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time in New York. Shannon's book falls under the "British influence" theory. He describes his writings as part of the "new imperial history" looking at the "political dimensions of Britain's emergence as an imperial power, including its effect on the formation of national and colonial identities and encounters between colonizers and natives" (p. 11). This book follows the old imperial history that looks to Europe, rather than America, to explain American institutions.

During the last ten years, a polarization has occurred between the proponents and opponents of American Indian influences on American history. Strong emotions have surfaced. A backlash has occurred against American Indian participation in New York State educational curricular development. The two groups continue to move farther apart. Perhaps the time has come to call a general "cease fire." Let us consider the fairness of including American Indian viewpoints in our future educational curricula.

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Indian Country, God's Country: Native Americans and the National Parks. By Philip Burnham. Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 2000. 383 pages. \$27.50 cloth.

Philip Burnham's *Indian Country, God's Country: Native Americans and the National Parks* explores the National Park System (NPS) as a major beneficiary of American Indian land loss. Burnham's work continues the recent spate of books chronicling the association between the growth of NPS and the dispossession of Indian people from either their treaty homelands or aboriginal use areas. Until this outpouring during the past decade, an analysis and description of the relations between NPS and Indian tribes was almost nonexistent in academic literature. This oversight is even more impressive since at least eighty-five tribes have direct interests and relationships with neighboring parks, including virtually all the "crown jewels."

Burnham's book differs from the others in that he frames his work within the context of the development of federal Indian policy. In designing this strategy his analysis of park-Indian relations follows a policy-through-time orientation of the park sites he describes, rather than a separate park-specific history through time.

The people and places Burnham chronicles include (1) the Timbisha Shoshone and Death Valley National Park; (2) the Blackfeet and Glacier National Park; (3) the Oglala Sioux and Badlands National Park; (4) the Havasupai in the Grand Canyon; and (5) the Ute Mountain Ute in Mesa Verde National Park. Throughout the text, Burnham describes how these tribes were forced or coerced by NPS to sell or trade treaty land or sign agreements they did not agree to (or perhaps did not understand). Native peoples were threatened with forcible removal from their homes, or saw their traditional use areas removed by executive order. Burnham personalizes these histories with elders'

stories in a way that is consonant with American Indian educational traditions. This format also helps Burnham describe the dialectical tension between tribes and NPS. What is intensely emotional and associated with personal identity for tribal members is described as legislative and impersonally jurisdictional for NPS.

Burnham's first case study involves the Timbisha Shoshone, a band of the Western Shoshone, and Death Valley National Park. Tribal elder Pauline Esteves, a cultural and political leader, recounts the time when she was a child and tribal elders saw the NPS presence in their traditional homeland of Death Valley as tantamount to a government takeover. In fact, the time differential between the military wars and the increasing presence of uniformed park personnel in traditional Indian use areas (new NPS units) was not great, so that many elders came to refer to the "new" park areas as "the place where soldiers stay."

In detailing Esteves's Shoshone story and all the others in this book, Burnham emphasizes that Native people considered themselves a part of the land and not transient tourists. In doing this, Burnham raises several deep and conflicting ironies that surround the relationships between American Indians and national parks. Among the more striking of these counter-distinctions are (1) that the national parks ultimately became rich people's playgrounds, and in some cases economic ventures, at the expense of Indians; (2) that the national parks were presented by NPS as scenic wonders and home to various wildlife, but not for indigenous human inhabitants whose living conditions were an embarrassment to NPS and whose traditional land use practices were no longer allowed; and (3) that in the second and third decades of this century, as wealthy Americans were being eschewed from touring Europe and encouraged to come to national parks, Indian people still needed permits to leave their reservations. NPS showcased elk, deer, moose, and bison, and killed predatory wolves, cougars, and coyotes. It was also introducing exotic species, including rainbow trout and tourists, while eliminating the indigenous Americans of the area. Burnham notes that either NPS ignored the plight of most Indian people in the parks or romanticized them for the tourists, complete with dancing, feathers, and tipis. One example of this incongruity cited by the author is the case of the Navajo (relative newcomers to the Southwest) performing ceremonial dancing for tourists at Mesa Verde National Park, the ancestral home of Pueblo people.

Burnham points out that this book is about cultures in conflict over control of land, water, money, and jobs, and that this book ultimately is a story about getting land, losing land, and getting land back. He mentions that after the passage of the Indian Reorganization Act in 1934, which established a framework for tribal government and began twentieth-century federal Indian policy, many tribes' first experience with democracy was to be pressured to sell large tracts of their land. With this dynamic as background it is not surprising that, until recently, the American Indian perspective on land loss in the United States has been neglected.

Because Indian people are woven so tightly to the land, Burnham's work also traces the evolutionary history of NPS land use management. He cites the

1963 Leopold Report as a decisive document that called for NPS to change many of its management practices. He quotes the report as a calling for each park to be maintained in a condition that prevailed at the time of European contact. He goes on to explain that this attitude congratulates Indians for maintaining the land but ignores their adept sustainability efforts used for millennia before the Europeans' arrival.

Burnham's book reveals a rigorous scrutiny of NPS history and American Indian relations, especially with respect to the five sites mentioned. Far from being critical of all government agencies' relations with the tribes he often cites instances where the Bureau of Indian Affairs, or lone actions by the NPS, would come to the defense of the Indian tribes. The founding fathers of NPS, S. Mather and H. Albright, however, are shown as patronizing, manipulative magnates, especially in Glacier, Death Valley, and Grand Canyon national parks. They were also the main architects of a government legacy of double speak to Indian people that continues to influence negotiations today. Burnham also sheds light on the tour and trade concessions in parks as a regulated monopoly. This is still an issue in NPS, and the tribes are seeking to gain a greater share of tourist dollars that flow through their lands as part of their own self-determination and economic development plans. Whether this becomes a new buffalo in Indian Country remains to be seen.

Burnham's choice to frame this work around federal Indian policy is a good one. There are just a few times, such as around the problem of land heirship, which by definition is confusing, when he falls a bit short of providing enough background information for the general reader. His overall work, however, is excellent and is a great asset to the literature on the relations between Indian people and NPS. He clearly describes how the political boundaries established by NPS separated two different cultures, one indigenous and the other bureaucratic. To his credit he especially notes that Indian people are not just another special interest group—they possess rights different from other citizens and agencies.

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Indian Gaming: Tribal Sovereignty and American Politics. By W. Dale Mason. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000. 330 pages.

In his new book *Indian Gaming: Tribal Sovereignty and American Politics* political scientist W. Dale Mason explores the question, What is the status of Indian nations in the American political system? Drawing from detailed accounts of contemporary gaming conflicts in New Mexico and Oklahoma, Mason concludes that Indian nations are best characterized as flexible political actors that alternate between acting as sovereign governments, interest groups, or both according to their political needs. Mason argues further that this flexibility is fraught with possibilities and dangers for Indian nations. Generally, he argues that the possibilities of combining tribal sovereignty