UCLA

American Indian Culture and Research Journal

Title

Bartering with the Bones of Their Dead: The Colville Confederated Tribes and Termination. By Laurie Arnold.

Permalink

https://escholarship.org/uc/item/5xf8b1di

Journal

American Indian Culture and Research Journal, 37(4)

ISSN

0161-6463

Author

Jerofke, Linda

Publication Date

2013-09-01

DOI

10.17953

Copyright Information

This work is made available under the terms of a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial License, available at https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/

the consequences of those actions. It is unclear, for instance, whether Caldera's absences from home contributed to her son's involvement with meth, about which she had no inkling. Instead, Zeig singles out the family members who facilitate the demanding job of firefighting. Aday's husband, Nita Quintero's partner, and Bones' sister are all lauded for the unconditional love and support they have provided.

Of the two films, *Skydancer* is more closely integrated, with every one of its scenes pivoting around the challenges of living in two worlds to sustain a career in ironworking. The last half of *Apache 8* delves into digressions that seem only obliquely related to firefighting. We learn about the Apache Sunrise Dance Ceremony that takes place when girls come of age, for example, and how Nita Caldera's ceremony when she was fourteen led to a photo spread in *National Geographic*. Given that Katy Aday spent only about six years with Apache 8, she may have been given too prominent a place in the documentary. Zeig repeatedly returns to her as the "go-to" subject throughout the film, as we learn about her childhood, her career choices after she left Apache 8, and her future aspirations. It's hard to fault the filmmaker, however: Aday makes for a wonderful role model, combining strikingly good looks with keen intelligence, humor, and sincere emotion. She tears up twice when talking about her father and her husband, and she reliably lets fly trenchant sound bites.

If *Apache 8* does veer from seamless integration, the digressions do contribute significantly to the film's overall objective: to celebrate and inspire. This would be a smashing film to share with Native children in middle school. But truth to tell, anyone who screens *Apache 8* will be galvanized by its committed women.

Douglas Heil University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh

Bartering with the Bones of Their Dead: The Colville Confederated Tribes and Termination. By Laurie Arnold. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012. 208 pages. \$60.00 cloth; \$24.95 paper.

This is a story about dysfunction—of the Confederated Tribes of the Colville Indian Reservation and of the United States government—as they danced around the possibility of the termination of bands that were held together in a common reservation in Washington State. The road to reservation life for these confederated tribes was and is complicated because of the number of bands that the federal government placed on the reservation, a land traditionally identified with the Colville. The tribes included the Colville, Arrow Lakes,

San Poil, Nespelem, Okanogan, Chelan, Entiat, Methow, Moses, Wenatchi, Palus and Nez Perce, and they did not necessarily have the same goals as to how the reservation should be run. The federal government purposefully used confederation to destabilize tribes and focus their energies on each other. In general, from the US government's point of view, this was a success. Tribes were grouped together and more public land was made available to non-Indians.

Unfortunately, one of the major problems on the Colville Reservation was that the mix of tribal bands from the same general region included Salish-speaking people as well as the later addition of Sahaptin-speaking Nez Perce. In addition, the Moses band had invited the Nez Perce after they had attempted to enter Canada, a decision made without consensus from the rest of the tribes. This was only the start to the dysfunction created by the US government. In her detailed discussion, Arnold skillfully brings attention to the majority of factors that impacted the termination debate for the Colvilles during the 1950s to the early 1970s, and shares her own personal knowledge of tribal history. A Colville tribal member who has lived on and off the reservation, she provides both an insider's and outsider's point of view. She had access to the detailed US government documents on this subject, but not to specific tribally held archives.

The next stage in the lives of tribal members was the complete disruption of reservation life under the Dawes Act. As tribal members were assigned specific allotments of land, the Colvilles lost a large amount of their reservation, an area significant to them known as the north half. This loss was never forgotten, and later became a focal point when the subject of termination emerged. Moreover, in the early twentieth century Colville government policies developed under a combination of US government directives and tribal cultural belief systems. During this period all tribes were strongly encouraged to develop a constitution, if not told outright that they must. For the Colvilles, this was not an easy transition and it later became another issue that divided the reservation. A majority of those voting approved the new constitution, but ironically this was a group that constituted a minority of the eligible voters. The majority of eligible voters unfortunately had chosen not to vote, following their cultural practice of remaining silent when actually they were opposed to the constitution. Ultimately, under the watchful eye of the federal government, these results were interpreted either as consent or dissent, depending on who reviewed the vote.

