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The People and the Strangers: Narratives and a Theory of American Indian Life

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THE PEOPLE AND THE STRANGERS

Narratives and A Theory of American Indian Life

by

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and
Robert K. Thomas

first draft finished in winter 1991
episodic revisions continuing in 2003

This manuscript still requires much work on the theoretical chapters
and there is no concluding chapter.

This book is dedicated to Blair.

In Memory of Bob Thomas

Arms, legs, kidneys, lungs, brain -- so much of a body comes in pairs that work together. So it was with Bob Thomas and me as we wrote this book. When he died in June of 1991, I flinched and faltered over flaws in a half-completed manuscript as if my left brain were working without my right brain. Together we could have overcome these problems with ease. Now, thinking of Bob, I am reminded that I have only one heart.

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Preface

If German immigrants to America assimilate, millions remain in their native land to carry on the culture's authentic development. If the Hopis assimilate, an ancient culture will end. NonIndians have followed up their military victory by filling the physical and social space that Indians need to reproduce their way of life. Consequently, Indians currently live on the knife-edge of cultural extinction. Being tribal people, Indians presumably live closer to the ancient social life that defines human nature. Our bodies, minds, and culture were shaped by tribal life for approximately five million years, whereas technological society is an experiment that has lasted approximately .004% of human history. A continuing relationship with tribal people may help the rest of us keep our bearings on being human. Being the original inhabitants of North America, Indians also have a special knowledge about the interdependency of its land, plants, animals, and people. Understanding these interconnections, which the infant science of ecology has just begun to formulate scientifically, could help us to appreciate and protect our environment. Besides these prudential reasons for Americans to want Indians to flourish, treaties and international law impose special legal obligations upon the American state and people.¹

In the 19th century coal miners sometimes brought caged canaries with them underground. If methane gas, which is odorless, began to seep into the shaft, the canary would collapse, warning the miners to escape. In a famous metaphor, a legal scholar once described Indians as the "miner's canary."² The fact that tribal Indians are gasping

¹The federal government is trustee for Indian tribes. Extinguishing the culture would assuredly breach the trustee's duty. The United Nations enacted, and the U.S. signed, the proclamation of the "Economic, Cultural and Social Rights of People" in 1966, that recognize the right of peoples to preserve their culture from extinction.

²This metaphor is attributed to Felix Cohen: Like the miner's canary, the Indian marks the shifts from fresh air to poison gas in our political atmosphere; and

for breath should be a warning to the rest of us. This book offers an understanding of Indian societies that may help to regenerate them and rescue us.

Acknowledgments

Like a proud family, the ideas in this book have a complex pedigree. While an anthropology graduate student at the University of Chicago, George Mead, Sol Tax, and especially Robert Redfield taught Thomas that American Indian life could be understood through a contrast between two ideal types, the "folk" person and the "urban" person. Thomas carried this idea to Monteith College at Wayne State University, where, with the help of Roland Wright, Otto Feinstein, Merrill Jackson, and Robert Rietz, it developed into something called simply "the Monteith theory." Later Thomas became Professor of Indian Studies at the University of Arizona where he continued to develop these ideas. Through these years, Thomas remained engaged actively with Indian communities. Thomas's friends include many Indian intellectuals, some formally educated and some not, who contributed to the ideas in this book.

Cooter met Thomas at Monteith College in 1969 and a twenty-two year dialogue ensued, during which Thomas created opportunities for Cooter to spend time among Indians. Cooter, who holds a Ph.D. in economics and teaches law at Berkeley, extended the Monteith theory in novel directions. As for the writing of this book, Thomas collected all but one of the narratives, and the theoretical chapters were originally written down by Cooter after long discussions with Thomas. The narratives remained relatively unchanged, but the theoretical chapters changes a lot over the years.

We are grateful to a number of people for their help and patience in producing this book.³ Margo Martinez, Celia Ronis, and Kiara Jordan helped with typing. Blair

our treatment of Indians, even more than our treatment of other minorities, reflects the rise and fall in our democratic faith.

--quoted in NARF Legal Review, Spring 1990, pp.4-5.

³To all his friends who were inconvenienced by the writing of this book, Bob Cooter offers this recipe for revenge and good eating -- "Cooter Pie" from White Trash Cooking (1986), page 57, by Ernest Mathew Mickler.

Ingredients: 1 medium-sized cooter (a kind of turtle), 1/2 cup stewed tomatoes, 1 cup sweet milk, 1 cup liquor from

Dean Cooter provided hospitality for many months while Cooter and Thomas meandered about her house absorbed in their work. Several colleagues read parts of the manuscript and provided useful criticism -- Merrill Jackson, Elizabeth Scott, and Wolfgang Fikentscher.

stew pot, 1 tablespoon whiskey, celery salt, red pepper, 2 hard-boiled eggs cut up, 2 slices toasted bread crumbs, Worcestershire sauce, 2 tablespoons oleo, 1 tablespoon sherry, mace, black pepper to taste.
Preparation: Drop live cooter in a pot of boiling water. Cook 45 minutes. Open shell with a saw and take out meat, fat, liver, and eggs. Be careful not to break the gall. Remove meat from the feet and legs. Put all this in a pot with a little water and salt. Then stew until tender, usually about one hour. Next, cut up meat, liver, and eggs, Add stewed tomatoes, milk, liquor from stew pot, oleo, whiskey, sherry, eggs, breadcrumbs and seasoning. Put in shell (which has been provided by the cooter and has been thoroughly cleaned.) Cover with cracker crumbs, dot with oleo, and bake in 375-degree oven about 45 minutes.

Chapter 1 Introduction -- The People and the Strangers

Most American Indians refer to their tribe in their own languages as "the people." No other name is required in a closed, bounded society in which everyone is kin. Colonization of North America by Europeans disturbed the ancient equilibrium, bringing extensive commerce and calamities including disease, wars, migrations, and removals. These events forced Indian survivors into persistent contact with strangers of several races. Contact posed the question, "How can the people and the strangers understand each other?" This book offers an answer.

For many readers of this book, the first obstacle to understanding is lack of experience with Indians. The closest substitute to actual experience is vicarious experience. This book's chapters come in pairs, the first twin being a narrative describing some aspect of life in a particular Indian tribe, and the second twin being an analysis. To illustrate, Chapter 2 describes the childhood of a Cherokee in eastern Oklahoma, and Chapter 2* analyzes the development of an Indian child's mind. The first twin provides vicarious experience of a Cherokee child's mind, and the second twin offers explanations.

The narratives concern actual tribes and real persons who are our relatives and friends. Bob Thomas was raised in a Cherokee speaking home in eastern Oklahoma. His first wife, now deceased, was O'Odham. He lived among many Indian peoples over a forty year career as activist and social scientist. This history provides the experiences that are the subject of the narratives. To insure accuracy, each of the narratives was read and validated by someone other than the narrator who knows the facts described in it. (See appendix to this chapter for details.)

Archimedes proposed to move the earth if he could find a place outside it to rest the fulcrum for his lever. To get leverage on the world that they study, social scientist need to stand outside of it. To stand outside their world, intellectuals since Plato have used the dialectical technique of contrasting one institution with its opposite. The natural antithesis to an Indian tribe is a modern city. In this book we try to understand tribal Indians who live their lives among kin by drawing a contrast with city people who live

much of their lives among acquaintances and strangers. Each becomes more intelligible by contrast with the other.

The activities of life--governing, producing, reproducing, educating, entertaining, worshipping, and fighting--require cooperation and coordination. Kinsmen have intimate, personal knowledge of each other. Cooperation and coordination are accomplished in the tribe through responsiveness and reciprocity that develops from close personal ties. In contrast, markets and bureaucracies divide tasks into standardized fragments and assign them to different people. Coordination is based upon occupational roles and contracts. Occupational roles figure centrally in the sociology of modernization, including the classics of Weber and Durkheim. Drawing upon these traditions, we contrast the psychology of responding to kin and mastering occupational roles.

Everyone begins life among kin and traditional Indians persist in this pattern. A person who remains among kin identifies himself as a relative. In contrast, most middle class people who live in cities divide their lives into private and public spheres. The private life centers upon personal relations with relatives and friends, whereas the public life centers upon interactions with acquaintances and strangers. Besides mastering techniques, success in public life requires identifying with occupational roles. We call the process of separating from kin and identifying with an occupational role "individuation."

Identity unifies diverse elements of personality. Much of the theory in this book tries to comprehend differences in the diverse elements of personal identity for relatives and individuals. We explore the implications of this contrast for psychology, sociology, economics, law, and philosophy. From time to time we will try to show how our conclusions draws upon, or departs from, great traditions of social thought, such as functionalism, psychoanalysis, evolutionary theory, Marxism, pluralism, realism, structuralism, contractarianism, game theory, and microeconomics.

The method of ideal types, which Weber proposed,⁴ has give social science the Protestant ethic, rational economic man, and the reasonable person in law. These types

4 [Weber, #5877].

proved ideal for analysis, but they are not universals, averages, or role models. Only a short distance separates ideal types from stereotypes. According to postmodernism, scholars commit the deadly sin of “essentialism” by stripping people of their diversity and reducing them to an ideal type [Harris, #1401]. Especially damnable from this viewpoint is “orientalism,” in which a western tradition of thought identifies the “essence” of a non-western people. Critics may see “orientalism” in our account of “relatives” and “occidentalism” in our account of individuals.

Like strong medicine, the theory in this book should be labeled, "Hazardous! Use as directed." However, we cannot agree with critics who dismiss ideal types as stereotypes. Where stereotypes anesthetize the mind, ideal types can awaken thought. The contrast between individuals and relatives in this book usually open minds to fresh perceptions of differences among people. During 30 years of teaching, our theory has proved useful to Indian and non-Indian students.

Outline of the Book

Chapter 2 is a description of the childhood of a particular Cherokee in eastern Oklahoma in the 1920's. Its twin, Chapter 2*, introduces our theory of the individuation process. Chapter 3 describes a band of Cree hunters in northern Canada, and Chapter 3* analyses how the band adapts to the natural environment. Chapter 4 describes a Papago farming village as it has changed over the last 30 years. Chapter 4* develops the theme that cultural forms can alter radically in a community with relatively little change in their meaning or significance, so long as traditional patterns of kinship persist. This theme is extended in the next two chapters. Chapter 5 concerns the Yaquis and Kickapoos, who live in enclaves, and Chapter 5* analyses the enclave as a way of preserving a people's distinctiveness.

Beginning in the 1950s many Indians migrated from rural areas to cities. The narrative in Chapter 6 describes the efforts of Indians in Detroit's inner city to create an Indian center. The analysis in Chapter 6* explains the struggle of people immersed in personal relationships to understand impersonal organizations. Chapter 7 describes two Indian-run economic enterprises, specifically a cottage industry among the Fox of Iowa and a Papago dance festival. Chapter 7* analyzes how tribal Indians respond to market

exchange, and deduces the consequences for economic development. Chapter 8 is a narrative description of the Cherokee's political history as perceived by a tribal elder. Chapter 8* analyses this crisis and argues that its solution depends upon weaving Indian customary law into the fabric of formal law.

Psychologists distinguish the development of personality into stages. Chapter 9 is a narrative describing stages in the life of Cherokee man, and Chapter 9* shows how these stages differ from standard psychology. An important element in a tribal people's identity is their religious conception of the world. Chapter 10 contains two narratives, in one of which a Cherokee explains the ancient Cherokee religion, and the other describes the Indian ecumenical movement. Chapter 10* analyzes the elements of Indian religions from the perspective of the individuation process. In the final chapter of the book, Chapter 11, we try to settle our debts with various traditions in social theory.

Appendix: Supporting Empirical Research

This technical appendix for anthropologists provides additional information on the sources and methods of this book. Empirical generalizations typically draw upon Robert Thomas's experience with various tribes as enumerated

below:

formal field work

Dene tribe of northern Canada: 1970
Indian groups in Appalachia: 1979
Lumbee of North Carolina: 1978
Mackinaw Cree in Alberta: 1970, '72, '73
North Carolina Cherokee: 1957-58.
Oklahoma Cherokees: 1950-51, 1963-67
Pine Ridge, South Dakota Sioux: 195-59
Sac and Fox of Oklahoma: 1955-56
San Xavier Papago: 1982-87
Sand Papago of Arizona: 1953
Virginia and Carolina tribes: 1976

informal observation from living in the community

Coahuilla of California: 1950
Detroit area Indians, 1970-81

Hopi of Arizona: 1947-48
San Xavier Papago: 1952-53

periodic visits, usually over several years

Arizona Yaquis: 1946-53, 1981-89
Carrier, Haida, and Nishga in British Columbia: 1973-87
Chicago area Indians: 1953-57
Chippewa and Potawatomie in Michigan and Ontario: 1970-1981
Kickapoo in Oklahoma and Mexico: 1947-1988
Louisiana tribe: 1980-1989.
Mesquakie in Iowa: 1954-57
Pomo in California: 1976-86
Saskatchewan Crees: 1975
Sonora Yaquis: 1976).

Thomas also did field work among the Maya in Yucatan in 1973 and visited Mayan villages in western Guatemala in 1977.

Cooter spent the years 1969-1971 working among urban Indians in Detroit. He worked on his economics Ph.D. degree from 1971 until he joined the economics faculty at Berkeley in 1975 until 1980, which he left in 1980 to join the law faculty. Cooter visited for short periods the Navajo, Hopi, Yaquis, Nishga, and Papago between 1981 and 1987 to observe law, government, and economics. In 1988 he completed a study of emerging land law in Papua New Guinea, and in 1990 he studied tribal courts in the American southwest.

The narrative for Chapter 2, "A Cherokee Childhood," was written by R.H., an educated Cherokee Indian. Cooter discussed with R.H. the social processes that he wanted the narrative to highlight and shaped it to his theoretical ends. The narrative was read and validated for factual accuracy by R.H.'s nephew, Mr. Eagle Kingfisher of Tahlequah, Oklahoma, who is an Indian doctor and traditionalist.

Chapter 3, "To Worship in a Clean Place" is a narrative by Thomas describing a Cree hunting band that he studied in order to delineate the psychology of tribal hunters. The narrative goes beyond this original purpose and sketches the band's life as a whole. Mr. Russell Mackinaw and Mr. Lawrence Mackinaw, both members of the band, have read the narrative to validate its factual accuracy.

Chapter 4, "The White Dove of the Desert," is a personal account by Thomas of his life on the San Xavier reservation in the early 1950s, when Thomas had almost completed the requirements for a Masters degree in anthropology. The narrative records his intellectual struggle to understand Papago religion and to see its place in community life. Ms. Leona Anita, an important figure in San Xavier Catholicism, and Mr. Austin Nunez, the Chairman of San Xavier District, read the narrative and validated its factual accuracy. (Ms. Anita said, "Pretty good," which is an enthusiastic endorsement from a Papago Indian.)

In chapter 5, the narrative entitled "Bertha Matapena and the Kickapoo Indians" is a portrait of an old friend of Thomas's. Thomas derives the material on Kickapoo society and culture from periodic observations over many years and from conversations with Richard K. Pope, an anthropologist at the University of Regina in Saskatchewan, Canada. Professor Pope, an expert on the Kickapoo who also knows Bertha Matapena, read the narrative and validated its factual accuracy.

Thomas wrote the second narrative in Chapter 5, "The Yaquis of Barrio Libre," from periodic, informal observations of Yaquis in Tucson over some 45 years. He also engaged in long conversations over many years with Edward H. Spicer, who was an expert on the Yaquis and an anthropologist at the University of Arizona until his recent death. Mr. Jose Cancio, who participates in the religious life of Barrio Libre and formerly resided there, read and validated this narrative.

"Associated Indians of Detroit" is an account by Cooter of his experience in helping a group of inner-city Indians organize a social and cultural center. The narrative was read and validated by Mrs. Winona Arriaga and Arthur "Butch" Elliott, who were both involved in the organization and appear in the narrative.

The first narrative in Chapter 7, "Tamacraft," is a brief sketch by Thomas of an action anthropology project among the Mesquakie in Iowa in the early 1950s. The data comes from Thomas' periodic visits to Iowa, field reports and letters, plus many conversations with Robert Rietz, the Field Director of the Fox Project. The narrative was read and validated by Sol Tax, the former Director of the Fox Project.

The second narrative is Thomas' account of his own one-man project in action-anthropology , "The Wa:k Pow-wow." It was read and validated by Jim Griffith, Director of the Folklore Center at the University of Arizona and member of the Wa:k Pow-wow Committee from 1983 to 1986.

"Becoming Civilized," the narrative by Thomas in Chapter 8, is based on data collected by Thomas in 1950-51 and 1963-67. Some small part of the data is childhood remembrances. It is told from the viewpoint of Cherokee elders of the 1950s and 1960s and is written in Cherokee English. Professor Thomas Holm of the Political Science Department of the University of Arizona, a Cherokee Indian and an expert on Cherokee history, read and validated the narrative.

R.H. reflects on raising his own children in the narrative in Chapter 9,"A Whole Life." As in Chapter 2, the subject matter was shaped by Cooter. The narrative was read and validated by Professor Albert Wahrhaftig of Sonoma State University in California, an anthropologist and an expert on Cherokees who has lived with R.H..

As in Chapter 8, Bob Thomas assumes the viewpoint of a Cherokee elder of the 1950s and 1960s in Chapter 10 and he writes "The White Path of Peace" in Cherokee English. This narrative is based on data collected in the 1950s and 1960s, as well as some childhood recollections. Mr. Pat Mass of Stilwell Oklahoma, a priestly official ("medicine man") at the Cherokee Four Mother's ceremonial grounds, has read the narrative and validated it.

"The Indian Ecumene" in Chapter 10 describes an Indian religious movement in the 1970s in which Thomas participated. Father John A. MacKenzie, Anglican Archdeacon in Terrace, British Columbia, read and validated the narrative. Father MacKenzie was the only white man on the 20 person Steering Committee of the Indian Ecumenical Conference, and the Nishga have adopted him into their tribe.

We are grateful to these friends for helping us to get the facts right.

Chapter 2 A Life Among Kin

Traditional Indians live their lives among their kin, not among strangers. As a consequence, they experience a world filled with personal relationships, not instrumental relationships. The contrast between a life among kin and a life among strangers, or between personal relationships and instrumental relationships, is central to this book. We begin by describing a life lived among kin. This chapter is an account of childhood in eastern Oklahoma by an educated Cherokee, whom we call R.H. A brief appendix at the end of the chapter records some important facts about Cherokee history and some details about dates and locations found in the biographical sketch which may be most relevant to ethnographers.

A Cherokee Childhood

I was raised in the eastern Oklahoma hill country, where the Ozarks lapped over into Oklahoma. This area was called Lapland by the people in neighboring Arkansas. .. It is a beautiful land of rough, timbered hills and sparkling streams, but with very poor soil, even in the river valleys. In many ways it was typical southern hill country - log houses with front porches, small farms, squirrel hunters, hound dogs, whiskey stills, mountain music, and nearly impassable roads. On the other hand, it was also very western - large cattle ranches, cowboys, "bad men," and Indians.

The town of Tahlequah was located in the center of this region. Tahlequah had been founded around 1840 by Cherokee Indians after the Indians had been driven out of the southern Appalachians into what was then known as the Indian Territory. Tahlequah was the capital of the old Cherokee Nation. It was a large town of considerable history, different from most other Oklahoma towns. There were many fine old homes in Tahlequah, as well as many former Cherokee governmental structures - the old Capital Building, Supreme Court, the National jail, the female seminary, to name a few.. There was even an old hotel dating from just after the Civil War. A large and beautiful old plantation house still stands south of town which pre-dates the Civil War. It is the only Cherokee plantation house still standing (most were burned down during the Civil War) and is now maintained by the state parks system.

