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or no, effective political-economic alliances or not, clearly, the Abenaki were trying to manage the impossible. Why so? Why did they defend that particular habitat, that geopolitical location, so vigorously? And, in contrast to other Indian societies, how did they manage as well as they did so long as they did the way they did? In this volume Morrison gives us some useful clues; but a full, theoretically sophisticated accounting remains for the future.

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A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920. By Frederick E. Hoxie. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984. \$25.95 Cloth.

Frederick E. Hoxie, the director of the D'Arcy McNickle Center for the History of the American Indian at the Newberry Library, has written an excellent book about the drive to assimilate Indians between 1880 and 1920. The author explains why assimilation had such a broad appeal to non-Indians. He also discusses efforts by reformers to alter Indian land tenure, provide a national Indian educational system, and promote Indian citizenship. Most of the book, however, deals with why federal officials after 1890 abandoned their commitment to totally assimilate Indians and instead decided to follow strategies designed for a dependent colonial people.

This book either revises or helps clarify many of the existing historical interpretations of this era by Leonard Carlson, Henry Fritz, Robert Mardock, Delos Otis, Loring Priest, and Francis Paul Prucha. Hoxie places Indian affairs against a broad national context. He shows the value of an interdisciplinary approach to the past by using popular literature, anthropological theory, and the history of education as important historical sources.

Hoxie provides a new conceptual framework for understanding Indian-white relations between 1880 and 1920. He convincingly demonstrates that federal Indian policy during this period consisted of two distinct phases. In the 1880s, there was widespread interest in "civilizing" Indians. This interest began to wane during the 1890s when federal policymakers and

bureaucrats redefined the meaning of assimilation and treated Indians as an unequal and peripheral people in American society.

Hoxie provides fresh insights on the forces behind assimilation. He concludes that the abolitionist tradition influenced both Republican politicians, who needed to demonstrate a principled approach to politics, and members of Eastern reform groups. They campaigned for equal Indian rights, had the abolitionists' sense of Christian mission, worked for the supremacy of national institutions and the use of federal power to eliminate racial injustice.

Anthropologists such as Lewis Henry Morgan, John Wesley Powell, and Alice Fletcher also played a significant role in the assault on tribalism. They accepted social evolution as a scientific explanation of human development. They were optimists who believed that private ownership of property would enable the Indians to rapidly progress to the highest stage of civilization.

According to the author, the central issue of the 1880s was not whether but how to alter the reservation system. During this decade the Indians were forced to make seven major land cessions. Furthermore, a unique level of federal activism occurred in Indian education. Government boarding schools were built and patterned after the Carlisle Indian School and Hampton Institute. There was an effort to create a national Indian education system modeled after the public schools throughout the country.

Hoxie notes that historians have overemphasized the importance of the Dawes General Allotment Act of 1887. This legislation came at the end of a decade of reform activity and did not result in dramatic shifts in government policy. Land allotment was not mandatory for all tribes and the federal government extended Indian citizenship only to Indian allottees.

Federal policymakers, for a number of reasons, soon abandoned their campaign to completely assimilate Indians. Hoxie examines how Indians were portrayed at American world fairs to demonstrate changes in public opinion concerning assimilation. By 1915, Indians were no longer seen as a people in transition but as a backward race with a limited future. Popular writers such as Hamlin Garland, Charles Lummis, and Edward Curtis provided a nostalgic and pessimistic view of Indian life. During the Progressive Era, assimilation was a regional Western issue and Indians increasingly became victims of segregation and the racial stereotyping that degraded other minorities.

New scientific perceptions of Indians by anthropologists reinforced the movement away from a federal commitment to total assimilation. After 1900, the social evolutionists' orthodoxy disintegrated into several schools of thought. Most social scientists believed that Indians belonged to static primitive cultures. Others stressed the importance of racial differences and culture in determining human behavior.

Federal officials responded to these anthropological perceptions by redefining Indian policy. They began to view assimilation as a process of freeing the Indians to follow their own destiny. Indian property was sold to whites to promote Western economic development because Indian homesteads were no longer seen as an important step toward civilization. In 1906, Congress passed the Burke Act which ended the automatic twenty-five year restriction on the sale of land allotments. Federal policymakers also sold surplus tribal land without Indian consent, established permissive guidelines for leasing Indian property, opened Indian irrigation projects to non-Indians, regulated tribal forests, and created competency commissions.

Fundamental changes were made in Indian education. Because Indians were now viewed as adult children, the effort to transform them in to first class citizens disappeared. The promise of racial equality was abandoned for the reality of segregated schools with curriculums that stressed vocational and manual training. Indian students were educated to work as migrant labor in sugar-beet fields and other areas of non-Indian agriculture.

Federal officials remained evasive about guaranteeing Indians the citizenship rights promised under the Dawes Act. They restricted the sale of liquor on reservations, refused to champion Indian voting rights, and continued to control the use of Indian land. After Congress passed the Indian Citizenship Act in 1924, Indians still remained under federal guardianship as members of a "backward" race.

This is a well-researched and written book. It would have been strengthened, however, by an analysis of how Indians reacted to the promise of assimilation and citizenship. We need to know if Indian attitudes about assimilation and allotment and their capacities as farmers and students were directly linked to the changing white perceptions about the possibility of rapid Indian assimilation into the mainstream of society.

Hoxie's stimulating book will encourage future research on the following questions. Did federal Indian policy after the Civil War

work in a similar way for tribes in Oklahoma and the eastern part of the United States? How important was the Women's National Indian Association in the campaign for assimilation? How significant was the role of Populists in the breakup of the reservation system? What impact did the Carlisle Indian School, Hampton Institute, and government boarding schools have on individual Indians and reservation communities?

This book is a major contribution to our understanding of American Indian history. It will be of interest to both scholars and the general public.

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The Legacy: Tradition and Innovation in Northwest Coast Indian Art. By Peter L. Macnair. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1984. 194 pp. 265 photographs, 156 in color. \$14.95 Paper.

The Legacy is a catalog that vividly documents an on-going exhibition of masterpieces by past and present Northwest Coast Indian artists of British Columbia. Its principal author, Peter L. Macnair, is curator of ethnology at the Provincial Museum of British Columbia. The first Legacy exhibition opened at the Provincial Museum in 1970, when contemporary artists were beginning to explore and revive the complex artistic traditions of the Northwest Coast. An updated exhibit, designed in 1975, has toured throughout Canada and in Britain, displaying classic works from the Provincial Museum's collections and contemporary pieces newly commissioned for the Legacy. It honors the great master artists of the past and the contemporary artists who, with brilliance and creativity, reclaim their rich artistic inheritance.

Originally published in 1980, *The Legacy* catalog, like the exhibition, "seeks to provide a greater appreciation of the arts through an understanding of form" (p. 230). Five sections of substantive text with color illustrations work together successfully to achieve this goal. The Introduction presents the geographic and social context on the Northwest Coast prior to the arrival of Caucasian settlers, and emphasizes the central role the art played in the daily and ceremonial life of the Northwest Coast Indians. In the nineteenth century, diseases resulting from contact with