UCLA

American Indian Culture and Research Journal

Title

Rebirth of the Blackfeet Nation, 1912-1954. By Paul C. Rosier.

Permalink

https://escholarship.org/uc/item/17q3c313

Journal

American Indian Culture and Research Journal, 26(4)

ISSN

0161-6463

Author

Binnema, Theodore

Publication Date

2002-09-01

DOI

10.17953

Copyright Information

This work is made available under the terms of a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial License, available at https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/

Reviews 169

For the anthropological fieldworker, it is necessary to observe the contradictions between what people say (especially to the fieldworker) and how they act toward others. Survey results without ethnographic data to back them up are of very limited usefulness. Warren should not have relied on his limited sample as the basis to make such sweeping generalizations about Afro-Brazilians as, "Even blacks and pardos ... overwhelmingly concentrated in the poorer sectors of the economy, rarely appreciate how their capacity to get a job and put food on the table are intimately entwined with racism. ... they fail to grasp how white supremacy underpins their economic and social marginalization" (p. 270). My own experience as a longtime researcher in Brazil is different from Warren's and does not support his conclusion.

Warren seems to be twisting his findings to support the claim that "Indian conceptions of race differ from those of most other Brazilians" (p. 274). In his view, Indian conceptions are closer to what he defines as the truth. Obviously, his sympathy and admiration for his subjects affect his interpretation. But then, any researcher who denies that his or her subjectivities affect the outcome of research is denying the truth of the Heisenberg principle and the necessary limitations of human understanding. As long as readers keep this in mind, they should find *Racial Revolutions* a very informative, challenging, and stimulating book.

Linda Rabben Brazil Specialist, Amnesty International USA

Rebirth of the Blackfeet Nation, 1912–1954. By Paul C. Rosier. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001. 346 pages. \$65.00 cloth.

In March 1934, eighteen Blackfeet delegates were in Rapid City, South Dakota, to hear John Collier explain and defend his vision for a revamped Indian administration. Why were the Blackfeet delegates exceptionally receptive to Collier's proposed new deal for Indians, and why, only months later, did the community accept the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) when so many Indian communities balked at it? What effect did the IRA have on the community over the subsequent years? To answer questions like these, Paul Rosier has bridged the gap between tribal history and Indian policy history. On one hand, Rosier's study of the Indian New Deal is specific to the Blackfeet: the Blackfeet accepted the Indian New Deal because they believed it suited their own aims and aspirations, and, although its implementation on the Blackfeet Reservation was hardly painless, the IRA and its associated policies were a qualified success there. On the other hand, this study offers valuable new insight, not only into the history of the Blackfeet nation, but also into the Indian New Deal, and the challenges Indian communities faced in the early twentieth century. This book rightfully deserves a prominent place in the Indian New Deal canon.

Graham Taylor's *The New Deal* (1980) is arguably the best general study of the Indian New Deal, and Thomas Biolsi's *Organizing the Lakota* (1992) and

Donald Parman's The Navajo and the New Deal (1976) offer some of the best case studies. Rosier's study should be added to this list because it examines the life of a community that embraced the New Deal quickly. Rosier also offers a different, rather more positive, assessment of the Indian New Deal than one finds in most of the literature. But this book is also important because it does not put government-Indian relations at the center of the story. This is not simply the story of the Blackfeet and the New Deal. The community itself, not only the external threats it confronted, but especially the profound internal challenges it faced, lies at the center of this study. It examines how the Blackfeet themselves, rather than outside bureaucrats, confronted the community's challenges. This is a portrait of a community struggling to build a stable and prosperous life on reservation lands with limited agricultural potential, but with the potential for an oil bonanza. It is the story of a community struggling to form democratic traditions and institutions, and a sense of unity and cohesiveness in the face of deep economic, social, cultural, and ethnic divisions. We learn how the leadership and people grasped at ways to forge a shared Blackfeet political identity. The story, in short, is the story of the painful birth of a Blackfeet nation.

To explain why the Blackfeet welcomed the IRA in 1934, Rosier traces the Blackfeet perceptions of previous government mismanagement of the reservation. Despite divisions within Blackfeet society, the Blackfeet agreed that the government had mismanaged the community's grazing lands, squandered the tribe's money on an unpromising irrigation scheme, and failed to spur oil exploration on the reservation when tribal leaders feared that wells on adjacent land were drawing oil from under reservation lands. But the reasons for accepting the IRA were not all negative. In 1933, only a week after John Collier became commissioner, the first oil finally did flow from wells on Blackfeet land. The Blackfeet were confident that they were capable of managing their own affairs, and that the self-government provisions and the access to credit would improve their circumstances. Thus, the Blackfeet were motivated by a combination of frustration, optimism, and confidence.

The IRA was not the magic solution, but it did significantly empower the Blackfeet themselves. To be sure, the conduct of the leadership of the tribe was marred by error, mismanagement, and corruption. But the legacy left by the IRA period was an important one that included benefits that no one in 1934 could have anticipated. By asserting their independence the Blackfeet ensured that they, not government bureaucrats, had to make difficult decisions on divisive internal issues. The process was a painful one, especially, it seems, for the more traditional elements of society that generally found themselves in a minority. As a result, the Blackfeet emerged in 1954 having grappled with how to meet the exigencies of the twentieth-century world as Blackfeet.

