

NATIVE NATIONS OF
NORTH AMERICA
AN INDIGENOUS PERSPECTIVE

Steve Talbot
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Printer/Binder: Courier Corp.
Cover Printer: Courier Corp.
Text Font: Palatino LT Std

On the cover: A sacred eagle feather carries a circle representing the four directions with clouds holding life-giving rain. Behind the feather are symbols of corn, birds, water and rain, dragonfly, land and culture. It is a representation that all Native cultures are interconnected with the world and must be treated with respect and dignity.

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Talbot, Steve.

Native nations of North America : an indigenous perspective / Steve Talbot.
pages cm

Includes index.

ISBN-13: 978-0-13-111389-3

ISBN-10: 0-13-111389-5

1. Indians of North America—History. 2. Indians, Treatment of—North America—History. 3. Indians of North America—Ethnic identity. 4. Indian philosophy—North America. 5. Self-determination, National—North America—History. I. Title. E77.T25 2014 970.004'97—dc23

2013047761

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

PEARSON

ISBN-13: 978-0-13-111389-3
ISBN-10: 0-13-111389-5

This book is dedicated to the memory of

Jack D. Forbes

1934–2011

Mentor, Colleague, Friend



Photo courtesy of Carolyn Forbes.

CONTENTS

MY FRIEND JACK: REMINISCENCES BY STEVE TALBOT	xv
FOREWORD: AN INDIGENOUS PARADIGM BY DUANE CHAMPAGNE	xvii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	xxi
ABOUT THE AUTHOR	xxiii
ABOUT THE ARTIST	xxv

1	Introduction: The Indigenous Contribution and Perspective	1
	The Native American Cultural Heritage	3
	<i>Population and Language</i>	3
	<i>Food Production and Agriculture</i>	4
	<i>Medicine</i>	5
	<i>Other Contributions</i>	5
	<i>Hidden Heritage</i>	7
	America's First Ecologists?	8
	The Indigenous Research Paradigm	11
	<i>Native Studies Departments and Programs</i>	13
	Chapter Review	15
	• References	16
2	Hidden Heritage: The Iroquois and the Evolution of Democracy	17
	Chapter Overview	19
	Analytical and Theoretical Concepts	20
	Who Are the Iroquois?	21
	Origin of the Confederacy and the Great Law of Peace	22
	<i>Gayanashagona, the Great Binding Law</i>	23
	Iroquois Political History	24
	<i>The Imperial Wars</i>	25
	<i>The American Revolution</i>	26
	The Iroquois Influence Debate	28
	Iroquois Culture and Society	33
	<i>Social Organization</i>	35
	<i>The Grand Council</i>	36
	The Code of Handsome Lake	39
	Theory and Analysis	41

The Iroquois Today, Cultural Restoration 43
Chapter Review 45 • References 46

3 Greed and Genocide: California Indians and the Gold Rush 48

Chapter Overview: Depopulation as Genocide 49

Analytical and Theoretical Concepts 50

Genocide 50

Wilding 51

Native California Before Europeans 52

Ecological and Ethnographic Regions 52

Northern Ethnographic Region 53

Central Ethnographic Region 54

Southern Ethnographic Region 54

The Indian Heritage of California 54

The Spanish Period (1769–1821) 55

The Mexican-Indian Period (1821–46) 59

The Early American Period (1846–1900) 60

The Gold Discovery 61

Savage Miners and the Military 63

Disease and Starvation 67

The “Lost” Treaties 68

Indenture and Slavery 70

Forced Relocation and Reservations 72

Theory and Analysis 73

Precipitous Population Decline 73

Environmental Degradation 74

Was It Genocide? 74

Wilding Theory Revisited 75

Struggle and Renaissance 76

Chapter Review 80 • References 81

4 Spiritual Genocide: Lakota Sioux and the Meaning of Wounded Knee 83

The Context of Oppression 84

Chapter Overview 85

Theory: The Doctrine of Christian Nations 86

Teton Sioux Society and Culture 87

Political Organization 87

Social Organization 89

Lakota Religion 90

Spiritual Power 91

The Sacred Pipe 91

The Seven Sacred Rites 92

Early History of the Teton Sioux 96

Political Relations (1806–50) 96

Political Relations After 1850 97

Behind the 1890 Massacre at Wounded Knee	99
<i>Battle of the Greasy Grass</i>	100
<i>Americanization and Control Policies</i>	101
<i>Reservation Life</i>	102
The Ghost Dance Religious Movement	103
<i>Sitting Bull's Assassination</i>	104
<i>The Killing Fields at Wounded Knee</i>	105
Early Reservation Life (1880s–1936)	107
<i>Economic Life</i>	107
<i>Political and Social Life</i>	108
<i>Religion</i>	109
Reservation Life After 1936	110
<i>World War II and Relocation</i>	110
Return to Wounded Knee	112
<i>The 1973 Occupation</i>	115
<i>Civil War Rages On</i>	117
<i>Shoot-Out at the Jumping Bull Residence</i>	118
Healing Through Spirituality	120
Theory Revisited	121
Conclusion: The Meaning of Wounded Knee	122
Chapter Review	123
• References	124
5 Relocation as Ethnic Cleansing: The Navajo-Hopi “Land Dispute”	126
Chapter Overview	128
Theoretical Considerations	128
The Navajos	129
<i>Origin and Culture</i>	131
<i>Navajo Life Today</i>	132
<i>Spiritual Life</i>	132
<i>Social Organization</i>	135
Navajo Political History	136
<i>Pueblo Influences, Spanish Relations</i>	136
<i>The Anglo-American Era</i>	137
<i>Ethnic Cleansing</i>	138
<i>The Navajo Reservation (1878–1934)</i>	138
<i>Sheep as a Way of Life</i>	139
<i>Tribal Government</i>	140
<i>World War II and Postwar</i>	141
<i>Reservation Life Today</i>	143
The Hopis	144
<i>Early History and Origins</i>	144
<i>Social Organization</i>	145
<i>Spiritual Culture</i>	145
Hopi Political History	146
<i>The Mexican Era</i>	148

