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The New Deal and American Indian Tribalism. By Graham D. Taylor.

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tion of ceremonialism from traditional to contemporary times. An abundance of details and numerous illustrations vividly exemplify the ceremonialism of this nativistic group. Certainly, scholars will find the work valuable in studying the Shawnees. But for those who want to read a history of the Indian group, they should look elsewhere.

The message of the study is clear. The Shawnee way of life still persists, in contemporized forms, but remaining distinctly different from the lifestyle of the mainstream society. The retention of Shawnee culture in modern times is evident in the testimony of Thomas W. Alford. In the fall of every year after the first frost, Alford's father instructed him to take a plunge every morning in a nearby creek. "It made me shiver to think of the cold plunge, but I never thought of disobeying him, for very well I knew that father had begun to train me to be a man, a brave—possibly a chief." Passages such as this one exemplify the persistence of Shawnee culture which the author has conveyed in this volume.

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The New Deal and American Indian Tribalism. By Graham D. Taylor. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980. 203 pp. \$14.50.

Interest in John Collier and the New Deal for American Indians has appeared recently in several publications that attempt to give an overview of those tumultuous times. In 1977 Kenneth R. Philp published John Collier's Crusade for Indian Reform, 1920-1954, which was the first large scale effort to assess this period. On a more restricted basis, Lawrence Kelly's The Navajo Indians and Federal Indian Policy, 1900-1940 analyzed the impact of federal reforms on the largest Indian tribe in the country. Sporadic law review articles and tracts in historical journals promise more to come and scholarly conventions are now featuring younger scholars who are aggressively assessing the various components of that era. Graham Taylor's treatise, *The New Deal and American Indian Tribalism*, seems to focus almost exclusively on the idea that the New Deal and the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) were less concerned with Indians and more involved in the imposition of predetermined ideas on the tribes. Running throughout the book as a major theme, indeed perhaps the only theme, is the argument that the traditional full bloods were excluded from the process of reorganization by a variety of factors and that this omission had dire implications. Taylor thus picks up a theme now popular with Indian militants that the IRA was not really a helpful vehicle for social and economic change because it formalized the means by which the Secretary of the Interior consolidated unarticulated supervisory powers over Indians into rigidly defined powers that verged on dictatorship.

Thus a thesis is not unrealistic but if this charge is leveled, it must receive more substantiation in the way of interpretive theory than Taylor brings to the task. We need a broad and sweeping thesis that enables us to predict with some certainty the way in which present activities of Indians have been different or will be different, given the obvious departure from Indian norms which such a thesis assumes. Taylor does not give us much in the way of thoughtful material here. Rather he depends upon uneven citations from correspondence between Bureau of Indian Affairs personnel and some charts on voting which he provides for us in the back of the book. Lacking a major framework within which we are asked to see the unfolding of theory and history, we are left with a feeling that we have whimsically looked into several Bureau office files and from that eavesdropping we must draw some universal conclusions.

Taylor is not short on footnotes and critical apparatus in this tract. Indeed, he fills almost every page with a well honed set of references leading us to believe that his selections are the best of a bad lot. But his reliance on W.R. Roberts of Pine Ridge and Rosebud leaves us a bit short of a universal survey of Bureau attitudes and actions. If one were to pick two reservations that are almost wholly unpredictable, Pine Ridge and Rosebud would almost certainly be among the finalists. To cite them as typical examples of Indian attitudes, then, is something akin to choosing Southern California as the paragon of American virtue and avoiding middle America. More attention should have been paid to Oklahoma and the agitation there over allotments and the lack of eligibility for the IRA which culminated several years later in the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act and the admission of the Alaskan Natives to this important policy change in Interior.

One cannot judge any of these first efforts too harshly because an insufficient amount of commentary by Indians in the decades since and the almost mythical status which the New Deal has achieved among Indian politicos has meant that writers attempting to describe this era are left without a good touchstone of contemporary thought by which they can gauge their efforts. Until the Indian community itself begins to critique with a jaundiced eye the results and directions which the IRA gave to Indian communities. other scholars are simply making good-faith efforts to encompass an important development which has not yet been properly evaluated by its victims and / or clients as you would have it. Thus this book can properly be placed in the category of "pioneer" and applauded for its intent with the hope that the rest of us will be inspired by its strengths and aware of its shortcomings sufficiently so that we will take pen and archival cards in hands and proceed to further the knowledge we have about this period.

Taylor balances his presentation by reference to the American Indian Policy Review Commission and its work, feeling that since the original task of the IRA was not accomplished the Abourezk Commission's work finds a natural ancestor in the goals and hopes of John Collier and his generation. A far better choice might have been the Indian Self-Determination and Education Act of 1975 which attempted to make concrete many of the ideas generated by Collier and his people. The tragedy of contemporary Indian life is that so few people, in Indian country or in the Bureau of Indian Affairs, believed that they were plowing old ground when this act was passed. Rather many of them figured that the Self-Determination Act was a welcome reform after decades of Bureau neglect. They would have been surprised to learn that the original version of Collier's bill transcended in theory and proposed structural reform even the meager changes which the 1975 act contained.

I would recommend this book without hesitation because it fulfills a need at the present time to force Indian people to look realistically at the relationships between the Full-blood traditional people and the crowd of mixed-blood, partially assimilated politicians who have in the decades since come to control tribal governments and now clamour for energy development and modern conveniences. Although slightly repetitive, Taylor's book makes crystal clear the fact that the failure of either Indians or bureaucrats to resolve this problem continues to doom all efforts to find a place for American Indians in today's world.

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**Political Organization of Native North Americans**. Edited by Ernest L. Schusky. Washington: University Press of America, 1980. 298 pp. Pap. \$11.25.

In spite of the fact that the persistent encounter between native and European peoples dominates scholarly writing on American Indians and has done so since the first contacts, little has been done on the overall political organization of native peoples of North America. In *Political Organization of Native North Americans*, Schusky has gathered together political assessments of United States and Canadian native communities from an anthropological perspective. The work is an outgrowth of a Bicentennial Project of the American Anthropological Association. The unique aspect of the collection is that the chapters are from the native viewpoint, carrying on the tradition of Schusky's 1970 *The Right to Be Indian*. Why native authors were not used to discuss political organization is not explained.

The theme of the volume is that the natives became "encysted within an encompassing, dominating system, their lives and livelihoods in critical ways shaped and controlled by alien, largely unheeding forces" (p. 223). Whether discussing the historical background, a specific tribal group, or an organization involving native peoples, all of the authors are concerned with the smothering national presence among the continent's first inhabitants. The Preface is simplistic but sympathetic to the native. Chapters one through five discuss historical and chronological aspects in the changing relationships of Indians to North American governments. The editor in the first chapter discusses early federal dealings with Indians, marked by efforts for their assimilation and extinction as separate peoples. Not a little attention is given to the Vietnam War period in American history and parallels with nascent Indian policy. Although Bernard Sheehan and Robert Berkhofer have