By the 1950s then, the Blackfeet were in a position very different than the one they were in 1933. They had developed their own relatively stable and prosperous economy and a functioning political tradition. They had forged a sense of community. As a result they were relatively well prepared to face an era of termination. Their successes made most of the Blackfeet relatively cool to the pan-Indianism that was developing by that time, but, ironically, it also

Reviews 171

enabled them to contribute disproportionately to the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI). Two men, Walter Wetzel and Earl Old Person, served as president of the NCAI in the 1960s and 1970s after rising to prominence in Blackfeet politics. Perhaps historians should take greater note of the significance of the Blackfeet in national politics: the Blackfeet were important supporters of John Collier when his program was being debated, they dealt directly with Burton Wheeler, the Montana senator who sponsored Collier's bill in 1933 and worked toward its repeal in the 1940s, and they provided important national leadership in the aftermath of termination.

It is worth noting Rosier's terminal dates. Rather than beginning with the appointment of Collier, or the passage of the IRA, Rosier begins his study with an analysis of the debate over surplus lands that came with the application of allotment on the Blackfeet Reservation. Rather than end with John Collier's resignation in 1945, Rosier carries the story forward to 1954, a period in which policy drifted towards termination. Thus the reader is forced to reflect on the continuities and discontinuities of US Indian policy in those years, and to confront the reality that watersheds in national history may not do justice to the way individual communities experienced the past. It is a reminder that even in defining their studies, scholars influence the new insights they are likely to be open to.

The central divide in Blackfeet society, as in most US Indian societies, lay between a diminishing minority of so-called full-bloods and a growing and dominant group of mixed-bloods. Rosier ably explores the changing dynamics of this rivalry by examining the individuals who led them. Full-bloods were not defined merely by their blood quantum but also by their orientation toward American society. And increasingly over time, full-bloodness was a product of socioeconomic class. Similarly Indianness and Blackfeetness became increasingly political over time. Rosier's analysis of the complex and changing relationship between full-bloods and mixed-bloods on the Blackfeet Reservation should appeal to those interested in the history of the Blackfeet themselves, those interested in tribal politics and society elsewhere, and those interested in changing identity politics on reservations.

This book is not an easy read. The story is told in a narrative of greater intricacy than many readers are likely to seek. Furthermore, although chronologically organized, the book is analytically and interpretively bold and ambitious. Interpretive gems are found throughout the text, but the introduction, at a scant nine pages, is surprisingly brief, too short to do justice to the book's themes. Furthermore, rather than tie up loose ends, the conclusion presents yet more new material. As a result, a certain sense of coherence and unity is lacking. Had the introduction and conclusion been more developed, had Rosier assumed less prior knowledge on the part of his readers, and had some of the detail of the body been left out (much of that detail might have advantageously been left in the dissertation from which the study is derived), the book would have made a very good supplementary text in undergraduate courses. Instead, the book is a meticulously researched and painstakingly presented, well written, carefully argued interpretation of Blackfeet history aimed at sophisticated readers. Fortunately, instructors who want to give their stu-

dents a taste of Rosier's work can direct their students to two articles Rosier has published that cover the same themes in a way that is more accessible to the non-specialist. In summary, this innovative book deserves a prominent place on the scholar's shelf. It advances significantly our understanding of a well-documented, but as yet poorly understood era in US Indian history.

Theodore Binnema
University of Northern British Columbia

Roanoke and Wampum: Topics in Native American Heritage and Literatures. By Ron Welburn. New York: Peter Lang, 2001. 255 pages. \$29.95 paper.

It is typically the reviewer's lot to dig through a dozen numbing tracts in order to find a gem. Fortunately for me, Ron Welburn's *Roanoke and Wampum* was the first volume in my current pile. The book, consisting of thirteen exceedingly well-crafted essays using as a lens the frequently ignored literary and cultural terrain of that portion of Native North America situated east of the Mississippi, explores such topics as indigenous identity and continuity, literary theory, and the reclamation of historical reality. It is quite simply excellent in every respect, adding up to one of the better reads I've experienced in the past couple of years.

My personal favorite is a short chapter entitled "Who Are the Southeastern Blackfoot?" (pp. 9–24) in which the author thoroughly debunks the common misperception that persons of Afro-Indian descent, who describe themselves in this fashion, are erroneously (or falsely) asserting a genealogical connection to the Blackfeet Nation of present-day Montana and Alberta (i.e., the Blackfeet, Piegans, and Bloods). Rather, as Welburn argues on the basis of a number of historical, anthropological, and linguistic markers, they are acknowledging their affinity to—by way of descent from—the Saponi, a supposedly extinct eastern Sioux people related to, but by no means interchangeable with, the western Sihasapa ("Blackfoot" or "Black Moccasin") Band of Lakota.

Another very good effort concerning red/black history and resulting issues of identity is "The Other Middle Passage: The Bermuda-Barbados Trade in Native American Slaves" (pp. 25–32), a rather dense little piece which fills in some of the gaps left by, and might thus best be read in conjunction with, Jack Forbes's groundbreaking Africans and Native Americans: The Language of Race and the Evolution of Red-Black Peoples (University of Illinois Press, 1993). The same might be said, albeit in a somewhat different sense, with respect to Alan Gallay's recent study, The Indian Slave Trade (Yale University Press, 2002).

Very nearly as rewarding as the "Blackfoot" chapter, in my estimation, is "Amherst and the Indians: Then and Today" (pp. 35–50), in which Welburn painstakingly excavates the chronology—thus dispelling whatever ambiguities remained about who did what to whom and when—regarding Lord Jeffrey Amherst's notorious 1763 instruction that his subordinates distribute smallpoxinfected blankets among the Indians of the Ohio River Valley. The appropriate conclusions are drawn with respect to the implications of Amherst's contemporary status as a revered figure throughout the northeast, his name bestowed