There are a few other towns in this area which tend to give one a feeling of "roots," but by and large a frontier quality predominated. Even today a frontier flavor permeates eastern Oklahoma, and when I was a boy the frontier was even closer. White settlers, primarily from Arkansas, moved into the Cherokee Nation around 1900. They did this even before our area became part of the state of Oklahoma in 1907. All of the rural sections now occupied by whites were settled during that time as well as most of the small towns..

When I reflect on eastern Oklahoma as it existed in the time of my childhood during the 1920s and 30s, I feel as if I was raised in another epoch entirely. But I suppose that most Americans raised in the rural South and West before World War II must have similar feelings. (take out paragraph break) However, for me these feelings are accentuated. If eastern Oklahoma was isolated from the rest of America and "backward" by American standards of the time; then the Cherokee community in which I was raised was isolated from the general eastern Oklahoma society and "backward" by the judgment of non-Indians in the region. But even if we were seen as poor and backward, in my community our lives were complete and whole. We never had any doubts about the world and our place in it. We were Cherokee Indians, period.

During the mid-1930s the drought and the dust almost devastated our community. We scattered like quail to places such as central Oklahoma, north Texas and California to seek a better material life. Some twelve years later, when I was in my middle twenties, I returned to eastern Oklahoma. My community no longer existed; my relatives were either all dead or living elsewhere. Of course, I still had kin (the Cherokees are all kin, to some degree), but they were not the beloved kin that I remembered from my childhood. I had spent twelve very formative years, those of my teens and early twenties, away from the Cherokee area. I had virtually forgotten the Cherokee language. I began to feel a profound unease about my life and being.

During this unsettled period I became acquainted with an old Indian lady who was the last living Natchez Indian. After the Natchez people had nearly been exterminated by the French in Mississippi in the early 1700s, the Natchez began to live as a small enclave among the Cherokees.. However, during my friend's young womanhood

the Natchez began to intermarry extensively with Cherokee and Creek Indians. Thus, the next generation did not speak the Natchez language, and grew up as Cherokee or Creeks. My friend had even married a Cherokee. She spoke, besides Natchez, fluent Cherokee, Creek, and some English.

I was interested in the Natchez language and would ask my friend to name different objects in Natchez. One time she could not remember several Natchez words for certain objects, and I asked her if she was forgetting the Natchez language. She said, "Yes, I don't have anybody to talk to since my brother died." I felt a chill run up my back. What must it be like to be the last one of your people and have no one left to speak with in your own language?!

Although that fact bothered me it did not seem to bother the last Natchez left on the earth. She was as solid and as tough as an old oak stump. As far as I could see, she never had a single doubt about the nature of the world and her place in it.

Over the years I have thought a lot about my friend, the last Natchez. As I have grown older I have come to the conclusion that it was the remembrance of her childhood within the Natchez community that sustained her. And thus I have come to reflect on my own childhood.

* * * * *

I suppose that, like most people, the first memories of my childhood involved women. There were many important women in my young life in those days, all of them kinswomen, but I suppose the most important were the women in our household -- my grandmother and my mother's sister. Following the Cherokee convention, I addressed my mother's sister as "mother,"⁵ and, indeed, she was my mother both in function and in the love we felt for one another. The family tells a story about my mother and her sister nursing me, which they did jointly because my mother's milk supply was limited. One time after my aunt had nursed me awhile, she handed me over to my mother, but I would not take the breast, and began to cry loudly. As my mother was fair skinned while my aunt's complexion was brown, my grandmother could see right away what the problem was, came over to my mother and simply cupped her brown hand

around my mother's breast. I stopped crying and began to nurse contentedly. Perhaps I was beginning to notice color and had become frightened when I was passed from a brown to a white breast. I missed my mother when she went off to work in the city, but I still had one mother in the house and other mothers (who were my mother's first cousins) in nearby households.

I think that my aunt (my second mother) actually missed my mother more than I did. Cherokee sisters who are raised in the same household are extremely close. That tie must be the strongest bond in a Cherokee family. In the old days, it was common for two sisters to marry the same man. The old people said it was a good way for sisters to stay together as once the marriage had taken place the sisters couldn't be separated. There were still a few sisters married to one man when I was a boy. I was acquainted with one such family where two elderly sisters had married the same old man. (Of course, their marriage was not really legal by Oklahoma law, but the authorities just looked the other way.) One of those old ladies told me that a white lady once asked her how she could share her husband with her sister. That old Cherokee lady replied, "Do you think that I could love any man as much as I love my sister?" Those sisters were jolly old ladies; they really liked to talk and tell stories. It seems that when they were young their husband didn't want to marry the younger sister, so they had to trick him into taking her for his second wife. They told me all about how they carried it off. It was a good story, funny and off-color, just the kind of story the Cherokees like, but it wasn't a story I can properly put down on paper.

Still, that old man used to joke that being married to two women was like carrying a bucket of water in each hand: one balanced off the other. I never said anything, but that old fellow never had a chance, the way those two women played him for a fool.. I felt sorry for him. I can still hear the old ladies laughing as they told their tale. I reckon their husband never did find out how he was tricked.

We lived in a log house along a creek in the wooded Ozark hills of eastern Oklahoma. (Although the Cherokees had always lived in log houses, we would place the logs standing upright rather than laying them horizontally because, as an old man told

⁵When addressing his mother's sister, R.H. called her "mother", but when referring to her in a conversation with someone

me, before the whites came we didn't have steel axes with which to notch the logs.) My household consisted of my grandparents (my mother's parents), my second mother (my mother's sister), and myself. My father lived in a nearby town and often came to see me. I idolized him, and eagerly looked forward to his visits and to tagging along after him. He was predominantly of Indian blood, but Cherokees considered him a part-Cherokee white man because, I think, he spoke little Cherokee and associated largely with town whites. My father was the epitome of southern aristocratic male virtues, the same virtues which Cherokees grudgingly admired but which exasperated them as well. He was a dedicated gambler, a superb horseman, and fine marksman. He was a hunter, bred and fought game roosters, and appreciated pretty women and good whiskey. He was a man of honor, generous to a fault, and he was a good citizen in the Jeffersonian tradition -- hospitable, charitable, community minded, and a hard worker. But if ever there was a wild southern boy, it was my father -- handsome, charming, gallant, with the devil in his eye, a "man's man" who was liked by men and adored by women. Despite the fact that he was a little irresponsible and a "bad actor"⁶ at times, everyone (including my mother's parents) forgave him and found excuses for him-- everyone, that is, except my mother.

When my father married my mother (who was a local beauty) he took her with him to live in town. She was lonesome and homesick there as my father liked to gamble and "drink around" with his friends. I think that she was left alone a lot. Cherokee women are very independent-minded, so after I was born she left my father and returned home with me. Then when I was about 15 months old she left to work in a distant city. Her rationale for this move was that she could help out the family financially, and she did send money home every month. But my grandparents thought that her real motive was the attraction of the city itself, with its freedom and excitement. They would have preferred that she stay home, but as the Cherokees say, "It was up to her." As it is the Cherokee custom for the grandparents to take a major part in the care of children, my grandparents didn't feel unduly put upon by my mother's absence.

else, he used the term meaning "second mother."

⁶"Bad actor" in Oklahoma parlance refers to a person whose behavior can be dangerous because it is unpredictable and sometimes causes trouble, but is not malicious.

When my grandmother worked in the garden or walked to the local country store, she usually carried me on her back in a sling-like arrangement, facing forward. Most Indian tribes carried their babies on their backs in cradleboards, facing backwards, but the Cherokee carried their children facing forward. I remember riding on her back until I was almost school age, my legs dangling down past her waist, jumping up and down at times like I was riding a horse. One time a white lady asked her, "Why is it that most Indians carry their babies facing backward but the Cherokees carry their babies facing forward?" My grandmother replied, "The Cherokees, we already know where we've been, we want to see where we are going."

My grandmother was quite a woman. She managed our household both socially and economically. My grandfather made a small wage as a constable in a nearby small town which he simply turned over to her. My grandmother, along with the help of other kinswomen, grew a huge garden. My grandfather would feed the hogs, but he never touched the garden. That garden was my grandmother's garden and even though he wanted in he kept his hands off. But she spoiled him rotten in other ways. Sometimes when my grandfather was working as a constable he would wear a blue serge suit and a necktie. But he never could learn, perhaps by design, to tie his tie himself. I can't remember all the times my grandmother came in from the garden almost at a run to tie his tie for him. My grandmother thought that my grandfather was simply wonderful, and she thoroughly enjoyed spoiling him. She had married early; she had been only sixteen while my grandfather had been thirty-two. She told me that she could hardly remember a time when she wasn't married. I suppose both she and my grandfather in turn spoiled me rotten.

I guess that I was an only child if you use white standards. I can remember playing by myself out under a shade tree in the yard or among some big rocks down the hill behind the house. I can also remember wandering around a lot with my dog Jack, whom I had named after a white man said by whites to be "crazy as a coot," and who was my local hero. This man Jack would stop by our house some days and eat with us. When his glass was empty he would pound it on the table as a signal for a refill. Sometimes he would jump to his feet, pop his fist against the palm of his other hand, and, in a loud voice, deliver a harangue against rich people, the government, churches, and

the like. We would all stop eating and listen attentively to his speech; after he was through we would go back to eating quietly.

My dog Jack got me in trouble only once in all the years he was with me. One time when I was staying with my grandmother's sister and her husband, I inadvertently left the smokehouse door open. Jack got in there during the night and ate a whole string of sausages. The next morning we discovered the loss and the open smokehouse door. I could see that my great uncle (my grandfather in Cherokee), was very angry, but being a real Indian in his ways, said nothing. I finally blurted out that I was sorry and that I hadn't meant to leave the smokehouse door open. My uncle looked at me a long time and said, "Grandson, that's not going to help me a bit when I want to eat some sausage this winter." The Cherokees aren't interested in intent or remorse; nor do they differentiate between a lie and an error. It is only the outcome of the action that is considered.

Besides my constant companion Jack the dog, most of the time I played with relatives my own age. In fact, nearly all the people I saw in my early life were relatives. Within a three or four mile radius of our house there were perhaps fifteen Indian households where all the people were either blood relatives or related by marriage. We were always traveling back and forth, visiting each other's houses. We also went on visits as often as possible to those relatives who lived in other small Indian communities nearby. I remember I had an uncle, my mother's brother (in the English terminology, my mother's first cousin), of whom I was very fond. My grandfather would take me some ten miles away on horseback to my uncle's home for extended visits. My grandmother had a mother and two sisters who lived some 7 miles distant, and we would go there to visit. For these visits the whole family would travel in a spring wagon, lurching over the rough country roads of eastern Oklahoma. We were always visiting someone, even within our community, mostly dropping in and out of relatives' houses, but sometimes making more formal calls.

My grandfather's older brother lived in a large, two-storied, old ranch house a mile away. He lived there with his wife and two daughters, their husbands and children, and his mother, who was my great-grandmother. Most Sundays we would walk

over to their place for dinner. I remember they used to feed as many as thirty people at two long tables on those visits. At other times my grandfather's youngest brother, who was somewhat of a gay blade and lived in a nearby town, would drive out in his horse and cart to pick me up and take me to that great, rambling, many-roomed house to visit my great-grandmother. It may have been old and run down, but it was quite a contrast to the small log and "box" houses in which the rest of us lived. It was originally build as a ranch house in the last century by my great-grandmother's husband, my great-grandfather. My great-grandfather, who had no education and spoke almost no English, was a traditional Cherokee of an older era, and still wore buckskin leggings when he died in the late 1800s. Born around 1812, he had been almost thirty years older than my great-grandmother when they married. In the 1830's he had been a war chief (a war captain as we called it) when the Cherokees were fighting the Plains Indian tribes. He was a very rich man -- before the Civil War he had owned a large cotton plantation with many slaves, and after the Civil War he had gone into ranching and had accumulated many cattle and fine horses.

My great-grandmother, on the other hand, spoke excellent English and had attended a female college in Virginia in the late 1850s. She was both a southern lady and a Cherokee matriarch. Since I was the first of her male great-grandchildren, she was very fond of me and let me do whatever I wanted. When she grew older she lived in an upstairs room facing the road. Her room contained an elaborate Persian rug and a large grandfather clock, the last remaining symbols of her former grandeur. I can still remember her smiling with pride at me one day as I hammered nails into the floor through that beautiful rug. When my great uncle came charging into the room to investigate the hammering, she dismissed him with a grand wave of the hand and the words, "Oh son, it's only a rug."

[theory to follow]The Cherokees perceive their kinfolds differently than whites do. In English "mother" or "father" stands alone, as if denoting both a singular status and a specific role; in Cherokee there is a specific word for "my mother", another word for "his mother", and so on. Those Cherokee words encompass the entire relationship in which those two people are involved, as if to make explicit that being a kinsman is a relationship between two specific people, rather than the simple fulfillment

of an abstract societal role. Besides having more than one father and mother, those kin who would be our "cousins" in white terminology were "my brothers" and "my sisters" in Cherokee. [end of theory?] When I was small, whites would ask a puzzling question: "Is he your real brother?" Well, they were all real brothers to me! Our language does not distinguish between "close" and "distant" kin, and our duties and feelings match our language. We have similar obligations to all our kin and feel the same about them no matter if we are from the same mother or not.⁷

Nearly everyone I played with or visited were relatives. These relationships created our world. Yet in our community there were several white families, and although we were not close, we would be neighborly and would help them out in times of crisis such as sickness or death. Sometimes during the year we traded labor with them.

Cherokees had been living in this area of eastern Oklahoma since the 1830's, when we were driven out of our "old country" up in the mountain sections of Georgia and North Carolina into what was then the Indian Territory. The old people used to tell us stories of religious events which had taken place in our old country. In these stories they would name mountains, rivers, and other places found in the southern mountains. Most of us longed to see that mysterious country and those holy places and to visit the small group of Cherokees which still lived in the Smoky Mountains. But our present homeland resembled our old country, and we had lived long enough in the region so that we had grown to love it as if we had been there from the beginning of time. My life unfolded in this familiar and beloved environment made up of my relatives and my land.

Besides playing, I worked and learned. My relatives taught me to be a good Cherokee simply by being who they were and often they educated me without my realizing it. For instance, in the evening our house would be filled with older Indian men who would tell the stories of the creation of the world ponder their meanings, and discuss omens and prophecies of the future. I absorbed their knowledge indirectly while

⁷Cherokees usually count as kin all those who are descended from one's great-grandparents, the brothers and sisters of the great-grandparents, and, if known, the first cousins of the great-grandparents. In this body of kin almost everyone of your generation is

they sat around the kitchen table and I played on the floor. Other times they would sit around the fireplace discussing such subjects far into the night, and I can remember listening to their conversation as I dropped off to sleep.

Although my grandfather was not a Christian, he had a good friend who was both a prominent Cherokee Baptist preacher and an Indian style curer. He would visit my grandfather during spells of warm weather. They would sit out on the porch or under the shade tree and discuss the Bible, the symbolism of the Cherokee wampum belts, the origin stories, prophesies, and medicine. I was always near my grandfather in those times and remember those conversations well. Other times my grandfather would take me on short trips for horsetrading or to perform his duties as a constable in a small town nearby. He would saddle up his horse and put a pillow in back of his saddle for me. As we traveled the roads he would tell me of events that had happened along them when he was a child, or instead he would tell me a story that old men had told him when he was small. In this way the eastern Oklahoma landscape became alive with meaning and history and my roots sank deep in that soil.

My mentor and teacher of the ways of the wild was my uncle, who lived in a community some 10 miles away. He taught me to hunt, fish, trap, shoot; to do all those things at which a young Cherokee male must be skilled. Some of my first memories are of tagging along after him when he was hunting and later of carrying his gun. Other times I would hunt with older boys who were relatives, as well as teenage boys from around my home area.

Another father (an uncle in English thought) taught me to run. Since he was well known as a fine runner and I was interested in learning, I took him a cigar and asked him to teach me. He said the training was harsh and told me to think about it for four days and ask again, since he didn't want me to hold hard feelings toward him because of the rough treatment I would experience. I did ask again. The training proved difficult but was worth the effort in the end.

addressed as brother or sister. Many Cherokees have hundreds of brothers and sisters, some of whom they may never meet, but if they do meet, they are expected to act towards each other as if they were born from the same woman.

Cherokees are very proud of our writing system which was developed with God's help by our great genius, Sequoyah. Most Cherokees learned the system

in their thirties when they decided they wanted to read the Bible, the old Cherokee laws, curing prayers, or older Cherokee literature. Some men would teach their younger children how to read in the Cherokee language, but most of us were not interested in reading Cherokee until we got older.

As you can see from reading through this narrative so far, I spent a lot of time outside of my immediate household. No one family "owned" a Cherokee child and to a large degree we simply floated from house to house, from relative to relative. As I mentioned earlier, I would go on extended visits to live with my uncle in a neighboring community, and in the summer I would stay for weeks with my grandmother's sister who lived 7 miles away. In fact, most of the children of our community, instead of "belonging" to a single father and mother, belonged to the whole kin group.

Either as a child or as a teenager I can rarely remember being reprimanded by anyone, much less physically disciplined. I do remember as a small child that when I occasionally made a lot of noise, my grandmother would say to me rather disapprovingly, "The Cherokees don't make a lot of racket." By this she suggested that Cherokees by their nature do not make a lot of noise, and if I was noisy perhaps I was not truly a Cherokee -- a suggestion which was more than a little frightening. In this way I was taught how I ought to act by being told how nature had disposed me to act.

When I would play in bed late at night my grandmother said that I had better go to sleep or else I would draw the attention of some lurking spook, perhaps even "old raw head and bloody bones". (I was once shown his picture on an old iodine bottle!) My grandparents told me that "old raw-head and bloody bones" lived in the well, and they also told stories about different spirits who lived in the woods and in the darkness of night, presumably to discourage me from wandering off by myself in the woods or from wandering around at night. But they never directly forbid me to wander off at night or to look in the well. I have had adults divert my attention instead of warning me when it looked as if I was going to injure myself. These were all indirect pressures; I was seldom overtly forbidden to do something or overtly ordered to do something.

I participated in activities as I saw fit and at my own pace, but if I chose to assume some responsibility and then began to become lax, I would get disapproving looks and a cold shoulder from my adult relatives. [theory interjection follows?] Withdrawal is one of the major sanctions which Cherokees use when faced with behavior of which they disapprove. Indians are very responsive and sensitive to the moods of one another, so withdrawal of access to one's self on the part of a loved adult can be devastating to Indian children. In this respect, as in so many others, Cherokee adults relate to Cherokee children in the same manner as with other Cherokee adults. They do not order, coerce, or intrude into another's privacy, and they expect the same behavior in return, so when they do not get it, they tend to disapprove and withdraw. [end of theory section?] I can only remember one time in my life when I was subjected to coercive discipline. One fall while we were butchering hogs I took an intestine and hid it down close to the fence by the road. When a group of young girls came by on their way to school dressed in their finery, I chased them and threw the hog intestine around their legs. That night my grandfather told me that he had heard that there was a wild boy loose in the woods who had chased some young Cherokee girls. He asked me if I had seen this wild boy. I replied that I hadn't and that I did not know anything about him. My grandfather then said that perhaps we should go see if we could find his tracks, but I countered by saying that such a wild boy had probably left the country by now. He then suggested that we ask my uncle to come over and see if he could track the wild boy. As I was very sensitive to my uncle's opinion, I was very much against this move, and reasoned that the dew would likely wash out my tracks before we could get my uncle over to our house.

