Anne-Marie d'Hauteserre, "Explaining Antagonism to the

Owners of Foxwoods Casino Resort," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* Vol. 34, No. 3 (2010): pp. 107-127.

15. Delphine Red Shirt, "Persona non grata" and "These Are Not Indians," *American Indian Quarterly* Vol. 26, No. 4 (2002): pp. 641-642, and pp. 643-644. Red Shirt is also the author of the autobiographical, *Bead on an Anthill: A Lakota Childhood* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997); and of the family history, *Turtle Lung Woman's Granddaughter* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002).

16. Duane Champagne, "Authenticity: Ethnic Indians, non-Indians, and Reservation Indians," *Indian Country Today*, Jan. 6, 2015. In addition to numerous articles, Champagne has edited and authored/co-authored several works, including: *The Native North American Almanac* (Detroit, [etc.]: Gale Research, Inc., 1994); *Contemporary Native American Cultural Issues* (Walnut Creek, Calif.: AltaMira Press, 1999); *Native American Studies in Higher Education: Models for Collaboration between Universities and Indigenous Nations* (Walnut Creek, Calif.: AltaMira Press, 2002); *Notes from the Center of Turtle Island* (Lanham, Md.: AltaMira Press, 2010). See also Endnotes 23 and 80.

17. Steve Russell, "The Racial Paradox of Tribal Citizenship," *American Studies* Vol. 46, Nos. 3/4 (2005): pp. 163-185.

18. Bonita Lawrence, "*Real*" *Indians and Others: Mixed-Blood Urban Native Peoples and Indigenous Nationhood* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004).

19. Karen I. Blu, *The Lumbee Problem: The Making of an American Indian People* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001). See also: Principal Chief Michell Hicks, "Testimony of Principal Chief Michell Hicks of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians: A Hearing on S.660, The Lumbee Recognition Act Before the Senate Indian Affairs Committee, July 12, 2006," (Washington: 2006).

20. Brewton Berry, "Marginal Groups," in: Bruce G. Trigger, "Northeast," *Handbook of North American Indians* Vol. 15 (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), pp. 290-295. See also Brewton Berry's classic *Almost White* (New York: Macmillan, 1963). A guide to the literature is: Lisa Bier, *American Indian and African American People, Communities, and Interactions: An Annotated Bibliography* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2004).

21. George Roth, "Recognition," in: Garrick A. Bailey, ed., "Indians in Contemporary Society," *Handbook of North American Indians* Vol. 2 (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 2008), pp. 113-128. Title 25 *Code of Federal Regulations*, Part 83 (1978), established the Federal Acknowledgment Program, now Branch of Acknowledgment and Research, within the BIA; it required the annual publication in the *Federal Register* of an updated list of federally recognized tribes.

22. Circe Sturm and Kristy Felhousen-Giles, "The Freedmen," in: Garrick A. Bailey, ed., "Indians in Contemporary Society," op. cit. pp. 275-284; Yoshitaka Iwasaki, "Freedmen and Native Americans after the Civil War: A Review of Literature," *Rikkyo American Studies* No. 32 (March 2010): pp. 161-180.

23. For opposite views on the Pechanga issue, see: Duane Champagne, "The Debate over Disenrollment," *Indian Country Today*, June 28, 2014; and, Rick Cuevas, "A Rebuttal to Duane Champagne's Recent Piece on Disenrollment," *Indian Country Today*, July 14, 2014.

[24.] Francine R. Skenandore, "Revisiting *Santa Clara Pueblo v. Martinez*: Feminist Perspectives on Tribal Sovereignty," *Wisconsin Women's Law Journal* Vol. 17 (Fall 2002): pp. 347-370.

[25.] Leslie Tillett, *Wind on the Buffalo Grass: The Indians Own Account of the Battle at the Little Big Horn River and the Death of Their Life on the Plains* (New York: Crowell, 1976), pp. 91-92. The account is, presumably, that of Chief Red Cloud's son Jack Red Cloud; the senior Oglala remained at his agency near Camp Robinson, Nebraska.

