Introduction

WE ARE THE PEOPLE

From the doorways of hogans and cinder-block ramblers, elders still pray at dawn to the spirits of sacred mountains — here, Four Peaks in the Mazatzal Mountains, seen from the Fort McDowell Yavapai Reservation, Arizona, 1988.

We have lived upon this land from days beyond history's records, far past any living memory, deep into the time of legend. The story of my people and the story of this place are one single story. No man can think of us without thinking of this place. We are always joined together.

Taos Pueblo man, in an appeal for the return of Blue Lake, 1968

"We are the People. We were here." George Rocha, a middle-aged Hualapai man, smiled at me. "I'm real proud. I love this land. I've been back East. It's beautiful, it's green. But after three or four days I feel everything closing in. And when I arrive back in Arizona, especially back to the reservation, I feel real loose and comfortable.

"This is my land."

A modern map of the United States includes both large and small "Indian reservations" clearly distinguished from surrounding areas. Fifty of these Indian nations lie within the Southwest. Drive from Las Vegas, Nevada, to Santa Fe, New Mexico, from El Paso, Texas, to Cedar City, Utah, or from Yuma, Arizona, to Durango, Colorado, and you still can experience this land as an Indian land.

Imagine this Indian Southwest. Conjure the continent before these reservation boundaries. Imagine the grasslands unbroken and regularly burned. Imagine the forests huge, their plants and animals managed to increase the diversity and yield of wild foods. Imagine the rivers restored. Chant the litany of tribal names covering the land. The land regains, once again, its mythic and native proportions.

Native cultures multiplied and migrated, ebbed and flowed — covering the Southwest with a skein of stories that marked sacred places in forty languages. People wandered far beyond their homes, trading, visiting, and exploring. Choose most any nook or cranny of this land, and some hunter, fisherman, or seed gatherer knew its plants and animals. Native residents learned how to manage those wild beings to create an abundance of food, construction and craft materials, and habitat for other desirable creatures.

Today, Southwestern Indians remain vital, their lives rich. They make saguaro cactus fruit into ceremonial wine. They mourn their dead in the old ways. Sacred mountains stand in black silhouette above Indian homes; elders stand at dawn in the doorways of both hogans and cinder-block ramblers to pray to the spirits of those mountains. Rain clouds follow, in response to faith, respect, ritual, and receptivity — and the beat of the drum.

The People value their history, but they must forge a workable present to survive into the future. They are physicists, Episcopalians, and suburbia dwellers as well as shamans and farmers. Sometimes, one person may be all of these. Native peoples are

constantly challenged by the dilemmas of finding a livable path between two opposing worlds.

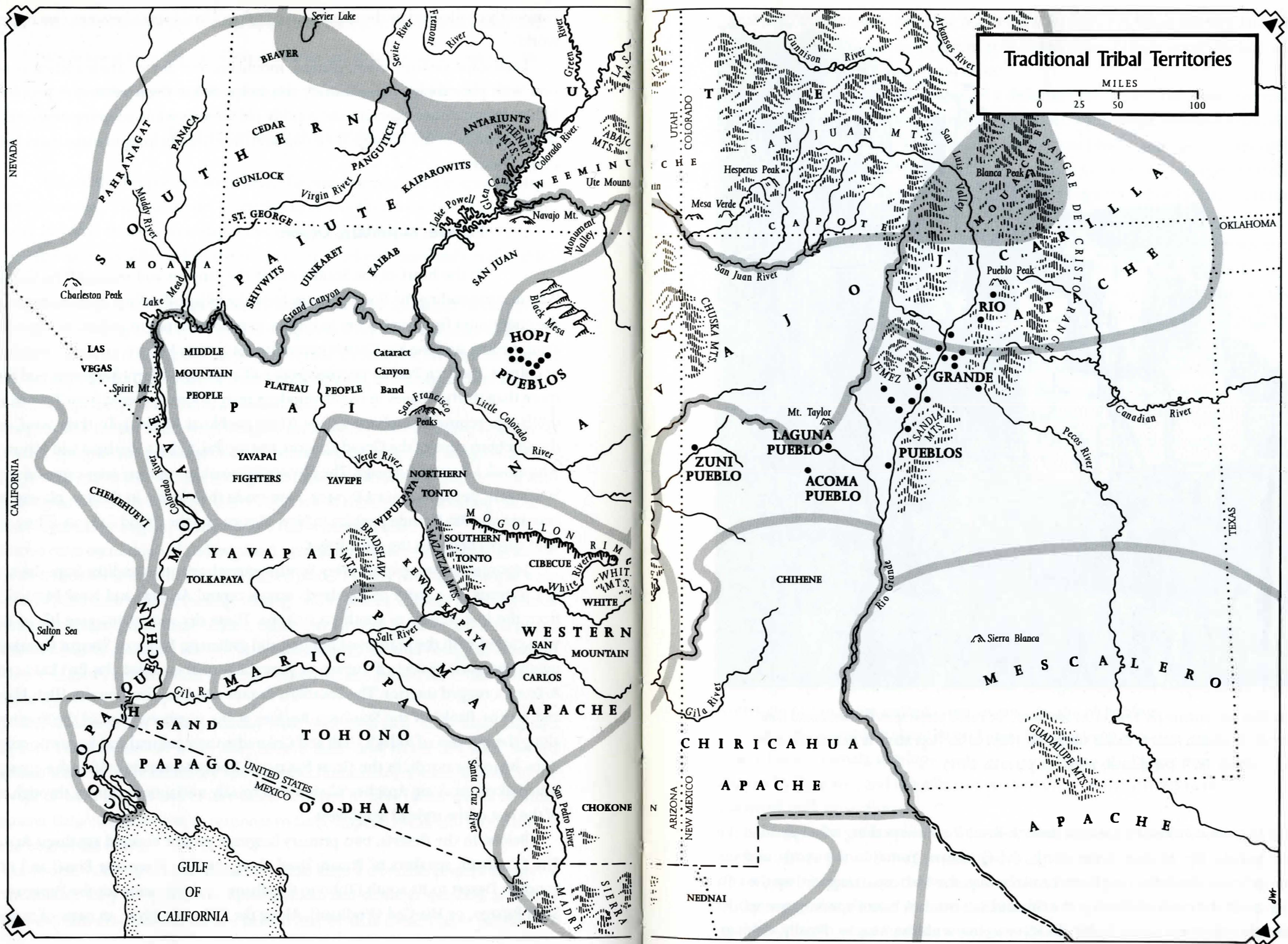
Landscape sustains them: plateau, mountain, and desert. Their ancient connection with *place* abides — an intimacy that helps define them as unique peoples. As Indian communities maintain and modify old lifeways while adopting new ones, the land continues to run through their days and their lives, helping to make them Indians of the Southwest.