One night the next week we were cracking nuts on the hearthstone by the fireplace when I heard a moaning sound behind me. I looked around, and coming in the window was a creature dressed in rags, moaning, with the hair hanging down over its ugly disfigured face(The individual was actually wearing a gourd mask). As the "critter" crawled in my direction, I became terrified. My grandfather asked it what it wanted and it replied in almost unintelligible Cherokee that it was "looking for bad boys." My grandfather said he knew of no bad boys near at hand, but the creature kept pointing at me. When I couldn't stand it any longer I blurted out that I was the "wild boy" who had

thrown the hog intestine on the young girls. Finally, my grandfather interceded, saying he was sure I wouldn't do such a thing again, and pleaded with the creature to depart. It did, very slowly, moaning and gyrating backwards out through the window. I was in shock for the next two or three days and needless to say I discontinued my career as a wild boy. I found out when I grew up that this creature had been my uncle from the community ten miles away. He was my mother's brother, the kinsman who traditionally disciplines children in Cherokee society.

When I was young I had heard of children who behaved so badly that it was thought that their minds must be sick. They would be taken through a curing rite, an experience which is very uncomfortable and which involves scratching the child's body all over with the teeth of a garfish. But I never actually saw such a rite or knew anyone who had gone through it. My only direct experience with coercive discipline was that time my uncle crawled through the window wearing rags and a gourd mask to frighten me into good behavior.

I can never remember being struck by an adult. If children hit one another while fighting, older people would tell them that their behavior would bring sickness into the home. In this way only mild scaring or alternatively the diversion of attention is used to control children. For the most part children were treated with the same respect as adults.

In spite of this general attitude, about once a month my mother would come back from the city for a weekend visit. Although she loved me very much and was very proud of me, to me she felt like a near stranger. Her greatest delight was to clean and dress me up, and then to take me into town to show me off to her friends. Needless to say, this parade was not the highlight of the month for a small country boy. As the months passed, I began to get resentful about what I perceived to be rather off-hand and coercive treatment. One Saturday morning when she had filled the washtub to bathe me I ran from her. She chased me down, finally cornering me, but when my dog Jack showed his teeth and growled at her, she abandoned her pursuit, going back to the house in defeat. The rest of my relatives disapproved of her actions and enlarged the stories of the incident so that I was portrayed as sickening [spelling?] my dog on my mother. They

thought this was hilarious. My grandfather's final comment to my mother concerning the incident was, "It is too bad you're not a man. Then you could join the army and work your way up to be a general. Then you could really order everybody around." That comment ended my monthly trauma at the hands of my mother.

In those days the Cherokees lived off the land, and I was as much a part of the effort of wrestling a living from the land as any adult. In the spring the ladies would put in large gardens and we would all come to help break the ground and plant. Everyone in the community would assemble at one home and help put in the garden, and the next day go to the next home and help put in the garden there. The women would cook sumptuous meals, each one trying to outdo the other. Cherokees, like most Indians, do not like to perform tedious tasks by themselves. They love to work together. So when we planted the gardens we made it a time of great enjoyment, almost as if we were at a party. At times, there would be so many one-horse plows in a single garden spot that they would nearly run into one another -- an example of our sociability hindering our efficiency.

For the rest of the summer the ladies in the household, or sometimes ladies who lived close to one another and were relatives would work in the gardens together. Some of the older ladies didn't like men in their gardens when the plants were growing. It was thought proper that men should break the ground, but they weren't thought to be able to nourish growing things. Indeed, it is the case that Cherokee women are the givers of life and the nourishers of plants and children, while Cherokee men deal with death -- the hunting of animals and, in the old days, the killing of enemies. Cherokee men are "bloody", as one old lady put it. When I reached the age of eleven or twelve my grandmother would look at me rather penetratingly when I would come into the garden where she was working. She never said anything, but I could tell that she was wondering whether or not I was coming into manhood. Another time I remember going into a garden to talk to an old lady. She said, "Boy, is your thing starting to stand up yet?", and held her hoe up menacingly. I tell you, I got out of there fast.

In the fall we would all assemble once again for the harvest, going from house to house harvesting the gardens' bounty. After the harvest, small groups of women

would assemble at one another's house to help preserve the food. Later during the harvest we would have a "corn shucking," along with a square dance later the evening..

Another source of nourishment came from the surrounding land. Groups of younger children and women would gather wild foods from early spring to late fall -- wild greens in the springtime, berries in the summer, nuts and persimmons and wild grapes in the fall. A major source of meat for the table was wild game and fish. I was an accomplished hunter by the age of twelve; when I was given three shells for my rifle, I was expected to bring back three squirrels, or three birds, or three rabbits, or the like.

Sometimes we hunted squirrels with a bow and arrow. We used a long, heavy arrow with a blunt point. We could knock a squirrel out of a tree in this way without spoiling any of the meat, and if we missed we could easily find that long arrow sticking up somewhere. When I was about ten years old I went squirrel hunting with a bow and squirrel arrow. I was looking up, and as I rounded a tree a squirrel arrow came out of the sky and hit me right in the eye. A cousin of mine, hunting on the other side of the woods, had shot at a squirrel, and his arrow had hit me in the eye. It was a freak accident. If the arrow had had a sharp point it would have pierced through to my brain and killed me. But ever since that accident my vision in my left eye hasn't been good. During the Second World War the air corps turned me down because of that bad eye, even though I had my heart set on being a fighter pilot.

Cherokee men, particularly young men, as well as teenagers and even children, would spend a great deal of time hunting, sometimes alone and other times in parties consisting of, for instance, several teenage brothers with their younger brothers tagging along. We hunted all through the year, but especially during the fall and winter. Fishing followed the same pattern, although the major time for fishing was, of course, during warm weather.

Some of the things Cherokees liked to eat were frowned upon by our neighbors. We considered crayfish tails a delicacy, unlike Oklahoma whites. When I learned as an adult that the French in Louisiana also ate crayfish tails, I thought perhaps that the Cherokees might not be the only civilized people in the world. We also liked

locusts fresh out of the cocoon. Oklahoma whites turned green at the very idea. I remember one Cherokee boy who brought a sack of locusts to school one day and ate them at recess. The white kids almost got sick just watching him eat his locusts. The teacher forbade him from bringing any more locusts to school after that.

Everyone from the oldest to the youngest was involved in the process of making a living from the land, and to accomplish this we did much sharing of goods and labor. Gardening, hunting, and gathering were the mainstay of our life. A few Cherokees in other areas did "cash crop" farming, raising and selling corn or cotton; but that wasn't our style around my home. We hunted in order to eat, not because we liked to kill. The old people told us that it was God's plan that the Cherokees live off the wild game, but that we should always remember that everything had a right to exist unmolested. They told us it was God's plan that the living things in this world should both feed one another and respect one another. We killed animals and cut down trees because we needed to eat and to keep warm; we pulled up plants to eat or to use in curing but we didn't didn't force "landscaping" on our yards. Some Indian doctors even put a pinch of tobacco in the hole where they had pulled up an herb as a thanks and a replacement. Sometimes we prayed ("made medicine") for success before a hunt as well as for forgiveness afterwards. The old people said that animals had the power to make Cherokees sick if we did not recite the proper ritual prayers before the hunt. In particular, deer are said to be able to cause the hunter to get rheumatism.

We were taught not only to act in a sacred manner toward animals by performing correct religious acts before and after the hunt, but we were expected to be personally respectful toward animals and all living beings. I never saw my grandfather really angry except for one time. One day a little white boy from down the road came over to play one day and offered to show me a game. Under his direction we caught two terrapins (tortoises), brought them into our yard, and then raced them by holding lighted matches to their tails. My grandfather came out onto the porch, his eyes blazing, and said, "How would you boys like somebody to hold a fire to your ass to see how fast you could run?" I never did anything like that again. I have also seen older Cherokees look away when they saw little white kids playing with young fledgling birds in the spring.

Nature was a book from which we could learn by paying careful attention. We knew when to plant by looking at the size of the oak leaves in the spring. The behavior of plants, animals, and clouds could be omens and signs of the future. Religion, our traditions, and our observation of the natural world guided us.

There were some state game laws in Oklahoma when I was a child, but they were poorly enforced. Even so, just the fact that they existed annoyed us, as did the laws which prohibited the burning off of woods and pasture land in the fall. These laws seemed a flagrant interference in the Cherokee relationship to the Creator and the Creation. Modern Cherokees today feel equally violated by the building of artificial lakes, the killing of trees to improve grazing land, and the like.

Large game was not as plentiful in our areas as it once had been. Some years my grandfather and some of our family would go back to a particularly good hunting and fishing area of the Appalachians where we had distant relatives. (I was born there on one such trip.) We would live there in a hunting camp during November and part of December, and return laden with meat. Others would go to the Kiamichi Mountains of southeastern Oklahoma, which were not too far distant, for deer and bear.

My grandfather kept hogs which we killed in the fall, and my grandmother kept chickens which we used for eggs and frying chickens. I remember carefully watching each of the growing chicken all through May to see if it was big enough to fry. From the middle of June to the middle of July it seemed we ate nothing but frying chickens. In the old days of the Indian Territory many Cherokees had owned cattle, yet when I was growing up there were very few Indian cattlemen, possibly because by then we didn't have enough land to properly run cattle. Cherokees are fond of barbecued beef, and somehow we managed to get a cut or two for public gatherings, but usually we ate little beef.

A few households in our community kept cows, although by and large Indians are not fond of milk. Some households did not even keep chickens or hogs, which before had just run wild,, but instead tended to eat the meat of wild game exclusively. (Cherokees in other areas did not hunt as extensively as our community did nor did they travel as far on hunting trips.)

We had little money because we had little need of it. There was a small country store in the vicinity, but we bought little more than needles and thread, salt, coffee, spices, sometimes sugar. Rarely we would treat ourselves to a pop or a can of sardines or a little candy for the younger children. Although in the past Cherokees had made their own cloth (when I was a child Cherokee homes usually had an old loom and spinning wheel in the loft of the house), now we bought most of our clothes. Most of the money that we had in those days went to buy cloth for dresses or was spent on "ready-made" clothes, which were soon much darned and mended, plus that rarest and most cherished of commodities, shoes. (I learned about moccasins in school, but I had never seen any as Cherokees had been wearing shoes and boots for generations.) We bought shoes in town, and a relative who was a part-time cobbler would repair them. To save wear we carried them more than we wore them; children would only wear their shoes during the winter time or on special occasions. Most Cherokee women in that era wore a red bandanna around their heads, but all self-respecting Cherokee men wore Stetson hats. After a man had well used a Stetson hat he would pass it on to a younger teenage relative. I remember that one of the proudest times of my life was when, as a teenager, I was able to buy my own new Stetson hat and a new pair of boots.

My grandfather had a small income from his job as a constable. This brought in regular money every month, but others in our community amassed what little money they had by selling their labor on the farms or ranches of the rich whites in the general area, or by cutting and selling railroad cross-ties. There was, of course, no welfare, no social security, and no pensions; nor were there old age homes. I think we would have been shocked at the very suggestion that we separate ourselves from our elderly whom we so cherished and put them in some building far away from us under the care of strangers.

In fact, we saw so few strangers in our community that when they did arrive they were somewhat frightening, not only to the children, but to most of the grown people as well. For instance, I remember my grandmother was particularly afraid of strange whites, and if one approached our house, especially if he were well dressed with fountain pens in his pocket, she would hide in the house and not answer the door. I was simply stunned silent by the appearance of strangers. My grandfather was a Cherokee to

the very core in his attitudes and outlook, and was so in every way. Although he had little formal education, he spoke several languages and had traveled all over the world. He was a very sophisticated man, but most of the rest of us were simple, country people; "full bloods," as whites would call us.

Sometimes we saw Creek Indians traveling through our area, strung out in a line as was their custom, going to visit relatives who lived to the east of our settlement. Often they would stop to visit a while with my grandfather. They were a strange and exotic people to me, even though I liked their laughing and friendly manner. Also, I knew I had relatives who were black people. (Many Cherokees were slave holders in the old days.) My grandfather would visit with them on the occasions when we met them in town, and once in a while they would drop by the house if they were in need. They seemed kind and gentle, but I considered them to be not of my world.

Except for large religious gatherings held outside our small community, we rarely needed to leave as most of our wants were taken care of by our relatives. We made our living within our community; we had our own doctors there, and our main religious life took place among our relatives. There were older women in our communities who knew herbs and who could cure most of our childhood diseases. My grandmother was one such person, and her sister who lived in another community was also a well known herb doctor. Women, particularly older women, delivered the children. If we needed someone to deal with a serious illness we went to a renowned Indian doctor living in a neighboring community who, although a distant relative still felt like somewhat of a stranger and was a little awe-inspiring because of his spiritual power. If all else failed, there were old-fashioned white country doctors in the area who could be relied upon for help and would be willing to either wait great lengths of time for the payment of their fees or to take produce in lieu of money. When people were sick we all took care of them, cut their wood, and did their farm work. And if they died we laid them in the earth ourselves.

We had many religious ceremonies in our homes -- birth ceremonies, curing rites, funerals, purification of the house, herb medicine before eating "green" corn, herb medicine at the Cherokee New Year in October, hunting rituals at the fireplace,

planting ceremonies at the garden, rituals to insure plant growth at the garden in June, rituals to protect the house and garden from the fierce Oklahoma storms, religious purification before dawn at the spring many mornings, and so many more I can't remember them all. I also knew that my grandfather used the old Cherokee war medicine (prayers and charms) in his work as a constable.

Every act and every object held sacred meaning. But while religion permeated our lives, I don't want to give the impression that in those days Cherokees were some kind of religious commune in. Your beliefs were your own business; you were only required to behave in the right way. I remember one old man who was second chief of a ceremonial ground and was considered a good chief. He was a noted herb doctor, he was generous and always willing to help out people, and he followed the Cherokee Law. He always claimed that he didn't believe in God, which shocked everyone, but he was still a good man in the view of Cherokees.

There were old style Cherokee ceremonial grounds, called "stomp grounds" in Oklahoma English, scattered around throughout the Cherokee area. I'd say there were probably ten or so altogether. There were monthly ceremonies held at these grounds; all night worship dances that were both fun and holy at the same time. In past years there had been a stomp ground in our area, but it had been closed down (the "Fire had gone out," as Cherokees say) before I was born. Sometimes we would travel many miles to a stomp ground in another area for the local community's monthly dance. When Cherokees worshipped at their local ceremonial grounds it was with immediate relatives. Of course, most of the elders who were chiefs and priests of the ceremonial grounds were also the fathers and grandfathers of the worshippers.

When our family journeyed to the large ceremonial grounds for more tribal-wide ceremonies, it was an even more festive and joyous occasion. It would take us several days by horseback and wagon to make the trip. We would camp under the trees and visit relatives and friends from far away that we had not seen since the last year. The local ceremonial grounds would strengthen local kin ties while celebrating those kin ties and would strengthen the Cherokee relationship with the land and God; our ceremonies at the larger stomp grounds did the same for the whole tribe.

Cherokees don't like to tell others what to do, or interfere in other people's business. They try to keep their judgments to themselves. Although Cherokees like to give you a lot of rope, if you raise a fuss in public or violate a sacred prohibition at a ceremony you may find yourself in big trouble. Cherokees can come down hard. For instance, no drinking or drunks are allowed on a Cherokee stomp ground, because most Cherokees are bone-mean when drinking (me included) and can get violent. If you are drinking and slip past the guards and get onto the dance ground in that state, you will be tied to a post nearby, where you stay until the middle of the next morning, nursing a hang-over in the hot Oklahoma sun and feeling like the ass of the year until the guards cut you down. That will be the last time you come onto a stomp ground drinking.

Cherokees are very tolerant unless a person makes social trouble. We usually just accept others as they are. We value our old people because they are wise. If they are forgetful we overlook it as something which can't be helped. If they are slow, we simply wait on them. One of our playmates was a boy who was "afflicted, not quite right" as they say in Oklahoma. We knew that he didn't understand what teasing was and would get upset, so we didn't tease him. I remember one time he became very angry and ran me up a tree. He kept me treed there nearly all afternoon. When he got in the way in games, we just made extra room for him. He would stand all day sweating like a pig in the middle of a field in the hot sun, saying hello to each of us every time we hoed past him. If someone is eccentric, that is his way; perhaps the spiritual world has told him something that we don't know about. If a boy is "sissified" and would rather be around women, that's up to him. It is his business. Who are we to say? We are all relatives, and God decreed that we should live together in harmony. But don't willfully and irresponsibly destroy that harmony, or you may get tied to that post in the stomp ground. I learned that lesson at Cherokee stomp grounds when I was very small.

Although Cherokees universally condemned drinking, this was because drinking was usually associated with violence. However, if a person drank without causing trouble or making their family suffer, Cherokees were hard put to be critical. My father was such a person. He drank a lot, but he was always a gentleman, drunk or sober.

In another community not too far away there was a small Cherokee Baptist church. Sometimes some of our family would journey to that community to attend their church. (Although I have to say that I never saw my grandparents in a church in their lives.) The sermon was in the Cherokee language, the hymns were sung in the Cherokee language, and the Bible was written in Cherokee. We would enjoy the service, the singing, the visiting, the worship, the fellowship, and being "honored" guests, so to speak. At times there would be what were called "singings" at this church which were attended by all the Cherokee Baptist churches in our area, and of course we would attend those as well as the grave decorating ceremonies in May. In the fall all the Cherokee Baptists came together at a permanent camp ground for a week of worshipping together. This gathering was as festive and as renewing an occasion as the large native ceremonies would be.

Besides religious ceremonies we enjoyed other entertainments, including playing cards. My second mother (my aunt), who was lucky in cards, enjoyed beating my grandfather, who was an avid card player as well as a bad loser. She would laugh like a maniac when she beat him, and he would sulk. If he was a poor loser, she was a poor winner. Some of my fathers were great gamblers as well. We didn't have many public games in our settlement, but in other Cherokee areas Indians played and bet on bow and arrow contests and on a unique marble game from the ancient days. We also enjoyed music, and since there were many musicians and singers living along our creek, there were always musicians playing and singing on someone's porch on summer evenings. "Little Brown Jug" was my grandfather's favorite song, but my grandmother and I liked "Red Wing." I had one uncle who played a fine French harp (harmonica) and two sisters who could sing like the angels. In the 1930's we became dedicated country music fans when my mother brought us a radio from the city. Square dances, held nearly every month at one of the houses on the creek, were one of those rare activities that brought Indians and whites together. Many talented Cherokee fiddlers in the Oklahoma Ozarks played at them. Since my grandfather always attended the square dances, there was very little gun play or other illegal acts, even though the fruit jars of home brew and white liquor were passed around out back of the house.

Although Cherokees did not have the good horses of past years, we still enjoyed watching a good horse race or a Sunday afternoon rodeo, often held at a neighboring white rancher's place. Cherokees were still very good horsemen and cowboys in those days, especially members of my own immediate family. In fact, my mother could have become a professional sulky [?]race driver if she had been a man.

My father died, alcoholic and penniless, when I was seven.. Just before the depression he had loaned out over \$20,000 dollars to friends and business associates on their handshake alone. One of these friends was a member of a family which was considered disreputable, to say the least, by the more respectable people in the county. After my father's death this same friend came over to the house and presented me with a beautiful saddle pony. He may have been Arkansas white trash, but he was the only one of my father's associates who was a gentleman, even if he was a little rough-cut.

My new pony's sire was a stud pony and his mother was a five- gaited saddle mare. He inherited his mother's gaits, thus he was a great pleasure to ride. His coat was spotted, and he was flat over the back, as well as being short- coupled (short between the withers and the hindquarters). I named him Jack Riley - Jack after the trickster in Cherokee lore, Jack Skeena; and Riley after the legendary Irishman, Pat Riley. He was the best cutting horse I ever saw and could turn on a dime. I could even herd turkeys on him. He would have made a great polo pony.

Once in a while we used to let my pony graze in the front yard. One time a white man came by along the road and stopped to admire him. Shortly after stopping the white man called up to the house and my grandfather went out to talk to him. After some talk my grandfather called for me to come out to the yard fence and said to me in Cherokee, "This white man wants to buy your pony." But Jack Riley was my pride and joy; I don't think I could have sold him to my grandfather if he had asked. I told my grandfather, "Tell him I don't want to sell." My grandfather talked to the stranger for awhile and I could see he was getting annoyed; finally he just turned around and went back into the house. Later he told me, "That white man must not have any ears. He kept asking me to sell him that pony, and I kept telling him that the pony was yours and you didn't want to sell. I got tired of him!" The stranger thought that my grandfather had the

final say because, as I came to understand much later, most whites don't feel that a young boy should be able to make such a decision all on his own.