[26.] Charles M. Segal and David C. Stineback, *Puritans, Indians, and Manifest Destiny* (New York: Putnam, 1977); John Hausdoerffer, *Catlin's Lament: Indians, Manifest Destiny, and the Ethics of Nature* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2009).

[27.] Reuben G. Thwaites, ed. *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791*, 73 vols. (Cleveland, Ohio: Burrows Brothers, 1896-1901). Joseph P. Donnelly, S.J., *Thwaites' Jesuit Relations: Errata and Addenda* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1967). Thwaites' work was also revised and updated by Lucien Campeau, S.J., ed., *Monumenta Novae Franciae*, 9 vols. (Rome: Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, 1967-2003).

[28.] Ives Goddard, "The Description of the Native Languages of North America Before Boas," in: "Languages," *Handbook of North American Indians* Vol. 17 (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1996), pp. 17-42. On the Black Robes, see also: Wilfred P. Schoenberg, *Jesuit Mission Presses in the Pacific Northwest: A History and Bibliography of Imprints, 1876-1899* (Portland, Oreg.: Champoeg Press, 1957).

[29.] Leslie A. Fiedler, "Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 1712-1778," in: Wilcomb E. Washburn, ed., "History of Indian-White Relations," op. cit. p. 680.

[30.] William Brandon, *New Worlds for Old: Reports from the New World and Their Effect on the Development of Social Thought in Europe, 1500-1800* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1985), p. 60. See also: Ter Ellingson, *The Myth of the Noble Savage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); and the classic by Hoxie N. Fairchild, *The Noble Savage, A Study in Romantic Naturalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1928).

[31.] Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (New York: A. Knopf, 1978); and his "White Conceptions of Indians," in: Wilcomb E. Washburn, ed., "History of Indian-White Relations," op. cit. pp. 522-547.

[32.] Gary E. Moulton, ed., *The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 13 vols. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983-2002); James P. Ronda, *Lewis and Clark Among the Indians*, 2nd ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002); Stephen E. Ambrose, *Undaunted Courage: Meriwether Lewis, Thomas Jefferson, and the Opening of the American West* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996); Castle McLaughlin, *Arts of Diplomacy: Lewis and Clark's Indian Collection* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003).

[33.] George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, 2 vols. (N.Y.: Wiley and Putnam, London: D. Bogue, 1844); reprinted (New York: Crown, 1975). See also: William H. Truettner, *The Natural Man Observed: A Study of Catlin's Indian Gallery* (Washington: Smithsonian Books, 1979).

[34.] Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, *Historical and Statistical Information Respecting the History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States*, 6 vols. (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo, 1851-1857).

[35.] Emory D. Keoke and Kay Marie Porterfield, "Socialist Theory, American Indian Influence on," in: *Encyclopedia of American Indian Contributions to the World: 15,000 Years of Inventions and Innovations* (New York: Facts On File, 2002), pp. 243-244; Elisabeth Tooker, "The United States Constitution and the Iroquois League," *Ethnohistory* Vol. 35, No. 4 (1988): pp. 305-336, disagreed with the thesis originally advocated by Bruce E. Johansen, *Forgotten Founders: How the American Indian Helped Shape Democracy* (Boston: Harvard Common Press, 1982). The contribution was officially acknowledged by the U.S. Congress with Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 76, 1987: U.S. Senate, *Iroquois Confederacy of Nations: Hearing Before the Select Committee on Indian Affairs, United States Senate, One Hundredth Congress, First Session on S. Con. Res. 76 [etc.], Dec. 2, 1987* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1988). See also: Donald A. Grinde, Jr. and Bruce E. Johansen, *Exemplar of Liberty: Native America and the Evolution of Democracy* (University of California, Los Angeles, 1991); Bruce E. Johansen, *Debating Democracy: The Iroquois Legacy of Freedom*, foreword by Vine Deloria, Jr. (Santa Fe: Clear Light, 1997); and, Gregory Schaaf, *The U.S. Constitution and the Great Law of Peace: A Comparison of Two Founding Documents* (Santa Fe: Center for Indigenous Arts and Cultures, 2004).

