UCLA

American Indian Culture and Research Journal

Title

The Oneida Indians in the Age of Allotment, 1860–1920. Edited by Laurence M. Hauptman and L. Gordon McLester III.

Permalink

https://escholarship.org/uc/item/8hh8n8mp

Journal

American Indian Culture and Research Journal, 31(2)

ISSN

0161-6463

Author

Shaw, John M.

Publication Date

2007-03-01

DOI

10.17953

Copyright Information

This work is made available under the terms of a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial License, available at <u>https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/</u> Family" (plate 129) with the matriarch Clara posed, arms folded across her chest, offering a mother's all-knowing take on things. Portraits aside, pictures of agency buildings, school-ground activities (baseball and basketball were big at Busby), traditional ceremonies, games, rodeos, and the like speak to the pleasures of everyday life under often-difficult circumstances.

John Woodenlegs's commentaries are helpful. He had an eye for detail and observed things in the photograph that do not immediately jump out at the viewer. For him, the old-timers were good people, hardworking, helpful, and kind. A few of the other informants—Julia and Charles White Dirt, for example—are more critical, contrasting unfavorably the younger generation of Cheyenne to their elders. It is a timeless lament, of course—things were always better in the old days—but it also speaks to the character of individuals who had experienced wrenching change in their lifetimes yet upheld traditional communal values. They endured, Faulkner might have said, and as the grandson of a Custer battle veteran himself, John Woodenlegs, like the White Dirts, could not hide his admiration for them.

Margot Liberty edits with a light, deft hand, providing supplemental commentaries drawing on her research and her personal experiences as a teacher on the Northern Cheyenne Reservation in the 1950s. Though she earned her doctorate in anthropology at the University of Minnesota in 1973 and is an established authority on Plains Indians, hers is an unobtrusive presence in a book devoted to Cheyenne faces and memories. But her labors behind the scenes were instrumental in making this long-delayed publication a reality, and her introduction and afterword provide context for the photographs.

A Northern Cheyenne Album is in every sense a worthy book, handsomely produced by the University of Oklahoma Press. Anyone interested in Plains Indian history will want to own it.

Brian W. Dippie

University of Victoria, British Columbia

The Oneida Indians in the Age of Allotment, 1860–1920. Edited by Laurence M. Hauptman and L. Gordon McLester III. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006. 333 pages. \$34.95 cloth.

This book's most significant contribution is that it goes beyond simply acknowledging the disastrous effects of assimilation and allotment policy on the Oneida. As noted in the introduction, "in the editors' opinion no historian has yet put federal policies into the full context of tribal life during this major era in American Indian history" (xii). Through a series of academic essays and Native testimonies readers gain insights into the true nature of a plan touted by its advocates as a "benevolent reform" that resulted in dispossession, dislocation, and poverty.

The focus on a specific American Indian people's perspective responds to Richard White's call for more historians to look at "the historical construction of Indian nations" ("Indian Histories" in *The New American History*, 1997, 208). It is not enough to simply acknowledge the disastrous effects of this policy on Indian peoples. Scholars must delve deeper into the history of tribal-federal dialogue to understand the basis of a policy touted consistently by its advocates as being "benevolent." To better understand the motivations, factors, and reasons behind various Indian policies, such as allotment, analyzing them through a tribal case study within the broader context of US history is crucial.

Because the development of Indian policy mirrored many historical processes, one of the most insightful ways to analyze and interpret the dynamic interplay between federal-tribal relations is to focus on one Native community's experiences over an extended period of time. For the Oneida of Wisconsin, the Civil War through allotment era between 1860 and 1920 represented "the third major crisis in their long history" (282). Within the span of a few decades most aspects of their life underwent painful changes. Unlike what happened on many Indian reservations, the Oneidas did not have more land than they could use. After the designation of more than fifteen hundred allotments virtually none of their territory remained to be deemed "surplus" for sale to non-Indians. But by 1920 almost all of the original 65,400 acres were owned by non-Indians.

The land loss from the ever-changing permutations of allotment policy liberalization drove many Oneidas away in search of jobs and places to live in nearby urban areas such as Green Bay and Milwaukee. But this proximity allowed kinship and family ties to remain close enough to retain a sense of community and Oneida identity. Today they have reclaimed about 25 percent of their original reservation.

