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Tribalism in Crisis: Federal Indian Policy, 1953–1961. By Larry W. Burt. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982. 192 pp. \$17.50 Cloth.

The termination of federal responsibilities for Indian tribes was a brief but dramatic episode in the history of federal Indian policy. It represented the ascendancy of one of the two principles which vied for dominance in Indian-White relations in the United States: total assimilation of the Indians into White society. The other principle, support of Indian tribes as separate, self-determining political and cultural units within the American scene, had guided the policy of the Indian New Deal under John Collier. In the Eisenhower years a strong reaction countered Collier's position of encouraging tribal renascence and autonomy. It is this eight-year period of Indian policy that is covered in this short monograph.

Tribalism in Crisis is a welcome contribution to an increasing number of scholarly works dealing with twentieth-century Indian affairs. Larry Burt's study, while by no means a full account of the termination policy, is the first general book on the subject to appear and as such deserves attention. The book begins with a detailed account of the selection of Glenn L. Emmons of New Mexico—an "influential Gallup banker and politician"—as Commissioner of Indian Affairs and relies heavily on Emmons' papers to carry the story through his administration. Attention is paid to the notions of limited federal government, economic individualism and ardent nationalism of the Eisenhower Republicans, all of which were in accord with an Indian policy that sought to limit government programs for Indians and to force Indian communities into conformity with mainstream America. The campaign to "free" the Indians from federal supervision and trusteeship is a large part of Burt's story. The author investigates the proposals to terminate specific tribes and concentrates, as is proper, on the two most important cases, the Klamaths of Oregon and the Menominees of Wisconsin. He discusses, too, what he calls "withdrawal by attrition," as services and protection traditionally supplied by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) were eliminated or transferred to other agencies. A major goal of the terminationists, Burt says, was to dismantle the BIA.

The strong drive for termination came from conservative con-

gressional leaders, chief of whom was Senator Arthur V. Watkins of Utah, chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Indian Affairs. Burt argues that Emmons himself did not favor immediate termination of all Indian groups, but he nevertheless shared with fellow businessmen of the Eisenhower administration a vision of progress through industrial development led by private companies. Too much government action, Emmons believed, was an obstacle to achieving the general good. His chief interest was to promote economic development of the reservations, a move that would lessen the need for federal aid and prepare the tribes to stand alone at some future date. One of the values of Burt's study is the emphasis he gives to the development programs. He notes their general lack of success, although he does not thoroughly analyze the causes for their failure.

Burt touches, too, on the government's policy of relocation of reservation Indians to urban areas, part of the attempt to improve economic conditions by moving Indians from the overcrowded reservation lands to cities where employment chances would be better. Since the urbanized Indians would no longer be under the federal programs (which were aimed primarily at reservations), relocation fitted well into the termination scheme.

Although Indians often complained about restrictions that accompanied federal supervision, none of the tribes were in fact ready for termination of federal services. The opposition was abating, Burt notes, and local and state governments came to realize the burdens that would rest on them if federal assistance to Indians ended. Rising Indian nationalism, moreover, brought forward strong and articulate Indian resistance, thus changes in the composition of the Congress, as Democrats replaced Republicans, changed the general atmosphere as well. So intense was the criticism from Indians and from Indian advocacy groups that the termination policy had barely begun when retreat was sounded. A sizable and especially valuable part of the book deals with the opposition to termination.

The book is the publication of the author's doctoral dissertation, only slightly revised, and suffers, unfortunately, from this fact. It would have been a better book had it been a new work based on the dissertation, not simply a publication of the dissertation as it stood. The main problem is that the study is narrowly defined—an account simply of Indian policy in the years of the

Eisenhower administration, 1953–1961. Since the termination policy originated before that period and since some of its implementation and most of its effects came after the period, the reader is given a truncated story. The Introduction and the Conclusion, both largely derivative and not well worked into the main story, do not overcome this weakness. The dissertation origin shows, too, in the inclusion of details whose pertinence to the main study is not indicated and in the more or less chronological recitation of "facts" without much of an overarching theme.

The termination policy had a tremendous psychological effect on Indian communities. Its importance may lie more in this realm than in the actual termination of tribes. All subsequent proposals for Indian programs were eyed critically by the Indians and their lawyers lest they contain some hidden germs of termination. This was especially true of economic development programs, for it was feared that any tribe's advance in handling its own affairs might be interpreted as evidence of readiness for the withdrawal of federal programs. While the factual account in Burt's book helps us to understand this phenomenon to some extent, the book does not directly address the problem.

The studies on termination will no doubt appear, augmenting and refining what Burt has done. But his book will remain an essential tool for understanding the post-Collier period in American Indian Affairs.

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Dammed Indians: The Pick-Sloan Plan and the Missouri River Sioux, 1944–1980. By Michael L. Lawson. Foreward By Vine Deloria, Jr. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982. 352 pp. \$19.95 Cloth.

Michael L. Lawson's *Dammed Indians* is an example of an encouraging trend in American Indian Historiography—to analyze recent developments in Indian-White relations. Until the last few years historians have been reluctant to address Native American problems in the post-1945 era. The appearance of *Dammed Indians* along with Larry W. Burt's *Tribalism in Crisis*, Peter Iver-