[36.] Daniel N. Moses, *The Promise of Progress: The Life and Work of Lewis Henry Morgan* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2009); Leslie A. White, ed., *Lewis Henry Morgan: The Indian Journals, 1859-62* (New York: Dover Publications, 1993); Thomas R. Trautmann and Karl S. Kabelac, "The Library of Lewis Henry Morgan and Mary Elizabeth Morgan," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, n.s., Vol. 84, Pts. 6-7 (1994): pp. i-xiv+1-336.

[37.] John Sugden, *Tecumseh: A Life* (New York: Henry Holt, 1997).

[38.] Alvin M. Josephy, *The Patriot Chiefs: A Chronicle of American Indian Resistance* (New York: Viking Press, 1969).

[39.] Robert M. Kvasnicka and Herman J. Viola, eds. *The Commissioners of Indian Affairs, 1824-1977* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979).

[40.] D.S. Otis, *The Dawes Act and the Allotment of Indian Lands*, Francis Paul Prucha, ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1973).

[41.] Angie Debo, *And Still the Waters Run: The Betrayal of the Five Civilized Tribes* (Princeton University Press, 1940); new ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1984).

[42.] Kristin T. Ruppel, *Unearthing Indian Land: Living with the Legacies of Allotment* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2008); see also, Judith Royster, "The Legacy of Allotment," *Arizona State Law Journal* Vol. 27, No. 1 (1995): pp. 1-78.

[43.] Frederick J. Turner, *The Significance of the Frontier in American History* [1893] (New York: Henry Holt, 1921).

[44.] Sidney L. Harring, *Crow Dog's Case: American Indian Sovereignty, Tribal Law, and United States Law*

in the Nineteenth Century (Cambridge University Press, 1994).

45. Ernie LaPointe, *Sitting Bull: His Life and Legacy*, foreword by Dr. Lani Van Eck (Salt Lake City: Gibbs Smith, 2009).

46. Edward S. Curtis, *The North American Indian: Being A Series of Volumes Picturing and Describing the Indians of the United States, the Dominion of Canada, and Alaska*, Frederick W. Hodge, ed., 20 vols. (Norwood, Mass.: Plimpton Press, 1907-1930). Curtis produced a silent film, *In the Land of the Head Hunters*, also known as *In the Land of the War Canoe* (1914), a fictionalized documentary on traditional Kwakiutl life centering around the love story between Motana, son of chief Kenada, and the beautiful Naida, daughter of chief Waket. It was recently reissued in CD format. See also Brad Evans and Aaron Glass, *Return to the Land of the Head Hunters: Edward S. Curtis, the Kwakwaka'wakw, and the Making of Modern Cinema* (Seattle and London: Burke Museum and University of Washington Press, 2014).

47. There is a vast literature on the 'vanishing theme' and assimilation, including: Brian W. Dippie, *The Vanishing American: White Attitudes and U.S. Indian Policy* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1982); Frederick E. Hoxie, *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984).

48. Russell Thornton, "United States Native Population"; and, C. Vivian O'Donnell, "Native Populations in Canada"; both in: Garrick A. Bailey, ed., "Indians in Contemporary Society," op. cit. pp. 269-274, and pp. 285-293.

49. Nancy Yaw Davis, *The Zuni Enigma: A Native American People's Possible Japanese Connection*, foreword by Edmund J. Ladd (New York: W.W. Norton, 2001).

50. Frank Hamilton Cushing, *My Adventures in Zuni*, in: *Century Magazine* (December 1882, February and May 1883). See also: Jesse D. Green, ed., *Cushing at Zuni: The Correspondence and Journals of Frank Hamilton Cushing, 1879-1884* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990).