It is commendable that this account avoids the portrayal of Native Americans as victims, tragic or otherwise. The accent on Indian "agency" and persistence is certainly an accurate and valid depiction. But this emphasis should not obscure the fact that dispossession did weaken and destabilize the Oneida community in Wisconsin. As the late Vine Deloria Jr. noted, the General Allotment (Dawes) Act of 1887 "deliberately planned" to drive Indians into poverty. This study also confirms that the Burke Act of 1906 and the Federal Competency Commission of 1917 "completed the farce" by taking Indian allotments out of trust status, leaving them wide open to subsequent loss due to land and timber speculators, taxation or mortgage debt, and railroad development ("Reserving to Themselves" in *Arizona Law Review*, 1996, 978).

Nevertheless, the Oneida Indians sought to shape and negotiate their own existence within the confines of Euro-American political hegemony, economic stratification, and racial exclusion. "They were forced to change, but they never abandoned their sense of being Oneida" (282). The analytical emphasis is on the tribe's abilities to act on its own behalf, overcome internal factionalism, and resist inimical external forces. In terms of power relations and economic adaptation, they creatively and selectively attempted to maximize their physical, cultural, and political survival amidst the broader imposition of Euro-American infringement. Despite the adverse circumstances they faced, the Oneidas were not just dupes of US politics. They fought back peacefully. Despite internal factionalism they adapted culturally and politically in order to hold "fast to their views of tribal sovereignty" (7–8). Such persistence may not have seemed likely given the circumstances by which New York State and federal policymakers engineered Oneida removal. As a result of being forced off their lands in New York by the mounting pressures of Euro-American settlement, between 1821 and 1838 eleven thousand Oneida Indians migrated to a new reservation of nearly sixty-five thousand acres just west of Green Bay, Wisconsin (see volume 2 of the series, *The Oneida Indian Journey from New York to Wisconsin, 1784–1860*). Ironically, this territory belonged to the Menominee and Ho-Chunk (Winnebago). As noted in part I, by the time of the Civil War, the Oneidas had rebuilt their community in a new homeland. Unfortunately, the devastating War between the States shattered the community. Too many young men died in battle, while those at home faced epidemic diseases and Euro-American encroachment on their valuable timberlands.

Part II starts off with a concise overview of the evolution of federal Indian boarding schools. "The Oneidas, unlike many other Indians, had long been familiar with Western education" through a succession of Protestant mission schools predating the American Revolution (41). But during the post–Civil War era private mission schools proved inadequate to meet the educational needs of a new generation of Oneida youth. Approximately five hundred of them went to the Carlisle, Pennsylvania school. "They ranked fourth in tribal affiliation behind the Chippewas, Sioux and Senecas at Carlisle" (42). But as with many Native communities, the Oneidas preferred that their children remain closer to home. As an inducement to accept allotment, the federal government promised the Oneidas a reservation boarding school, while the Canadian government was setting up residential Indian schools across the international border in Ontario.

The major insight of part II is the clear relationship between boarding schools and allotment. "Only when the Oneidas were promised a federally operated and funded government boarding school . . . did tribal members vote for allotment" (90). But the story is not quite that simple. "Three Oneida families—the Corneliuses, the Hills, and the Wheelocks—produced four distinct cultural, economic and political responses" to federal assimilation and allotment policy (89). From the social Darwinist viewpoint of federal Indian policy, both of these allegedly "civilizing" influences bolstered each other.

The hallmarks of official Indian assimilation policy included: (1) privatization of tribal land, (2) coercing male heads of households into small farmers on their allotments, (3) Christianization, and (4) formal school education. Of course, the latter focused more on vocational training than academic achievement. Indians were not being educated to become equal citizens. They were being trained to become day laborers and domestic servants or second-class citizens living on the margins of American society. Not surprisingly, the boarding schools championed the values of individualism and materialism. Hence, among the Oneidas, those who attended boarding schools tended to support allotment more than those who did not. Educational, generational, and class differences "worked against long-term community interests" (209).

Internal factionalism combined with external encroachment. Euro-American social Darwinism, racism, and the gospel of efficiency condemned Native reservations as unproductive backwaters impeding the profitable utilization of resources. This study's examination of the contractions, paradoxes, and biases of late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century America undermines the idea of Indian allotment policy as a "benevolent reform." Such reforms may be charitably characterized as naive, myopic, or ignorant but not as altruistic, humanitarian, or benevolent.