<i>Anglo-American Rule</i>	148
<i>Causes of Hopi Disputes</i>	149
<i>World War I and the Depression</i>	150
<i>Indian Reorganization Act</i>	150
<i>World War II and Postwar</i>	152
Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute	154
<i>Relocation</i>	156
<i>Resistance at Big Mountain</i>	157
<i>Conflict and Litigation</i>	158
Theory Revisited	159
Summary and Conclusions	162
Chapter Review	163
• References	164

6 The Birth, Death, and Resurrection of the Cherokee Nation 166

Chapter Overview	168
Theoretical Analysis and Concepts	169
Traditional Culture	169
<i>Social Organization</i>	171
<i>Political Organization</i>	172
<i>Spiritual Culture</i>	172
Early Political Relations	173
Culture Change	174
The Cherokee Diaspora	175
The Louisiana Purchase	177
Evolution of the Cherokee State	179
Oppression by the State of Georgia	181
The Trail of Tears	184
<i>The Hitchcock Mission</i>	185
Indian Territory	186
<i>Internal Conflicts</i>	186
<i>Cherokee Golden Age</i>	188
The Civil War	189
Postwar Reconstruction	190
<i>Poverty and Exploitation</i>	192
After Statehood	193
<i>Relocation and Termination</i>	195
Reemergence of the Cherokee Nation	196
<i>Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma</i>	196
<i>Eastern Band of Cherokee</i>	196
<i>United Keetoowah Band (UKB)</i>	197
Theory and Analysis	198
Conclusion	198
Chapter Review	199
• Notes	199
• References	199

7	Criminalization of the Indian: Northwest Fishing Rights and the Case of David Sohapp	201
	Chapter Overview	202
	Theory: Criminalization of the Indian	203
	Indian-White Relations in the Pacific Northwest	205
	<i>The Early Years</i>	205
	<i>Indigenous Peoples</i>	207
	<i>Western Washington</i>	208
	<i>Oregon</i>	210
	Salmon as a Way of Life	212
	<i>Treaties and Fish</i>	213
	<i>The 1960s Fish-Ins</i>	215
	<i>The Boldt Decision</i>	216
	<i>The Columbia River Basin</i>	216
	The Case of David Sohapp	218
	Dams and Fish	224
	Theory Revisited	226
	Conclusion	226
	Postscript: The “New Salmon”	227
	<i>Ethnic (Indigenous) Cleansing</i>	227
	<i>The Controversy</i>	228
	<i>Backlash</i>	229
	<i>Myths and Stereotypes</i>	230
	<i>Conclusion</i>	231
	Chapter Review • Notes • References	232 • 232 • 233
8	Internal Colonization: Native Hawaiians and the Sovereignty Movement	234
	Chapter Overview	236
	Analytical and Theoretical Concepts	236
	Culture and Society in Old Hawai’i	237
	<i>Spiritual Life</i>	239
	<i>Economic Organization</i>	240
	<i>Social Organization</i>	241
	<i>The Kapu System</i>	242
	History of Conquest and Dispossession	242
	<i>The Discovery</i>	242
	<i>Kamehameha I</i>	243
	<i>Early Economic Enterprises</i>	244
	<i>Depopulation</i>	244
	<i>Liholiho and Ka’ahumanu</i>	245
	<i>Christian Missionaries</i>	245
	<i>Land Dispossession: The Māhele</i>	246
	<i>Sugar and Ethnic Segmentation</i>	247
	<i>Reciprocity and Annexation</i>	248

King Kalākaua and the Bayonet Constitution 249

Lili'uokalani and the Seizure of Hawai'i 250

The Colonial Context 252

Hawai'i Under Colonial Rule (1900–59) 255

The Big Five 255

Impact on Culture and Traditions 255

A Hawaiian Homeland 256

Politics and Ethnicity 257

Neocolonialism Under Statehood 258

The Tourist Industry 259

Poor Quality of Life 259

Contemporary Struggle for Hawaiian Sovereignty 261

Assault on the Native Environment 261

The Military Occupation 262

The Aloha Industry 263

Hawaiian Language Revival 264

The Haole Backlash 265

The Akaka Bill 266

Theory Revisited 267

Conclusion 271

Self-Determination and Decolonization 271

Models for Sovereignty? 271

Chapter Review 273 • Notes 273 • References 274

9 First Nations: Contemporary Indigenous Issues in Canada 275

Theoretical Perspectives 277

History and Status of Canada's First Nations: A Profile 277

Language and Cultural Areas 278

Indians 280

Inuit 280

Métis 282

Recent Events 282

The Right to Recapture Indigenous Language 283

The Lobster War, the Marshall Decision, and Emerging Canadian First Nations' Treaty Rights 284

