they accused Hutchinson of stealing the money. The result was a complicated and confusing chain of events that saw Hutchinson's dismissal from the University board, Tauy Jones' expulsion as a member of the Ottawa tribe, squabbling among various Baptist officials, inaction from government bureaucrats, and the dispossession and removal of the hapless Ottawas from Kansas by 1870. Using their political clout to its fullest advantage, the Baptists retained control of the University. But legal maneuverings on the matter simmered for nearly a century; on February 11, 1965 the Indian Claims Commission awarded the Ottawas of Oklahoma over $400,000 compensation for the loss of their Kansas reservation. "Legal atonement, if not absolute restitution," Unrau and Miner write, "had finally been achieved" (p. 175).

Because it was carried out under the banners of Christian morality and education, the plunder of the Ottawas stands out among the most despicable examples of fraud ever undertaken against Indians. Unrau's and Miner's book is an excellent analysis of that very complex story. Their refusal to waver in passing moral judgment on the major perpetrators of the swindle makes their analysis even more compelling. "The Ottawa case encourages moral analysis," insist the authors. "The devices that were used in forwarding the establishment of Ottawa University were just those elements of culture most revered by the dominant white society at that time: education, religion (that is Christianity), and the law" (p. 8).

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Indian Self-Rule: First-Hand Accounts of Indian-White Relations From Roosevelt to Reagan. By Kenneth R. Philp. Salt Lake City: Howe Brothers, 1986. 343 pp. Illustrations, bibliography, index. $21.50 Cloth. $12.50 Paper.

Indian Self-Rule is the edited proceedings of a major conference held in 1983 at the Institute of the American West that focused on the Indian Reorganization Act and its impact. Kenneth R. Philp has done a valuable service molding the transcript of this historic meeting into book form. The conference provided important personal and professional reactions by tribal leaders, govern-

ment officials, Indian activists and scholars to the shifts in American Indian policies over the past half century. The book is also significant in that it is part of a new scholarly genre focusing on the long-range impact of the New Deal.

The Indian Reorganization Act (IRA), the most important legislation affecting Native Americans in this century, has been the subject of heated debate in Indian communities since its passage in 1934. To some Native Americans, the IRA provided the mechanism for beginning tribal economic restoration, political reform, meaningful self-government, and hope for future betterment. Yet, the New Deal years marked an era of increased discord between traditional tribal leadership and leaders under the new systems of tribal government created under the IRA. Whether traditional or newly elected, Indian leadership often felt subjected to undue non-Indian tampering with the existing tribal political systems. Moreover, under the operations of the IRA from 1934 to 1974, only 595, 157 acres were purchased for tribal use; government agencies in the same period condemned 1,811,010 acres of Indian land for other purposes. The blame, of course, rests with subsequent Congresses and administrators who failed to provide funds for land purchase, not with the originators of the land purchase program. Importantly, the IRA was largely an in-house administrative reorganiztion dealing with a century of BIA mismanagement and mistakes which resulted in the depletion of Indian resources and which reduced Indian populations to subsistence. The irony of a governmental agency, the BIA, assigned to clean its own house when it was partly responsible for the mess only adds to the controversy over the meaning of the IRA.

In recent years, historians have also tended to qualify their praise of New Deal Indian policy. They emphasize that the good intentions of Commissioner John Collier, architect of the policy of self-government for Indians, were undermined by his paternalistic attitude toward Indians, by his naive and often romantic perceptions of modern Indian life, by his abrasive and authoritarian personality, and even by his general lack of understanding of Native American cultures and diversity. There is no question that Collier possessed all these human failings, that he based his conception of modern Indian life primarily on his experiences with the Navajos and Pueblos, and that his single-minded devotion to his goal often alienated potentially valuable

Indian allies. Nevertheless, he provided a steady hand upon the bureaucratic wheel that made permanent change possible. Consequently, historians now view the New Deal as a golden opportunity to build a reservoir of trust between Indian and non-Indian—which the national government missed. This failure at least partially explains the enduring economic hardships that Indian communities have experienced in the half-century since the implementation of the IRA.

Philp's book is organized around four subjects: the Indian New Deal, termination, toward self-determination, and Indian self-rule in the past and the future. In part I of the book, the reader gets first-hand accounts on the Indian New Deal from Rupert Costo, Benjamin Riefel, Lucy Kramer Cohen and Charlotte Lloyd Walkup. To Costo, a Cahuilla Indian and prominent journalist, Collier's actions and the IRA represent an "Indian Raw Deal," the last drive to assimilate and colonize the Indians. Benjamin Riefel, a Sioux Indian and former Commissioner of Indian Affairs and U.S. Congressman, challenges these points, by insisting that the original Wheeler-Howard Bill, that provided among other things for a circuit court judicial system, was an impressive bill but was subverted by Congress. Reifel adds that Collier's concept of governmental operation was a needed democratic reform which was not rammed down Indian people's throats. Cohen, the widow of Felix Cohen and a person who attended all the federal hearings on the Indian New Deal, insists that the IRA was not perfect legislation, but a noble beginning. Walkup, who was employed in the Solicitor's Office on Indian Affairs until World War II, maintains that, although the tribal constitutions were modeled on other non-Indian governmental constitutions, the IRA constitutions "gave the Indians a definite, firm, recognized authority which they could use even if some of the authority was subject to the approval of the secretary of the interior" and clarified the "murky areas" of tribal authority (p. 74).