Although we mostly tried to settle our differences among ourselves, there were formal law enforcement agencies in the area. As I mentioned, my grandfather, who had been a Cherokee sheriff of one of the districts of the Cherokee Nation before the State of Oklahoma existed and later had been a United States marshal, was a constable in a small town nearby. The sheriff of our county was a Cherokee Indian, and even the county judge was a Cherokee who could conduct his court proceedings in the Cherokee language if need be. In spite of this, the "law" was a foreign agency to us. We tended not to need to resort to formal legal proceedings. During that time in Oklahoma there were some cattle rustlers and bank robbers, made up of both whites and a few Indians, but we never had enough cattle or money to be worthy of their attention. And if some of the Indian outlaws who were related to us showed up at our community, we welcomed them and hid them and never knew anything when the "law" inquired.

Things tended to be pretty quiet out in the country where we lived, but it was different in town. I remember once when my grandfather and I stayed over one Saturday night with a friend who lived at the edge of one of the small towns in our areas. His house was right off the main road, and we could hear drunk young Indians running their horses while whooping and shooting off their pistols far into the night.

Although the law was far from our lives, the government and schools were even further away. This had not always been the case. When I was growing up I heard the older people who had been raised before 1907 talk about the time when the Cherokee Indians had organized our own schools and government. During that time even Cherokees in the most isolated communities were involved in Cherokee government and schools. But our government and schools were dissolved after the state of Oklahoma came into the Union, so we simply decided to take no notice of such affairs. By unspoken mutual agreement with our new white neighbors, we took no part in government or formal education. . However, this non-participation in politics did not, at the time, seem to be a serious lack in our lives. My family had fought on the Union side during the Civil War and our sympathies were with the Republican party; so even if we had

bothered to vote we would have been an island of Indian Republicans in a sea of white Democrats. Although we were exploited, to a degree, by formal government and by the illegal taking of Indian land when I was growing up, the local political "boss" of our country was a southern patron of the old school. He knew everyone by name, could speak a few words of bad Cherokee, always inquired about your loved ones, and was always willing to do you a favor, even though he knew that most Cherokees did not vote

When I was growing up the older people were very suspicious of what they called the "white man's schools," which had replaced the Cherokee schools of earlier days. The older people suspected that these schools, being entirely controlled by whites, might end up teaching their children to be whites instead of being good Cherokee Indians. Even so, we figured our white neighbors sat on the school board and would certainly intercede for us if need be. In spite of these suspicions, most of us ended up in the local one room school house, along with our older and younger relatives. On the playground, the Cherokee children usually played together mainly because of the language difference between the white kids and ourselves

In the lower grades teachers were always saying to me, "What are you going to be when you grow up?" This puzzled me. I thought the answer was self-evident -- "Like I am now, a Cherokee male, but bigger and older." Even when I figured out that they meant to ask how I was going to make a living, I didn't realize that the question actually went much deeper than a simple question about a job. For instance, in later grades one teacher said to me, "You are a bright boy. You could make something of yourself, but you'll have to get out of this part of the country first." Whoa! Did that mean that right now I was nothing, that my family was nothing and that they were the ones making me nothing!?!?

Very early in my schooling I became suspicious of my teachers' "facts" about Indians, in terms of their presentation of the history of Indian-white relations, and their evaluation of American society. I remember once when our teacher told us that in the old days the Indians killed white women and children in the wars with the whites. I was shocked. I asked my grandfather about her report when I got home that evening and, when he said that such was indeed the case, I was even more shocked. I commented that

Indians must have been very mean people in those days. He told me that whites had also killed Indian women and children in those wars. That was the nature of warfare when civilians, not armies, are fighting each other. I was puzzled. I asked him why our teacher didn't also say that whites had killed Indian women and children during those wars. He looked at me for a while with that flat Indian look, as if I had asked an incredibly stupid question. Then he said, "In the first place, whites like to think that they are purer and holier than any other nationality, so they kind of twist the facts around to support this perception. Several generations of whites have now passed on that lie, so that the younger ones have come to believe it is truth. The second thing is that more than half of those students are white kids, and no white lady is going to tell the truth about those wars to white kids, especially when there are Indian kids sitting there listening." At that moment I developed a critical attitude toward schooling. Yet school was not an unpleasant experience, except for being penned up all day in a classroom. It just seemed to be a boring requirement of getting through life. But we Indian kids missed a lot of school during hunting time in winter, as well as during the spring and fall when we were busy putting in gardens and then harvesting them.

If school and government seemed far away from us, the general white society was even farther away. Once every couple of weeks we would all hitch up the wagon and ride into the county seat, usually on Saturday but sometimes on court day, for a day in town. The day was exciting but frightening, and the combination made it thrilling. The day was noisy and full of people; it was a smorgasbord of pleasures and temptations. My grandfather's brother, the "gay blade" whom I mentioned earlier, lived in town and worked as a night guard in the local bank. He always had money, and when he met us in town on Saturday morning he would give me a dime to go to the picture show that afternoon, which was usually a cowboy show. My grandmother usually accompanied me, even though her English was too limited to understand the dialogue. Further, she thought the movie plots were immoral and would comment that "the meanest man always wins in those shows." But she liked horses and would sit enthralled through the whole movie watching the fine horses as they pranced across the screen.

One could stand on the street all day long and never get one's eyes full. We would see relatives and friends from far away; white friends of my grandfather would

speak to me in a strange language and then frighten me by trying to pick me up. I usually held my grandmother tightly by the hand, ready to run behind her skirts at the slightest hint of danger. However, as I moved into my teens, I began to like to lean up against the building, tilt my Stetson hat forward over my eyes, and people-watch. Yet town was a strange and foreign place with whites a strange and foreign people. Town was interesting and exciting and thrilling, because I knew that at the end of the day we would go back home -- the place where my relatives lived and were buried, where things were familiar. Home was where I was loved, where the people, the land, and I were all of one piece.

I guess that I have painted a rather idyllic portrait of my childhood with these memories but there were some black spots. Cherokees were dirt poor at that time, and pickings at the table in late winter were pretty slim for all of us. Sometimes a winter meal was only cornbread, grease, and onion, so when the spring had arrived we almost drowned ourselves on the wild greens. But the old people could remember a time when it was the whites who were poor while we were rich. More than that, we knew that we were not a free people; we were like the Jews in Babylon, a captive nation. Our prophecies told us that in time we would once again become a free and prosperous people.

A lot of babies died in that time, children who at one or two years old who had become cherished, loved ones. That memory hurts! And digging those little holes in the cold winter ground is not a pleasant occupation. Cherokee babies had died before in calamities, but never had so many died from sickness as in that era, so the old people said. Old World diseases hit us hard -- T.B., typhoid fever, scarlet fever, etc. I guess we had little natural immunity to such diseases and, our poverty furthered weakened us. It seemed that in every Indian home you visited there was an old person lying in a back room, coughing his life away. And then the plagues used to sweep through the land, especially typhoid fever in the summer.

Our healers weren't good at curing those white man's diseases --we had to go to white doctors to be treated for those diseases -- but our healers were good at healing most other kinds of disease. They cured with ritual prayers, ceremonies, and herbs. They re-established good relations between the patient and the rest of the universe, appeased

the offended party -- be they animals, humans, spirits -- or corrected for a mistake in ritual or the breaking of taboo. In fact, the word for disease in the Cherokee language has the same root as the word for resentment.

One black spot in our life we couldn't blame on the white man was the fear of ghosts, black magic, and witchcraft that permeated our lives.. Some nights I almost killed my pony running him toward home when I thought I had encountered a ghost or a witch. We took elaborate religious precautions to protect ourselves from the possible black magic ("bad medicine") of our fellow Cherokees, and we suspected almost every Cherokee over ninety of being a witch. I must say, however, that this fear tended to keep us outwardly very friendly and helpful to one another.

Someone once said that a person has to taste the bitter to appreciate the sweet. I think that this is true, for in spite of many hardships and fears, I remember my childhood as being sweet and full.

But when I was around twelve, our life began to change significantly. The Dust Bowl and the Depression hit eastern Oklahoma full blast. Gardens failed for four years straight; wild foods became almost non-existent and game was scarce. Because of these events, we had to have money to live. Some white Oklahomans and Indians as well (my family among them) moved away seeking work. Many of us began to work "out in the public." When I was twelve I worked a year almost full time for a mission dairy farm while I went to school. In the summer I worked for white farmers "putting up" hay which paid 50 cents a day if you brought your own horse. In the cold weather I cut timber. One summer I went visiting in another state and worked in a mine. Life was hard in those years, but even so it was still full and rich in human terms.

Very few Indians in those days went as far as the eighth grade, and it was rare to have an Indian young person go to high school. I was one of the few; my main motivation stemmed from being a runner interested in sports. While in high school I enjoyed athletics and learning, but socially it was uncomfortable. There was one other Indian boy in my high school and we "hung together," although I did manage to make a few white friends.

Even before we moved away from Oklahoma, some aspects of my life were beginning to change. I began to take on more responsibility, which reflected my changing status as a youth rather than a child. Some of my relationships were changing as well. The sexes are socially separated among Cherokees beginning near the age of twelve. I began to associate a lot with boys my own age, and we were strictly separated from the girls. Although I was very shy and only vaguely interested in girls, some of my older male friends and kin were actually courting girls by visiting their homes or meeting them at social or religious gatherings.

Cherokee males between the ages of about fourteen and thirty are considered to be in the same age category - unmarried, young males. Therefore, although I was away from Oklahoma during my teenage years, when I returned to Oklahoma in my twenties I was simply plugged back into the same category in which I had been when I left: an unmarried young male. It was very exciting to go to the church singings and the great Cherokee ceremonies. There we could meet suitable girls who were not related to us, and who were unknown and exciting human beings. In past times it was preferred that one marry a member of the clan of either of your grandfathers, but marriage into your own clan was strictly forbidden. When I was young, however, this had changed and it was only required that you marry out of your clan and kin. The older people kept a careful eye on us, just in case we might become inappropriately interested in a female relative, or to gauge how serious any acceptable affair was becoming. They never interfered openly in an ongoing relationship, but somehow at the right time the "right" pair would settle down together. If a "love child" was inadvertently produced from a casual affair, it was simply taken as a gift from the Creator, without stigma attached to either mother or child. But serious courting usually did not take place for Cherokee males until one was eighteen or twenty.

It was during this time in my life that I became aware of a world of women which was separate, distinct, and somewhat hidden from the world of men. I do not know how life went for girls my own age in those times, but I can tell you of some observations I made later, particularly from watching my daughter grow up. Cherokee society is very women oriented: Our family line is traced through the female; our most powerful gods are female; we call the Sun, the source of life and energy, "our

grandmother"; Cherokee women "own" the land and the home. Most men, even today, live in their wife's community after marriage. The mother and her brothers guide the lives of children.

Since Cherokee women direct the household, they have a big impact on the broader Cherokee society. Older women prepare young teenage women to be managers and directors of Cherokee life. The oldest girl of a household already knows how to raise children and tend a house. During this teen age period they learn not only household skills and responsibilities, but also how to gently manage social relations in order to direct the kin-community. At the same time they are encouraged to enjoy fully the freedom of their youth, and, like most American Indian females, they like their suitors a little wild. (I sometimes feel that Cherokee men are kept around by the women just to make life a little more exciting.) But in my youth Indian women were simply beautiful, exciting, and mysterious creatures as far as I was concerned.

In 1942 I graduated from high school and prepared to serve during World War II. My uncle gave me a great gift before I left: he taught me an ancient Cherokee prayer-song which would protect me in battle, and he gave me a protective charm as well. When I left for the service I knew that no matter where I was I still had a home where I was loved, and that even though I might feel lonely, I was never alone. I was coming to "realize something," as the Cherokees say; I guess I was becoming a young man.

* * * * *

And so when I reflect on my own childhood I am certain that it was the childhood of my friend, the last Natchez Indian, which gave her strength and a sense of surety. Nothing could take away that childhood from her and nothing could make her less of a Natchez, even if she was the last one on God's earth.

In my middle years, when I had come to understand that important lesson, my unease about my life and being began to fade away. I realized then that God had made me a Cherokee Indian, not circumstance or condition; that I had been born a Cherokee and nurtured by Cherokees, and nothing could alter that fact. Even more than that I knew, as the old people had told me, that we were a chosen people and would last

until the end of time. I knew that some part of me would live on the earth as long as the Cherokee Indians existed as a people.

Postscript

This postscript offers some generalizations about the similarity between the narrator's childhood and that of other Indians. (The reader who wants more details on R.H.'s community and Cherokee history should see the appendix to this chapter.) The Cherokee childhood described above is similar in many ways to the lives of other Indians born in the 1920's, but in some respects the Cherokees in eastern Oklahoma are unique. First, Cherokees did not live on a reservation and were never reservation Indians. Before 1907, when Oklahoma became a state, the Cherokee people were citizens of a small independent republic called the Cherokee Nation and after the state of Oklahoma became a majority of the citizens of that state, the majority being recently immigrated whites from other states. Second, the Cherokees had been uprooted from their native land in Georgia and North Carolina and driven west in the late 1830's, whereas many other Indian peoples still reside in their aboriginal homeland. Third, in the narrative, Cherokees still made their living from the land, which was impossible for many other tribes. An example in the extreme were the Indians of the Great Plains who were buffalo hunters; with the extermination of the buffalo, they found themselves subsisting on government handouts.

There have been significant changes in Cherokee life since World War II which should be noted. First, the mainstay of Cherokee economic life is no longer subsistence gardening, which is carried on to a very limited extent today. There is still extensive hunting and the gathering of wild foods, but cash from wage labor or welfare payments have become more prominent and working together on the land less common. Second, Cherokees stay in school much longer than before and most Cherokees over 10 and under 50 now speak both English and Cherokee. In fact, in very recent years there has been massive language loss among Cherokee children. Presently, only about 10% of Cherokee children entering school are able to speak the Cherokee language, a widespread phenomenon among modern Indian tribes. Third, Cherokees adults have become more involved in schools and government. Some Cherokee adults are involved in Indian education programs and in recent years the federal government has resurrected and promoted a Cherokee tribal government. Although it is controlled by local whites and its powers are limited, the tribal government actively promotes a great many social and

economic programs for the Cherokee people. Cherokees are now involved to a much greater extent with white institutions, for good or ill.

A number of the older Cherokees of R.H.'s childhood had been educated in Cherokee schools and a few had then served as judges, sheriffs, and the like in the new institutions of the state of Oklahoma. When they died, the offices and positions which they occupied were filled by whites. Therefore, the gap in jobs and status between Cherokees and whites has probably widened in recent years and Cherokees have almost become a low ranked racial caste in eastern Oklahoma.

Finally, a major change is that Cherokee communities are not as physically or socially isolated as they once were. Paved roads run everywhere through the Cherokee country now and white society is closer both physically and emotionally to Cherokees today. There has also been a great deal of change in the land due to highways, man-made lakes, parks with tourist facilities, and a rapid increase in population. Cherokees perceive White society as intruding too quickly and too intensively, and, in Cherokee eyes, the land is being damaged and exploited. Most Cherokees are becoming more aware of how much they love their land as they see it being mistreated and damaged.

However, most Cherokees still live in small rural communities among their relatives as described in the narrative. One could make the same case for many other Indian tribes, in spite of massive social ills found today in some Indian groups and emigration to cities. Many Indian children and youth live, in broad outlines, the kind of life described in the narrative. The life described was hard but it was also rich life filled with love, respect, and freedom; perhaps many of today's Indian children will feel the same way when they grow up.

Appendix: Dates, Location, and Cherokee History

This appendix provides some details of time and place for R.H.'s childhood and relates it to Cherokee history. The community R.H. is describing was located in the southern part of the old Cherokee Nation, along a creek which flowed into a large river, and which is now under the waters of an artificial lake. It is in the furthest west patch of Ozark-like country, although it is surrounded on three sides by prairie land. This area was settled by Texas Cherokees who fled out of Texas to the Cherokee Nation about 1836. Originally, there were three other Texas Cherokee settlements -- Paul's Valley, south of modern Oklahoma City in the old Chickasaw Nation; in the Big Bend of the Arkansas in what is now Osage County; and just east of modern Jay, Oklahoma. All four of these settlements spoke the same distinctive dialect of Cherokee.

After the Big Bend area was sold by the Cherokees to the Osage Indians in the 1870s, this Texas settlement moved east to Hogshooter Creek near modern Bartlesville, and then broke up in the 1890s, when most families scattered east of the Grand River in the Cherokee Ozarks and integrated into Cherokee communities in that section. When R.H. was growing up the Paul's Valley Cherokees had already been absorbed by white society and other Indian tribes. But the community near Jay was, and is, going strong.

When R.H. was a child there were only two functioning Cherokee communities in this area - his own small community and one some 15 miles to the east, which is still in existence. Nearby there had been a cohesive Cherokee community, but when R.H. was small there were simply scattered Indian families there. R.H.'s grandmother was from this region and her mother and two sisters still lived there in the 1920s and '30s. These Cherokees had come into the Cherokee Nation just before the Cherokee Removal (1838-39) from Aquone on the upper Nanthala River in North Carolina. They "followed the Starrs in there". (The Starr family is famous in both Cherokee history and frontier history.) The uncle R.H. mentions lived near a small town to the north in an area of scattered Indian families, as well.

R.H.'s father's father was originally from the northern area of the old Cherokee Nation, but had married a Cherokee woman from this southern part of the

Cherokee region and had come to live there. The H. family had come into the Indian Territory from North Carolina with John Ross and the main body of the Cherokee in the Cherokee Removal. R.H.'s father's parents died soon after R.H. was born and R.H.'s father died when he was small. R.H. is also related through his father's mother to Cherokees in that southern area who are Cherokee members of Arbeka Town, a ceremonial group consisting of Creek, Cherokee and Natchez Indians.

In the last half of the thirties R.H.'s community began to disintegrate. A number of things seemed to have happened at the same time. First, there were few younger children in this kin group. R.H.'s grandfather had two daughters, one of whom had a child, R.H. His grandfather's older brother married a Chickasaw, and had two daughters and a son; one daughter had one child. Several other brothers were bachelors or childless. R.H.'s grandmother had two sisters, both married and only one had one son; and so on. The reason for this drop in fertility is unknown. When R.H. was small he had a few relative-playmates; more fathers, uncles, and mothers; many grandparents; and even three great-grandparents (one of whom was R.H.'s grandmother's father's sister who lived until 1948).

Second, there were few Indians close by and what few young adults there were began to marry whites as the older people died. Third, the drought hit hard in this area and young couples began to move away - to the Shawnee, Oklahoma area; to north Texas; and to California. Fourth, R.H.'s kin group did not feel themselves to be "real Indians" like Cherokees who lived further "back" in the Oklahoma Ozarks. This attitude may have caused them to be less resistant to severe acculturative pressures in the 1930s. In any case, by World War II R.H.'s community was finished.

There were some significant differences between Cherokees in R.H.'s area and Cherokees in other areas. One, R.H.'s community was smaller than average and had an older population. Second, this section was better hunting territory than other Cherokee areas. R.H.'s family relied a lot on wild game for meat and travelled on hunting trips more than most Cherokees. Third, most Cherokees had suppressed square dancing and gambling in their communities, but they were going strong in R.H.'s locale. Fourth, this general area was great ranching country. R.H.'s relatives had "run" cattle in

former years. Horses, horsemanship, and cowboy skills were still highly valued. Further, the fact that Texas Cherokee, as well as Arkansas Cherokee, families have more white ancestry than most Cherokees may have had an effect on local Cherokee culture there. Importantly, there were no formal religious institutions, neither Baptist nor Nighthawk, in R.H.'s community so that it was an "incomplete" community, structurally speaking.