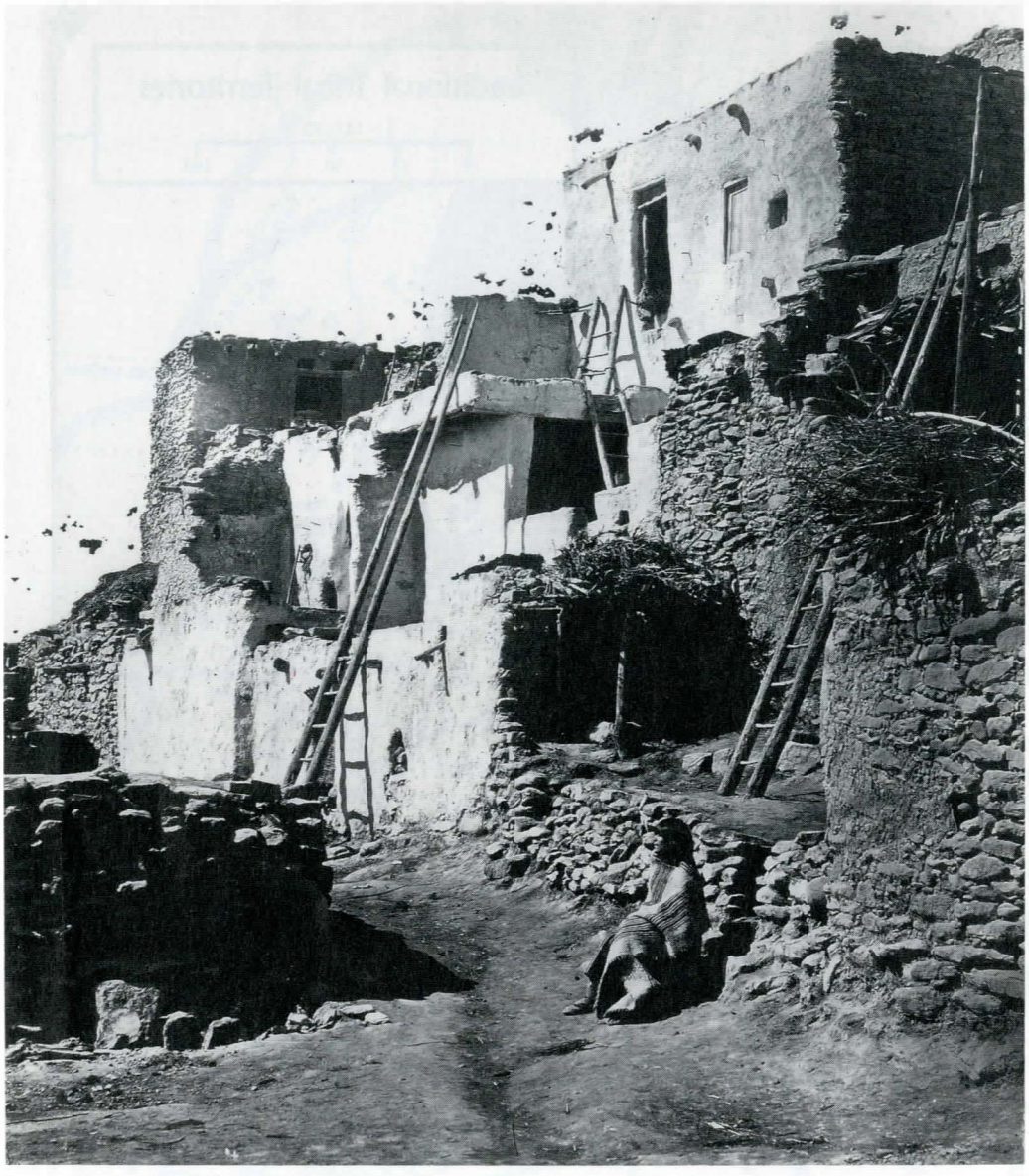
Plateau, Mountain, Desert

At the heart of the Southwest lie the canyons and mesas of the Colorado Plateau surrounding the Four Corners. Here the village-dwelling Pueblo people span the continuum from prehistory to history to modern times in ancient villages: Hopi, Zuni, Acoma, and the Rio Grande communities in New Mexico. Despite their sharing of culture, modern Pueblo people speak half a dozen different languages and live in more than thirty villages in twenty modern reservations scattered from Taos to Hopi (with one remnant southern village, Tigua Pueblo at El Paso). To their west, along the southern rims of the Grand Canyon, live the Pai, today's Hualapai and Havasupai, who speak a Yuman language. The Navajo, Athapaskan speakers who came late to the Southwest, perhaps about A.D. 1400, have made their home in the vast plateau lands between the Rio Grande pueblos in New Mexico and the Grand Canyon, filling in the wild spaces between the old villages.

Mountains rise on most every Southwestern horizon: islandlike from the northern plateaus, in a band of highlands across central Arizona and New Mexico, and from the low deserts of southern Arizona. These dry mountains gave life to tribes who cycled with the seasons of hunting and gathering. Bands of Yavapai (speakers of nearly the same dialect of Yuman as their traditional enemies, the Pai) held central Arizona's rugged interior. The Southern Paiutes and Utes lived on the High Plateaus and on the flanks of the Southern Rockies at the northern edge of the Southwest, along the borders of today's Utah and Colorado; their cultural and linguistic connections lie to the north, in the Great Basin and Rocky Mountains. After the 1500s, the Athapaskan-speaking Apaches filtered into mostly unclaimed country through most of the rest of the upland Southwest.

Below, in the deserts, two primary language groups covered southern Arizona. The O'odham, speakers of Piman, lived along the Gila River (the Pima) and in the Sonoran Desert to its south (Tohono O'odham — proper name for the Papago — and Sand Papago, or Hia-Ced O'odham). Along the Colorado River, an oasis of moisture


Traditional Tribal Territories
MILES
0 25 50 100
Sevier Lake
Sevier River
Fremont River
Green River
Gunnison River
Arkansas River
BEAVER
CEDAR
GUNLOCK
PAHRANAGAT
PANACA
PANGUITCH
ANTARIUNTS
HENRY MTS.
ABAJO MTS.
Colorado River
Ute Mountain
NEVADA
UTAH
COLORADO
Muddy River
Virgin River
ST. GEORGE
KAIPAROWITS
Lake Powell
Glen Canyon
Navajo Mt.
Monument Valley
Charleston Peak
Lake Mead
SHIVWITS
UINKARET
KAIBAB
Grand Canyon
SAN JUAN
Black Mesa
HOPI
PUEBLOS
LAS VEGAS
Spirit Mt.
MIDDLE MOUNTAIN PEOPLE
PLATEAU PEOPLE
Cataract Canyon Band
San Francisco Peaks
Little Colorado River
YAVAPAI FIGHTERS
YAVEPE
Verde River
NORTHERN TONTO
SOUTHERN TONTO
CIBECUE
WHITE MTS.
White River
MOGOLLON RIM
BRADSHAW MTS.
MAZATZAL MTS.
KEWEVKAPAYA
TOLKAPAYA
Salton Sea
Salt River
WESTERN SAN CARLOS
APACHE
MARICOPA
PIMA
Gila R.
SAND TOHONO
PAPAGO
UNITED STATES
MEXICO
O'ODHAM
Santa Cruz River
San Pedro River
CHOKONE
SIERRA MADRE
GULF OF CALIFORNIA
CALIFORNIA
YAVAPAI
COCOPA
QUECHAN
MOJAVE
SOUTHERN PAIUTE
WEEMINUCHE
SAN JUAN MTS.
Hesperus Peak
Mesa Verde
CAPOTE
San Juan River
San Luis Valley
Blanca Peak
SANGRE DE CRISTO RANGE
MOUACHE
JICARILLA APACHE
OKLAHOMA
Pueblo Peak
RIO GRANDE PUEBLOS
JEMEZ MTS.
Canadian River
Pecos River
TEXAS
CHUSKA MTS.
Mt. Taylor
LAGUNA PUEBLO
ZUNI PUEBLO
ACOMA PUEBLO
SANDIA MTS.
CHIHENE
Rio Grande
Sierra Blanca
MESCALERO APACHE
Gila River
CHIRICAHUA APACHE
GUADALUPE MTS.
ARIZONA
NEW MEXICO
NEDNAI



In canyons and mesas at the heart of the Southwest, the Pueblo people span the continuum from prehistory to modern times in ancient villages like Walpi on the Hopi Mesas in Arizona. Photo by John K. Hillers, 1873. (Smithsonian Institution photo no. 1851)

threading the continent's harshest deserts, River Yuman–speaking tribes divided the bottomlands: the Mojave in the north, the Quechan (Yuma) in the south, and the Cocopah near the delta. One River Yuman group, the Maricopa, migrated up the Gila to live with the modern Pima on the Gila and Salt rivers. A Paiute-speaking group, the Chemehuevi, came to the Colorado River to live with the Mojave. Finally, Cahitan-

speaking Yaqui refugees escaping north from Sonora's Rio Yaqui country at the end of the nineteenth century established small colonies near Phoenix and Tucson, eventually to become the Pascua Yaqui tribe.

Anthropologists remain vague on a definition for "tribe." The word describes a social group with a distinctive language or dialect, a group that practices a distinctive culture — more than a band but less than a chiefdom (the latter requiring a redistributive economy). In the real world, tribes create these distinctions, incorporate them in their identities, and change them as necessary through time. For Indians, communities are defined by family relationships, not by place of residence or "culture."

Analysts of United States census data similarly gesture with frustration when they attempt to define the "Indian" population. Race, ethnicity, blood quantum, biological definitions based on physical characteristics such as earwax type or blood peculiarities all have their limits; in the end, an American Indian is anyone who identifies his or her race as Indian and who is recognized as such by Indian communities.

As Native American anthropologist Jack D. Forbes writes: "The behavioral pattern systems of human groups are like currents in the ocean. It is possible to point out generally where a particular current exists, especially at its center or strongest point, but it is not ordinarily possible to neatly separate that current from the surrounding sea."