The word *benevolent* implies benefit, and there is precious little evidence to indicate that the Oneida Indians "benefited" from allotment policy or that it was intended by its proponents to confer economic self-sufficiency or full and equal political status to Native Americans. Wisconsin politicians, entrepreneurs, and newspapers lobbied the federal government for various "easements" through the Oneida Reservation immediately after the Civil War. Congress, the Interior Department, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) began pushing for allotting the Oneida Reservation twenty years before the enactment of the Dawes Act in 1887. By 1917 almost all tribal lands "had left Oneida hands" (182).

The Oneida Indians in the Age of Allotment provides many valuable insights into the "flawed and failed" federal Indian policy from 1860 to 1920 (194). Yet this book provides a different perspective on this distressing era. It tries to go beyond the usual "dispossession" narrative and exemplify Edward Said's important insight that "nations themselves are narrations" (*Culture and Imperialism*, 1993, xii–xiii). It provides a useful revision to prior histories regarding allotment such as Frederick E. Hoxie's A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880–1920. As articulated by Lumbee legal scholar Robert A. Williams Jr., the main reason for the consistent failing of federal Indian policy and its lack of reflection or accountability derived from the fact that "the Indian voice was either not heard, not heeded, or falsely reported" ("The People of the States Where They Are Found Are Often Their Deadliest Enemies" in Arizona Law Review, 1996, 985).

This volume presents the Oneida perspective through a creative collaboration between members of the Oneida community and Indian and non-Indian academics from various fields. Fourteen contributors are listed, in addition to a dozen Works Progress Administration Oneida storytellers. "Unlike other WPA projects of the time, these stories provide a unique portrait of an American Indian community because they were collected, translated, and transcribed by the Oneidas" (315).

Yet the downside of most collaborative efforts featuring many voices is fragmentation. The editors did a good job of keeping the overall presentation flowing smoothly. Each section's introduction is excellent, but some of the supporting accounts are difficult to fuse into a coherent whole. Some sections of this volume are uneven (parts I and V) and a bit disjointed. The sole map accurately sites the Oneida Reservation just west of Green Bay in eastern Wisconsin. But for readers not familiar with the immediate area, the details about allotment, railroad right-of-ways, and the consequent absorption of Oneida land into Brown and Outagamie counties that subsume the original reservation require more detailed depiction. On the plus side, the sixteen pages of photographs bring many of the major Oneida figures to life, especially the pictures of women lace makers and male concert bands. Nevertheless, this is a rich synthesis that answers the persistent calls from Native American history or policy scholars for an "increase in the diversity of voices heard" (Nell Jessup Newton, "Introduction" in *Arizona Law Review*, 1989, 193).

It bridges the gaps between Indian law and policy scholarship and ethnopolitical history, and critically reexamines the implementation of various late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century federal Indian policies in the light of one tribe's legal struggle for justice. These struggles, as seen from the Oneida standpoint, provide valuable insights into the consistently dysfunctional nature of federal Indian policy from 1860 to 1920. The US government's relationship with Indian tribes centered upon expediency—not trust, protection, equity, or inherent treaty rights. The major issue remained as to whether the stronger "guardian" sovereign could impose its power on the weaker "ward" by asserting its authority to diminish tribal sovereignty and tribal land rights.

Unfortunately for the Oneida the answer was yes. But they refused to be terminated as a nation or have their reservation disestablished. Despite the fact that federal Indian policy steadily undermined the legal status and self-government of many Indian tribes by institutionalizing the doctrines of wardship and plenary power, the positive political, legal, and diplomatic legacy of the Oneida Nation lives on. I look forward to the next volume in this perceptive series.

John M. Shaw Portland Community College

The People and The Word: Reading Native Nonfiction. By Robert Warrior. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005. 244 pages. \$60.00 cloth; \$20.00 paper.

Moving on with the task of shaking loose the idea that Native American peoples have been strangers to the written word until recently, Robert Warrior examines Native intellectual traditions evident in nonfiction writing over the past two centuries. By doing so, he asserts an "intellectual sovereignty" and attempts to map a path for Native critics and intellectuals to follow that reflects that sovereignty and an intellectual tradition. The book succeeds in offering ways of reading important texts by themselves and in comparison across time and multiple tribal traditions. Although the text is understandably not comprehensive in its coverage of the broad topic of Native nonfiction writing or intellectual traditions, it suggests useful and timely ways of reading nonfiction texts in a selection of Native American writing by both unwriting old perspectives and creating new ones.

The thesis that guides this text concerns the intellectual tradition left us by Native American thinkers, writers, political leaders, and educators of past generations, "a tradition that can and should inform the contemporary work of Native intellectuals" (xiii). In that vein, the first chapter asserts that William