51. A detailed bibliographic guide to the *Annual Reports* and the *Bulletins* is: BAE, "List of Publications of the Bureau of American Ethnology; with Index to Authors and Titles," *Bulletin of American Ethnology Bulletin* No. 200 (End of Series) (1971).

52. A graduate from the University of California, Berkeley, and Yale University, Sturtevant was a leading 20th Century scholars and a friend of the American Indians, committed to cultural preservation, revitalization, and tribal museums. Perhaps the best recognition for his *Handbook* legacy came from world-renowned, fellow-anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss who called the series "an absolutely indispensable tool that should be found on the shelves of all libraries, public and private alike" (quoted in *Handbook* brochures). I worked closely with Dr. Sturtevant until his passing in 2007, when the *Handbook* was terminated. He personally assigned to me the editorship of the "Biographical Dictionary" (Vol. 18-19) of the *Handbook*, currently pending. Sturtevant's life and work are discussed by William L. Merrill and Ives Goddard, eds., "Anthropology, History, and American Indians: Essays in Honor of William Curtis Sturtevant," *Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology* No. 44 (2002).

53. Curtis M. Hinsley, Jr., *Savages and Scientists: The Smithsonian Institution and the Development of*

American Anthropology, 1846-1910 (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1981); reprinted in 1994 as: *The Smithsonian and the American Indian: Making a Moral Anthropology in Victorian America*.

54. Francis La Flesche, *The Middle Five: Indian Boys at School* (Boston: Small, Maynard and Co., 1900). (Reprinted in 1963, with a foreword by David A. Barreis.)

55. Joanna C. Scherer served as illustrations researcher for the *Handbook* since the beginning of the project. An expert in the field of visual anthropology, she has published several books on American Indian photographs, including: *Indians: The Great Photographs That Reveal North American Indian Life, 1847-1929* (New York: Random House, 1982, 1985); *A Danish Photographer of Idaho Indians: Benedicte Wrensted* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006); and she recently edited Alice Fletcher's *Life Among the Indians* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2013).

56. Joan Mark, *A Stranger in Her Native Land: Alice Fletcher and the American Indians* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988); Nicole Tonkovich, *The Allotment Plot: Alice C. Fletcher, E. Jane Gay, and Nez Perce Survivance* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012).

57. Alice C. Fletcher, aided by Francis La Flesche, "A Study of Omaha Indian Music," *Archaeological and Ethnological Papers of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University* Vol. I, No. 5 (1893).

58. Herman J. Viola, *Diplomats in Buckskins: A History of Indian Delegations in Washington City* (Washington: Smithsonian Instituton Press, 1981).

59. Effie Kapsalis, "Behind the Portrait: Frances Densmore and Mountain Chief," in: *The Bigger Picture: Exploring Archives and Smithsonian History*, Smithsonian webpage: <http://siarchives.si.edu/blog>

60. For a critical assessment of her voluminous production see Charles Hofman, ed., *Frances Densmore and American Indian Music: A Memorial Volume* (New York: Museum of the American Indian, 1968). See also the BAE "List of Publications," op. cit.

61. J.N.B. Hewitt, "Iroquoian Cosmology," Pt. 1 in: *Twenty-first Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, for 1899-1900* (Washington: Smithsonian, 1903), pp. 127-339; Pt. 2 in: *Forty-third Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, for 1925-1926* (Washington: Smithsonian, 1928), pp. 449-819. See also: Blair A. Rudes and Dorothy Crouse, "The Legacy of J.N.B. Hewitt: Materials from the Study of Tuscarora Language and Culture," 2 vols. *Canadian Museum of Civilization. Mercury Series. Ethnology Service Paper* No. 108 (Ottawa: 1987).