Villagers before History

Ancestors to these Native Americans once were Native Asians. They crossed the land bridge between Siberia and Alaska during the Ice Ages of the Pleistocene and peopled the American continents from the Bering Strait to Tierra del Fuego. The Bering land bridge was exposed intermittently between 23,000 and 8000 B.C. Groups of people may have migrated to the new lands in several waves.

Indian peoples had certainly reached the Southwest by about twelve thousand years ago. Their fluted and chipped stone spearpoints remain lodged in the buried skeletons of the game animals they hunted on the New Mexico plains. In the rich interior of the continent these Paleo-Indian hunting peoples stalked mammoth, giant bison, horses, camels, antelope, sloth, and tapir. Nearly all of these prey animals were extinct by 8500 B.C., and the effective skills of the recently arrived hunters may have hastened such extinctions.

Through the millennia that followed, Southwestern peoples gradually shifted their activities from hunting to plant gathering. Archaeologists call this period, from about 5500 B.C. to A.D. 100 the Archaic. Archaic times began with the final drying cycle of the wet glacial climate and the establishment of today's deserts; the cold steppes with their herds of mammoths were gone. During these centuries, Southwesterners

Contemporary Indian Reservations

MILES 0 25 50 100

GREAT BASIN DESERT
MOJAVE DESERT
SONORAN DESERT
COLORADO PLATEAUS
GREAT PLAINS
NEVADA
CALIFORNIA
BAJA CALIFORNIA
UTAH
COLORADO
ARIZONA
NEW MEXICO
OKLAHOMA
TEXAS
UNITED STATES
MEXICO
Sevier Lake
Green River
Fremont River
Sevier River
Cedar City
HENRY MTS.
Glen Canyon
WHITE MESA UTE
PAIUTE TRIBE OF UTAH
SHIVWITS
St. George
Muddy River
Virgin River
Lake Powell
San Juan River
Navajo Mt.
Monument Valley
Kayenta
Page
SAN JUAN PAIUTE TRIBE
MOAPA RIVER PAIUTE
KAIBAB PAIUTE
Charleston Pk.
LAS VEGAS PAIUTE TRIBE
Las Vegas
Lake Mead
Grand Canyon
Colorado River
Black Mesa
Tuba City
HAVASUPAI
HOPI
Window Rock
HUALAPAI
Spirit Mt.
FORT MOJAVE
Needles
San Francisco Pks.
Flagstaff
Little Colorado River
Verde R.
CAMP VERDE YAVAPAI-APACHE
YAVAPAI-PRESCOTT
Prescott
CHEMEHUEVI
ZUNI
Parker
COLORADO RIVER
BRADSHAW MTS.
MAZATZAL MTS.
MOGOLLON RIM
TONTO APACHE
FORT Whiteriver
WHITE MTS. APACHE
SALT RIVER
Salt River
Phoenix
FORT McDOWELL YAVAPAI
SAN CARLOS APACHE
Salton Sea
FORT YUMA (QUECHAN)
GILA BEND
Gila River
Yuma
COCOPAH
AK-CHIN
PASCUA YAQUI
Santa Cruz River
San Pedro River
TOHONO O'ODHAM
Tucson
SAN XAVIER
Puerto Peñasco
GULF OF CALIFORNIA
Nogales
SIERRA MADRE
Gunnison River
Montrose
Ouray
Ioab
Hesperus Peak
Cortez
Durango
Rio Grande
San Luis Valley
Blanca Pk.
SANGRE DE CRISTO RANGE
UTE MT. UTE
SOUTHERN UTE
Shiprock
Farmington
Chama
Cimarron
TAOS
SAN JUAN
JICARILLA APACHE
CHUSKA MTS.
PICURIS
SAN ILDEFONSO
SANTA CLARA
JEMEZ
POJOAQUE
NAMBE
TESUQUE
Santa Fe
Las Vegas
Rock
CAÑONCITO NAVAJO
ZIA
COCHITI
SANTO DOMINGO
SAN FELIPE
SANTA ANA
SANDIA
Gallup
Mt. Taylor
ZUNI
ACOMA
Albuquerque
ISLETA
LAGUNA
RAMAH NAVAJO
ALAMO NAVAJO
Fort Sumner
Canadian River
Pecos River
Roswell
Sierra Blanca
MESCALERO APACHE
Gila River
Silver City
Las Cruces
GUADALUPE MTS.
El Paso
TIGUA PUEBLO
CHIHUAHUAN DESERT
CHIHUAHUA
SONORA
Colorado Springs
dwr

In southernmost Nevada stands Spirit Mountain, pierced by canyons whose petroglyphs tell how all peoples spilled into this world — created by Mastamho, according to the Yumans. The Yuman tribes stayed closest to Spirit Mountain, where they live today. 1984.

began to develop their modern lifeways, gathering many wild food plants and hunting modern animals: bison, deer, jackrabbits, and pronghorn.

Humans have been hunters and gatherers for most of their history. They have lived by the folk wisdom accumulated over centuries, such as the teachings passed on to Hualapai elder Bertha Russell by her grandparents: "There are some animals you don't eat, there are some animals you eat. Eat what the birds eat. The birds, they know."

By 1000 B.C., the hunters and gatherers of the Southwest began to cultivate corn and squash, the first crops to be traded up from Mexico. At first, the People planted patches of corn in the spring and went about their rounds of gathering and hunting,

returning in the fall to harvest their fields. Later, some groups gradually increased their dependence on farming and began creating irrigation systems and settling down in villages. With settlement came further change, and by A.D. 1, the great regional cultures of the prehistoric Southwest were beginning to take shape.

Between about A.D. 200 and 900, Southwesterners built a scatter of communities across a vast frontier. People lived in these hamlets year-round or moved out seasonally to field or hunting camps. Most of these settlements were no more isolated from each other than nineteenth-century Anglo-American homesteads.

After about A.D. 750, and more so after A.D. 1000, hamlets began to grow into villages and villages into towns and even cities. Native architects adapted the design of half-buried pithouses to the ceremonial chambers called kivas; aboveground, they joined masonry and adobe houses in structures that we now call pueblos (after the Spanish word perhaps best translated as "community"). Villagers in the deserts of southern Arizona built massive irrigation works to bring water to the dry fields beyond the river bottoms; northern farmers refined dry-farming techniques. Highland, desert, and plateau people each developed distinctive pottery.

Closest to what became Mexico, the Hohokam lived in the Arizona deserts, and the Mogollon held the uplands that would eventually become Apacheria. Mesoamerican civilizations strongly influenced these cultures (as seen in everything from the Mogollon's early adoption of pottery to the Hohokam's ball courts and religious platform mounds). Along the Colorado River dwelled the Patayan peoples, the least-known culture of the prehistoric Southwest. Farther north, on the Colorado Plateau, the ancestral Pueblo people, the Anasazi, built their villages on mesas and in canyons. Within these major cultures existed an array of more local groups, such as Sinagua, Salado, and Mimbres.

The prehistoric Southwest culminated most spectacularly at Chaco Canyon, in present-day New Mexico, where during the 1100s the Anasazi built five-story pueblos with hundreds of rooms (now preserved in Chaco Culture National Historic Park). After only two centuries as a focus of Southwestern culture, however, the Chaco people ceased new building and resumed a simpler life.

Southern peoples tried out urban lifeways as well—the Hohokam at places like Snaketown, between Tucson and Phoenix; the Mogollon (sparked by an influx of Mesoamerican traders) at the city of Paquimé (Casas Grandes) in Chihuahua, Mexico. Smaller, dispersed communities lasted longer than the aggressive, expansionist risk takers. Patayan peoples lived simply throughout the times of the great cities.

Momentous events came during the boom years, when the dynamic Anasazi absorbed the more conservative Mogollon. The Anasazi continued to build pueblos, inventing cliff dwellings at the very end of their history in the Four Corners country,

moving into the sandstone alcoves of Mesa Verde, Canyon de Chelly, the Tsegi canyons (now within Navajo National Monument), and elsewhere. Some archaeologists believe the People chose these difficult-to-reach sites because they needed to defend themselves against marauders. Rina Swentzell, an architectural historian from Santa Clara Pueblo, suggests another reason: "Maybe they just wanted to live closer to the sky!"