"We Are Sorry": Winning Compensation for Residential School Abuses 286

Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples 286

Sexual Abuse 288

Louis Riel 288

Native Litigation 289

Métis Hunting Rights: The Powley Case 290

Governance and Land Rights 291

International Indigenous Sovereignty 291

Environmental Issues 292

The Innu and Cree: North Looking South 292

<i>The Crees and Hydro-Quebec's Electric Dreams</i>	292
<i>Mercury Contamination and Fish</i>	294
<i>Crees and Inuit Oppose James Bay II</i>	295
<i>The Innu Battle: A Sulfide Mine</i>	296
<i>The Pimicikamak Cree of Manitoba: Imperiled by Hydropower</i>	297
<i>The Inuit: Dioxin and Other Persistent Organic Pollutants</i>	298
Environmental Toxicity in the Arctic	298
<i>POPs, PCBs, and Dioxins</i>	299
<i>Inuit Infants: "A Living Test Tube for Immunologists"</i>	300
The Lubicon Cree: Land Rights and Resource Exploitation	301
<i>Oil and Gas Exploitation</i>	302
<i>Logging Lubicon Land</i>	302
The Dene: Decimated by Uranium Mining	302
Redress for Colonialism Revisited: Concluding Thoughts	304
Addendum: Idle No More	304
Chapter Review	305
• References	306

10	Experiment in "Red Capitalism": Oil versus Alaska Native Land and Subsistence Rights	309
	Chapter Overview	310
	Theoretical Perspectives	311
	The Indigenous Peoples of Alaska	312
	<i>Eskimos</i>	313
	<i>Unangan</i>	314
	<i>Indians</i>	315
	The \$200 Billion Dollar Theft	316
	<i>A Demographic and Economic Profile</i>	316
	Discovery in the Twentieth Century	317
	<i>Russian Fur Trade</i>	318
	<i>Whalers</i>	319
	<i>Reindeer Herding</i>	320
	<i>Gold Rush</i>	320
	<i>Other Economic Changes</i>	321
	<i>Trapping</i>	321
	Early Attempts to Settle the Land Question	322
	<i>Tlingit-Haida Land Claims Settlement</i>	322
	<i>Summary</i>	323
	World War II and the Early Postwar Period	323
	Developments Since World War II	325
	<i>Statehood</i>	325
	<i>Oil Discovery at Prudhoe Bay</i>	325
	<i>Filing Native Land Claims</i>	326
	<i>Native Declaration of Independence</i>	326
	<i>Land Freeze</i>	328
	<i>The Oil Pipeline</i>	329
	<i>Role of the State of Alaska</i>	331

Related Events at the National Level 331
Ecology Hearings 332
The Land Claims Settlement: Who Owns Alaska? 333
Failure of the Corporate Model 335
The 1991 Amendments 338
Does “Red Capitalism” Work? 339
The Threat to Native Subsistence 341
Global Warming and Environmental Pollution 343
Subsistence Rights: The Struggle Continues 344
Conclusion: Theoretical Concepts Revisited 347
Chapter Review 350 • Note 350 • References 350

11 The Trouble with Stereotypes: Native Nations and the Urban Tradition 353

Chapter Overview 354
Analytical Concepts 355
Ancient Urbanism 357
Centers of Urbanism and Cultural Development 357
Urbanism in Mesoamerica 358
Olmecs 358
Toltecs 359
Mayan City States 359
Aztecs of Mexico 361
Historical Background 361
Aztec Social Organization 362
Tenochtitlán 363
Flower Wars 364
Destruction of the Aztecs 364
Mound Builders of Eastern North America 364
The First Mound Builders 364
Temple Mound Builders 365
Contemporary Indian Urbanism in the United States and Canada 366
Early Urban Indian Research 367
Recent Research 368
Canada 371
Urban Enclaves 372
Guadalupe Village 372
Santa Fe Indian Village 374
Piscataway Nation 375
Political Activism, Alcatraz, and Beyond 377
The Indian Occupation of Alcatraz 377
Island Administration 378
Historical Context 378

<i>The Crucible of Activism</i>	379
<i>End of the Alcatraz Occupation</i>	380
Analysis and Conclusions	381
<i>Ancient Urbanism</i>	381
<i>Contemporary Urbanism</i>	382
Theory	385
Last Words	386
Chapter Review	387
• References	387

CREDITS 391

INDEX 398

MY FRIEND JACK REMINISCENCES

Steve Talbot

In February, 2011, Jack Forbes passed to the Spirit World, but his immense academic contribution to Native American and Indigenous Studies will remain an enduring legacy. Several Indian publications were quick to include tributes to him, and undoubtedly there will be more as his academic work is fully noted and evaluated.¹ In reading the initial tributes, however, I was struck by the omission of his early contributions to our paradigm. Jack was a major founder of the field of Native American Studies in California, and an important contributor to the discipline as a whole. The following reminiscences will serve to demonstrate this assertion.

I was Jack's project assistant in the multicultural program at the Far West Laboratory for Educational and Research Development from 1967 to 1969. This government facility was located in the historic Claremont Hotel in Berkeley, California, and Jack was one of its four directors. At the Lab, he wrote ethnic handbooks, including "Native Americans in the Far West" as a pilot project for public schools. Jack's academic training was in history and anthropology, but he took a revisionist approach to these disciplines and employed ethnohistory when it came to the subject of Native peoples. This is demonstrated in his early works, among which are *Apache, Navajo, and Spaniard* (1960), *The Indian in America's Past* (1964), *The Yumas of the Quechan Nation and Their Neighbors* (1965), *Nevada Indians Speak* (1967), and *Native Americans of California and Nevada* (1969).