62. J.N.B. Hewitt, cited by Elisabeth Tooker, "The United States Constitution and the Iroquois Indians," op. cit. pp. 328-329.

63. L.G. Moses, *The Indian Man, A Biography of James Mooney* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002).

64. Omer C. Stewart, *Peyote Religion: A History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), pp. 219-223, et seq.

65. M.K. Sniffen, "Report on Field Work," in: *Sixty-sixth Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the Indian Rights Association, for 1918* (Philadelphia: 1918), p. 15.

[66.] Wayne Suttles, "The Spelling of Kwakwala," in: Aldona Jonaitis, ed., *Chiefly Feasts: The Enduring Kwakiutl Potlatch* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991), pp. 15-20; the edited volume to accompany the exhibit with the same title. Wayne Suttles (1918-2005) was a leading scholar and a passionate friend of the Northwest Coast Indians. His testimonies on behalf of Indian treaty fishing rights had a major impact on legal cases both in the US and Canada. I had the pleasure of working with Wayne Suttles on "Northwest Coast," *Handbook of North American Indians* Vol. 7 (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1990).

[67.] Stanley A. Freed, "Foreword," in: Aldona Jonaitis, ed., *Chiefly Feasts*, op. cit. p. 9.

[68.] Ira Jacknis, "George Hunt, Collector of Indian Specimens," in: ibid. p. 220.

[69.] Ibid. p. 220

[70.] Ira Jacknis, *The Storage Box of Tradition: Kwakiutl Art, Anthropologists, and Museums, 1881-1981* (Washinton: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2002), p. 78.

[71.] Gloria Cranmer Webster, "The Contemporary Potlatch," in: Aldona Jonaitis, ed., *Chiefly Feasts*, op. cit. pp. 227-250.

[72.] Aldona Jonaitis, ed., *Chiefly Feasts*, op. cit; Ira Jacknis, *The Storage Box of Tradition*, op. cit.

[73.] Collis H. Davis, Jr., *Headhunting William Jones*, 58-minute video documentary (Columbus, Ohio: Okara Art Limited, 1999, 2001). A biography was published shortly after Jones' death by Henry M. Rideout, *William Jones: Indian, Cowboy, American Scholar, and Anthropologist in the Field* (New York: F.A. Stokes, 1912).

[74.] Marianne Mithun, "The Description of the Native Languages of North America," in: Ives Goddard, ed., "Languages," op. cit. pp. 56-57.

[75.] Philip J. Deloria, "Three Lives, Two Rivers: One Marriage and the Narratives of American Colonial History," *Rikkyo American Studies* No. 32 (March 2010): p. 109 [pp. 103-128].

[76.] Ella C. Deloria, *Waterlily* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988). New ed., with an Introduction by Susan Gardner, [etc.] (Bison Books, 2009).

[77.] J.R. Walker, "The Sun Dance and Other Ceremonies of the Oglala Division of the Teton Dakota," *American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers* Vol. XVI, Pt. II (1917).

[78.] Clara Sue Kidwell, "Native American Studies Program," in: Garrick A. Bailey, ed., "Indians in Contemporary Society," op. cit. p. 413 [pp. 412-420].

[79.] Philip J. Deloria, "Three Lives, Two Rivers [...]," op. cit. pp. 115-116.

[80.] Duane Champagne, *Captured Justice: Native Nations and Public Law 280* (Durham, N.C.: Carolina Academic Press, 2012).

[81.] Theodora Kroeber, *Ishi in Two Worlds: A Biography of the Last Wild Indian in North America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961); also, Robert F. Heizer and Theodora Kroeber, eds.,

Ishi the Last Yahi: A Documentary History (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979).

[82] Orin Starn, *Ishi's Brain: In Search of America's Last 'Wild' Indian* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2004), pp. 152-153.

[83] Smithsonian Institution. Repatriation Office, *The Repatriation of Ishi, the Last Yahi Indian* (Repatriation Office, NMNH, 2000).