Finally, Cherokees spoke more English in this Cherokee community than did most Cherokees. R.H. spoke as much English, or more, in his household as he did Cherokee, even though his grandmother had a difficult time with English.

By 1936 the drought was so severe that even the trees were dying in Oklahoma, so R.H.'s household and his grandfather's brother's household moved to the southern Appalachians where they had relatives and land. In fact, R.H.'s grandparents had lived in that area for a time in the early 1900s and his mother and aunt were virtually raised there. The main difference in their style of life in that region was that, since most relatives there were part-Cherokees, they functioned in an almost completely English speaking world.

R.H.'s grandparents died when he was thirteen. He lived with relatives for a year; then attended mission school, where he worked for the mission dairy farm. He also spent a year in federal Indian boarding school. When R.H. was fifteen, he went to Indiana to live with his mother who had re-married.

R.H. felt almost an outcast at the white, middle-class Indiana high school he attended. But R.H. probably would not have been in any better social position in an eastern Oklahoma high school. When R.H. graduated he visited relatives in the Appalachians and in Oklahoma; and then went into the armed services in 1942.

Therefore, most of R.H.'s teens were spent away from Oklahoma, so that his account of teenage Cherokee life comes from living in Oklahoma after World War II when he was in his early twenties. Nevertheless, we feel that his account is not too much of a distortion.

Further, in spite of the fact that R.H.'s community was different from other Cherokee communities and R.H. himself is not a typical Cherokee, we feel that his

account holds in a general way for most Oklahoma Cherokee communities of that time. But we have written this appendix to give you, the reader, some basis for judgment.

The original homeland of the Cherokee Indians was in the southern Appalachian area in what is now northwestern South Carolina, western North Carolina, and southeastern Tennessee. Cherokees lived in some 60 small villages (20,000 people total) scattered along the streams of this mountainous country. The Cherokee economy was based on gardening (corn, beans, and squash) and hunting; with women being responsible for the gardening and the men doing the hunting. Cherokees controlled and utilized vast areas in central Tennessee, Kentucky, southwest Virginia, and central North Carolina for hunting. In their villages (towns as the British termed them) Cherokees lived in log houses that were owned by a family line of women and men resided in their wives' houses, near their wives' garden plots. Descent was reckoned in the female line. Cherokee villages were governed by a priesthood which also was responsible for some seven large communal ceremonies tied into the agricultural and hunting cycle. A separate priestly organization for war took power in times of warfare. Central government was almost non-existence or very weakly developed at first contact with Europeans. Cherokees were in intimate contact with Europeans, particularly the British, by the early 1700s. British trading enterprises based in Charleston established trading posts in most Cherokee towns. British technology was eagerly embraced; so much so that some Cherokees owned large southern-style plantations by the early 1800s. Most trading posts were staffed by Scots who usually took Cherokee women as wives, so that by 1800 a large part of the Cherokee population was of mixed background.

Between 1776 and 1794 Cherokees were embroiled in intensive warfare with both the American central government and American frontiersmen. All of the Cherokees in South Carolina were driven into northern Georgia and Alabama as well as the majority of those living in southeastern Tennessee. Whole villages were transplanted from South Carolina to Georgia, but the migration south from Tennessee was more on the pioneer model, by nuclear family units.

By 1800 the traditional chiefs (village head priests) of the Cherokees began to reform the Cherokee government, toward a republican form democracy with

elections, courts, and all the western European institutional paraphernalia which is implied in such a reform. In 1827 the Cherokee formally adopted a constitution. American Christian mission groups were invited to set up schools in the early 1800s and by 1830 Cherokees began to develop an educated professional class. In essence, the Cherokee Nation became a small westernized republic, autonomous in all areas but that of foreign affairs.

Some groups of Cherokees, who were most hostile to Americans and to accommodation to American culture, had moved west in 1794 and the following years. They were called the Arkansas Cherokees. Some of these moved on in 1818 from Arkansas to Spanish territory in the eastern part of what was later to become the Republic of Texas.

In 1830 the U.S. Congress passed the Indian Removal Act, calling for the removal of Indian tribes west of the

Mississippi. The Cherokee authorities refused to agree, by treaty, to such a move; and in 1835 the U.S. made such a treaty with a group of private Cherokee citizens. As a result of the 1835 treaty the U.S. removed the majority of the Cherokee Indians from the South to the Indian Territory in 1838-9. Some 25% of the Cherokee population died in the process of this removal.

After settling in the Indian Territory Cherokees re-established their governmental and legal institutions; as well as a new school system. When the signers of the 1835 treaty were assassinated by "patriotic" Cherokees, a civil war broke out between the majority, called the the Ross Party, and the relatives and followers of the treaty signers, call the Treaty Party. The civil war lasted almost ten years and, no sooner had Cherokees began to achieve some stability when the American Civil War commenced. The Treaty Party, now called the Southern Party, fought on the side of the South while the Ross Party fought for the Union. Cherokees emerged from the Civil War with their nation devastated and in ruin, and with a 50% population loss.

After the Civil War the Cherokees rebuilt their society and the period between 1870 and 1890 is thought of as the Golden Age by modern Cherokees. The Union Cherokees, who were in the majority and were referred to as the full-blood

Cherokees, directed the affairs of the Cherokee Nation. In the 1890s the Southern Party, now called the mixed-blood Cherokees, gained control of the Cherokee Nation. In the 1840s this group of Cherokees had formed a social group separate and distinct from the Cherokee majority. After the Civil War most of them relocated in the western part of the Cherokee Nation. They had married extensively with whites and had become acculturated to American norms. Younger mixed-bloods spoke little if any Cherokee. A member of this group, Will Rogers, became the epitome of the American spirit in the 1920s and '30s.

Further, in the 1890s the U.S. began to pressure the Cherokees to become part of the American political and economic system. Fullblood Cherokees reacted with a formal revival of the native Cherokee religion, including a revival of ceremonies, ceremonial grounds, and priesthood. Many fullblood Cherokee families had become Baptist in the 1830s and had integrated the Baptist faith into Cherokee culture. But in this period many Cherokees abandoned their Baptist churches while others worshiped at both the new ceremonial grounds and their church. Finally, in 1898 Congress passed the Curtis Act which called for 1) the allotment of Cherokee lands to individual Cherokees, 2) the dissolution of Cherokee institutions - the Cherokee government, the Cherokee school system, courts, and press and 3) the extension of federal law over Cherokees. Settlers flooded into the Cherokee nation and Oklahoma was admitted to the Union in 1907.

Mixed-blood Cherokees integrated at a high level into the new society of Oklahoma, but the "full-bloods" insulated their life from contact with whites as much as possible. More, in the first ten years of Oklahoma statehood full blood Cherokees were robbed of their lands, primarily through quasi-legal devices. Redbird Smith, the great full blood Cherokee leader, teacher, and prophet, who lead the religious revival of the 1890s, died in 1918. It was at the end of this turbulent period of Cherokee history that R.H. was born in the mid-1920s.

Chapter 2* Individuals and Relatives

Theoretical Implications of a "Cherokee Childhood"

"A Cherokee Childhood" paints a picture that is rich in color and subtle in form. Like an art critic, we seek insights into this portrait that will reveal unity beneath complexity and structure in variety. Personality is unified, according to the theory developed in this book, by self-conception. The unity in R.H.'s personality is his emerging self-conception, which will be contrasted with common patterns of identity formation among middle class Americans.

Kin and Strangers

R.H. lived in a rural area of scattered households where the Cherokees considered themselves to be related to each other by common descent. The people who figure prominently in R.H.'s account of his childhood are his own kin. Although descent is traced differently in different societies (matrilineal versus patrilineal), and sometimes kinship terms are extended artificially ("fictive kin"), the core of kin relations, unlike some other kinds of human relations, are fixed in three senses: People are assigned to them by birth, they endure for the life of the parties, and they are regulated by social norms that are prescribed, not chosen. Thus the fact of birth established the relationship between R.H. and his grandmother, the relationship lasted until his grandmother's death, and neither of them chose the social norms that prescribe how they are supposed to act towards each other.

Social norms impose a standardized aspect to kin relationships, which we call the kin prescription. The prescription may be an affirmative guide or a prohibition. It may be consciously articulated or imbedded in unconscious practice. The prescription, however, is not all of the relationship's content. There is in addition a unique aspect to each relationship that depends upon the particular traits and characteristics of people. Proof of the unique element is that one person cannot be substituted for another in a kin relationship without loss. We describe relationships with this unique element as personal.

A kin relationship involves both prescribed and personal elements. To illustrate, R.H.'s biological mother and her sister, both of whom he called "mother," could each

perform the tasks that a mother must do for a Cherokee boy, but there was a unique relationship between R.H. and each of them. When R.H.'s biological mother left for the city, he missed her, although the tasks of mothering were apparently performed just as well as before she left. Indeed, the tasks were performed so well that the family's attitude towards her departure was much like a white family's attitude towards a grown son leaving home -- sad but not judgmental.

A member of a close kin group like R.H. does not distinguish sharply between who he is and how he acts towards his kin. Kin relations are "definitive" in the sense that they express attributes of a person's identity. To illustrate, one of R.H.'s mothers would have difficulty thinking of herself as a good person and a bad mother, because judging the goodness of a person who is a mother involves judging the quality of her relationship with her children. R.H. thought of himself as his mothers' boy, his grandfather's grandson, his uncle's nephew, and so forth.

The qualities of kin relations contrast with instrumental interactions, such as the customer and clerk in a shoe store. Instead of being given at birth, most instrumental interactions are chosen to satisfy specific ends. Instead of enduring for the life of the parties, instrumental interactions may last no longer than the time required to achieve their limited purpose. Some instrumental interactions, such as clerk and customer, are controlled by social norms specifying the role that each party is to play. Other instrumental interactions, however, are established by negotiation and contract, so they can be dissolved and reformed according to individual preferences. One party feels no loss when the other party in an instrumental relationship is replaced by someone else, so long as the replacement is equally competent at performing the task. Thus many customers are indifferent between equally competent clerks in a shoe store.

A complex economy requires coordination among many different people. Coordinating people who are acquaintances or strangers requires them to share expectations about each others' behavior. Shared expectations arise in part from understanding the roles that each person performs. In order for the general population to understand many roles, they must be relatively simple. In order to be relatively simple, roles must be limited to standardized aspects of the task being performed. A role can

thus be defined as a general understanding of the standardized aspect of a specialized task, or, more simply, as the social unit in the division of labor.

Sociologists often describe the modern economy as a hierarchy of interdependent roles. Occupational roles can be so important that they become part of a person's identity, especially if the role is a career like attorney, rather than merely a job like typist. The very term "role," however, suggests that the person is distinct from the part being played. For this reason occupational roles, unlike kin relations among tribal Indians, can be secondary or incidental to identity. To illustrate, there is no contradiction in thinking of oneself as a good person and a bad electrician, whereas there is tension rising towards the level of a contradiction in thinking of oneself as a good person and a bad son.

There is an operational test for distinguishing a role from a relationship. The same person can, at any point in time, stand in different relations to different people. To illustrate, at Christmas dinner the same person can be father, son, uncle, and nephew to other people at the table, all at once, without one relation interfering with another. It is, however, difficult or impossible to play different roles at the same time, whether they be Othello and Iago, salesman and customer, or supervisor and line worker.

Kin prescriptions among tribal Indians involve the person so intimately that they should not be described as roles.⁸ The Cherokee language provides one type of evidence that kin prescriptions for R.H. were not roles. In the Cherokee language there is no word for father; instead, one must say "my-father," "his-father," "their-father," and so on. Thus the Cherokee vocabulary builds into the kin term the parties on both sides of the relationship.

The interaction between a bank and its customer serves such a narrow purpose that bank tellers can be replaced by automated teller machines. Kin relationships can serve narrow purposes too, such as getting the gardens plowed, to cite an example from R.H.'s childhood, but the narrow purpose is seldom perceived by the people involved as

⁸There were circumstances in which Cherokees have to play roles with respect to each other, as when a person who took charge of a war party had to give orders to his relatives. In this situation, the war chief would assume the ceremonial title of sister's brother, because, unlike fathers, he is the kinsman who is most entitled to give orders to a young man.

the reason for the relationship. To illustrate, the purposes served by the relationship between an uncle and his niece, or between a mother and her child, are so manifold that it would be hard to identify any one as the purpose. Indeed, the purposes are so diffuse that we sometimes describe kin relations as ends in themselves.

In sum, instrumental relations are typically chosen, temporary, constructed, impersonal, and secondary to identity, whereas kin relations among tribal Indians are typically given, permanent, prescribed, personal, and definitive.

Home Grown Versus Self Made

This hasty sketch of kin relations and instrumental relations can be filled in by details from R.H.'s life. The logical progression in types of relations from kin to friends, from friends to acquaintances, and from acquaintances to strangers, is a progression from ends to means. Movement along this dimension passes from enduring, fixed, and personal relations to temporary, malleable, and impersonal interactions. R.H., like most people, treated kin as ends, whereas acquaintances or strangers, in so far as he interacted with them at all, were treated more as means. The other Cherokee families living near R.H. were kin, but the nearby whites were not. The interactions between R.H.'s household and local whites were "neighborly" -- cordial but not close. There was reciprocity without commitment. Thus R.H. learned from his school teacher and from various whites in town, but there was no intimacy between them nor did he identify with them.

Small children who are raised in traditional families, whether Indians or middle class urban Americans, are immersed in kin relations. Interactions with outsiders are comparatively unimportant in the early stages of life. R.H. continued in this pattern into his teens when the narrative trails off. As middle class children mature, however, they spend less time with kin and more time with friends, acquaintances, and strangers, which has profound psychological effects. The fact that kin relations are ends implies that a person who lives among kin is treated as an end. R.H.'s family valued him for who he was, not what he did. In contrast, the fact that interactions with strangers are instrumental implies that, in so far as a person lives among strangers, he is treated as a means. A clerk in a shoe store is valued for what he does, not who he is.

Growing up was, for R.H., a matter of fitting himself into a kin network. Kin relations, as explained, have a standardized aspect that must be learned. To illustrate, Cherokee children are quiet around adults. When R.H. was too noisy, his grandmother brought him back into line by saying, "Cherokees don't make a racket". R.H. thought that people and things have a fixed nature that predisposes them to act in certain ways. R.H.'s grandmother disciplined him by describing the nature of people in the group with which he identified.

In addition to kin prescriptions, R.H. had to learn the skills that Cherokee men possess, such as riding and hunting. Most of these skills were learned by observing and emulating, not by explicit teaching. The esteem in which R.H. was held by the kin from whom he learned, the warmth of the relationship or its continuation, did not depend upon his performance. In this respect, the context of learning for R.H. was different from, say, a middle class child's piano lessons, where the teacher's admiration is proportional to the student's performance.

The standardized aspect of kinship impose some general constraints and goals, but these prescriptions are too limited and vague to give substance to relationships. Substance comes from the personal aspect of kinship. R.H. and his grandfather did not relate to each other according to a socially prescribed algorithm, but according to a mutual understanding that was intimate and emotional. The Cherokees in R.H.'s community knew each other intimately and responded to each other's unique qualities and traits.

A middle class person who must perform roles develops an internal life apart from them. To illustrate, a typist can perform his job effectively and still vest his real life in other activities. Even a lawyer or doctor, whose career engages much of a person, usually holds back part of himself from his work. In contrast, the tribal Indian's unfolding relationships with kin are his real life. He does not need to develop an internal life separate from his social life.

Through roles, middle class people become skillful at separating their internal state from the appearance given by their overt behavior. Lacking this practice,

traditional Indians are not so skillful at manipulating appearances or creating images. Deception among Indians takes the form lies and tricks, not acting.

Being the same flesh and blood as the people who filled his life, R.H. could not fashion a separate conception of himself that was different from their conception of him. The identity of a child raised among kin is fixed in the network of personal relations in which he is immersed. When kinship is definitive, a person is likely to feel good about who he is when relations are harmonious, and bad about who he is when relations are troubled. It is better for there to be harmony on every level, as when kinsmen love one another, but in lieu of that, most tribal Indians will settle for overt harmony.

Certainly R.H. felt good about himself. There is a hint of disturbance in the network of kin relations in R.H.'s narrative, as evidenced by dark murmuring about witchcraft. Disharmony among kinsmen is psychologically destructive and tends to immobilize Indians. Kin relations can become so poisoned under some circumstances that a few people go over to the side of the devil, as it were, and seek the undoing of those with whom their ties are closest. Such people are usually called witches by Indians. On some modern Indian reservations, so much damage has been done to the kin network that people now relate negatively to one another, but still personally and definitively. A tribal kin network gone awry is a tragedy for the people caught in it.

Compared to R.H., far more of a middle class child's life is spent among friends, acquaintances, and strangers. These interactions have a narrower purpose than kin relations. The purpose is sometimes so narrow that the relationship is merely instrumental. To illustrate, a city child learns the specific skills that define urban culture, such as playing the piano, reading books, or dribbling a basketball, through interactions with specialists (teachers, tutors, librarians, coaches, etc.) that are limited in scope.

More important, the child finds that the esteem in which he is held by others in these interactions is proportional to performance. Teachers, coaches, tutors, and friends modulate affection and praise in proportion to effort and performance. Even parents adopt this practice to some extent for their child's own good. The aim of educating children is not just to impart skills, but to internalize values. By degrees the child takes values into himself and measures his performance against them. The dimensions on

which a person measures his own worth are intimately conjoined to his conception of himself. The child comes to think of himself, not just as a son, nephew, cousin, etc., but also as, say, the person who is good at mathematics, poor at languages, and mediocre at sports.

The ultimate middle class skill is choosing a career. Internalization of values prepares the child to compare his potentialities to the opportunities presented by the labor market. There is, however, more to choosing a career than doing a job. Law, banking, teaching, medicine, these are not just occupational activities, they are distinct cultures. Socialization into an occupational culture affects who a person is, so choosing a career involves choosing an identity. This is the dimension of personality development in which a middle class child can be said to create his own identity.

In contrast, career skills were not built into R.H.'s identity, which is why he was puzzled when his teacher asked, "What are you going to be when you grow up?" He was going to be a Cherokee Indian, as he already was, only bigger and older. In his mind, jobs were not linked closely with personality or self-worth. Personal identity for R.H., like kin relations, is permanent, fixed, and personal, whereas a job is temporary, chosen, and impersonal.

The differences in the process by which identity is acquired by a tribal Indian like R.H. and a middle class white American can be summarized by the contrast between socialization and individuation. R.H.'s identity was acquired through the process of socialization into a kin group. Becoming a better relative has two aspects: learning kin prescriptions and acquiring a sensibility towards particular persons. This process is experienced as the discovery and unfolding of oneself. Thus R.H.'s identity was substantially predetermined and he did not have to struggle to create it. R.H. accepted the conception of himself supplied by his kin, instead of struggling to create a separate identity. He did not learn to view himself objectively by connecting his character to ideals and purposes.

The middle class child's identity begins with primary relations similar to R.H. The primary relations that dominate the early years of an individual's life can provide a core of stability. Individuation requires bifurcating relations into private and public

spheres. Primary relations are confined to the private sphere, and a public career is pursued. Individuation has two aspects: Taking oneself as an object, and constructing oneself in light of abstract values. A person who completes this process is called an "individual" because his identity acquires a significant dimension that is independent of personal relations.

An individual makes the ultimate choice -- the choice of who to be. Self-creation involves a struggle which is intimate and profound. The person is the stakes in this exhilarating gamble. Anxiety, which is built into the middle class child as the engine powering achievement, may peak in an "identity crisis" when the adolescent faces difficult career choices. Most youths who enter this stage pass through it and emerge as individuals. A successful resolution of the identity crisis can release creative powers that are drawn upon in the stage following self-creation, which is the struggle for self-fulfillment. However, no child can develop a sound personality through instrumental relations alone. If a child is too deeply immersed in instrumental relations at too early an age, self-doubt can become crippling.

