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Author

Swagerty, William R.

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graphic impact of the enslavement of "tens of thousands of Southern Indians," (p. 148) many of whom were shipped to the West Indies. He sees the destruction of the Apalachee area of Northwest Florida in 1704-1713 as the greatest of the American slave raids, netting some 4,000 Indian slaves.

The Only Land They Knew is a fine history of the contributions of American Indians and Indian-White relations in the American South. The book takes the reader into the villages, into the midst of the battles, and into the slaving expeditions, with a final reminder that there are today pockets of Indians surviving within the land that the Natives know.

C. B. Clark

California State University, Long Beach

The American Indians. By Edward H. Spicer. Cambridge, Mass. and London, England: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1982. 210 pp. paper. \$5.95

Originally published as an essay in the *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* (1980), "The American Indians" has been released in softcover as part of the Dimensions of Ethnicity Series, edited by Stephen Thernstrom. The purpose of the master encyclopedia and subsequent reprints of major essays is twofold. First, in response to the voluminous literature generated over the past twenty years on the complex mosaic formed by more than one hundred ethnic groups in American history, editor Thernstrom commissioned comprehensive essays on the major ethnic groups. In addition, twenty-nine thematic essays—all providing substance to Thernstrom's belief that ethnicity is the central theme of American history—supply the researcher with authoritative, up-to-date syntheses of current work in the field. A second function of the project was to ferret out subgroups within the larger ethnic units. In the case of the "American Indians" the reader should not be surprised to find discussions of some 173 Peoples, labeled American Indians by Euroamericans since 1492 but as different from one another as Europeans are.

The choice of Edward H. Spicer as the author of the section on American Indians was a master stroke. Long respected for his anthropological and ethnohistorical studies of North Amer-

ican and Meso-American Indians, Spicer skillfully accomplishes the major task of summarizing the history and present situation (circa 1975) of the hundreds of Native groups who occupied (and in some cases continue to occupy) ecological and political bases in North America. At the outset, Spicer provides a set of perspectives and a methodological framework for determining which groups are to be included as "American Indians." As with his previous seminal works on ethnicity, he uses "self-identification" as the most important criterion for determining Native American population clusters and cultural affiliations.

Spicer forcefully demonstrates both the diversity and tenacity of American Indian populations. Although approximately one-fourth of all American Indian groups suffered extinction after the invasion of North America by Europeans "[n]early as many Indian tribes exist in the 20th century as when Europeans first encountered them in the 1600s." (fig. 1) Stated otherwise, approximately three-fourths of those tribal groups present in North America in the late 1600s continued to maintain their tribal or national culture designates in 1980. Spicer notes that the wreckage and carnage experienced by Indian nations as they interacted with one another and with Euroamericans over the past four hundred years regrettably resulted in the extinction of at least fifty distinct ethnic groups. However, that experience also produced new groups, formed as a result of physical and cultural separation and amalgamation. For example, the Cherokees of Oklahoma and the Eastern Band of Cherokees in North Carolina became distant ethnic groups as each formed a new sense of identity in the aftermath of forced removal to Indian Territory in the 1830s. Similarly, the Citizen Potawatomis of Oklahoma and the Forest Potawatomis of Michigan are two separate Peoples as a result of their historic separation and the evolution of their own sense of separate identity. And, there are many examples of remnant groups who became consolidated into a single new unit—the Brothertons and the Stockbridges as well as the Seminoles and Lumbees.

A central theme introduced early and employed throughout the book is that despite examples of near or total extinction, despite seemingly overwhelming odds against maintaining cultural identity, despite the dominant culture's efforts to wipe out or alter each group's uniqueness, American Indians have maintained a high degree of diversity that continues to distinguish them one from another and continues to distinguish Indians as

a whole from non-Indians. In some cases "persistent cultural systems" have been maintained largely unmodified from first contact with Europeans to the present day (Hopis of Arizona, Mexican Kickapoos, for example).

In other cases groups have survived and grown by developing new cultural systems through genetic blending, adoption of outsiders and their cultural baggage, inwardly induced cultural change, and/or forced acculturation. This pattern is the dominant one for "Indians" as a whole and has resulted in loss of Native languages, subsistence patterns, "traditional" ceremonialism and other cultural manifestations that once distinguished these various groups from each other. However, Spicer emphasizes the point that these Peoples such as the Masphees of Cape Cod, various tribes removed to present-day Oklahoma and urban Native Americans are no less "Indian" than their ancestors or those reservation-based tribes who have retained the cultural systems of previous generations. This healthy perspective reminds the reader that all cultures change across time and that while becoming an "Indian" may be a matter of parentage, being and remaining an "Indian" should objectively be a decision made by Indian peoples themselves. Hence the importance once again of self-identification as the ultimate standard for ethnicity.

Spicer also tackles the controversial but exciting topic of Native American historical demography in his introduction and in his coverage of twelve environmental or political culture areas. His main point is that Indians are not a "vanishing people." Using the 1970 United States Census, Spicer notes that the 791,839 "Indians" listed by that federal bureau indicates a continuation of population explosion from 1950 on. He speculates that once the 1980 Census figures are counted there will be more Indians in the United States today than when first contacted by Europeans in the sixteenth century. The Census Bureau has not completed the final tally, but preliminary releases (1,361,869 Indians in the U.S. including Alaska) prove Spicer's assertion correct *only* if one accepts the now-conservative range of 850,000 to "more than a million" Indians within the territory of the United States "when the white man arrived" as Spicer has done in this essay (p. 2). Most demographers and ethnohistorians do not accept these conservative totals and suggest that Native American population would have to increase two to five times in order to approximate North America before European epidem-

ics* struck Native residents in the sixteenth century. Nonetheless, Spicer's dispensing of the "vanishing race" is a useful beginning for understanding the complexity of Native American historic population shifts, decline and recovery in the twentieth century.