[84] Douglas W. Owsley and Richard L. Jantz, *Kennewick Man: The Scientific Investigation of an Ancient American Skeleton* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2014); David H. Thomas, *Skull Wars: Kennewick Man, Archaeology, and the Battle for Native American Identity*, foreword by Vine Deloria, Jr. (New York: Basic Books, 2000).

[85] Frederick E. Hoxie, "Indian American or American Indian? Vine Deloria, Jr., Sioux," in: *This Indian Country: American Indian Activists and the Place They Made* (New York: Penguin Books, 2012), pp. 337-392.

[86] Kenneth R. Philp, *Termination Revisited: American Indians on the Trail to Self-Determination, 1933-1953* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), p. 86.

[87] Edgar S. Cahn, *Our Brother's Keeper: The Indian in White America* (New York: World Publishing, 1972).

[88] Vine Deloria, Jr., "Religion and the Modern American Indian," *Current History: A World Affairs Monthly* Vol. 67, No. 400 (1974): p. 253 [pp. 250-253].

[89] Russell Thornton, "American Indian Studies as an Academic Discipline," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* Vol. 2, No. 3 (1978): pp. 10-19; also his *Studying Native America: Problems and Prospects* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998).

[90] Shintaro Nemoto, "The Political Reform on the Native American Higher Education in 1970s: The Process of Making the Tribally Controlled Community College Assistance Act of 1978 and Issues around Its Enforcement," *Rikkyo American Studies* No. 36 (March 2014): pp. 93-114.

[91] Nora Antoine, "Culture & Connection: The Power of TCU Relationships," *Rikkyo American Studies* No. 36 (March 2014): pp. 73-89.

[92] Nancy Oestreich Lurie, "Relations between Indians and Anthropologists," in: Wilcomb E. Washburn, ed. "History of Indian-White Relations," op. cit. pp. 548-556.; Thomas Biolsi and Larry J. Zimmerman, *Indians and Anthropologists: Vine Deloria, Jr., and the Critique of Anthropology* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1997).

[93] Marilyn Norcini, *Edward P. Dozier: The Paradox of the American Indian Anthropologist* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2006).

[94] John J. Bodine, *Taos Pueblo: A Walk Through Time* (Santa Fe, N.M.: Lightning Tree, 1977); Reprinted, 3rd ed., (Tucson: Rio Nuevo, 2007).

[95] John J. Bodine, "Taos Blue Lake Controversy," *Journal of Ethnic Studies* Vol. 6, No. 1 (1978): pp.

42-48.

[96.] John J. Bodine, "The Taos Blue Lake Ceremony," *American Indian Quarterly* Vol. 12, No. 2 (1988): pp. 91-105.

[97.] Jon Reyhner, et al., *Revitalizing Indigenous Languages* (Flagstaff: Northern Arizona University, 1999); William Frawley, et al., *Making Dictionaries: Preserving Indigenous Languages of the Americas* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); Janine Pease-Pretty On Top, *Native American Language Immersion: Innovative Native Education for Children and Families* (Denver: American Indian College Fund, 2005).

[98.] Ives Goddard, ed., "Languages," op. cit. With back-pocket color Map.

[99.] Leanne Hinton, "Languages and Language Programs," in: ibid. p. 351 [pp. 351-364].

[100.] Richard Littlebear, "Introduction," in: Janine Pease-Pretty On Top, *Native American Language Immersion*, op. cit. p. 7 [pp. 5-7].

[101.] Suzan Shown Harjo, ed., *Nation to Nation: Treaties Between the United States and American Indian Nations* (Washington: National Museum of the American Indian and Smithsonian Press, 2014). To accompany exhibit by same title.

[102.] Amy Lonetree, *Decolonizing Museums: Representing Native America in National and Tribal Museums* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), p. 79.

[103.] Raney Bench, *Interpreting Native American History and Culture at Museums and Historic Sites* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014).