Change jolted the quiet unfolding of this long history even before the invasion of the continent by bearded white-skinned men in clanking armor. By 1300 (a little later for Hohokam), the urbanized bastions of Anasazi and Hohokam cultures disintegrated. The Hohokam retreated to their core territory along the Gila and Salt rivers (though within this reduced area, the new villages grew quite large), with a dispersed population in Papaguería — the harsher deserts of southwestern Arizona. A century-long gap in the archaeological record separates the last of the Hohokam from the written Spanish chronicles.

Though the Anasazi people had long been mobile, commonly shifting village sites to take advantage of changing climatic conditions, they now withdrew from vast areas of the Colorado Plateau. The People colonized new country, created new styles of pottery, and found themselves dealing with new neighbors.

The New Wave

Hohokam, Mogollon, Anasazi, and Patayan had been Southwesterners all along. Into their world came new peoples — the ancestral Ute, Paiute, and Chemehuevi from the Great Basin and, later, the Athapaskan Apache and Navajo from Canada. Dates for the arrival of these incoming peoples are impossible to pin down. Each tribe's mythology states they have been here forever, living where the Creator meant for them to live.

Listen to Steve Darden, a young Navajo orator: "Mother Earth told me, 'The Holy People placed your Navajo people in this place. We have the four sacred mountains placed at the four sacred directions, and you are to live within that place. And you are to respect that place. We have created this place for you where you will have plenty, you will not want.' These things I learned."

Paiutes may have moved south into Anasazi country sometime after A.D. 1100; Utes may have been Archaic residents of the northern periphery of the Southwest for 6,000 years. Either way, these hunters and gatherers lived a simpler life that probably did not threaten the more settled Anasazi.

The Athapaskans reached the Southwest about 1400. Apaches filtered into the mountains between the Pueblo-held valleys. One Apachean group, who came to be

called Navajo, lived for a time with Pueblo people, adopting many of their skills and religious beliefs and creating a unique lifeway that has proven immensely successful. Anthropologist Gary Witherspoon describes this creative synthesis: "Navajo culture is not just a food-gathering strategy; it is an artistic way of life." The Navajo, relative newcomers to the region, today dominate the Indian Southwest.

A critical meeting between Indian and non-Indian came in 1540, with Coronado's venture northward in search of legendary riches. The conquistador and his retinue marched north from Mexico through Apacheria — the central uplands of Arizona and New Mexico — describing the land as uninhabited. The expedition sought the fabled golden cities of Cíbola and Quivira and just may have been lured north by tales sparked by golden Hopi bowls — to the Spaniards' chagrin made from golden-hued clay rather than beaten metal.

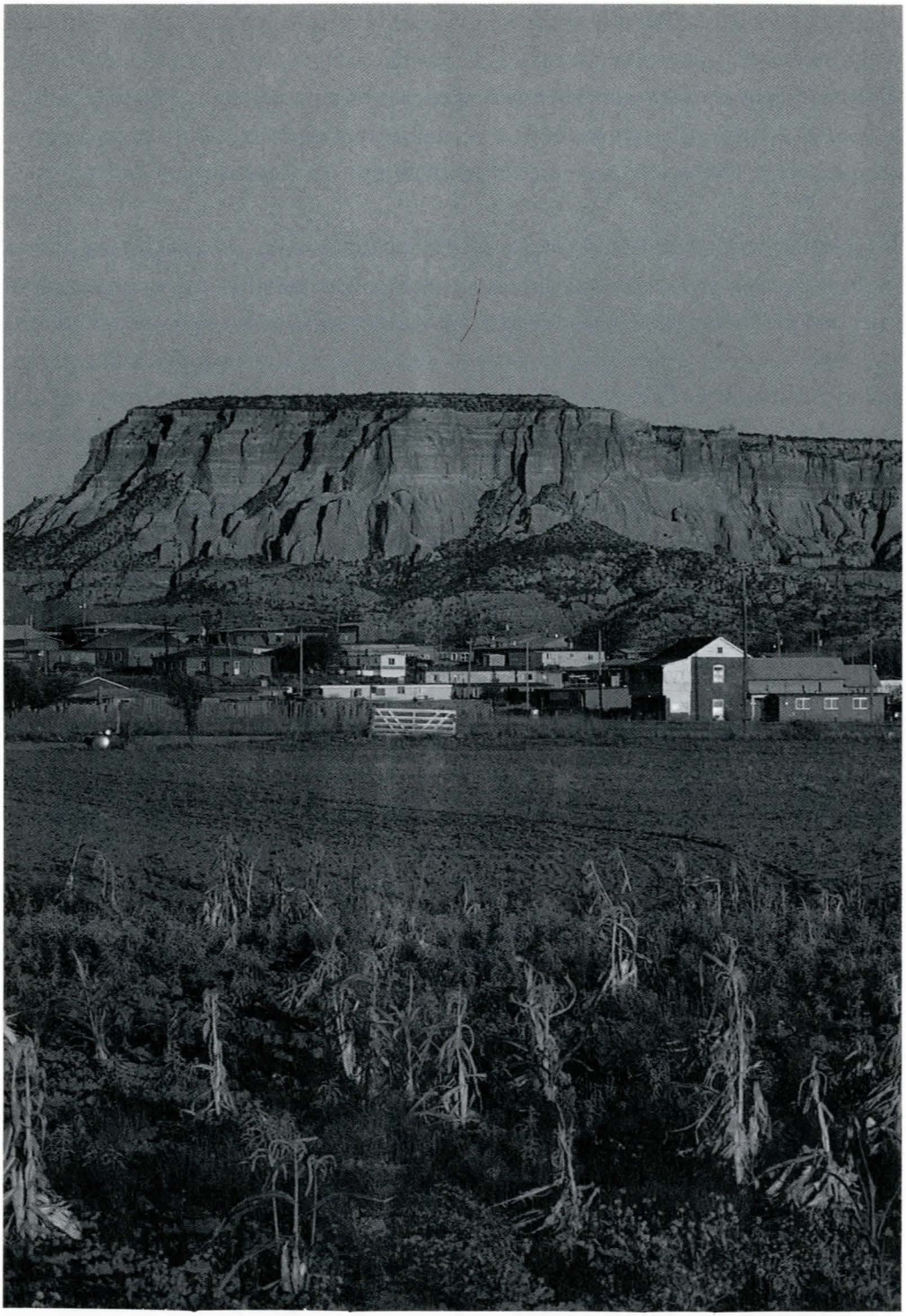
Cíbola turned out to be Zuni Pueblo, its adobe walls burnished gold only by the sunset. Quivira proved to be Kansas, Coronado's deepest penetration of the continent. Despite these disappointments, the expedition and its supporting mariners in the Gulf of California saw the Rio Grande and the Colorado River, visited Yuman peoples at the mouth of the Gila, peered into the Grand Canyon, and made enemies of every Pueblo community from Hopi to Taos and Pecos.

Coronado understood the diversity of Southwestern Indians by the time he left the region. He found farmers living in sixty compact adobe towns in what we call New Mexico and at Hopi in northern Arizona; these he called the Pueblo Indians, a generic term with no counterpart among the unrelated languages spoken by the village dwellers. His men glimpsed the more loosely knit *ranchería* communities of the Yumans. Of raids by the Apaches, he heard only stories.

When Spain invaded North America, some two to five million Indians lived on the continent. The Spaniards sketched out what they saw of the tribes, and — with the help of the traditions of the Southwest Indian peoples themselves — archaeologists and historians have tried ever since to understand the link between prehistory and history.

Anasazi became Pueblos. The urban Hohokam people may have lived on in the Piman-speaking O'odham or in some Hopi clans. Patayan people evidently fractured into the Yuman-speaking Pai, Yavapai, and Colorado River tribes. Athapaskans were shadowy in colonial records until the Apaches acquired horses lost or stolen from Spanish expeditions and began to appear on ridgetops mounted on the new animals with an equestrian skill that belied its newness.

Today's Indian people recognize these connections with their distinctive pasts. Pueblo potters find inspiration in Anasazi designs on potsherds and historic pots



Dowa Yallane, sacred Corn Mountain, rises behind Zuni Pueblo and its cornfields, 1985. A critical encounter took place here in 1540, when Coronado's legendary golden city of Cíbola turned out to be Zuni, its adobe walls burnished gold only by the sunset light.

preserved in museums. Carol Antone, a Tohono O'odham, hears her parents' words ringing in her ears: "Ever since we were children, they say 'Respect your Huhugam [O'odham for Hohokam]. They were here when times were hard and they survived.' We are a continuance of that."