For a time, the national headquarters of the National Indian Youth Council (NIYC) was also located at the Claremont Hotel. The NIYC was an early Indian protest organization, a forerunner of the 1960s Red Power Movement. Jack's typist was the wife of a NIYC officer. Jack interacted with NIYC Indian leaders whenever they were in town. Indian elders from the San Francisco Bay area urban community also visited Jack at the Lab. I believe that it was about this time that he began working with Dave Risling and the California Indian Education

Association. It was at the Lab where I first met Lehman Brightman, an Indian student at UC Berkeley, who later headed up the United Native Americans (UNA). Jack organized the founding meeting of UNA, and helped Lee, myself, and others to produce the UNA publication *Warpath*.

Jack's daily routine at the Far West Lab often began in the morning at a nearby café where he routinely wrote fifteen to twenty manuscript pages daily for his various academic projects. Remarkably, his manuscript drafts required little if any editing. He displayed a broad knowledge of Indigenous peoples worldwide. One of the tasks he assigned to me was to undertake a comparative survey of the world's Indigenous peoples and national education policy, thereby anticipating the founding of the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association (NAISA) several decades later in 2009.

When I entered the Ph.D. program in anthropology at UC Berkeley in 1968, I continued my association with Jack. On the Berkeley campus he helped the Indian students "liberate" a room where they could meet. One of the organizing meetings for the Indian student occupation of Alcatraz in November, 1969, took place in this room. During the Third World Strike for an ethnic studies college at UC Berkeley, Jack met with student strike leaders to draft courses for the proposed curriculum. He worked with Berkeley Indian students Patty (Silvas) LaPlant, LaNada (Means) Boyer, among others, to found a Native American Studies (NAS) program on the Berkeley campus. Lehman Brightman (Lakota-Creek) became the first program coordinator.

One of Jack's Indian courses was "Native American Liberation," which I taught as a teaching associate in anthropology at UC Berkeley. The Indian students, about one-third of the class, left in the middle of the 1969 Fall term to occupy Alcatraz Island. The course content included Jack's research on Alcatraz concerning the history of persecution and imprisonment of

Indian “freedom fighters” in the past. One of the students in a class report wrote: “We considered many plans, many programs. We felt the only positive way to create self-determination was to do it.”

Jack was not directly involved in the Indian occupation of Alcatraz, although he served on the academic support committee, which I headed up for the island’s Indians of All Tribes Council. He and Dave Risling (Hupa) were busy leading the Indian and Chicano protest that created D-Q University, a California Indian tribal college, and the founding of a Native American Studies program at UC Davis.

Jack served as a member of my Ph.D. dissertation committee and made helpful suggestions to my dissertation, which was later published as *Roots of Oppression* in 1981. The book received very favorable reviews, including praise from the late Vine Deloria, Jr., who is considered the dean of American Indian academic writing.

It’s my understanding that Jack was offered a tenure track position at UC Berkeley but tuned it down for UC Davis instead, where his efforts led to the establishment of the Native American Studies program on that campus. Today, the Native American Studies Department at Davis offers an extensive academic program including a Ph.D.

In the fall of 1971 I joined the NAS program at UC Berkeley as an acting assistant professor, where I taught many of Jack’s courses that became the core curricula. They included Indian cultural heritage, tribal government, political movements, contemporary Native Americans, Southwest Indians, and world’s Indigenous peoples, among others. One of Jack’s publications that became immensely useful as one of the texts for our NAS classes at Berkeley and Davis was his edited volume, *The Indian in America’s Past* (1964). Inspired and informed by Jack’s research and writing about the Indian heritage of America, I wrote “Why the Native American Heritage Should Be Taught in College,” which was published in the *Indian Historian*, vol. 7, no. 1 (Winter 1974).

In 1974 I resigned my faculty position in Native American Studies at Berkeley. Jack offered me a tenure track faculty position in the then develop-

ing NAS program at UC Davis, but I turned it down in order to accompany my wife overseas where she had been offered a job with a United Nations-related nongovernmental organization (NGO) based in Finland. I taught Indian courses, which included Jack’s research and writing, for Turku and Helsinki Universities, and guest lectured in Denmark, the Netherlands, Germany, and the former Soviet Union. I later joined Jack in England for a Native American Studies symposium at the University of Warrick. Europeans, especially Germans, have always been fascinated by the American Indian story. The New Indian or Red Power Movement of the 1960s–70s and the development of Native American Studies greatly interested them. I believe Jack had several stints of visiting lectureships in Europe.

A decade later, after my return to the United States, Jack recruited me for a visiting lectureship in the Native American Studies department at UC Davis, 1988–90, where I again taught many of Jack’s classes and continued to learn from him. In 1990, when funding became problematic for the NAS program, I resigned my position at Davis to accept a tenure track position at San Joaquin Delta Community College. My colleague, Susan Lobo, took over some of my former classes at UC Davis. Inspired by Jack’s contribution to the NAS field, and the programs at both UC Berkeley and UC Davis, Dr. Lobo and I submitted a proposal for a “reader” in Native American Studies to HarperCollins, which became Addison Wesley Longman. This was the first edition of *Native American Voices: A Reader*, which came out in 1998. In the most recent, third edition of this popular textbook published by Pearson (as Prentice-Hall), Dr. Lobo and I were joined by coeditor Traci L. Morris (Chickasaw).

These are among the many reasons why the current textbook, *Native Nations of North America: An Indigenous Perspective*, is dedicated to Jack Forbes’ memory. The new book is a further examination of the themes presented in the 2010 edition of the *Native American Voices* reader, and is yet another journey on the “good Red Road” that Jack envisioned. His legacy lives on.