Part II of *Indian Self-Rule* focuses on termination and begins with an excellent overview written by James Officer, former Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs and Professor of Anthropology at the University of Arizona. Officer points out an important paradox, namely "whether trusteeship—which many apparently feel is essential to the social and cultural survival of Indians—is consistent with the concept of self-rule" (p. 128). Ada Deer then describes the tragic fate of the Menominees under ter-

mination policies and her direct involvement in overturning the federal withdrawal policies. In an all-too-brief analysis of the Indian Claims Commission Act of 1946, Charles F. Wilkinson, the noted legal expert on Indian Affairs, points out the successes and limitations of the act and how it fit into the terminationist policies of the postwar era. Sadly, he notes that while attorneys were needed to fight off termination, these same lawyers spent all of their time focusing on Indian Claims Commission cases! Philleo Nash, a former Commissioner of Indian Affairs, adds to our knowledge of Dillon S. Myer, the major administrator behind federal Indian relocation policies by reminiscing about and regretting his working relationship with Myer in the 1940s and 1950s.

Philip S. Deloria, a Standing Rock Sioux and Director of the American Indian Law Center, provides a good introduction to part III. Perhaps the best analyses in this section are provided by Ada Deer and Hank Adams. Deer further develops how the Menominees overcame termination and were finally restored to federal status. She explores the "love/hate" relationship that Indians have with the BIA and explains that several key people in the agency aided her efforts in securing the Menominee Restoration Act, proving her main point and advice to Indians: "Do not agonize: organize!" (p. 234). Hank Adams, an Assinboine and leading Indian activist, writer and strategist, observes that the federal policies since 1934 never dealt with true self-determination for Indian people but rather focused on self-administration. He shows how termination was used as a club against Indian people to get them to tow the line, rather than to achieve true self-rule.

The final section of the book focuses on "Indian Self-Rule in the Past and the Future." After an introduction by W. Roger Buffalohead, Suzanne Harjo, Hank Adams and Philip Deloria provide helpful commentary. Harjo, a Cheyenne-Creek Indian and Executive Director of the National Congress of American Indians, shows how the Cheyennes utilized the IRA as a tool to protect a holy place. She insists that the IRA is not the major problem in Indian country but that the real problem is "politics at home and politics in the broader society at the state and federal level" (p. 279). Later, she suggests that she would like to see the day when the Senate and House committees "would not legislate but oversee Indian affairs" (p. 317). Deloria warns, among other things, about the growth and power of the Office

of Management and Budget and its impact on native communities. Adams, repeating a point he made throughout the conference, questions whether it is useful "to celebrate the last fifty years under the flawed vision of John Collier" (p. 293).

In sum, *Indian Self-Rule* is a significant volume that should be of interest to anyone concerned with American Indian policies. It nicely balances the view from the "grass-roots" with those of federal authorities concerned with developing and implementing policies.

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The Indians of Puget Sound. The Notebooks of Myron Eells. Edited and with an Introduction by George Pierre Castile. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1985. 470 pp. $40.00 Cloth.

Evaluating ethnographic descriptions and observations requires some understanding of the personal and cultural biases of the ethnographer. This is especially important here, because Eells the ethnographer was indeed a product of personal preferences and his time in American culture.

Before beginning to read Eells' ethnographic descriptions, be sure to peruse Professor Castile's Introduction, and most certainly appreciate Professor W. Elemendorf's Afterword. For readers unfamiliar with Northwest Coast research, Elemendorf's ethnographic and linguistic research among the Twana is essential and fundamental reading in Northwest Coast research literature; Elmendorf's evaluation of Eells' Twana ethnography, which dominates this volume, is particularly useful.

Castile's and Elmendorf's comments create an encompassing framework within which Eells' ethnographic observations and descriptions of the 1870s, 1880s and 1890s may be placed in their historic context of social change, not only in the Puget Salish region at this time, but also as an extension of the federal government's strongly negative, 19th century attitudes toward American Indians.

Then, too, we should appreciate the difficulty of Eell's role as a full-time participant, and culture-change broker among the people whom he was trying to describe. Filling multiple roles as