R.H.'s self-esteem, and the esteem in which he was held by the people whose opinions mattered to him, depended upon the quality of his kin relationships. His primary task of personal development, upon which a favorable conception of himself depended, was acquiring a sensibility towards kin that would enable him to live harmoniously with them. Self-doubt was not implanted in young R.H. as a goad to accomplishment. He was not anxious over what he would accomplish in life. He did not need to express himself by creating cultural objects. He did not suffer from the loneliness of self-creation as a teenager. Since he did not think of society as a vertical ordering, achievement for him could not have meant ascending the social scale.

Morality and Autonomy

A person who lives among strangers and takes his identity through instrumental relations must maintain his self-conception as he moves among people who do not share his values. To illustrate, a college professor who moves among businessmen must remember that his main aim is not to get rich, and a businessman who moves among professors must remember that his main aim is not to increase knowledge. A middle class

child must, consequently, internalize norms and maintain them against group pressures. This is facilitated by organizing norms into abstract principles with their own integrity and authenticity that is independent of the valuations of other people. A middle class child thus acquires an understanding of ethics as a body of principles at an early age.

In contrast, a person who lives among kin interacts with people who share similar normative views. Instead of internalizing ethical principles, R.H. learned some kin prescriptions and he acquired a keen sensitivity to his relatives. His morality of sensibility to persons, whose aim is harmony among kin, contrasts sharply with a morality of ethical principles internalized by individuals and maintained against strangers.⁹

There is another distinct of R.H.'s moral vision. When R.H. left the smoke house door open and his dog ate the sausage, he told his uncle that he did not mean to do it, but his uncle replied, "Grandson, that's not going to help me a bit when I want to eat some sausage this winter." The scope for excusing bad actions by good intentions seems narrower among Indians than among middle class Americans. Indians hold people responsible for more consequences of their actions than those that they intend. Even unintended acts can express who a person is. ("It's just like him to be clumsy!")

If Indians characteristically hold each other strictly accountable for their actions, they are not much concerned about beliefs. Judging from R.H.'s narrative, wrong beliefs that do not lead to wrong actions are harmless. Thus R.H. mentioned a neighbor who was regarded as an effective healer and a good man because he observed the Cherokee law, even though he proclaimed himself an atheist. For Cherokees, harmonious kin relations demand right action, but not correct beliefs. Respect for the autonomy of others requires leaving a person's mind to himself and attending to his behavior.

The same is true of another person's desires and feelings. Indians tend to respond to kin by observing their behavior, not by scrutinizing their motives. Behavior is taken at its face value. Discerning deep motives are not so important to responding to kinsmen. For example, sympathy is more important than empathy. When tribal Indians report on events in which they have participated, words and deeds are carefully noted, but feelings

⁹Changes in personality among Americans was characterized in the 1950s as a transition from "inner-directed" persons to "outer-directed" persons. Indians are a third type: kin-directed persons

or unspoken thoughts are omitted. Indeed, some autobiographies of tribal Indians remain so near to the surface of interaction that they have the flat quality of third person narratives.¹⁰

Respect involves treating another as an active agent, not as an effect. Among Indians, respect extends to children. Leaving big choices to small children is not unusual among tribal peoples. R.H.'s grandfather let the youth decide whether or not to sell his pony. The boy was put in the position of being the cause of his fate rather than its victim.

Sociologists assert that lower class Americans tend to discipline children by physical coercion, whereas middle class Americans tend to discipline by withholding affection and praise. Neither alternative describes R.H. He cannot recall being spanked, nor does he report that anyone was ever "deeply disappointed" in him. Spooks were used to scare children into good behavior. This device preserves the appearance that outside forces, not adults, are controlling children.

R.H.'s material and emotional dependency encompassed many kin. He had other relatives besides his immediate family with whom he lived for weeks at a time as the spirit moved him. In extended families, responsibilities for tasks and feelings can be spread across many people. The dispersion of dependency increases the scope for personal autonomy. The Cherokee sensibility towards kin allows for much personal autonomy, as illustrated by the reaction of R.H.'s family to the departure of his biological mother for a distant city.

The Clock and the Spook

For R. H., nature was alive with spirits. Fire and thunder, springs and mountains, and the animals were active agents who could make you sick or bring you good fortune. How they treated you depended upon how you treated them. R.H. described the land as familiar and beloved, but also spooky and potentially threatening, much like older relatives. There is economy in the workings of the mind. R.H. projected his conception

¹⁰The Tall Candle, which is a Yaqui autobiography, the author recounts exactly what he was served at particular meals by each of his relatives during several years of famine, but says nothing about his feelings towards them.

of the tribe upon the larger world.¹¹ He understood the natural world as inhabited by autonomous beings with their own dispositions, and he approached them like a kinsman, by forming a personal relationship.

In contrast, the middle class child separates himself from nature and views it objectively, like a stranger rather than a kinsman. Separating from nature has been variously described as the "demystification" of nature, the "disenchantment" of the natural world, or the "alienation" of man from his environment.¹² The objective viewpoint prepares a person to treat nature as an instrument for pursuing narrow purposes. Nature becomes a "factor of production." Productivity requires knowledge of mechanical connections between a cause and the desired effect, rather than a sensibility towards complex interrelationships.

Indians are capable of understanding natural events as mechanical linkages, but they give less scope to such explanations. Similarly, urban people are incapable of understanding natural events as having spiritual causes, but they give less scope to such explanations. To put the contrast crudely but succinctly, nature can be viewed as a clock or a spook. Differences in identity and relationships lead Indians tend to explain more of the natural world by active agency, whereas urban people tend to explain more of it by mechanical causes.

R.H. saw the Cherokee economy of gardening and hunting as part of nature. He did not want to separate man from nature for the latter's preservation. If man were excluded, who would perform the required rituals? The idea of a wilderness area from which people are excluded was foreign to him.

Mechanism and agency involve different ways of knowing. Particular and holistic thinkers embody knowledge in stories and parables ("hypotheticals" in modern philosophical jargon). Parables instruct by retaining only the details relevant to the lesson and discarding the rest. This style of thought is pronounced among R.H.'s relatives, as illustrated in the narrative by the particularity of their discourse.

¹¹Styles of thought are difficult to capture in a description, but doing so is very important. See Wolfgang Fikentscher, Modes of Thought (forthcoming).

¹²cites needed here.

Alternatively, mechanical connections are best expressed in abstract generalizations, from which predictions can be deduced.

The mechanical and agency views of nature have different implications for the connection between morality and fate. A middle class person regards injuries and sickness impersonally, as the consequence of mechanical causes (germs made him sick) or bad luck (it was an accident). Attributing agency to natural objects broadens the scope of personal responsibility to include events which middle class people typically explain by mechanical causes and luck. It is only a slight exaggeration to say that tribal Indians see no randomness, no accidents, and no mistakes in the world. Every event has a cause that is traceable to living beings, whether persons or spirits.

To illustrate, R.H. thought that sickness and misfortune resulted from breaking natural laws. If a person fell sick, perhaps someone's resentment had caused it, or perhaps a deer caused the illness because the person did not purify himself before hunting. If someone injured himself, perhaps he had offended a neighbor who retaliated by witchcraft. For example, H. D., who was probably the first Cherokee speaking Indian to graduate from college since the days of the old Cherokee nation, began drinking heavily during a crisis in his life in the 1960s. He had three car wrecks within two weeks. He said to Thomas, "You know, Bob, having three car wrecks in two weeks can't be any accident. There must be somebody conjuring me. I think I'll go see a medicine man in the morning."

Distinction Without Rank

R.H. knew that his kin were one group among many Cherokees and the Cherokees were one group among many others in Oklahoma. He understood that his tribe was recently dispossessed of its land and its political institutions were dissolved by Americans. However, R.H. betrays no conception of his family's position in a social hierarchy. He does not say that Cherokee full bloods were perceived by whites as the bottom of a caste system.

Obliviousness to social class is consistent with projecting kinship on the larger world. In the society described by R.H., women garden (give life) and men hunt (take

life); boys fish and old men heal; children are disciplined by their mother's brother. R.H. describes labor specialization in detail but remarks about social ranking are conspicuous by their absence. No one is described as being "above" anyone else.

Judging from R.H.'s report, rank among Cherokees is not sufficiently prominent to constitute a hierarchy of status.¹³ Among Cherokees, as among other American Indian tribes, there is horizontal distinction and relatively little vertical ranking. Even in those Indian tribes that acknowledge vertical ranking of persons on ceremonial occasions,¹⁴ the differences in rank are modest compared to the American city. No American Indian tribe had the middle class conception of society as a system of functionally interdependent roles arranged hierarchically.

Conclusion and Preview

The analysis of "A Cherokee Childhood" proceeds from the assumption that self-conception unifies personality. R.H. identified with his kin. Kinship involves some general prescriptions and a sensibility to particular persons. Within the kin group, relationships were personal, he enjoyed autonomy, and he was treated as an end. He had little experience with instrumental relations in which his worth was measured by his performance. The larger world was understood by extension of kin relations -- nature as an older relative who is beloved but a bit spooky, and the general society as a large system of kin relations in which there is distinction without rank.

A middle class person, in contrast, spends his early years among kin, but as he matures he ventures into the larger world of strangers. Instrumental interactions teach the child to take an objective attitude towards himself and others, and to measure value by performance. Performance gets built into identity as he prepares himself for the labor market. The end-product is a new kind of person, an individual, whose identity depends substantially upon performance relative to internalized values. For this new person, the larger world of nature and society are understood by extension of instrumental relations

¹³An objection to this proposition is that social hierarchy exist even among animals. However, hierarchies among animals are a device for rationing reproductive opportunity. The definition of in-group and out-group hastens the speed of evolutionary adaptation. cite deWaal. This is not the function of a hierarchy of roles. In any case, differences in social status exist among Indians, but they do not have the saliency or character of a hierarchy of roles.

¹⁴The northwest coastal Indians rank chiefs in rituals such as the seating arrangement at feasts.

as, on the one hand, a system of mechanical causes, and, on the other hand, a hierarchy of interdependent roles.

The American political vision opposes individualism to a society of automatons controlled by a supreme dictator. Society must choose, according to this vision, between liberty and the beehive. Traditional Indian society, however, is anything but the beehive, and traditional chiefs are anything but dictators. The absence of individuation that we attribute to traditional Indians is fully consistent with personal autonomy and political liberty, although not with self creation and impersonal organization.

Does the contrast between relatives and individuals exemplify history? Is the transformation of the world from kin groups into mass society just the process of individuation? A life among kin exhibits the core of our humanity in its original form, whereas a life of instrumental roles is an extension of humanity in a novel direction. Large historical processes parallel to some extent the social dynamics of the American Indians encounter with the larger society.

Chapter 3 To Worship In A Clean Place

by Bob Thomas

In the summer of 1970 I spent about five weeks in June and July in the Northwest Territories of Canada. I travelled in a small boat along with Fr. John A. MacKenzie, an Anglican priest, some 976 miles down the MacKenzie River from Yellowknife to the Arctic Sea, visiting Indian villages along the MacKenzie and Eskimo villages in the MacKenzie Delta on the Arctic Coast. We were doing a survey of those villages for the Anglican Church and making an evaluation of its work there.

Returning from the Mackenzie, near the end of July, I decided to visit a gentleman named Joe Mackinaw, a Cree elder who lived near Rocky Mountain House, Alberta. I had met Mr. Mackinaw the previous fall in Winnipeg when a small group of Indians, some 12 or so, gathered to discuss the possibility of arranging a meeting of Indian elders of various religious persuasions, later called the Indian Ecumenical Movement. I stayed some two weeks with the Mackinaw family in their camp in the Canadian Rockies in Alberta, at the end of which we all loaded up in trucks, campers, and cars and drove to southern Montana to attend the Crow Fair and the first meeting of the Indian Ecumenical Conference.

I found the Mackinaws a delightful family and enjoyed myself immensely during my stay at their camp. I decided to take the next few summers and spend as much time as I could living with them. The "official" reason for this plan was that I was interested in Indian hunters. I grew up in an area in eastern Oklahoma where Indians did a great deal of hunting, but I had never stayed for any length of time with a people whose primary subsistence came from hunting. I wanted to observe a still viable Indian hunting society, a rarity in modern North America. I had my own personal reasons, as well. I liked the Mackinaws very much and was taken with their full, rich life and the beautiful country in which they lived.

The original home of the Mackinaw family was a reserve south of Edmonton, Alberta in the Great Plains country. There are some three or four Plains Cree reserves in this area near the town Hobbema. The Mackinaws and a number of other Cree left their reserve, led by Chief Small Boy, and moved to an area called Kootenai Plains in the Rocky Mountains in 1967. They wanted to get away from the social chaos that one finds presently on some Cree reserves, especially excessive drinking and violence. Joe Mackinaw told me that they wanted to go to a "clean place" in the mountains where they could live and worship as the Cree were meant to do. He told me in later years that he was certain that if he had not moved to the mountains, that his boys would have become alcoholics, if they had not been killed in car wrecks or in the many fights and drinking parties that take place in Hobbema.

After a year or so, the Mackinaws left Small Boy's camp and moved to their present location. Joe Mackinaw, the official head of the Mackinaw family, told me that they "pulled out" because there was too much bad medicine going on. They established their new camp, some 100 yards from the highway which runs between Rocky Mountain House and Saskatchewan Crossing in the Rocky Mountain National Park. The camp could not be seen from the road; it was situated on a flat bench-like piece of land in a beautiful aspen grove near a sparkling stream. It was from this stream that people in the Mackinaw camp got their water. The camp was near a small Stoney Indian reserve, but the Cree and Stoney had been bitter enemies in past years and that feeling has not completely disappeared, so there was very little contact between the Mackinaw camp and the nearby Stoney Indians. The closest store and telephone which the Mackinaws were able to utilize was at the small town of Nordegg; hardly a town by American standards. It was, in fact, little more than a ranger station, general store and gas station, and several other buildings. The Mackinaw camp was somewhat isolated from the outside world and they did, in fact, draw the greater part of their subsistence from hunting. But because of this isolation and therefore with no electricity nor refrigeration the preservation of meat and other perishables was a problem in the hot, summer months. The Hobbema Crees have a right by treaty to hunt in Alberta, west to the crest of the Rocky Mountains. Therefore, the Mackinaws were not breaking any laws in hunting the game animals in the area. However, they were squatting on crown land. They were never able to get title to

the land on which their camp was situated and this issue became a sore point between the Alberta Crees and the federal and provincial governments.

Of course, no one in North America lived in complete isolation, even in Canada, in the 1970s. Nordegg was only some 15 miles away from the camp and Rocky Mountain House some 65 miles away. Once a week the Mackinaws traveled to Rocky Mountain House to shop and, perhaps, to have a meal in the local Chinese restaurant there. They did not grow wheat in order to make bread, so they had to buy their flour and other staples (potatoes, etc.) from a store. Wild meat and flour bread (Indian "fry bread") were the base diet in the Mackinaw camp. Moreover, they did travel to Hobbema quite a bit to visit relatives and to attend the large Cree ceremonies there. Hobbema was a center for Sun Dances and other public Cree ceremonies; as well as pow-wows, semi-secular Indian celebrations.

The younger Mackinaws were great sports fans and athletes. The camp had a hockey team in the winter and a men's soft ball team in the summer. Both teams played in amateur leagues all over central Alberta. The success of the soft ball team was astounding. Their team played against teams representing whole small towns and Indian reserves. That a team from a small Indian camp of about 120 Indians could hold their own at all is amazing. More than that, they won several tournaments! Alberta Indians said half-jokingly and half-seriously that the Mackinaw team won such victories because the Mackinaws had strong medicine.

Further, some of the Mackinaws would sometimes leave their camp and work as migrant laborers in the central part of Alberta. Although money was scarce for the Mackinaws, they needed money for flour, clothes, gas, tires, and to repair their cars and trucks. Work was not the only source of money. Joe Mackinaw was over 70 years old and received an old age pension payment. There were some women in the camp who had the Canadian equivalent of Aid to Dependent Children. Further, most of the people in the camp received checks periodically from the Canadian government. This money was due them from oil royalties. Alberta was going through an oil boom at that time and oil had been discovered on some of the reserves near Hobbema. Joe Mackinaw was very

concerned about this oil income and felt that these lucrative payments were the cause of much of the drinking and resultant social trouble on his reserve at Hobbema.

The Cree children in the camp were bused to a school at Nordegg. Parents in Small Boy camp did not like to send their children to school, and by the time I visited the area their camp had been relocated farther north from Kootenai Plains, to a more isolated area. But the Mackinaws saw themselves as law-abiding Canadians and as civilized people. Therefore the attendance of their children at school was to some degree symbolic to them that they were progressive people, even though they had moved into this isolated region.

I was impressed with how much the Mackinaw kids were learning outside of school. They helped with the chores around the camp (wood cutting, hauling water, butchering game animals, etc). The teen-aged boys hunted together with adult males in a group or sometimes singly. They attended pipe ceremonies and listened to the moral lectures and stories of older people. The kids were in on everything, so to speak. Often they contributed while they were learning. And there was no television nor after school organized activities to eat into their out of school time.

The area from which the Mackinaw Crees came, Hobbema, is in the northern Great Plains area. It rests at the southern edge of a band of park land which lies between the Great Plains proper and the northern woods of Canada. There are patches of trees in the Hobbema area, unlike a few miles further south. But the Crees in this area are Plains Indians culturally and they are called Plains Crees.

The Cree tribe appears to have had its origin in the area of the James Bay, many hundreds of miles east of the Mackinaw camp. The Crees spread, along with the Hudson Bay Company, west through the great forest belt of northern Canada, maintaining themselves as trappers and as Hudson Bay employees. When some of those southern Cree bands came to the edge of the Great Plains, they met Plains Indian culture at its height in the 1820s -- horses, tepees, buffalo hunting, warfare, and the like.

Anthropologists divide North America up into what are called cultural areas; areas where the same natural environment is correlated with similar traits, customs, and institutions. Therefore, the Blackfoot Indians in southwestern Alberta, who were at

contact typical Plains Indians, had more in common in terms of customs, institutions, ways of making a living, houses, costumes, and ceremonies with the Kiowa in what is now southwestern Oklahoma than they did with the Kootenai who live a few miles from them over the crest of the Rocky Mountains, in modern British Columbia.

These bands of Crees who had pushed to the southern rim of the great forest belt began to move out onto the plains in the 1820s and to adopt the Plains Indian style of life. Of course, Crees have a unique history and they did not become a carbon copy of the Blackfeet or the Kiowa; but in the overt aspects of their culture, at least, they became Plains Indians. The park land in which they lived was a veritable hunter's paradise. They lived on the edge of the great buffalo herds, and their park land country was filled with deer, moose, elk and the like. Their hunting economy was based both on the hunting of buffalo and the game animals of their park land. One of the most important things which happened to the Plains Cree is that, unlike their ancestors in the 1700s, they became largely independent of Hudson Bay Company. Plains Crees were no longer trappers, trading their furs to H.B.C. for food stuffs and clothing. To a large degree the Plains Cree bands cut their ties with Hudson Bay and became much more autonomous than they had been for some 100 years.

In the 1870s the buffalo herds began to disappear, as well as the other large game in the area. Settlers began to move into western Canada and the Canadian government began to make treaties with the Plains Cree. Four or five bands of the Plains Cree were settled on small reserves near Hobbema. Some of the Cree in this area were involved in 1885 in the second Riel Rebellion, a "rebellion" which included the Metis people of central Saskatchewan (descendants of French-Indian trappers and buffaloe hunters) and some Plains Indian Cree bands, some of whom now live near Hobbema. Nevertheless this area of Canada was sparsely settled until about the time of the First World War.