NOTE

1. For other tributes to Jack Forbes, see: Tanya Lee, “A Jack of One Trade,” *Indian Country Today* 1, no. 22 (June 22, 2011): 32–33; from colleagues: “Tribute to Jack Forbes,” *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 35, no. 33

(2011): viii–xiv; and Steve Crum and Annette Reed, “With Respect: Jack D. Forbes,” *News From Native California* 24, no. 4 (2011): 11–13.

FOREWORD

AN INDIGENOUS PARADIGM

Duane Champagne

The points of view and interests of Indigenous peoples are not well acknowledged or fully understood by contemporary government policymakers, academics, and the general public. For many, Indigenous peoples are believed to be doomed for eventual cultural extinguishment, if they have not already vanished, and economic marginalization unless they assimilate into the national culture and its institutions. The story of Indigenous peoples is one of centuries of struggle, resistance, survival, and renewal. When the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in 2007, the international community acknowledged the continued presence and human rights needs of Indigenous peoples around the world. Yet there is considerable need for greater understanding and recognition of Indigenous perspectives. The best way to achieve better knowledge and understanding of Indigenous nations is through the Indigenous Studies intellectual paradigm or method of study. An Indigenous paradigm should include the history, contemporary and future beliefs, actions, perspectives, and interests of Indigenous nations and their goals in maintaining self-government, cultural autonomy, and territorial integrity. The present book moves toward establishing an Indigenous paradigm through the presentation of a systematic analysis about the history, struggles, and achievements of selected Indigenous peoples of North America.

Much of the present-day intellectual discourse about Indigenous peoples has focused on colonization that sees Indigenous nations as casualties of history with little independent future. Indigenous peoples are externally characterized as marginalized, ethnic, race-based persons or groups whose destiny at best is described by their ultimate assimilation into multicultural nation-states where equal opportunity and civil rights are extended to all genders, sexualities, races, classes, and peoples. Many diplomats at the United Nations see the twenty-first century as

a time where onetime monocultural nation-states will evolve toward multicultural nations, where citizens agree to democratic political institutions, while respecting diversity in culture, race, and ethnicity. The conception of multicultural nations is certainly progress and is worthy of wide support, including the support by Indigenous peoples. In many ways the intellectual underpinnings for the future vision of multicultural nations are the contemporary academic perspectives on postmodern, postcolonial, multicultural, gender, cultural studies, and gay rights. All these viewpoints address widespread forms of oppression against various subordinated or discriminated groups and identities. The road to wholeness or full citizenship requires greater understanding, respect, and national inclusion within nation-state legal and normative rules for acceptance, assimilation, and integration, at least at the normative, legal, and political levels. Current activist movements therefore seek expanded definitions of human and civil rights, and greater acknowledgement and inclusion within the protections and values of democratic nation-states.

The vision and work to achieve more inclusive and diversified national communities is important and in many ways a logical extension of the present theory of liberal democratic nation-states to extend full citizenship and civil rights to the diverse range of identities, peoples, and individuals within the larger nation. Political equality, equal opportunity, civil rights, and individual and collective human rights are ideal core values of contemporary democratic nation-states and the movement for international human rights. Groups that struggle for inclusion and equality base their arguments on the view that the inclusion of greater diversity is a core value for democratic nations. Contemporary intellectual and social movements are looking for greater inclusion within and protection by the central political and legal institutions and core values of democratic nation-states.

Indigenous peoples currently are not full participants in the diversity democratic nation-state movement. As citizens of nation-states, most Indigenous persons want equal civil and human rights. However, Indigenous peoples or nations are not primarily interested in assimilation and integration into even a diversified nation-state, let alone a monocultural nation-state which still dominates the nations of the world. For Indigenous nations, a democratic and diversified nation-state is still an external political system that wishes to incorporate them as citizens, while dismantling their own governments and territorial places that are informed by their cultural traditions. For example, the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, despite many important guarantees, does not have a definition of Indigenous peoples, and does not recognize Indigenous nations and territories outside the policies and laws of the established nation-states. The multicultural or diversified nation-state possibility is premised on acceptance of the legal and political processes of the nation-state. The participants in the diversified nation-state movement want and will accept civil rights and human rights within the nation-state, if the nation-state will uphold their rights to equality and equal opportunity. In the diversified nation-state interpretation, Indigenous peoples are viewed as ethnic groups who are citizens, and who, at least in principle, have the same rights and obligations as other citizens.

A primary goal of Indigenous nations, however, is to preserve their own forms of government, political processes, territories, and cultural orientations that are often closely tied to specific political forms and territorial places. Indigenous people believe that their governments pre-date the formation of contemporary nation-states. Indigenous nations managed their own governments from time immemorial and often from the time of creation within their own traditions.

Indigenous governments have a different form than present-day nation-states. The government of indigenous peoples generally included management of not only internal political, cultural, and social affairs, but also management of relations with other human and nonhuman nations, as well as all the different power beings that formed the cosmic order. In some traditions, every species of plant or animal formed a recognizable nation of power beings, which Indigenous peoples had to honor and respect. Relations with the power beings of the cosmic order such as the sun, moon, and stars had also to be

respected and managed to ensure the well-being of the Indigenous nation. Since all forces in the universe or cosmos are interdependent with the people and nations, relations needed to be kept in balance and reciprocity. If relations with other human or nonhuman nations of the cosmos were upset, then specific ceremonies and often negotiations were necessary to restore order and well-being. Government within Indigenous communities usually meant managing relations with all the power beings of the universe.