For most readers the most valuable section of this authoritative portrait of Indians past and present is the core of the book. Here Spicer divides North America into twelve zones. For each zone he provides a comparison of population dynamics at first contact and in 1970. He also defines the ethnic groups which historically occupied the region and gives current (1970) Indian groups living within the zone. For "Peoples of the Atlantic Coast," one of these twelve zones, he notes that in the early 1600s forty groups inhabited the area from Maine to North Carolina, differing one from another in language, customs and sense of collective identity. By contrast, in 1970 there were 16 distinct Indian groups in the same area functioning as cultural systems. Following this overview, Spicer gives brief but highly informative highlights of the major aboriginal cultures in the region. Separate sections are provided for Wampanoag-Mashpees, Narragansetts, Penobscots, Passamaquoddies, Nanticokes, Chickahomnies and Pamunkeys. At the end of the section (and in all other sub-chapters) he catalogues the other Indian cultures living in the same region in the 1970s.

This pattern follows throughout the author's discussion of "The Depopulated Southeast," "The Iroquois of the Eastern Great Lakes Country," "The Western Great Lakes Country," "The Mississippi Valley," "The Crucible of Oklahoma," "The Northern Plains," "The Western Border of the Plains," "The Southwest," "California," "The Northwest" and "Alaska." The beginning reader on Indians should note that Spicer's zones do not always conform to traditional culture areas as outlined by other leading anthropologists; nor is his division consistent with the Smithsonian Institution's design in the new *Handbook of North American Indians*. Although the author does not say why he has made these choices, the reader's task of understanding contemporary American Indian cultures and population patterns is made much easier by Spicer's deliniations. And, such political zones as "Oklahoma" and "California" make understanding Indians of

*Not to mention war, genocide, etc. [Ed.]

those present-day states more meaningful as new and old cultures in modern settings.

Thematically Spicer concentrates his discussion of each zone and its primary Native inhabitants on the following: languages (historic and contemporary); housing (changes and function); government (paying special attention to distinction between I. R. A. and non-I. R. A. tribes); diplomacy (battles with federal, state and local authorities); religion (dominant traditional and Christian denominations); ethnic composition (inter-marriage/outside adoption/genetic blending); economy (traditional and modern); and modern land base (if any). Each section contains a wealth of information often overlooked or avoided by authors writing on contemporary Indians. To his credit Spicer presents a sensitive yet highly objective treatment of inter-ethnic factionalism and cultural changes across time, paying special attention to the role of the churches in reservation history and contemporary affairs. We also learn which remnant groups have been absorbed by larger groups and which splinter groups have broken away from the larger ethnic units.

As a sequel to his area discussions the author provides separate chapters on "Urban Indians" and "Federal Policy Toward American Indians." The former is an excellent summary of Indians in cities circa 1970 but is already out-of-date given the 1980 Census and the burgeoning of Indians in urban areas such as Los Angeles, San Francisco and Chicago. More important than the numbers, Spicer provides useful context for understanding processes involved in the urbanization of American Indians. The beginning researcher is well-advised to consult this chapter as well as his summary of Indian-White relations as evidenced in federal policy. Here Spicer very briefly outlines five periods of policy-making and shifting views of Indians by federal authorities and the dominant White citizenry. Drawing upon the work of F. Paul Prucha, Lyman Tyler, Loring B. Priest and D'Arcy McNickle, Spicer offers the following useful outline for these periods:

- (1) separation, during which the prime objective was to remove Indians from the land that whites desired and draw boundaries between the two peoples;
- (2) coercive assimilation, during which whites sought to replace Indian ways with their own ways and help them become self-sufficient farmers and artisans, under conditions dictated by whites;
- (3) tribal restoration, phase I, during which whites made an about-face and encouraged Indians to maintain their corporate tribal existence if they

chose to do so; (4) termination, during which the objective was to break off all relationships of protection and assistance with the federal government; and (5) tribal restoration, phase II, during which tribal corporate adaptation to American society was again encouraged and cultural choice was reaffirmed. (p. 176)

Unfortunately, this chapter is too brief to give the reader a full understanding of the evolution of federal Indian policy. However, the author does refer the reader to suggested titles for further inquiry in this and all other chapters.

The American Indians should be acquired by all scholars and librarians who cannot afford the master volume encyclopedia, published at \$60.00. It is a healthy expression of the importance of the complex ethnic tapestry of North American Indians, past and present, and will remain a standard reference work incorporating the important ethnohistorical conceptual framework respectfully associated with Edward H. Spicer.

William R. Swagerty
University of Idaho

Arapahoe Politics, 1851-1978: Symbols in Crises of Authority. By Loretta Fowler. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982. 373 pp. cloth. \$23.50.

As a graduate student in the late 1960s Professor Loretta Fowler went to the Shoshone-Arapahoe Wind River Reservation in Wyoming planning a conventional ethnographic study of current Arapahoe economic and political organization. Like others of her generation she soon recognized the limitations of this synchronic strategy for analysing processes of social and cultural change and instead embarked upon a lengthy combined historical and field research program. The results of her prolonged labors, here partially reported in *Arapahoe Politics*, is a brilliant exposition of a Native American success story.

In her first contacts with these Plains Algonquians the author was pointedly directed to attend to a salient social fact. There was a strict division of labor among the Arapahoe; she was instructed: to learn of economic and secular matters she was to go to the Business Council, while to obtain information of religion and traditional history she had to seek permission and