Joe Mackinaw was born and raised before World War I. The Plains Crees were no longer an independent people then. They were confined to reserves and had lost the base of their economy, but they were still a very traditional, Indian people. Joe Mackinaw had attended school for several years when he was a young man and he spoke English with a pronounced accent but communicated satisfactorily. He and I became

great friends. I spent the summers of 1971 and 1972 at the Mackinaw camp and part of the summer of 1975. When I was in western Canada on business, I would try to visit the Mackinaw camp for a few days and sometimes for a week or two. The Mackinaw camp was very hard to reach in cold weather, and they lived an extremely isolated life during the winter. Such was not the case, however, in the summers. In the summer of '71 I purchased a tent and moved with some of my family to the Mackinaw camp.

The core of the Mackinaw camp was the Mackinaw family: Joe Mackinaw, his wife, and their numerous sons and daughters with their own spouses and children; all in all, some 30 and more people, although the majority were children of various ages. Further, in the summer, a great many other Cree, primarily from the Hobbema area, moved into the Mackinaw camp. Most of them were what would be called in English "distant relatives." There was one Cree young man (I will call him Fred since he has an impossible Cree last name) from a Cree band in another part of Alberta that was as traditional as the Hobbema bands. All together, if one counts the Crees who were part-time residents in the summer, the Mackinaw band would number over 120.

In some sense the whole Cree tribe, some 150,000 or more, spread from James Bay to British Columbia, are inter-linked by kin ties. One could travel from British Columbia to James Bay, moving from band to band, and keep within an inter-linked kin network. Crees in the Mackinaw band could not go directly to James Bay far to the east and find kin there. Most of the Plains Cree, however, particularly those in the neighborhood of Hobbema, were able to attach kin terms to one another. So, except for Fred, all the Crees in the Mackinaw camp were kinsmen, and like most Indians, they were devoted to each other. I think the only time one sees a single Cree is when a man is on a vision quest. The rest of the time the Cree live together, hunt together, play games and cards together, talk together, suffer together, enjoy life together, grow old together, and die together.

Kin ties among the Cree are seen by them as particular and reciprocal. One of the things I first noticed in my residence at the Mackinaw camp was that when the Crees spoke in English to one another, they not only talked about someone in his absence as "my grandson," but when they talked directly to him they addressed him as "my

grandson." Although people lived in separate dwellings, they were not formed into corporate households. The Cree children played together as if they were an invading Mongol horde and one never knew in which tent, tepee, or plywood dwelling one would finally find a Cree child. The same was true, to a degree, of single Crees or even young married Crees. Even at mealtime people flowed in and out of different tents. The households were not bounded, corporate units with a distinct life. I had read of life in Plains Indian camp circles, but this was the first time that I had ever felt that I was experiencing such a life.

People in the Mackinaw camp lived in very close proximity, isolated from other communities. Social life would have been almost suffocating if the Cree did not have a strong sense of the privacy and integrity of the individual. The Cree, like most North American Indian tribals, do not give unsolicited advice, do not intrude into other people's lives, and tend to give their fellows "a lot of room". They certainly do not "crowd" one another.

The Crees all seemed to be relatives, and interaction was intense between everyone all the time, not only in Mackinaw's camp, but at powwows, at Sun Dances and at visits in Hobbema. I wondered how the Cree were able even to find marriage partners. Unlike some tribes in North American, there are no rules which specify which kin one can marry, and the Crees feel that one should not marry a relative. I was never able to see how the Crees solved this dilemma but at this point I will formulate a hypothesis based upon another experience of mine.

I lived on Pine Ridge, South Dakota among the Oglala Sioux some 15 months in the 1950s. The Sioux, like the Cree, live an intimate social life together, extend their kin relations throughout all the Oglala people, and have no specified marriageable relatives. Among the Sioux almost everyone of the same age is theoretically a brother and sister. If older Sioux are able to sit down and talk long enough tracing genealogical lines, they will in fact find a rationale for a brother and sister relationship. That puts young Sioux in a bit of a bind, since one cannot marry relatives. How does one find non-kin with whom to marry? Usually the relationship is simply redefined. Young Sioux potential mates will simply cease calling one another brother and sister, or if they are strangers, will never

establish the theoretically possible brother and sister tie at all. However, if one can redefine what would be thought of in English terms as "distant" kin, then one can redefine what would, in English thought, be a "real" sister or a first cousin. The Sioux do have some difficulty with what would be called incest by outside observers.

From my Sioux experience I would guess that either the Cree kin network is not as extended as among the Sioux, or else young Cree re-define the relationship to a potential mate.

Although the Cree have very strong ties to one another, it appears that that emotional affect is not concentrated as it is in a nuclear family, but is spread among some 50 to 100 important and meaningful people. The wife of an anthropologist who had lived among the Cree for a number of years once said to me that she did not think that the relationships among Crees were as intense and deep as relationships in a white family. Indeed, such might be the case. I suspect, however, that she was thinking more of the marriage tie among the Cree which, like those among many other tribals in North America, is a fragile relationship.

Perhaps the following story will illustrate the quality of relationships and interaction among the Cree. One of the Mackinaw sons who lived in Hobbema visited the camp regularly. I always suspected that he lived in Hobbema because he liked to drink and knew that his family seriously disapproved of drinking. In fact, most times he would be slightly drunk while in the Mackinaw camp and I think he kept a bottle in his car. (In recent years this young man has quit drinking and has become a good family man, a pillar of the community.) His family frowned and would withdraw from him when he was drinking, but they did not say anything to him, even though he was a living example of the reason they had left Hobbema. He would come to our camp fire on many nights and talk to my daughter, a very sympathetic woman, about his troubles. He had recently broken up with his wife. It was clear that he loved her very much and I suspect that losing her was one of the causes of his drinking. When he talked to my daughter, and I could not help but overhear him, given the close living conditions. He told her about his difficulties with his wife in the way that most tribal Indians will relate such a tale. The narrative of his troubles were full of phrases like "she didn't like it" or "she got

mad and went home" or "I guess it is up to her;" and he would say things like, "she wasn't too good a cook" or "she liked to go to parties" or "I don't think she got along too well with my mom and my sis." He talked about the differing emotional conditions of his wife and related those things to her behavior as it impacted on him. He did not try to analyze his former wife's motives, probe her psyche, or take into account her self image. He belonged to what I term the face value school of behavior, as do most North American Indian tribals.

The Crees of the Mackinaw camp were the first Indians I had seen in a long time that still made their living off the land, working together rather than as single individuals. In the process of making a living together it became clear who was good at what. Russell was said to be the best hunter in the camp, his brother George was the best horseman, and it was expected that each person would take on those jobs in which they had expertise. The tasks sorted people out in terms of their competencies and in terms of what one would call "natural" functions. Joe Mackinaw was one of the oldest men in the camp and by Cree norms the head of his family. He would often lapse into long lectures about how to behave properly, lectures which were not explicitly directed at any one person, but which were prompted by some misbehavior. Joe did not like to speak for the Mackinaw camp. He much preferred to have one of his sons talk to government officials or outsiders, but if it was necessary that the real social power appear, Joe would step forward and deal with the situation.

Joe Mackinaw's eldest son, Lawrence, assumed a lot of management responsibilities at the camp. Lawrence organized the large hunting parties, made up of young men. His wife supervised the butchering of big game animals. Sometimes Lawrence distributed the meat to different family groups. He also saw to it that visitors to the camp got settled in and received some meat. Fred gathered the wood for the sweat baths, Joe's wife usually arranged for our weekly trips to Rocky Mountain House, and George drove us in the truck.

The Crees have a great sense of humor and enjoy a joke more than any people among whom I have ever lived. Crees like to talk, joke, play games, and they thrive on good stories but they are very socially sensitive and expressive people. Sometimes,

however, there would be verbal fights in camp, usually between two or three women. Cree women are very out-going and do not mind speaking their mind plainly on most subjects.

A friend of mine from Oklahoma, an elderly Cherokee man, Andrew Dreadfulwater, once visited me in the Mackinaw camp. He was almost overwhelmed by the Crees. He said that he had heard more talk among the Crees on that visit than he had heard in his entire life among the Cherokees. There is some truth to his observation. In spite of the fact that the Crees talk a lot, the content of the communication often depends more upon nuance than the literal meaning of the words themselves. The Crees always talk in the particular, not in abstractions, and they like to talk about people. They talked about who they saw at the last powwow, or about some great adventure that they had in some interesting social context; not about issues. Almost the only person who talked much about issues was Joe Mackinaw, the elder of the camp, but even when he did so, he talked about specific situations. He was very concerned with what was happening to young people around Hobbema and he would consider different aspects of that situation. I think one could say that Joe Mackinaw was a holistic thinker and that his generalizations always took place in terms of a particular social situation and context.

It is a small step from innocent delight in talking about other people to gossip. The Cree seldom stepped over that line as compared to the horrendous gossiping one hears among some other American Indian groups. Joe Mackinaw himself was very much against gossip. He felt that gossip always got back to the person and caused trouble. If relationships had completely broken down, however, then gossip flowered. Even Joe Mackinaw would condemn the bad medicine practices in the Small Boy camp or anywhere else he saw it.

The Crees were great practitioners of the phrase 'live and let live', both among themselves and with outsiders. A person really had to be socially destructive before the Cree at the Mackinaws camp would take any action, usually simply withdrawing from the errant person. But as soon as the bad behavior stopped, then relationships took up as they were before. If you did something strange and off the norm and no one was harmed by it, then it was indeed strictly your own business. The phrase "it's up to him or it's up to her"

was heard frequently among the Cree, as it is among many other North American Indian tribal groups. Even when one disapproves very strongly, the most one was allowed to say publicly was something like, "I wouldn't do it, but if they want to do it, that's up to them."

The Cree generally, and the Mackinaw in particular, were the most open and generous people that I have ever encountered -- of their selves, their time, and their worldly goods. In fact, usually when I went to the Mackinaw camp in the summer, there were two or three young Indian men, visiting there from cities in Canada: Toronto, Vancouver, Winnipeg, etc. By this time the Mackinaws camp had received some considerable publicity. There had been articles published in newspapers about their going to the mountains to start a new life. They were also becoming known among Indians for being a stronghold of "the Indian" religion, so young Indians visited the camp to take a look at this Indian experiment in going back to living off the land and of building a people's life around religion.

Sometimes white hippies visited Mackinaws. In fact there was one young white man from northeastern United States who stayed there some years at the camp, living with Joe Mackinaw's unmarried son, Russell. I remember one day I was talking to this young man and he told me that he was thinking of returning to college. He said his only reservation was that he would have to borrow some money from his father. I asked him if his father was poor, and he said no, quite the contrary, his father was quite rich, but he didn't want to feel under obligation to his father. I was a little taken aback by this remark since I knew that his good friend Russell was in dire need of an operation on his foot. Russell had a hard time walking without pain. My reaction, which I did not verbalize, was that if my family were rich and I had access to some money, I would certainly borrow it and help my friend get his needed operation; especially if I had been supported for some two years by my temporarily crippled friend as had this young man.

I mentioned my reaction to an anthropologist Allan Campbell. Campbell said to me, "Look, Bob. Indians put all their resources out on the table, but there is no white man in the world who is going to do that. A white man will always hold back some of his resources and he will try not to touch his principle, if he has some cash laid by." I am

certain that my friend is right about laying resources on the table; however, that did not to my mind excuse Russell's hippie friend from helping him. And I say the Mackinaws were the most open and hospitable people to strangers I had ever seen and they did indeed lay all their resources on the table for everyone to share.

The young urban Indian "seekers after the true Indian Way" at the Mackinaw camp as well as white hippies were "into" nature and ecology or Indian communal life. Some of the young Indians almost broke my heart they seemed to be such "lost souls". I had sons of that age and these young Indian "seekers" touched my heart. But the white hippies seemed cannibalistic in their relations with the Mackinaws; almost as if the Mackinaws were objects to be consumed. And like many young middle class white Americans and Canadians of that era they appeared to confuse consumption with experience, as opposed to some of their parents who confused production with experience.

I had a Creek Indian friend of mine who came with me to the Mackinaw camp for a few days. He was simply amazed at the Mackinaw hospitality and their openness. I think he was pleased by this hospitality, but a little taken aback by their openness to strangers. The Creeks are a fairly closed and bounded society like many North American Indian groups, and I think my Creek friend felt that the Mackinaws were simply too open to outsiders and that they were laying themselves open to exploitation. Further, my Creek friend thought that their openness was quite a contradiction to other aspects of life in the Mackinaw camp. Here were the Mackinaws who resembled Indians of a hundred years ago, living off the land, maintaining their aboriginal religion, devoted to their kin; yet for all this, they were very open to outsiders and to a large degree, humanistic in the best of Western traditions, certainly in the best Christian tradition. The Plains Cree are neither a closed tribal society nor an ethnic group, Indian Canadians. They conceive of themselves as a modern national group in the same sense that the French in Quebec are a nationality. Most Crees are not racist nor anti-white in the least. In fact, Joe Mackinaw had a lot of respect for whites. One time we were crossing the Rocky Mountains. by car. The highway followed along beside the railroad track and at one point the railway entered a long tunnel in the mountain. Joe said, "Look at that, Bob! Whites don't have to climb

the mountains like we do. They just punch a hole and go right on. They must be a people with a lot of spiritual power."

The Crees will begin to relate to a person as a kinsman, if that person is around them long enough. However, they do not formally recognize this relationship as a kin relationship. This contrasts sharply with my experience with the Sioux who are also a very open people. However, if one stays around the Sioux for very long and the Sioux set up personal relationships, then they will start applying kin terms to you. This, however, was not true of the Cree, at least in that area of the world. There is some formal adoption among Crees, but it is minimal. Plains Crees are content to have both many kinsmen and many friends as well, but the line between kin and friends is firm.

Further, most Crees find it extraordinarily difficult not to respond to another strange human being of whatever race. For example, one day a newspaper reporter came to the camp to interview people, particularly Joe Mackinaw, the "chief" of the Mackinaw camp. The Mackinaws had been interviewed by newspaper reporters before, and this had caused some hard feelings on the part of their former neighbors in Hobbema. Although Joe Mackinaw would say in public that he left Hobbema to escape the drinking and the violence, he would always make it clear that he thought that most of the people at Hobbema were very fine people and, in fact, better people than himself. After some distorted newspaper articles appeared about their camp and about the reasons they left Hobbema, the Mackinaws became very cautious about dealing with newspaper reporters. Joe Mackinaw dodged this reporter as long as he could and finally agreed to meet with him. His wife and oldest daughter instructed him in no uncertain terms that he was supposed to do nothing more than recognize the reporter's presence; but not to give him an interview and thus perhaps arouse the hostilities again of their friends and relatives in Hobbema.

Joe met the reporter and told him that he could not consent to an interview, yet when the reporter started asking him questions, he could not but respond. All the while his wife and daughter were shouting at him from inside the tent in Cree not to answer any questions. Joe would, after answering a question, say that he couldn't be interviewed, then after answering another question he would again say that he couldn't be interviewed.

I can see him yet, this gentle man standing rigid as a post in front of his tent, trying to be accommodating to a visitor on the one hand, while trying to respond to his enraged wife and daughter on the other hand. I have never seen another human being in a more difficult spot, but I had to turn around and walk away to keep from laughing my head off. Finally, his wife and daughter were making so much noise that the reporter had to discontinue the interview and leave.

The Crees not only live in a world rich in human interaction, but they also live in a world which is rich in interactions with spirits. For the Cree the world is filled with spirits. Every tree has a spirit, every animal has a spirit, almost every object has a spirit. The Crees are ever conscious that they live in a world which is peopled with these unseen beings. Thus the Cree are never alone even when other human beings are not with them.

Bigfoot was one of our local celebrities. In early seventies he was reportedly sighted by several groups and individuals in the area. A dam was being constructed on the river some ten miles from the camp. One of the most famous Bigfoot sightings came when the entire work force at the dam reported seeing Bigfoot for several minutes walking along a nearby ridge. Several men in camp told me that they had seen his tracks while hunting and that his lairs located in caves in the mountains were permeated with a sickening stench. Joe Mackinaw told me that the Bigfoots or Susquatch were very gentle and timid, and that people should leave them alone.

Most young Cree men go on a vision quest in order to obtain a spirit guardian who gives them songs to sing when they need the spirit's help. Later, perhaps a human guardian spirit may sometimes possess him in sweat bath rituals and speak through his voice. Vision quests among the Cree are taxing to say the least. One of my friends at the camp said that he had been taken to the top of a high mountain by his sponsors. There, his hands were bound behind him, then his feet were bound and he was blindfolded. He was placed in a hole, laid down and covered over. He laid there for several days bound, in the dark, and without food or water. After a time the noises around him became so magnified and distorted that he became terrified. He lay there in the dark, weak, uncomfortable, and frightened until a spirit helper came to him. The Crees speak about this experience as the time when they earned the help of a spirit.

Russell Mackinaw asked me how Cherokees learned medicine. I told him that usually we apprentice ourselves to a medicine man and he teaches us over a number of years. Russell was astounded. His response was, "You mean to tell me that you don't have to earn your power?" Every Cree who has any supernatural power must contact the spirit world himself and the more you "earn" the protection of a spirit, the more spiritual power you will receive.

I never inquired of any of the Cree men about the source of their spiritual power. However, I had the impression that most of them had been visited by an animal spirit in their vision quest. I do know that a very famous Cree medicine man from Hobbema would visit the camp from time to time, and join us in a sweat bath. One of his daughters who had passed away would speak to us then by way of his voice. This spirit did not come to him in his vision quest but appeared years later. People told me that this medicine man had several animal and human spirits on which to call.

There were a multitude of spirits in the Cree universe and the core and focus of Cree religion is contact with and good relations with these spirit beings. In religious discussions some Cree would talk about what the Great Spirit would have us do, but Joe Mackinaw talked about the Great Spirits, plural.

Not only do the Cree live a world of spirits and sacred happenings, but they held religious ceremonies constantly. We took a sacred sweat bath at least three times during the week. This sweat bath usually took from a half an hour to two hours depending upon how many people were involved. It was basically a religious ceremony in which people were purified and the participants sang their own sacred songs, given them by their spirit guardian. The sweat bath, as it is practiced among the Cree, is a complete ceremony in which one is purified physically and spiritually cleansed, and receive the benefits of the spiritual power possessed by other participants in the ceremony. Sometimes in Cree ceremonies spirits possess a person and some significant information or a prediction will be passed on to the participants.

Every few nights we would come together and have a pipe smoking which included almost the entire camp. Every time that Joe Mackinaw and I got into a car, Joe burned sweet grass and prayed. In fact, the Cree would burn sweet grass to purify

themselves before every prayer, and it seemed that they burned sweet grass and prayed before every undertaking.

Although the Cree were very religious they were not repressed nor suppressed nor smothered as human beings by religion; far from it! There is nothing puritanical about the Cree Indians. They were reverent during actual worship, but during breaks in the ritual they liked to laugh and joke.

One time a white Catholic priest came to the camp and baptized some of the babies, but contact with Christianity was minimal. The Mackinaws were not anti-Christian, but churches were simply part of a world they had left behind. (In June of 1987 I was invited to my friend Lawrence Mackinaw's Sun Dance. The Sun Dance was an impressive ceremony, a great display of spirituality and a feast of the spirit.)

I met a great many men of some spiritual stature among the Cree people, but none to equal Joe Mackinaw. Of course, Joe did not think so. He thought of himself as almost a novice in Cree religious matters and felt that many men had much more spiritual power than he did. Joe was such a gentle and humble person that I don't think he ever understood how much the Cree people respected his moral courage, his wisdom, and his spirituality. Wherever he went in the Cree country young and old gathered around him to ask his opinion on matters and to join in a dialogue with him.