The original Indigenous governments, laws, social and political groups, and ceremonies are given directly to the people by the creator in the creation as gifts and teachings. The creator made the people, made the land, and gave the ceremonies and rituals, rules of government and social behavior. No other entity is allowed or entitled by the creator to intervene in the national affairs of the people, or to redefine their political order and relations. The government, territory, and the laws given to the people usually are not changed without some spiritual sign or intervention from the creator. The relation between the Indigenous nation and the creator is direct, and no other authority has power to interfere. For example, among many North American Indigenous peoples, political councilors usually smoked a sacred pipe before the beginning of discussions so that the smoke would rise to the sky and inform the creator of the works and thoughts that were exchanged among the people. The mode of Indigenous government, community, and spiritual obligations often is upheld and carried on to the present, in respect for the gifts of the creator, and in thankfulness for the gifts of land, life, and cosmic resources.

Many Indigenous nations believe they have a collective goal and purpose to perform in the cosmic order, otherwise the creator would not have made them. The gifts of consensual politics, respect for the land and cosmic order, spiritual holism, and continuity of ancient wisdom are some of the gifts Indigenous nations believe can benefit all mankind. Indigenous peoples have long-standing beliefs that require them to retain their government, cultures, identities, land, and relations to the cosmic order. Hence, most Indigenous nations have been strongly resistant to colonization and social change. Despite hundreds of years of colonization and domination, many Indigenous nations continue to survive and will do so for the foreseeable future. Indigenous nations believe they have a rightful place among the nations of the world and have been strongly resistant to incorporation and integration into present-day nation-states.

Most nation-states have now granted citizenship to Indigenous peoples, and expect Indigenous peoples to act as citizens and exercise only the rights of citizenship. Some argue that any rights beyond the rights allowed to all other nation-state citizens are special rights that defy the rules of equality. Hence, Indigenous claims to self-government, territory, and cultural autonomy are seen as extra citizenship rights, and therefore counter to nation-state constitutions and national values. Indigenous peoples, on the other hand, generally see themselves as captive nations and captive “citizens,” since they often have not consented to nation-state citizenship or to surrendering their rights to self-government. In the United States and Canada, Indigenous peoples are recognized as members or citizens of both Indigenous and nation-state governments. Rather than citizens-plus with special rights, they see themselves as citizens-plural with rights within both the nation-state and rights as members or citizens of Indigenous nations.

The conflict between Indigenous peoples and nation-states cannot be reduced to race, ethnicity, or class. Indigenous nations do not comprise a single race, ethnicity, culture, or nation. In Africa, and in Scandinavia, many Indigenous nations continue to struggle for political, cultural, and territorial autonomy from nation-states, but are from the same racial group. Indigenous peoples exist in many places around the world and have many different forms of political, cultural, and economic organization. Treating Indigenous peoples as racial, ethnic, or class groups enables nation-states to address Indigenous peoples as citizens who are underprivileged and seeking economic and political inclusion. Civil rights approaches at best are a partial solution for Indigenous nations, who continue to seek relations and redress from nation-states that satisfies their own values of self-government, territorial control, and cultural autonomy.

Indigenous nations do not fit well into the visions and current practices of nation-states, and are not well conceptualized by the present-day diversity movement theories and activism that strive for assimilation and integration into nation-state political processes and extension of civil rights. The intel-

lectual tools for indigenous nations, their history, continuity, and futures, are not well understood or analyzed by present-day nation-state policies and critical theories of diversity. The outlier character of Indigenous nations requires its own methods of analysis, and theories of relations to nation-states and the international community, as well as to other Indigenous nations and with the diversity movements and their intellectual infrastructure. Contemporary theories, policies, and human understanding will not be complete until Indigenous nations are conceptualized and understood as participants in the past, present, and future world. Rather than ignored in policy and theory, Indigenous nations need to be recognized on their own terms, and their views and interests included in future intellectual, policy, national, and international fora. The tools for a critical analysis of Indigenous nations will not be measures of the degree of nation-state acceptance and inclusion, but rather by the extent to which Indigenous nations realize their own goals of self-government, cultural organization, and territorial integrity.

An Indigenous paradigm should foster the goals and values of Indigenous nations and communities in the same way that present-day nation-state intellectual institutions and policy foster national goals and interests. An Indigenous paradigm would take the point of view of Indigenous peoples themselves and develop knowledge and understanding that will sustain and empower Indigenous peoples to realize their political, cultural, and economic goals within local, national, and international arenas. Indigenous nations will be around for the indefinite future. Nation-states should move to make democratic and mutually beneficial relations and understandings about the role and place of Indigenous nations within nation-states and the international civil society and community. An Indigenous paradigm should provide an intellectual infrastructure for Indigenous and nation-state negotiations, policies, and actions that enable Indigenous nations to realize their goals of self-government, cultural autonomy, and territorial rights, as well as to develop respectful and mutually beneficial relations with the nation-states of the world on government-to-government bases.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This book is the result of a number of years of research, participant observation, and academic activism in the disciplines of action anthropology and Native American and Indigenous Studies. The various chapters are the product of lectures and published articles and reviews, and my interaction with Indigenous friends and colleagues in the Indian movement, interspersed by periods of research. It was in the early 1970s, when I and my Indian colleagues were endeavoring to implement the new Native American Studies curriculum at the University of California, Berkeley, that Faithkeeper Oren Lyons (Onondaga) addressed one of my large Indian classes, at which he presented an overview of the Native American struggle. After his presentation I told him that it was the best overview of the subject I had ever heard. “I can’t believe that you got everything in,” I said enthusiastically. Puzzled, he replied: “That wasn’t the hard part. The hard part is to know what to leave out.” This has been the challenge I have faced in writing the present book. How to tell the story of nine Indigenous nations and their urban relatives within a limited number of pages. I leave it to the reader to judge whether I have succeeded.