Waves of epidemic disease washed northward everywhere ahead of settlement, reducing some tribes by 80 percent long before they had to fight for their home ground. During the sixteenth century, the native population of the Southwest fell from hundreds of thousands to tens of thousands. As Navajo Jennie Joe says: "I often wonder how history would have been different if the Native American population had not been so decimated by communicable diseases."

The Spanish came back to New Mexico in force in 1598 — still intrigued by rumors of gold — to found the first non-Indian settlement in the Southwest, adjacent to San Juan Pueblo. Over the next ninety years, they converted and persecuted and enslaved the native peoples, until in 1680 the Pueblos rebelled — exiling the Spanish for twelve years from the king's northernmost colony. Refugees from the pueblos dislocated by the revolt and reconquest moved to northwestern New Mexico, where they intertwined their lives with the resident Navajos (barely differentiated from their Athapaskan Apache kin at this early date).

The Spanish frontier crept north into Sonora and Arizona more slowly than it had in New Mexico. Friars based at the Rio Grande pueblo missions had been at work "civilizing the savages" for twenty years before the first Yaqui baptisms took place, and nearly a century before Padre Kino began his work among the O'odham and the Colorado River tribes in 1687. By then, Spain had to contend with Apache raiders on every frontier.

Apaches themselves began to retreat from the plains in the 1700s in the face of even fiercer nomads, the Comanches. By the early 1800s, Anglo-Americans from the new country far to the east began to appear in the Southwest, and their presence would eventually bring the Indian people an entirely new world.

First, however, came the Mexican Revolution in 1821. New Spain became Mexico. Most Southwestern Indian peoples paid this change little heed. Only on the southern frontier, where the Yaqui and O'odham had to defend their land from Mexican settlers and where Apaches terrorized the frontier presidios, did the change in empire matter much.

When the United States won the Mexican War, however, a single turbulent generation transformed Southwestern Indian life. The Gadsden Purchase of 1853 completed the American takeover of the Southwest. Mining rushes came next, and then, after the Civil War, settlers arrived in a flood. During these years a complicated relationship with the United States government grew from treaties, wars, and the

bewildering oscillations of federal Indian policy. The complications persist. Today, this "special relationship" has as much to do with defining Indian people as do their creation stories, languages, and lands.

Turning American Indians into Indian Americans

The vigorous young United States pushed westward. At first, the Americans swept native peoples ahead of them to "Indian Territory," where banished and conquered tribes (at least those who avoided extermination) attempted to live in isolation. The federal government signed treaties with tribes (as had European colonial powers), recognizing tribal entities as separate nations — a precedent that would do much to protect native rights over the years.

The United States Constitution specifically identified Indian tribes as governments with executive, legislative, and judicial powers. Tribes signed treaties that ceded most of their territory in exchange for the promise that their remaining lands would be held permanently in trust for them. Unrecognized as United States citizens until 1924, Indians had to rely on their unique relationship with the federal government for any help with the non-Indian political and economic world.

When the Mexican War brought the Southwest into the sphere of the United States, the Americans initially left the "civilized" tribes, farmer-villagers like the Pueblo and Pima, to their own devices. The first task of the conquerors was to subdue the "wild" Navajo, Yavapai, Hualapai, Ute, and Apache.

These more nomadic peoples lived in enormous territories. The Yavapai, for instance, used some nine million acres in central Arizona (an area twice the size of New Jersey). Their strongholds lay in rugged mountains where they moved through the seasons from wild plant harvests to agriculture to the hunt. When settlement and mining operations disrupted their rounds, they began to starve and they began to fight back.

Army campaigns defeated tribe after tribe. Crushed by starvation and battle, the hunter-gatherers were too often marched off to some inhospitable spot far from their homes. Worn down by disease and heartbreak, the survivors eventually trickled back to small reservations — tiny remnants of their former territory, usually devoid of resources capable of supporting even the remaining few dozen families.

Traditional use areas surrounding the reservations were cut back. Battles for resources, for farmland and water, were won and lost. More sedentary peoples, however, tend to remain in their ancient homelands today — lands either too dry to have attracted much permanent Anglo-American settlement (Tohono O'odham, Hopi, and the pastoralist Navajo) or village sites permanent enough to withstand the onslaught

of Westernization (Mojave, Quechan, Pima, and Rio Grande pueblos). Most of these desert and plateau peoples can still look to the horizon and find there the silhouettes of their sacred mountains. Mojave elder Joe Sharp understated the importance of this fact when he said to me: "You don't have roots. We have roots. It's very hard for an Indian to leave his own country."

Gradually, federal dealings with Indians shifted from the military to the bureaucracy. In 1849, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) was moved from the Department of War to the Department of Interior. The BIA reservation agents continued to act without much guidance from the "Great Father" in Washington, and corruption was rampant. In 1871, Congress ceased making treaties with Indian nations and unilaterally began legislating Indian policy, excluding Indians from the process.

After the Civil War, a wave of reform hit the Indian Bureau. The newly established Bureau of American Ethnology, directed by John Wesley Powell, helped provide scientific data for use in policymaking. When President Grant instituted his "peace policy" and assigned reservation agencies to various religious groups, he hoped for ethical behavior from his appointees. Historian Francis Paul Prucha calls the peace policy mostly a state of mind, "a new emphasis on kindness and justice." At the same time, Indian wars still raged and the Army was much in evidence, making the way clear for the incoming rush of settlers.

By the 1880s, virtually all the Southwestern tribes lived on reservations (with the Rio Grande pueblo lands guaranteed by Spanish land grants). The frontier had swept into more and more remote country, and the most isolated of reservation communities had Anglo neighbors. In the Great Plains, whites had destroyed the buffalo; in the Southwest, they proceeded to destroy the rivers.

With the end of the Apache Wars in 1886, the People ceased making war to protect their homelands from trespass. Wide-ranging tribes confined to reservations avoided starvation only through government-issued rations. For the non-Indians who administered Indian policy, isolationism gave way to a new notion: assimilation.

The Dawes Act of 1887 formalized efforts to legislate a national solution to the "Indian Problem" after the takeover of their lands. The Dawes reformers hoped to "raise up" their "children," the inferior Indians, from savagery to civilization — to replace Indianness with Americanness. That Americans were Christians who observed the Protestant ethic went without saying. Unspoken fear and hope underlay the reformers' fervor: fear of the diversifying American population and hope that civilized society could demonstrate its ability to incorporate just about anybody by incorporating Indians. The crux of the issue was society's definition of a civilized person: a property-owning farmer.

Under the Dawes Act scenario, tribally owned reservations would break up into

Tom Toslino, Navajo, arrived at the Carlisle Institute in Pennsylvania in 1882. Three years later, the school had done its best to "civilize" him. Photos by John N. Choate. (Courtesy Denver Public Library, Western History Department)

individually owned (allotted) lands, Indian children would attend distant boarding schools far from the barbaric influence of their irredeemably primitive parents, and native religions would wither. The tribes had little to say about the program; reservation communities remained without political representation in the Anglo power system.

The Dawes Act, however, failed to generate quick assimilation — much to the surprise of its true believers. The program, like all efforts at assimilating Indian people, had not taken into account the persistent and unyielding determination of the tribes to remain distinct. Earl Ray, a young Salt River Pima interested in reviving his traditions, explained that resistance to me in this way: "Native Americans won't assimilate totally. They are like Pima baskets: the strongest part is the middle, the first part to be made."

The disruption of families as their children were herded onto wagons and railcars to be shipped off to Carlisle, Pennsylvania, to Riverside, California — or even to relatively nearby Albuquerque, New Mexico — had devastating effects. One-fourth or more of the Southwestern Indians coming of age between the 1890s and the 1930s experienced boarding school.

The late Bertha Russell, a Hualapai elder, spoke to me of her introduction to boarding school in a voice filled with sorrow and outrage: "When I went to school,

the interpreter told us, 'You are not in your world anymore. So from here on, you talk the English language.' When we would talk our own language, the matron would pick us up. She says that she gives us a good spanking; today when I look at it from here, that was a beating. We were tortured. Words cannot describe how we were punished in school.

