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Crooked Paths to Allotment: The Fight over Federal Indian Policy after the Civil War. By C. Joseph Genetin-Pilawa.

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in traditional values and democratic principles of Anishinaabe governance. Written as a narrative and ratified as a political document, the constitution is an expression of a new political power based on the idea of independent governance, sentiments of survivance, and Native continental liberty. Acknowledging the problems which accompany the process of White Earth constitutional reform, James Mackay argues that, regardless of the outcome, "the idealism of the Constitution . . . will remain . . . an inspiring national vision" (136). In my view, the idea that the constitution would not serve its intended purpose is too depressing. The vision that Vizenor incorporated into the proposed constitution is an offering to his people and should not be wasted. It is a gift given on the basis of a real need. Unlike Mackay, I do not believe that a constitution is "inessential to the business of governance" (134). For a Native nation a good constitution is a prerequisite for effective governance and a defense against the ongoing efforts to eliminate tribal sovereignty.

Centering Anishinaabeg Studies is an anthology that deserves high praise for its unique approach to the study of stories, treating stories not as a dead part of Anishinaabe heritage but as an active power, which opens new possibilities for survivance in the complexities of the constantly changing world. This anthology reclaims cultural, intellectual, and educational sovereignty necessary for the continued existence of the Anishinaabeg as peoples in the land that is rightfully theirs.

Anna Krausová Charles University

Crooked Paths to Allotment: The Fight over Federal Indian Policy after the Civil War. By C. Joseph Genetin-Pilawa. University of North Carolina Press, 2012. 228 pages. \$27.95 paper, \$39.95 cloth.

C. Joseph Genetin-Pilawa has written an insightful and highly readable book about the politics of United States federal Indian policy that led to congressional passage of the Dawes General Allotment Act of 1887, which resulted in the loss of some 90 million acres of Indian lands. A strong contribution to the study of that period of nineteenth-century United States federal Indian law and policy, *Crooked Paths to Allotment* provides a detailed understanding of some of the history that led to the Dawes Act, which was intended to force individual land tenure on Indian people, break apart the nations, and assimilate Indians into the social and political fabric of the United States. In his 1901 First Annual Message, President Theodore Roosevelt called the act "a mighty pulverizing engine to break up the tribal mass." Genetin-Pilawa does an excellent job of laying out the political landscape of that period.

Characterizing his book as being "about the politics of Indian policy making," Genetin-Pilawa explains that if "the intellectual development of federal Indian policy in the nineteenth century was to be mapped out spatially, it would not resemble a singular, linear path leading directly toward allotment but rather a crooked path with curves and bends" (2-3). While the author does not indicate that he chose "*Crooked Paths*" as a double entendre in the sense of as "dishonest, fraudulent, unfair dealings," in Webster's definition of "crooked," it certainly fits all the land frauds committed against Indian nations in the nineteenth century. Thomas A. Bland, an ardent pro-Indian advocate covered in detail in *Crooked Paths*, called the Dawes Act "this infamous scheme of despotism and robbery" (144).

Stories about the past are part of the means by which we understand our present. The concepts and categories that historians use to tell their stories can have as much potential to distort as they do to illuminate our grasp of past events. Especially in the case of the history of US Indian law and policy, much comes down to key choices authors make with regard to terminology, both the terms chosen and those avoided.

Genetin-Pilawa contextualizes his book with a brief explanation of the overall conceptual terrain of federal Indian law and policy, which he often calls "U.S. colonialism." He fails to mention, though, that this process of colonialism was a result of the United States' founding as the American empire. In a context of Indian "confinement," Genetin-Pilawa quickly turns to the doctrine of discovery and the 1823 US Supreme Court ruling Johnson & Graham's Lessee v. M'Intosh, a decision the author says led to "a political catastrophe" for Indian nations (18). Yet rather than explicitly focus on the Johnson to present his readers with a secular explanation in terms of "European" discovery (18).

Writing for a unanimous court, Chief Justice John Marshall stated in *Johnson* that the "right of discovery was confined to countries then unknown to Christian people," whom he contrasted with "the natives, who were heathens" (21 U.S. (8 Wheat.) 543, 576). Genetin-Pilawa has neglected to mention this religious dimension of the *Johnson* ruling and the doctrine of discovery. Two words, "Christian" and "heathen," in one paragraph could have made this point explicit. Forty-six years after the *Johnson* ruling, this Christian religious thread of US federal Indian law and policy was woven into President Ulysses S. Grant's "peace policy." In May 1869, Ely S. Parker stated to the newly forming Board of Indian Commissioners: "believing that, in common with the President and other officers of the government, you desire the humanization, civilization, and Christianization of the Indians, I very respectfully . . . . submit

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the following questions" (*Documents of United States Indian Policy*, ed. Francis Paul Prucha, 2nd edition expanded, 1990, 127).