There are so many people and institutions to thank for this book that it is difficult to know where to begin. I have dedicated this volume to Jack D. Forbes, to whom I owe a great intellectual debt (see my dedication). My colleague and longtime friend, Susan Lobo, coeditor of the *Native American Voices: A Reader*, must also be thanked at the outset. I owe her an immense debt for many years of academic collaboration. I wish also to acknowledge with great appreciation Nancy Roberts, Pearson editor and publisher, for her continuing support of the Native American and Indigenous Studies paradigm. A special thank you goes to editorial assistant Molly White and copy editor Irene Vartanoff for their infinite patience with me during the production process. I also thank the reviewers of the manuscript

for their many helpful comments and suggestions: Tamara Cheshire, Sacramento City College; Vine Deloria, Jr., University of Colorado; Robert Hill, Tulane University; Amanda Paskey, Cosumnes River College; John Phinney, Southern Methodist University; Melissa Rinehart, Miami University; Stephen Saraydar, State University of New York; Joseph Wilson, University of New Haven; and Katharine Woodhouse-Beyer, Rutgers University-New Brunswick. I am especially pleased that Gerald Dawavendewa (Hopi/Cherokee), who did the beautiful book cover and other artwork for the third edition of *Native American Voices: A Reader*, has also agreed to do the cover art for the new book.

I am greatly indebted to Duane Champagne, professor of sociology at the Native Nations Law and Policy Center at the University of California, Los Angeles, who wrote the Foreword to the book, explaining in detail the Native American and Indigenous Studies paradigm. Bruce E. Johansen, professor of Communication and American Indian Studies at the University of Nebraska, Omaha, collaborated with me in writing the chapter on the First Nations of Canada. Professors Champagne and Johansen also reviewed earlier versions of several of the book’s chapters and made corrections and helpful comments. Naturally, I hold them blameless for any errors that may have crept into the book, or conclusions with which they may disagree, and for which I take full responsibility. I especially thank my colleague Deanna Kingston Paniatuq (King Island Inupiaq) at Oregon State University for her input into the Alaska chapter. Her untimely death is a loss to Indigenous scholarship.

I also thank the many Indian friends and associates whom I have the great fortune to know and to learn from, although they may be surprised that I count them among my teachers. They include, among others, Deanna Kingston (King Island Yupiaq), Winona LaDuke (Anishinaabeg), Chief Oren Lyons

(Onondaga), Russell Means (Lakota), William A. Means (Lakota) and others in the International Indian Treaty Council, Cipriano Manuel (Tohono O'odham), Simon J. Ortiz (Acoma Pueblo), David Risling (Hupa), Luana Ross (Salish), David Sohapp, Jr. (Wanapum), Chief Billy Tayac (Piscataway), Haunani-Kay Trask (Hawaiian), and Lanada Boyer Warjack (Bannock-Shoshone). My wife's cousin, the late Jane Monden, and her "ohana" on Maui were very helpful in my gaining an insight into the Hawaiian language and culture.

Among the institutions supporting various stages in the research and writing of the book are the research libraries of the University of Arizona, Stanford University, and the University of California, Berkeley, funded by the Summer

Seminar for Teachers of the National Endowment for the Humanities in 1981 and 1986; and a Sabbatical Leave from San Joaquin Delta College in 1996. Earlier, in 1970–71, a Career Fellowship from the National Institute of Mental Health funded much of the historical research detailed in Chapter 10 on Alaska. My tenure on the Desecration Committee of the International Indian Treaty Council (a non-governmental organization at the United Nations) in the 1980s was an invaluable learning experience. Various preliminary chapters of the book were lectures to my American Indian classes at Oregon State University, and Lane Community College in Florence, Oregon, for which I extend my thanks to those institutions and my students for their indulgence and support.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

STEVE TALBOT is the author of several books, and many reviews and articles dealing with Native Americans. His books include the acclaimed *Roots of Oppression: The American Indian Question* (1985), *Indianer in den US* (1988), and coeditor of *Native American Voices: A Reader*, now in its third (2010) edition with Pearson (as Prentice-Hall). He received a Masters Degree in anthropology and community development in 1967 from the University of Arizona, and a Ph.D. in anthropology in 1974 from the University of California, Berkeley. His research and publications have focused on government Indian policy, Native American religions and spirituality, the Native struggle and resistance movement, and the academic field of Native American Studies.

Talbot has had extensive experience working in both reservation and Indian urban communities. In the 1950s and 1960s he was a state social worker assigned to the Tohono O'Odahm Reservation in Arizona; a field researcher for the Bureau of Ethnic Research at the University of Arizona; and a fieldworker in Indian community development on the San Carlos Apache Reservation, a project sponsored by the tribe in cooperation with the American Friends Service Committee. In the mid-1960s he moved to the San Francisco Bay Area of California, where he served for two years on the board of the Oakland Intertribal Friendship House. He joined the School of Criminology at the University of California, Berkeley in 1965 as an applied anthropologist, and in 1967 became a research assistant in the multicultural program of the Far West Laboratory in Berkeley, California. Next, as a doctoral student and Teaching Associate in anthropology at the University of California, he was closely associated with the development of the Native American Studies program on that campus, and the 1969 Indian occupation of Alcatraz. From 1969 to 1971 he held a career fellowship from the National Institute of Mental