[104.] Ronald Niezen, "The Global Indigenous Movement," in: Garrick A. Bailey, ed., "Indians in Contemporary Society," op. cit. pp. 438-445; see also his, *The Origins of Indigenism: Human Rights and the Politics of Identity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); and, Patrick Thornberry, *Indigenous Peoples and Human Rights* (Manchester, U.K.: Manchester University Press, 2002).

[105.] Barry C. Johnson, *Colin Taylor, Ethnologist of the Plains Indians: A Memoir, 1937-2004; Recollections by His Friends; A Bibliography of His Work* (Birmingham, U.K.: Bartletts Press, 2006); see also: Arni Brownstone and Hugh Dempsey, eds., *Generous Man — Ahxsi-tapina: Essays in Memory of Colin Taylor, Plains Indian Ethnologist* (Wyk, Germany: Tatanka Press, 2008).

[106.] Angela Wilson Waziyatawin and Michael Yellow Bird, eds., *For Indigenous Eyes Only: A Decolonization Handbook* (Santa Fe: School of American Research, 2005); see also: Margaret Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009).

[107.] Don D. Fowler, *A Laboratory for Anthropology: Science and Romanticism in the American Southwest, 1846-1930*, foreword by Brian Fagan (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2010).

[108.] See E.M. Hoover's website: <http://gardenwarriorsgoodseeds.com>

[109.] Julie Koppel Maldonado, et al., *Climate Change and Indigenous Peoples in the United States:*

Impacts, Experiences and Actions (Cham: Springer Publishing, 2014); Ashleigh Downing and Alain Cuerrier, "A Synthesis of the Impacts of Climate Change on the First Nations and Inuit of Canada," *Indian Journal of Traditional Knowledge* Vol. 10, No. 1 (2011): pp. 57-70.

110. Bonita Lawrence, "Gender, Race, and the Regulation of Native Identity in Canada and the United States: An Overview," *Hypatia* Vol. 18, No. 2 (2003): p. 25 [pp. 3-31].

111. Jim Adams, "Ward Churchill's No Indian," *Indian Country Today*, Monday, February 7, 2005.

112. Russell Thornton, *American Indian Holocaust and Survival: A Population History Since 1492* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987); Michael R. Haines and Richard H. Steckel, eds., *A Population History of North America* (Cambridge University Press, 2000).

113. Susan Scheckel, *The Insistence of the Indian: Race and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century American Culture* (Princeton University Press, 1998); Eva Marie Garroutte (Cherokee), *Real Indians: Identity and the Survival of Native America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); Claudio Saunt, *Black, White, and Indian: Race and the Unmaking of an American Family* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

114. Sharon O'Brien, *American Indian Tribal Governments* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989). Reprinted in 1993; see also O'Brien's article "Tribal Government in the United States," in: Garrick A. Bailey, ed., "Indians in Contemporary Society," op. cit. pp. 76-85.

115. John E. Thorson, Sarah Britton, and Bonnie G. Colby, eds. *Tribal Water Rights: Essays in Contemporary Law, Policy, and Economics* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2006).

116. Stephen L. Pevar, *The Rights of Indians and Tribes*, 3rd ed. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2002), pp. 239-240 [pp. 239-259].

117. Jessica R. Cattelino, "Gaming," in: Garrick A. Bailey, ed., "Indians in Contemporary Society," op. cit. pp. 148-156; also by Cattelino, *High Stakes: Florida Seminole Gaming, and Sovereignty* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2008); Christopher A. Oakley, "Indian Gaming and the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians," *North Carolina Historical Review* Vol. 78, No. 2 (2001): pp. 133-155. See also Pequot references in Endnote No. 14, *supra*.

118. Cressida Fforde, Jane Hubert, and Paul Turnbull, eds. *The Dead and Their Possessions: Repatriation in Principle, Policy and Practice* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002, 2004); also, David H. Thomas, *Skull Wars*, op. cit.