"They tell us, 'Forget your Hualapai language. Forget your Indian food. Forget your culture. Forget your stories. Forget the names of the mountains and the rivers and the mud tanks. And above all, forget your language. Just speak English.' "

Southwestern Indians were old hands at dealing with religious persecution. The Spaniards had initiated such campaigns three hundred years before, and many important ceremonies had been secreted away from Hispanic and Anglo eyes ever since. Rather than the hoped-for Christianization, the Indian Bureau instead watched the spread of peyote religion and its formalization in the early twentieth century as the Native American Church. In the 1890s, the Ghost Dance caught fire—sparked by the Northern Paiute prophet Wovoka, who promised the disappearance of the whites and the return of native ways.

Alfonso Ortiz, from San Juan Pueblo, describes what his elders told him of religious conflicts in his home in the early twentieth century: "The resident priest regularly told the people that, if they did not stop dancing and praying to the sun, moon, and stars, they would all go to hell. A half a century later, the people there are still singing, dancing, and praying to the sun, moon, and stars, and so far as we know, no one has gone to hell. Everyone knows there are no Indians in hell. It is not a place designed for us."

Though many Native Americans have become Christians, conversion requires a revolution in their thinking. Historian Mary Young sums up the trade-offs in beliefs:

> For many spirits—friends, enemies, grandmothers, grandfathers, mothers, sisters, and brothers—substitute a single, exclusive, distant, perpetually invisible, patriarchal God; for animal friends, enemies, and relatives, substitute animals as distinct and subordinate species; for a common afterlife to which most relatives' spirits might make the final journey, substitute a final segregation between converted kin who go to heaven, and the unconverted who go to hell. For visible violations of correct standards of conduct, remediable by ceremonies that restore the individual's proper relations with his community and its guardian spirits—here and now—substitute innate sinfulness and perhaps irremediable depravity.

Even those Indian people who convert usually interpret Christian doctrine uniquely, in light of their persisting traditional beliefs. Tony Ringlero, an Apache/Pima who works at the Phoenix Indian Center as a counselor for school dropouts, is

a member of the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-Day Saints, but he says: "Being Indian comes before being Mormon. The Indian way is basically a spiritual way of living. It's nothing like Christianity, with a church and a single holy day. Being Indian is what you feel in your heart."

Through the early decades of reservation life, the educational aims of the evangelical peace commissioners were scaled back to simple vocational training for the "incompetent" Indians, creating a labor pool for low-paying migrant jobs. Many newly "competent" Indians were granted title to their allotted land. Most quickly lost their allotments to Anglo sharpies and disappeared into rural poverty. With the exception of the Utes, however, allotment did not devastate the reservations in the Southwest as terribly as those in many other parts of the country.

The reservation agents (now called BIA superintendents) became more and more powerful. Agency towns grew up around their offices. Their control of federal budgets split tribes into those who sought jobs with the agency and those who lived apart — often labeled the "progressives" and "conservatives," respectively, by the superintendent.

With an average tenure of just three years, superintendents could learn little about the cultures of their charges. Budgets were low, disease and poverty rampant. The reform dreamed of by the Dawes Act supporters died within a rusting bureaucracy, defeat hastened by surrounding Anglo residents quick to swoop down on allottees to whom land ownership was a foreign concept. Instead of solving the Indian problem, assimilation policies devastated tribal self-sufficiency and self-rule while offering no practical replacements.

The first two decades of the twentieth century were dismal times for Indian Country. The nation dismissed Indians with the maudlin and inaccurate notion of "the vanishing race." Tribes indeed had lost lands and traditional lifeways, but they continued to exist — without much help from anyone. Especially hard times came during the influenza epidemic following World War I. During the worst of one flu outbreak, people died in such numbers at San Juan Pueblo that the church bell tolled day and night, without a lull.

These were the years, too, when the last western territories became states with full representation in Congress (Utah entered the Union in 1896, Arizona and New Mexico in 1912). Western Anglos, in those days virtually all "boomers," wanted to open up the reservations; opposing them were Eastern reformers (who lived a long way from Indian reservations). The Westerners often won.

Non-Indians took over "surplus" reservation land, used allotment as a camouflage to steal Indian land, and created leases to put to use "underdeveloped" tribal resources. Between 1887 and 1933, the nation's tribes lost 87 million acres — 60 per-

cent of all the land guaranteed by treaty to native peoples in 1880. Anthropologists predicted that Indians would disappear and studied the old cultures with vigor, freezing the popular image of Indian people with their documentation of "traditional" tribal life in about 1880.

The United States Supreme Court and the Congress occasionally verified old treaty rights with surprising forcefulness. In 1913, the Court upheld the Pueblos' rights to the same relationship with the federal government as all other tribes. Five years later, a bill prohibiting peyote religion was defeated.

In 1921, however, the BIA commissioner appealed to Indian people: "I do not want to deprive you of decent amusement or occasional feast days, but you should not do evil or foolish things or take so much time for these occasions. No good comes from your 'giveaway' custom and dances and it should be stopped. It is not right to torture your bodies or handle poisonous snakes in your ceremonies. All such extreme things are wrong and should be put aside and forgotten."

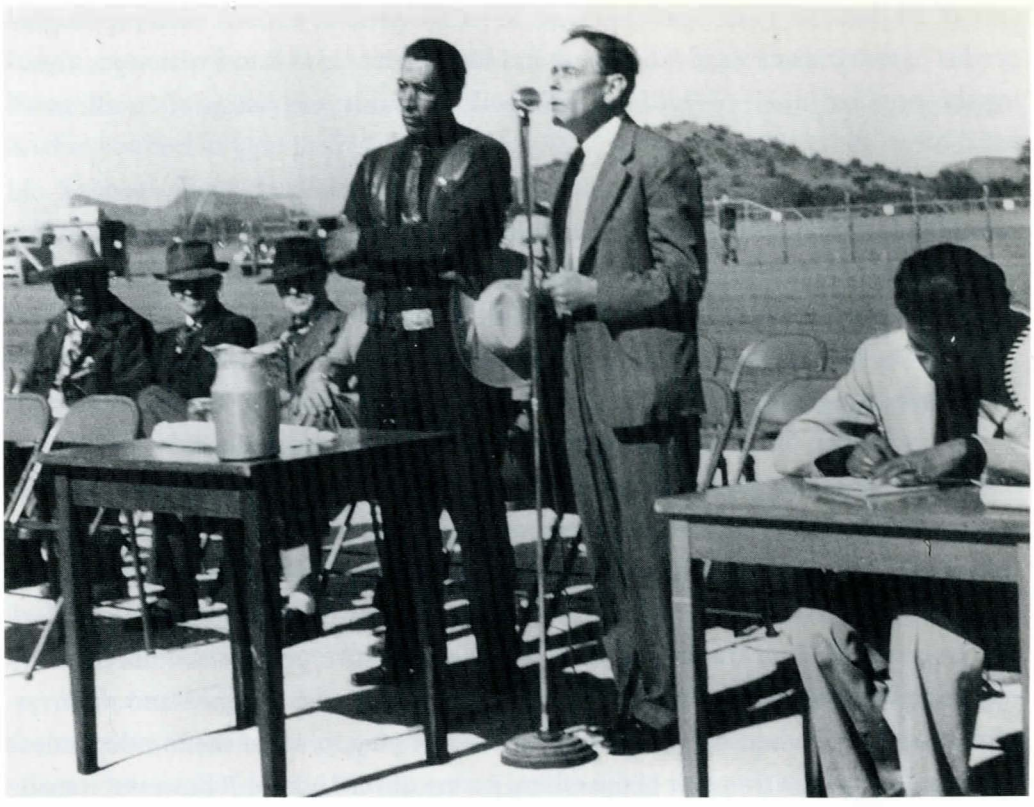
The commissioner did not reckon with the stubborn resistance of Indian identity. Deprived of their traditional lands and means, native peoples did not instantly metamorphose into Jeffersonian farmers. They became disheartened and impoverished — and dependent on the very government trying to make them independent citizens. Given what they saw of the ethical nature of "civilization," however, it made little sense to trade away their Indianness. They remained Indians. And they slowly began to increase in numbers from the nadir of 210,000 counted in the 1910 census.

John Collier's New Deal

The 1920s began with the fight against the Bursum Bill, a thinly disguised attempt to steal title to the best Pueblo lands. In the battle to defeat this bill, new organizations for reform grew powerful; John Collier — opinionated, intense, and effective — led the fight. With his help, the Bursum Bill was greatly modified.

Collier began his career as a social worker in New York City and believed passionately in using social science to restore America to an idealized democracy. He visited Taos Pueblo at Christmas in 1920, and there discovered the model for his dream: a "Red Atlantis," filled with secrets of successful communal life. Collier's new, appreciative, and activist romanticism replaced the older version based on passive lamentation for the vanishing race.