Chapter 2 presents an account of the early life of Ely S. Parker and the Tonowanda Seneca removal crisis during the Indian removal period. Framing this chapter in terms of an "Assault on Tribal Sovereignty, 1838-1861," Genetin-Pilawa delivers a detailed case study of an Indian nation beset by the Ogden Land Company, led by the predatory land speculator Thomas L. Ogden. We learn that although the 1838 Buffalo Creek "treaty" document was obtained by "fraud, bribery, liquor, and other unscrupulous means," it was still called a "treaty" and effectively used, to great profit, as if it were valid by those who had committed the fraud (33). Crooked Paths explains how the Tonowanda Seneca actively and intelligently resisted the forces arrayed against them as they struggled to resist and eventually avoided removal to Kansas. Many non-Indian allies distrustful of the Eastern land speculators were willing to support the Tonowanda Seneca efforts to fight back against the frauds committed against them and resist removal. The author gives the reader a detailed account of a period of time that was formative and instructional for a young Ely Parker. Genetin-Pilawa says that he has "read every bit of his [Parker's] writings available in libraries and archives across the country," and the result is a nicely detailed view of Parker's life and legacy (5).

Genetin-Pilawa also examines Ely Parker's flinty way of looking at Indian nationhood and his rejection of continued treaty-making. When Parker was US Indian commissioner in the Grant administration, he was in favor of upholding Indian treaties that had been made, at times even ones that Indian leaders said had been reached by fraud. But he also took the position that the Indians should not be recognized as independent nations because the United States had defined them as "wards" of the federal government.

Parker had evidently mastered the clichés and condescending attitude that ruled US Indian policymaking at that time. For example, Parker wrote as US Indian commissioner in his December 23, 1869 annual report that "because treaties have been made with them [the Indians], generally for the extinguishment of their supposed absolute title to land inhabited by them, or over which they roam, they have become falsely impressed with the notion of national independence. It is time that this idea should be dispelled, and the government cease the cruel farce of thus dealing with its helpless and ignorant wards" (Francis Paul Prucha, *Documents of United States Indian Policy*, 2nd edition expanded, 1990, 134–35).

The language quoted above from Parker's report is not found in *Crooked Paths*. Instead, the author has chosen a similar quotation from the same document: "great injury has been done by the government in deluding this people into the belief of their being independent sovereignties, while they were at the

same time recognized only as dependents and wards" (86). Genetin-Pilawa's effort to explain this part of Parker's thinking seems to be a particular weakness of the book, such as when he says, in "Parker's experience, Native communities lacked the political, economic, and military might to force external agents of colonialism (land speculators and other private interests) to negotiate fairly or to compel the federal government to honor its treaty agreements" (86). Yet Genetin-Pilawa fails to provide any information demonstrating that Parker thought bringing Indian treaty-making to an end was a means of solving any of the problems Indian nations and peoples were facing, or strengthening their political and legal position, or making the US government more effective at protecting Indian interests. Framing Indian people as "helpless and ignorant wards" was certainly not a path toward solving the problems that Genetin-Pilawa has identified. And such language is hardly a demonstration of Parker's advocacy on behalf of Indian peoples, though there are instances in the book showing that he did make efforts to work on behalf of the Indians, especially when they were facing conditions of starvation.

Genetin-Pilawa also details the activism of Thomas A. Bland, an editor of the Indian reform newspaper the *Council Fire* and an untiring advocate for Indian nations. He founded the National Indian Defense Association (NIDA), which favored a gradual path to Indian assimilation and therefore worked against the coercive assimilation of American Indians into the society of the United States. The author explains that Bland's "ideas represented a viable alternative to the existing trends in Indian policymaking, which valued increasing confinement and diminishing tribal sovereignty" (113). The main opponent of Bland and the NIDA was the Indian Rights Association (IRA), which was pushing hard in favor of the Dawes Act and coercive cultural assimilation. The political fight between the NIDA and the IRA is very well covered in the book.

C. Joseph Genetin-Pilawa's *Crooked Paths* is well worth reading. It ought to be viewed as a welcome addition to the history of nineteenth-century US Indian law and politics. The author deserves high marks for *Crooked Paths*.

*Steven T. Newcomb* (Shawnee, Lenape) Co-founder and Co-director, Indigenous Law Institute

Decolonizing Museums: Representing Native America in National and Tribal Museums. By Amy Lonetree. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012. 219 pages. \$24.95 paper, \$65.00 cloth.

Decolonizing Museums: Representing Native America in National and Tribal Museums offers an excellent, "firsthand witness" account of the transformation

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