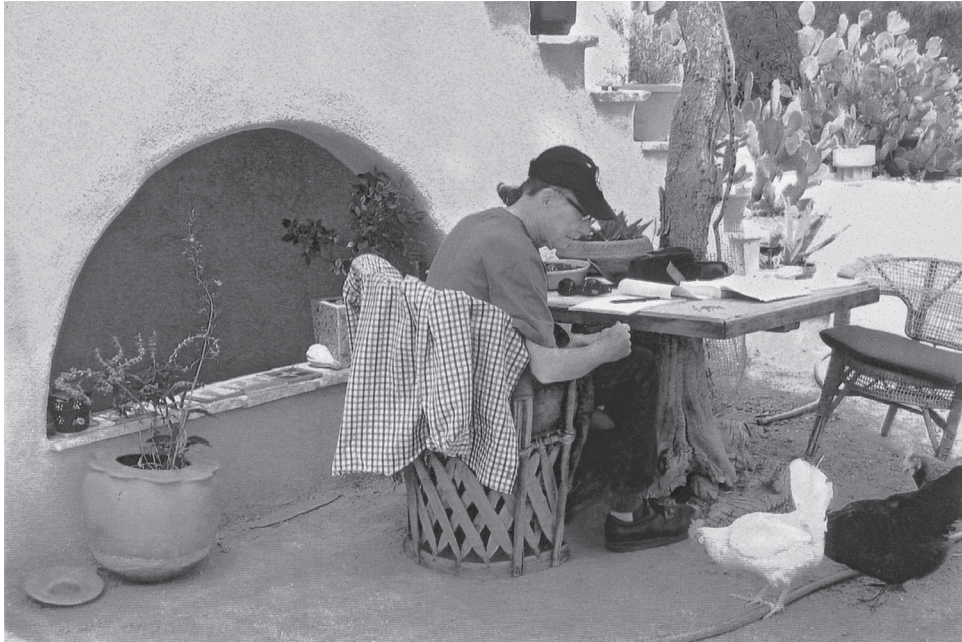
Health in support of research in Alaska on the impact of the oil discovery and impending pipeline construction on Alaska Natives. From 1971 to 1974 he was an acting assistant professor in the Native American Studies program at UC Berkeley. Upon leaving the NAS program he was honored with an eagle feather award for his teaching and advocacy.

In the mid-1970s Talbot lived in Finland where he taught Native American Studies courses at Helsinki University and gave invited lectures in The Netherlands, Denmark, Germany, England, and the former Soviet Union. He helped organize, and was a delegate to the historic international Conference on Discrimination Against the Indigenous Populations in the Americas meeting in September, 1977, at the United Nations headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland. This international conference was sponsored by the nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) at the United Nations and was the first world gathering of Indigenous peoples. It was also a precursor to negotiations culminating in the United Nations 2007 Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

From 1977 to 1983 Talbot was chairperson of the sociology and anthropology department at the University of the District of Columbia. In the summers of 1981 and 1986 he was a Visiting Scholar in the Summer Seminar for Teachers sponsored by the National Endowment for the Humanities, first at the University of Arizona and then at Stanford University, where he continued his research of Native American issues, resulting in published articles. Later, in the 1980s he taught courses at Oregon State University and the University of Oregon. In the 1980s he was an active member of the Desecration Committee of the International Indian Treaty Council, the first Indigenous NGO at the United Nations. He has conducted field research in Indian country throughout every Indigenous region of North America covered by the scope of the present book, with the exception of Canada.

From 1988 to 1990 he was a lecturer in Native American Studies at UC Davis before accepting a position with San Joaquin Delta College in California where he taught sociology, anthropology, and Native American Studies. In 1999 he retired from the California community college system but

continued to teach courses as an adjunct professor of anthropology at Oregon State University, and as an instructor in sociology and Native American Studies for Lane Community College. He currently resides with his wife in the coastal city of Florence, Oregon.



The author, Steve Talbot, at work. *Photo courtesy of Susan Lobo.*

ABOUT THE ARTIST

GERALD DAWAVENDEWA (Hopi/Cherokee) grew up in the Hopi village of Munqapi, located in northern Arizona. He attended the University of Arizona, receiving a Bachelor's degree in Fine Arts. His work has been shown in museums and galleries throughout the United States.

Dawavendewa has worked with the Arizona State Museum as an exhibit specialist in the development and construction of a ten thousand square foot exhibit entitled "Paths of Life; American Indians of the Southwest." In addition, he was commissioned to create a mural depicting the Hopi world for the exhibit, and the exhibit's logo became the official logo of the Arizona State Museum. Other experience includes an internship with the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, in Washington, DC.

His artwork includes a piece on deerskin that was sent aboard the Space Shuttle *Endeavor*,

launched in 1994. He also designed a mural measuring seven feet by eighty-five feet long that depicts Tucson, Arizona's cultural heritage. The mural was painted by members of the Tucson Artist Group on a building in downtown Tucson. He also authored and illustrated a children's book entitled *The Butterfly Dance*. Other artwork includes a series of forty-nine metal panels containing cutout native imagery that forms the main staircase of the University of Arizona Memorial Student Union Bookstore. One of his latest works is a six-foot-tall sculpture depicting a parrot that illuminates from within. He designed the cover of the third edition of *Native American Voices: A Reader*, published in 2010 by Pearson (as Prentice-Hall).

Through his artwork Gerald hopes to educate the public about the rich heritage of Native cultures and promote a greater understanding of the Indigenous world.