Throughout the twenties, the reform movement — in which Collier grew ever more conspicuous — began to look at conditions on reservations and try to improve them. The 1924 extension of citizenship (while still recognizing special tribal rights) came after 10,000 Indians served in World War I and the country wished to reward



John Collier speaks to a crowd on the Tohono O'odham Reservation, Sells, Arizona, 1940. The controversial New Dealer, an impassioned orator and wily bureaucrat, created the Indian Reorganization Act in 1934. (Courtesy of the Arizona Historical Society/Tucson)

their patriotism. Unfortunately, the bill did little to spark fair treatment for native peoples. New Mexico and Arizona managed to prevent Indians living on reservations from voting until 1948; Utah stood steadfast by legal technicalities that blocked the reservation Indian vote until 1957.

In 1928, the Meriam Report brought the focus of the national press to bear on problems resulting from the failure of assimilation policies. Other reports revealed deficient justice systems and problems with irrigation projects and range conservation. Indian education had stalled. At the end of the twenties, there was no Indian school operating exclusively as a high school, and just six high school programs existed nationwide, all tacked on to elementary and junior high schools.

The stage was set for effective reform when John Collier became Indian commissioner under newly elected President Franklin Delano Roosevelt in 1932.

Federal reform is almost never revolutionary, but Collier's program was an exception to this axiom. The Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) was introduced, debated, amended, and passed in Congress in an intense four months during 1934. Indian peoples have been dealing with its complicated, flawed, and unavoidable effects ever since.

Collier took the bold step of asking Indian tribes for their reactions to the proposed bill in regional congresses; tribal reactions were mixed. Collier's policy of reducing herds of sheep, goats, and horses to combat overgrazing made the Navajo suspicious of the bill. The Tohono O'odham were concerned about applying centralized self-government to their scattered villages. Pueblos, however, supported the legislation because it reinforced their already firmly implanted system of governing officers. The persuasive Anglo and his staff won over most, but not all, of the doubting tribes.

The bill as eventually passed (taking effect *unless* a tribe voted to reject it) spelled out procedures for establishing tribal constitutions, electing councils, and chartering tribal corporations (with access to revolving credit funds, unfortunately funded at meager levels). The IRA ended allotment for tribes who did not reject it and authorized the Interior Department to establish new reservations for landless Indians. The bill budgeted scholarship funds, mandated conservation programs, and gave preference to Indian applicants for BIA jobs. The act developed mechanisms for restoring tribal status for allotted lands and consolidating reservations "checkerboarded" with private or public domain land. On the other hand, special-interest amendments severed Tohono O'odham mining rights to certain disputed—and profitable—lands.

In an effort to make the new programs safe from most legislative whims, Collier's legal advisor, Felix Cohen, wrote an opinion defining tribal rights. His interpretation harked back to John Marshall's 1830 phrase describing tribes as "domestic dependent nations" whose permanent and inherent powers predated the formation of the United States. Cohen clearly stated the facts of tribal autonomy: tribes retain full internal sovereignty, even after turning over their external sovereignty to the conqueror, the United States; all other powers of government remain with the tribe, unless specifically qualified by treaties or legislation. In the words of Sioux writer/attorney Vine Deloria, Jr. (and his associate Clifford Lytle): "Modern tribal sovereignty . . . begins with this opinion."

Collier believed he had helped tribes to create updated versions of the old tribal consensus he revered. He set up roadless areas—Indian wilderness—within eleven reservations and encouraged native religious freedom (the latter probably the most enduring effect of the IRA in the Southwest). For BIA teachers, he set up cultural training sessions taught by anthropologists, an unheard-of attempt to match

the curriculum to the culture. He pushed through an Indian Arts and Crafts Board to help tribes market traditional art.

As the tribes used IRA-style government to help climb out of their economic depression, they discovered the problems inherent in the bill. The powers of the Secretary of the Interior over their lives had actually increased. The new procedures favored Indian bureaucrats over traditionalists, who felt that an arbitrary form of white-style government had been forced on them. An administrative conception of tribe firmly replaced the old definitions of band and people, creating new entities from disparate reservation communities. At its most complex, the process has created new cultures like the CRIT Indians—the Colorado River Indian Tribes formed from intermarrying Mojave, Chemehuevi, Hopi, and Navajo of the Colorado River Reservation—and the Yavapai-Apaches of Camp Verde. With new guarantees to their rights and new challenges to their identities, Indians began to define themselves in new ways.

World War II and the Barren Years

During World War II, tribal governments and enterprises (and BIA programs, as well) virtually ground to a halt. More than 65,000 (some estimates say 113,000) mostly young people left the reservations to fight or to work in war-related industries—the first great off-reservation migration. Pueblos competed with each other in buying war bonds, using money from pottery sales, photo fees charged to tourists, and benefit dance performances. Collier had hoped for all-Indian units to preserve Indian culture; the 25,000 Indians who served in the military were integrated, however—with enormously powerful effects on their world view, and sharp boosts in their family economies while they served.

After the war, many Indians never returned to live full-time on the reservations. Those who did sent reservation unemployment statistics soaring. Federally subsidized agribusiness was continuing its inexorable displacement of small farmers and cattlemen: in 1945, Indian farm families still had a net annual income of just $501. Indian employment statistics, however, can mislead. A man at Santa Ana Pueblo or in an isolated Tohono O'odham village may take care of the community ceremonial building, organize graveyard cleanup crews, plant two fields, cut wood, gather food and medicinal plants, care for and teach grandchildren, spend time on weaving or leatherwork, help with ceremonial tasks, serve on the village council—and receive in trade from the rest of the community a variety of food, goods, and free transportation. Is this man "unemployed?"

Veterans came home to grandfathers who performed purification rituals to exorcise their ghosts. Even after the ceremonies, the returned GIs grappled with the

Private Jimmy D. Benallie, a Navajo marine from Gallup, New Mexico, on Okinawa in 1945. During World War II, more than 65,000 (some estimates say 113,000) mostly young people left the reservations to fight or to work in war-related industries — the first great off-reservation migration. U.S. Department of Defense photo by McElroy. (Courtesy Special Collections Department, University of Utah Libraries)

tragedies they had seen and with two opposing ways of life. Some men drank to forget. Others used their GI Bill benefits to attend college. Elders wondered how many more changes would be needed before "we won't be Navajo (or Pueblo or O'odham) anymore."

Collier's resignation as commissioner inaugurated what Deloria and Lytle call "the barren years," the decades from 1945 to 1965. As controversial, abrasive, and stubborn as Collier was, the New Dealer was an impassioned orator and a wily bureaucrat. He fought with Congress wholeheartedly, and with his absence, assimilation and integration once again became the doctrines of federal policy.

The post-Roosevelt Congress sought to dismantle the New Deal. Opponents of the IRA and of BIA protection of Indians saw their chance to preserve the assimilationist momentum generated by the war. If Indians now could govern themselves, as

Collier had said, earn their own livings, and assimilate successfully as the soldiers had done, then by God let them take care of themselves!

The creation of the Indian Claims Commission in 1946 gave tribes a crucial forum for resolving land claims. The commission also was seen as a means to prepare the way for termination, unilaterally invalidating treaties and severing the trust relationship — the federal responsibility for both Indian lands and social services, for which Indians had exchanged most of the continent. Alfreda Mitre, chair of the Las Vegas Paiute band, noticed that lawyers often pushed tribes to settle claims cases in the fall, just when Indian children returned to school and they need money the most: "Desperate people do desperate things."

As scholar Michael Dorris has pointed out, "Congress often seems to regard reservations and treaty rights as transitional stages" rather than as permanent government-to-government relationships. The legal guarantees of dual rights to Indians as both tribal members and American citizens are unique; no wonder few non-Indians understand them.

Termination became official federal policy in 1953, when the resolution designed to "free Indians" passed Congress unanimously. Unfortunately, the strategy instead set Indian communities adrift — without training, without support, without capital. None had experience with entrepreneurship or in finding social services outside of familiar channels. The more than one hundred tribes devastated by termination included both small bands and large, resource-rich tribes. In the Southwest, only the Southern Paiute bands in Utah suffered termination. Like many terminated tribes, they found their trust obligations assumed by local banks and subsequently lost most of their land.