119. Barbara Meister, ed., *Mending the Circle: A Native American Repatriation Guide* (New York: American Indian Ritual Object Repatriation Foundation, 1996); Tamara L. Bray, ed. *The Future of the Past: Archaeologists, Native Americans and Repatriation* (New York: Garland, 2001); Roxana Adams, *Implementing the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA)* (Washington: American Association of Museums, 2001).

120. Richard W. Hill, Sr., "Regenerating Identity: Repatriation and the Indian Frame of Mind," in: Tamara L. Bray, ed., *The Future of the Past*, op. cit. p. 136 [pp. 127-138]; C. Timothy McKewon, "Repatriation," in: Garrick A. Bailey, ed.,"Indian in Contemporary Society," op. cit. pp. 427-437.

121. Repatriation Office. Smithsonian Institution, *Assessment of a Lock of Hair and Leggings attributed to Sitting Bull; repatriated on Dec. 5, 2007, to Ernie LaPointe* (NMNH, Repatriation Office, 2007).

122. Editorial, "Buffalo Restoration Treaty Signed by Tribes, First Nations," *Environmental News Service*, September 24, 2014; ICTMN Staff, "Bringing Back the Bison: Tribes and First Nations Sign Historic Treaty," *Indian Country Today*, September 25, 2014. Buffalo meat has been reintroduced in American Indian school lunches: InterTribal Buffalo Council, *Incorporating Buffalo Meat into the School's Lunch Menu* (Inter-Tribal Buffalo Council, 2013-2014).

123. Harold Monteau, "Homicide, Suicide, Violence, Abuse and Neglect on the Rez," *Indian Country Today*, Nov. 24, 2014; H. Monteau is an attorney and consultant for Indian Country Development, and an Advocate for Tribal Nationhood.

124. Duane Champagne, "Living or Surviving on Native American Reservations," *Indian Country Today*, Oct. 8, 2011.

125. Curly Bear, great storyteller, tribal historian, founder and director of Going-to-the-Sun Institute, Browning, Montana, had a big warm smile that reflected his big warm heart, and a good sense of Indian humor. All of this and more transpires in his photograph on the front cover of the CD he produced, *Among My People, The Blackfeet* (Vol. 1, 2001), his own narration of tribal stories and legends. Like other American Indians of his generation who had known the hardships of reservation life, discrimination, and alcohol, Curly Bear overcame the obstacles and gained a new appreciation of his tribal identity and of life in general, which he gladly shared with great many people. Todd Wilkinson, *Last Stand: Ted Turner's Quest to Save a Troubled Planet* (Guilford, Conn.: Globe Pequot Press, 2013), pp. 3-4, gave an honest portrait of Curly Bear when he wrote that "Clarence 'Curly Bear' Wagner had been told often that his face resembled the man on the buffalo nickel [actually, Iron Tail, Lakota]. He took it as a high praise. A respected Blackfeet cultural historian, Wagner championed a number of social justice issues during his life. As a youth, he got involved with the fledging American Indian Movement, joining activists who occupied Alcatraz Island [...]. Later, he fought to have the remains of native people, collected by anthropologists and stored in museums, returned to the earth. And he dug dirt on an archaeological project at Flying D Ranch. Curly Bear mused how odd it was that events in his life would lead to a convergence of shared passions with a famous businessman. Only in America, he said, could a kid who grew up poor on a reservation find a spiritual connection with a guy known to millions for doing the 'tomahawk chop' on national television while rooting for a professional baseball team called the Atlanta Braves." Incidentally, in 1990 the Braves removed the face of a laughing Indian from their logo, while retaining the tomahawk. On the current debate over Indian mascots see: C. Richard King, *The Native American Mascot Controversy: A Handbook* (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 2010); also, Carol Spindel, *Dancing at Halftime: Sports and the Controversy over American Indian Mascots* (New York University Press, 2002).