Factionalism continued on the reservation in the mid-twentieth century as word of the possibility of termination was heard across all tribal lands. The United States had just emerged from a world war that centered on communism, and federal officials became concerned about the group cultural values represented on reservations. Also, government officials at both federal and state

Reviews 169

levels began to hypothesize about two major factors: one, it would be cheaper to dissolve the promises made to the tribes, and two, the dissolution of reservation land might prove to be profitable to the states and to private investors, who had focused their attention on highly valued land containing timber, minerals, and other natural resources. The Colvilles soon became divided over termination. The Colville Indian Association (CIA) had been active during the early years of the reservation. When termination became a real possibility, together with its chance of receiving a substantial payment, the CIA gained prominence as a strong proponent. One of the goals in supporting termination was to be free of US government control. In stark contrast, the Petitioners Party at first were focused on protection of the land and believed that termination might happen. Their position soon changed to a resolute anti-termination stance. All in all, most tribal members were confused about the entire termination discussion.

One question in particular caused significant confusion: what would really happen to the tribe if it were terminated? There was no easy answer, and it varied depending on who was trying to answer the question. Some US government officials indicated that the Colvilles would easily survive termination because they were integrated with the surrounding white populations. In fact, the Department of Interior found them, in patronizing terms, "competent." With the majority of tribal members having graduated from junior high school, they were seen as sufficiently educated for the 1950s. Also, almost every tribal member could speak English. They still practiced tribal ceremonies and it was expected that ceremonial practice would continue even after termination.

In addition, Congress started pairing "freedom" with the termination of tribes. Ultimately, how free would tribal members be? Would they experience the same freedom dealt to the Klamath and the Menominee, some of the first tribes targeted for termination? The Colvilles had heard what happened: both tribes had been considered prosperous and fully capable of being free from the US government, yet after termination they lost their land base, were manipulated by local businesses, and ended up with significant financial problems and few available social services due to their remote locations. Many of the tribal members had not fully realized that their vote would lead to the loss of their reservation.

So, does this story end with the dysfunction resolved? The answer is complex. By the time all of the constituents had multiple opportunities at untold congressional and tribal meetings to state their stance on termination, two decades later, the desire of the US government to push termination had waned. The federal government had come to the realization that the termination of tribes and the dissolution of their land only led to chaos. The tribes that had been terminated had ended up in poverty with few resources to rely upon. Their local counties could not support their social service needs. By the

1970s, the tribal government of the Colvilles had shifted and aligned with the growing Indian pride movement throughout the United States. Under this new mandate the tribal government voted to withdraw from termination. Now, has this story ended? As evidenced by the author's inability to gain access to internal tribal records on termination, the answer is no. Yet as Arnold notes, the complex governmental negotiations the Colvilles experienced have served them well in their steps towards self-determination.

Linda Jerofke Eastern Oregon University

A Chosen People, A Promised Land: Mormonism and Race in Hawai'i. By Hokulani K. Aikau. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012. 264 pages. \$67.50 cloth; \$22.50 paper.

The interdisciplinary field of United States indigenous studies has grown rapidly over the past two decades, with both the range of its critical methodologies and the diversity of its objects of study expanding significantly. Perhaps even more important for the growth and increasing sophistication of the field, the biographies of its researchers, too, have broadened, to include a more representative sample of indigenous and non-indigenous community backgrounds and personal experiences. It is something of a surprise, then, that little sustained scholarship has explored the particular intersections of indigenous identities in the United States with the wide variety of contemporary Native religious affiliations and traditions of faith.

Hokulani K. Aikau's A Chosen People, A Promised Land: Mormonism and Race in Hawai'i is thus especially welcome. Aikau investigates an evolving "ideology of faithfulness" among indigenous Mormons in Hawai'i, and more broadly, her work helps to explain the paradoxical role Christianity has played in the perpetuation of indigenous cultures in the Pacific. Looking not only at how colonial power works with and through Christian missions, but also at how both colonial power and Christian missions interact with and inflect cultural tourism and indigenous political activism, the book offers a compelling case study that challenges certain orthodoxies about the relationships that result among introduced religions, settler colonialisms, and indigenous assertions of self-determination and self-representation. It should appeal to scholars and students from multiple disciplines.

Aikau, who was raised in a Hawaiian Mormon family in Utah, is an associate professor of indigenous and Native Hawaiian politics at the University of Hawaii at Manoa. Her study's methodology can be described as a thick

Reviews 171