Along with termination, the Bureau convinced some sixty thousand Indians to move to cities in a program aimed at relocation of Indian people from reservations to urban areas; the program continued until the mid-1970s. In 1967 alone, relocation's climactic year, 5,800 Indians moved to the cities. Once there, the Bureau offered little support. Throughout these years, many Indians found urban life alienating, and about half the relocatees moved back home after weeks or months. Anthropologist Joseph Jorgensen summed up the program: "Indians are pushed from rural poverty to urban poverty with the promise of crumbs of wealth in the city."

Today more than half of all American Indians live in cities. Most maintain their ties to reservation and tribe; they maintain a sense of community in the city through churches or powwows. Los Angeles has the largest urban Indian concentration in the country, numbering almost ninety thousand in 1990, a more than tenfold increase since 1955. Phoenix, Tucson, Denver, Albuquerque, and Salt Lake City all have (or have had) Indian Centers, born of the 1960s — crucial places for these otherwise near-

Today more than half of all American Indians live in cities. Most maintain their ties to reservation and tribe, preserving a sense of community through churches or powwows. Gathering of Nations Powwow, Albuquerque, 1991.

invisible minorities to celebrate their ethnicity. According to census records, nearly fifty thousand Indian people lived in those five cities in 1990.

With bloodlines mixed by intermarriage, these more acculturated Indians can feel displaced both in the city and on the reservation. Pima/Apache Tony Ringlero went to California on a Latter Day Saints high school placement program. He says: "You take on roles, you adapt; no one wants to be a nerd. I hung out with Spanish, surfers, Blacks, and Polynesians; I acted, dressed, and spoke like each group. Then I went to Brigham Young University and met a Sioux/Winnebago guy and started learning singing and dancing from him. I learned what tradition was all about from other northern Plains mentors. Then I came home to Arizona.

"When I go to San Carlos, I am a San Carlos Apache. When I go to Salt River, I am a Salt River Pima. On a daily basis, I'm both. Identity is a matter of moments in time."

The New Buffalo

As the termination movement gained in strength after the war, Indians were developing their first effective national lobbying groups, thinking of themselves as more than isolated tribal peoples. The National Congress of American Indians formed in 1944 and soon began to push for self-determination. Though these Indian rights advocates could not stop the initial termination legislation, by 1958 they had achieved sufficient clout to halt the policy of terminating a tribe against its will.

One rather cynical, though realistic, effort to blunt termination came when sympathetic members of Congress pushed reservation leases from ten years to fifty years. They knew that non-Indian lessees would join with tribes to fight termination if only to protect long-term investments. With the Kennedy administration, the lease term grew to ninety-nine years — effectively a transfer of tribal land to corporate America.

The 1960s once again brought federal money to the reservations, funneled from the Office of Economic Opportunity. During the War on Poverty, tribal governments became just as eligible as city or county governments to sponsor a multitude of federal programs. Civil rights advances encouraged minority participation, though Indians pressing for voting rights in local elections continue to provoke opposition from non-Indians fearful of losing their all-white representation.

The chance to run their own programs revolutionized tribal governments. As Washington increased funds and programs, the tribal hierarchy grew in order to manage them. Federal money became, in the words of one tribal administrator, the Indian's "new buffalo." Instead of a new hunting technology, tribal leaders learned a new language of federal acronyms. Allen Turner, a sociologist working with the Kaibab Paiutes in the 1970s, offers the following daunting example of the impact of this new federal language, overheard from a tribal bureaucrat: "The CHR should meet with the NCOA's at Title Four to talk about 437 IHS and 641 HSA planning." The effective meaning of this sentence is simply, "John and the elders should meet at the community center to talk about health planning."

In reaction to this sudden flowering of self-government, younger Indians began searching for ways to assert Indian pride. The National Indian Youth Council was founded in 1961, and the American Indian Movement (AIM) developed in Minneapolis in 1968. The moderate National Congress of American Indians became more radical. Energy resource-rich tribes banded together in 1975 in a Council of Energy Resource Tribes (CERT), in hopes of having some of the clout of an OPEC.

New housing, industrial parks, community centers, and tribal headquarter complexes sprouted all over the Southwest. The Institute of American Indian Art (a two-year college program for young Indian artists) began operating in Santa Fe in 1962; the first Indian-operated college, Navajo Community College, opened in 1968. Zuni and Salt River each signed contracts in 1970 in which the tribe took over administration of all BIA programs. The unlikeliest of men, Richard Nixon, became the most sensible administrator of Indian policy in decades, stating that his goal was "to strengthen the Indian's sense of autonomy without threatening his sense of community."

In 1968, the Indian Civil Rights Act passed, greatly complicating Indian self-government. Aiming to strengthen both the civil rights of individual Indians and tribal self-government, the bill called for tribal courts considerably more independent from tribal councils than they formerly had been. This bill and other legislation raised fine points of law and jurisdiction (tribal versus state versus federal, in criminal, civil, and taxation issues) that still constitute the primary legal problems for Indian Country.

The Indian Education Act of 1972 gave new funding to Indian school programs but did not answer the demands from many Indian educators for a curriculum different from one designed for middle-class whites. As Vine Deloria, Jr., puts it, "Indians were placed within the process of education but not allowed to determine its content." He goes on to plead for placing education in the context of tribal culture and history, asking Indian students always to ask, "How does what we receive in our educational experience impact the preservation and sensible use of our lands and how does it affect the continuing existence of our tribes?" Deloria believes this can lead to a remarkable future where Indian communities walk into and right through the Western world view, emerging "on the other side" with innovative, integrating, and influential ideas.

With the passage of the 1975 Indian Self-Determination and Educational Assistance Act, Indian people could take from the Bureau some power over their schools. Funding, however, became more complicated than ever. The movement to design schools for Indian needs continued to face counterpressures to make Indian schools fit into the demands of the wider society — obtaining regional accreditation, for example. Many middle-aged Indians, boarding-school educated, bemoaned the passing of the BIA boarding schools, convinced that the rigid discipline had been good for them. Nonetheless, by the 1980s only 15 percent of Indian students attended BIA-run schools. Nearly all of the rest were in public schools.

The Indian Child Welfare Act of 1978 limited state control in an effort to halt forced adoption, which had claimed up to a third of all Indian children in the early 1970s. As still more bills followed, refining the notion of tribal sovereignty and legislatively repudiating termination, tribal communities have become increasingly

involved with federal politics and law and with agencies outside the BIA. Mona Fernandez, a Hopi/Havasupai member of the Colorado River Indian Tribes, has seen her elders' teachings grow broader and more political: "Our relationship with the government is not based on race, it is based on the political relationship that Indian nations have with the government. Young Indian people don't understand that. The media makes us out to be dependent, but to me we're not. There has to be an *exchange* for land and water taken.

"These may not be traditional teachings, but they are our history, and important to us maintaining ourselves as Indian tribes, Indian governments."

"The United Indians of All Tribes"

National Indian movements grew from the cities. In 1940, less than 5 percent of the Indian population lived in cities; by 1950, almost 20 percent did. Some Indians who stayed on after the urban relocation efforts of the fifties acquired street smarts that they applied to activist confrontations in the years that followed. "The United Indians of All Tribes" was a new idea — invented along with the concept of Red Power in the 1970s.

The seventies began with the demands for Indian rights that climaxed in the Trail of Broken Treaties and the takeover of the BIA headquarters in Washington, D.C., the confrontation at Wounded Knee, and the occupation of Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay. Gail Russell, Chemehuevi/Camp Verde Apache, was married to a Sioux and living in Salt Lake City when the Trail of Broken Treaties caravan came through town. Her husband said: "This is history in the making." The couple went on to Washington, D.C., where Russell saw what she describes as "the beginning of Indian people coming together for a common cause and trying to make some changes. Our world became smaller after that; we had friends all over the country."

Russell and her husband also were at Wounded Knee, and she was tear-gassed in Custer, South Dakota. She says: "AIM was the catalyst. It took the warriors coming in like that to effect change. Then came the spiritual people." Russell's experiences in the 1970s "made me want to help and do more. Some of us just went home after that; others will just go change their lives." Today, she directs the Indian Walk-In Center in Salt Lake City.

The AIM warriors, though somewhat subdued by legal prosecution following their initial militancy, changed the perception of Indians in America. Elementary textbooks could no longer speak blithely of "squaws" and "bucks." Indian Studies departments blossomed on university campuses. The report of the 1977 American Indian Policy Review Commission stated clearly that the "right to exist as separate tribal