Joe Mackinaw tended to give moral lectures to his sons, myself, or whoever was present, and he always prefaced his lectures with "the old people said." Further, Joe would tell stories to illustrate some moral principle and he would always begin those stories with "the old people said". The Cree looked at the natural environment a lot in order to see some "sign" or to understand the behavior of plants and animals. Joe Mackinaw's family knew a considerable amount about the natural environment where they lived. They knew much more than simply what they had learned in the space of time that they had lived in that Rocky Mountain country. The Rocky Mountains had "always" been part of the Cree world and much knowledge had been accumulated about that country and passed on to Joe Mackinaw's generation of Cree. Joe was perpetually looking at animal and plant behavior in order to interpret the weather or to interpret events in the human world. If animals acted strange, he would ponder the reason for their

actions and his explanation for such strange actions might come from any part of the universe: the spirit world, the human world, or the animal world. The people in the Mackinaw's camp loved that beautiful country in which they lived, although they missed Hobbema and their relatives there. Joe particularly, I think more than anyone else, had become attached to the countryside near their camp. He told me once in 1973, "You know I have only lived here six years, but when I go away, I miss that old mountain that you see over there." That old mountain, to Joe Mackinaw, was an alive being and was as definitive for him as any of the people in his life.

Joe must have been a great hunter when he was a young man. When I knew him he was 70 and had become a thinker about the nature of the world rather than a hunter and provider, yet I've never seen anyone who could "read signs" as Joe could. And he had the ability to put himself in the place of an animal and tell you what the animal was feeling and thinking. Once we stopped our car on a trip to British Columbia and went off to the side of the road to relieve ourselves. While we were there, Joe noticed some "sign" in the grass behind the small trees there. I could not even see it and I consider myself a woodsman and a pretty good hunter. He said, "Look here, Bob. There's been a young bear standing here. See him?" He pointed at the ground. "He was rocking back and forth, swaying and walking a little bit back and forth. He must have been waiting for something here. He must have seen something." Joe laughed heartily. He said, "I bet that young son of a gun smelled a female bear." When he got back in the car, Joe said to me, "You know that old bear that lives up on the mountains by us? That old son of a gun is as old as I am and he still goes around scouting for the young female bears," and laughed like it was some kind of joke between him and that ancient bear that lived on the mountain, as if they were two fast friends growing old together and sharing old people's foibles and humor.

Joe was a gentle and patient man. He rarely raised his voice, especially to children. One time, however, he got very angry at a group of children in the camp, several boys of about 10 years of age, whose parents had come for a visit from Hobbema. These boys were throwing fledgling birds up in the air and catching them as they came frantically fluttering to earth. Joe came running out of his tent and shouted, "Hey you

boys! Let those little birds alone. Don't bother them. They're not bothering you!" Later he said to me, "The parents haven't taught those little boys anything!"

The best hunter in the Mackinaw camp, and so acknowledged by everyone, was one of Joe's sons, Russell. Russell was a very fine horseman as well. He was an extremely accomplished man in the natural world and known, as well, for his disastrous and saga-like love affairs. Russell was not as great a tracker as his father, but he was able to set up genuine relationships with animals in his world and he did find the game. Finding game is the major part of a hunter's work. A hunter can be the best tracker and the best shot in the world, and if a hunter cannot find game, he cannot bring meat home.

Russell himself was not what one would call a great technician of the hunt nor were most Crees. Sometimes we all would go out in a truck along the back roads in the Mackinaw's area to see if we could kill a moose or elk at sundown along the road. A great animal like a moose or elk weighs hundreds of pounds and it is difficult to carry the carcass out of rough areas. Often if one killed a moose or an elk it would be impossible to get the whole animal to camp even if it were dressed out. It was necessary to butcher a large animal in order to carry such extraordinarily heavy pieces of meat even for a short distance. Therefore we would try to find moose or elk about sundown when they were traveling around near a road so that we could kill them, load them on a truck, and take them back to camp to be skinned and butchered. (The women of the camp were amazingly fast and efficient butchers.) Usually when someone would see an animal we would yell for the truck to stop. As we stopped some of us in the rear of the truck bed would fall forward against others. Then we would scramble out of the truck in order to get a shot, falling over each other, entangling our gun slings in the truck tail gate, getting in each other's line of fire, and so forth. Some of the Crees kept their guns in terrible shape and I was always afraid that any time a gun would explode and wipe out our entire hunting party.

The Crees are good hunters, in spite of their technological and organizational inabilities, and Russell Mackinaw was one of the best. Sometimes he and I would plan to go hunting and I would appear at his tent the next morning before the crack of dawn. Russell, of course, would still be asleep. I would go home and come back later, possibly

in a couple of hours, and Russell would still be asleep. It would take me a while to wake him up, brew some tea and get a cup in his hand. Then, he would spend quite a long time staring into his tea cup. Finally he would arise and go outside. He would always stand just outside the door of his tent and look around as if he were looking for a fighter plane to come out of the blue from some direction and strafe us. Finally, he would say to me something like, "Bob, you know I saw some antelopes the other day down by the road. I bet you they'll be in that little meadow up at the head of this creek this morning grazing. So why don't we saddle up and edge up that way and see if we can get one of them?" Sometimes I would ask him, "Russ, what makes you think those antelope will be up there?" And he always answered the same, "Well, I just got a feeling." We would saddle up and ride up to the little meadow, and invariably there would be the antelope grazing in the small prairie.

One never failed to find animals with Russell along. Even if a person wasn't a very good shot, Russell would get you close to the game. He could always bring you to the animals from the right wind direction so as not to frighten the animals away. I would ask Russell, "How are you able to find game day after day and never miss?" He would say, "Well, I'm just lucky." Other men in the camp did not agree. They said that Russell had a spirit helper that guided him to the animals. Russell did have a spirit helper, but I do not know if it helped him in the hunt. It helped him in other arenas of life. And when he said that he was just lucky that was a modest appraisal of his hunting abilities. Russell was "lucky" because he was so much a part of that natural environment.

One time Russell decided to become a guide for rich sportsmen in his home area, in that unbelievably rich wild game country. However, his foray into the guiding business did not last long. I'm not sure why he quit, but I remember one time he told me, "Those rich American hunters that come up here, they sure like to kill things." Russell was a hunter, he was not a killer. He was not even a sportsman in the strict sense of the word, but he enjoyed feeding his family by his own efforts and having the kind of relationship with his land and its animals that one must have to feed a family by the hunt. Russell was not defined by the activity of hunting, however. He was not a Hunter, as some whites are, let us say, an Accountant. He liked to make his living by hunting and he was good at it. (Russell has taken up guiding again in recent years but for

photographers now.) But Russell would not have been eroded if he had had to give up hunting and make his living by another means. Russell was first and foremost a Mackinaw and a Cree Indian.

There were a number of specialties involving a number of other people, like Lawrence's supervision of large hunting parties, which were on their way to becoming institutionalized; that is they were becoming permanent social arrangements which accomplished a needed task. Two formal institutions were very much in evidence at the Mackinaw camp. Religion was one such institution at the camp. The Mackinaws had brought this institution with them from Hobbema and had modified it for their new life in the mountains.

The Mackinaw camp as a political institution emerged and evolved completely from their new situation there in the mountains. Squabbles and tensions were worked out by the people involved, in most cases. If the situation did not resolve itself Joe Mackinaw would try to mediate the difficulty. If a person was too disruptive he or she would be given the cold shoulder until the errant person changed his or her ways or until they left the camp. However, it was when the Mackinaw camp faced officialdom that the camp assumed a formal institutional stance.

The Mackinaws did not have title to the land on which they were living and they were perpetually trying to get such title. Both Lawrence and Russell wanted to start some kind of business at or near the camp; perhaps a gas station and grocery on the nearby highway, or a boys camp in the area. The whole camp was perpetually discussing the issue and Lawrence and Russell were forever reporting to people how negotiations were coming along. Negotiations were ongoing with their band leadership at Hobbema, the Alberta Indian Association, and the federal and provincial governments. Lawrence usually handled all the correspondence with these various agencies. Lawrence and Russell together attended numerous meetings to negotiate their desire for land. At important meetings Joe, as symbolic chief, accompanied his two sons. And Joe usually led the ceremonies held at the camp before they left for such meetings, and on other occasions as well when they simply wanted to ask the supernatural for help in this matter. And Joe's wife was always the power behind the scenes in political affairs. In fact, many

people felt that she was largely responsible for the decision to move to the mountains. Lawrence's wife wanted a better economic future for her many sons and daughters, and she kept Lawrence's attention focused on the land issue. The Mackinaws were never able to get title to their land, but they did develop a political institution in their camp, and became more politically astute by virtue of their efforts. Further, the political system in the Mackinaw camp was their own. It was a response to powerful outsiders, but it was not dictated by powerful outsiders, as many tribal and band governments are now in North America.

The Mackinaws lived in the mountains at their camp for almost twenty years. I was able to observe life there periodically during that twenty years. Every visit I made I would notice small changes in their way of life. As they continually learned about that natural environment they refined that way of life. They became more and more a part of the world of nature and the spirits in that Rocky Mountain country. From another angle, one could say that their life was forever changing, stable but fluid. I suspect that tribal hunting culture could never be static, therefore, and became more efficient as time passes.

I learned a lot from living in the Mackinaw camp. I think that I did come to understand a hunting people. I also experienced a fairly autonomous Indian life for the first time. I came to love the Mackinaw family and their beautiful country. Over the years I have travelled to Alberta many times to visit my old friends.

In 1975 my youngest son, Lance, then 15 years old, spent about six months living in the Mackinaw camp. The Mackinaws who had known him since he was ten made him a part of the family. Lance came to understand the Cree language and tasted of the life of a Cree hunter. I am more than indebted to the Mackinaws, therefor.

In the summer of 1985 I heard that Joe Mackinaw was sick and in the hospital at Wetaskiwin, a town near Hobbema. In 1985 Joe was in his late eighties and I was worried about him, needless to say. I flew to Alberta and visited him in the hospital. He was not bedridden and seemed to be recovering. Joe was the same as always, full of fun and joking in Cree with the young Cree women visiting their relatives in Joe's ward. He said that he was being well treated and liked the hospital better than living in Hobbema -

"too many drunks, too much noise, and too much trouble." But he longed to back in the mountains.

Mrs. Mackinaw, her daughters, and their now grown children had moved back to Hobbema to be near Joe in the hospital, since it appeared likely that he was in the hospital for a long stay. Their band is rich from oil royalties and they lived on their reserve in a beautiful house with all the modern conveniences. Quite a contrast to their camp in the mountains! Joe's son George had passed away and their youngest son, the heavy drinker mentioned earlier, had reformed and was living at Hobbema, now married and a stable family man.

The Mackinaws were never able to get title to the land of their camp. Russell and Lawrence moved north and east of the old camp to Buck Lake, just at the edge of the foothills to the mountains. Their band government bought them land there. Lawrence has so many children, grandchildren, and great grandchildren, some eighty in all, that they are almost a band in and of themselves. Russell had married a white school teacher and was happily settling into married life.

In the early Spring of 1987 Lawrence told me, by phone, that Joe had died. But he said, "We laid him away right. We gave him a real old time Cree funeral." Joe Mackinaw was my friend and my mentor. He was the last of an era. When he died something special faded forever from our reach.

In our phone conversation Lawrence had invited me to a Sun Dance which he was sponsoring the coming summer. It was to be held at an old Sun Dance ground on a reserve to the west of Edmonton. I couldn't turn down his invitation.

When I got to the Sun Dance ground the Mackinaws were all camped together in one spot on the grounds. They were very pleased to see me, but welcomed me in that very easy Indian manner, as if I had just returned from the grocery store. And in a few minutes our relationships fell into place just as they were years ago. Of course, I had to bring them up to date on the news of the rest of my family. But I did not have to present myself anew as I do with many white friends after a few years absence.

I didn't get to see too much of Lawrence and his wife at the Sun Dance. They were too busy managing the occasion. (I found out later Lawrence's wife was very sick; cancer, I believe. And they were sponsoring the Sun Dance in order to cure her.) Even his children were busy much of the time. I did get to visit with Russell and meet his wife. She was cooking much of her time at the ceremony and soon had to rush off to her job.

Russell was in fine form - his usual charming self. He informed me with some pride in his voice that he was now 60 years old. It was plain that he was relishing becoming an elder. I asked him if he did much hunting anymore. He said, "I've done my share of hunting. Let these young guys do it now." Russell told me that he still worked as a guide once in awhile, but he preferred taking photographers out rather than hunters. He said, "I still learn a lot just watching the animals. I never get tired of it."

Russell is becoming a little testy on the subject of the Cree religion. I had come to the Sun Dance with two white friends. One of them was basically a mystic and very interested in the relations of humans and animals. He asked Russell if he had ever talked to an animal. I almost fell off my chair. Russell looked off for a moment and said, "No comment." I laughed and said, "Russell's not going to tell you that, Bob. He wouldn't even tell me that." My other white friend was a Protestant theologian and began one day to ask questions of Russell about the Sun Dance. After answering a few of my friend's questions Russell said, "Whites have taken everything away from us but our religion so I don't like to talk about the Cree religion." By and large, however, Russell was very gracious to my white friends, and even his reactions in the area of religion were said without hostility or rejection.

Mrs. Mackinaw came from Hobbema late, on the second day of the Sun Dance. She was glad to see me, Joe's old friend. Their youngest son introduced me to his family and proudly told me that he had not had a drink for years. One of Joe's grandsons, Earl, a favorite of my deceased daughter, appeared at the same time. He was also married with children and living in Hobbema. He had grown up to be an impressive man, and took my friends and I in hand and acted as the official Mackinaw host; seeing that we had chairs to sit on, made sure we were called to eat, and so on. And the Mackinaw ladies fed us

well. The Sun Dance came off splendidly. It rained torrents all around the area, but hardly a drop fell on the Sun Dance grounds.

On the third day, the last day of the ceremony, in late afternoon I was called into the Sun Dance lodge along with several others. The dancers who had been dancing and fasting for three days were lying down or reclining up against the wall. The guests, including me, were sitting between the dancers against the wall and the Sun Dance pole in the center of the lodge. One of the guests began talking to a friend or relative who was one of the dancers. It was clear from the conversation that the dancer was so exhausted that his mind was slow and fuzzy. The dancer's friend, the guest, sensed this immediately and began to badger his dancer friend. He said, "Say Jack, these old men tell me that after the Sun Dance is over we are going to have a contest dance. All the dancers that are dancing in the Sun Dance are going to have an endurance contest. All the dancers will dance until there is only one still standing and he will win the prize." I never saw such a look of abject hopelessness and agony on a human being's face as the expression on that dancer's face. Finally, it dawned on him that his friend was pulling his leg, and he gave the most forced and weakest laugh I have ever heard. The rest of us roared with laughter. So much for Indian humor at a sacred ceremony.

Finally, the guests were called up near the Sun Dance pole and given gifts. Lawrence and his wife gave me a hand tanned moosehide and Russell gave me an extremely large, heavy and beautiful blanket. I was bowled over.

Shortly, thereafter we all shook hands and parted reluctantly, and went our separate ways. I must say that I was impressed all over again by the Mackinaw family, and even more than I had ever been before. I remember Joe telling me that he went to the mountains to worship in a clean place, to save his family, to raise them away from the drinking and violence of life on the reserves around Hobbema. As I drove away I said to myself, "Well, Joe, you did it. You carried it off." The Mackinaw experiment was a success.

Chapter 3* The Tribe As Experience

What is living in a tribe like? Western intellectuals, who consider the tribe to be the original form of human society, have a long tradition of imaginative answers. Thomas Hobbes, who wrote in the 17th century, imagined that the life of American Indians was "nasty, brutish, and short."¹⁵ He thought that egoism unbridled by the coercive power of the state would set everyone at war with everyone else.¹⁶ Writing in this century, Freud imagined that tribes allow people to satisfy their strongest instincts at the cost of social disruption.¹⁷ Freud in effect appended Hobbes' phrase to read, "nasty, brutish, short, and pleasurable." Recently, Kenneth Clark cast the history of European art as progress from tribal life to civilization. His examination of art suggested to him that tribal people are continually buffeted by superstitious fear, so tribal life must be dominated by irrational terror.¹⁸

¹⁵"Whatsoever thereofre in consequent to a time of war, where every man is enemy to every man; the same is consequent to the time, wherein men live without other security, than what their own strength and their own invention shall furnish them withal. In such condition, ... continual fear, and danger of violent death; and the life of man, solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short. [p100]...For the savage people in many places of America, except the government of small families, the concord whereof dependeth on natural lust, have no government at all; and live at this day in that brutish manner, as I said before." p101 Leviathan [Oakeshott edition on my shelf]

¹⁶Hobbes thought that tribal life was a game without a core. A game theoretical analysis of Hobbes is in Hampton,...

¹⁷Freud's theory of tribal life is in Civilization and Its Discontents, which is discussed in more detail in Chapter 9*.

¹⁸

"Whatever its merits as a work of art, I don't think there is any doubt that the Apollo [of Belvedere] embodies a higher state of civilisation than the [African tribal] mask. They both represent spirits, messengers from another world -- that is to say, from a world of our own imagining. To the Negro imagination it is a world of fear and darkness, ready to inflict horrible punishment for the smallest infringement of a taboo. To the Hellenistic imagination it is a world of light and confidence, in which the gods are like ourselves, only more beautiful, and descend to earth in order to teach men reason and the laws of harmony."
--Civilization: A Personal View (1969), p2.

The motivation for these efforts is admirable, but the conclusions are hopelessly wrong. Life in a tribe consists of interaction with kinsmen. Kin relations are the content of tribal experience and the key to its psychology and ecology. In this chapter we demonstrate this fact through an analysis of the social dynamics of the Mackinaws' hunting band that was described in Chapter 3.

Mackinaws' Band as Ideal Type of Tribe

Redfield constructed a scale called the "folk-urban continuum" to contrast tribes and cities.¹⁹ Communities located at the folk-end of the continuum, which approximate the tribe's ideal type, are described by a long list of traits:²⁰

- small
- bounded
- isolated
- closed
- personal
- homogeneous (little division of labor)
- solidarity (everyone bound to everyone)
- sacred
- coherent (consistent system of meanings)
- traditional
- spontaneous (no social planning)
- uncritical
- non-literate (communication by spoken word)
- economy of status (consumption based on relationships, not productivity)

The Mackinaws' band as depicted in the narrative in Chapter 3 has most of these characteristics. The band was small enough for everyone to engage in repeated, face-to-face relations. The location in the Rocky Mountains of Canada imposed boundaries and left it isolated by 20th century standards. Relationships were personal. Labor was sufficiently unspecialized so that everyone's experience was similar. Strong ties of solidarity existed among band members. The band viewed its world as sacred. Indeed, the motive for relocating the band in the mountains was "to worship in a clean place." Everyone shared a similar religious outlook, so meanings were consistent and traditional.

Civilization.

¹⁹best cite from Thomas.

²⁰We rearranged the order in which Redfield presents them.

Communication was by spoken word. Consumption goods were distributed among members according to relationships in the group, not productivity.

The one feature of the Mackinaws' band that departs strikingly from the ideal tribe is its openness to outsiders. The camp consisted mostly of kinsmen, but there were friends and even strangers in camp from time to time. The particular historical experience of the Cree may explain this fact.²¹

Tribe as Experience

Apparently, the Mackinaws' band can be taken as a fairly close approximation to the ideal type of the tribe. What is living in such a tribe like? For the Mackinaws' band, life is, and has always been, the continuous and unbroken interaction of kinsmen, in which everyone is profoundly familiar with everyone else. This knowledge is so intimate that each person regards himself as the conjunction of his kin relationships. Personality is unified by self-conception and the self-conception of a tribal person is formed from human relations.

The persistence of the relationships over time allows one person to see another as a whole. Taken as a whole, no two people are alike. People relate to each other in the band as unique beings, for whom there are no close substitutes. The investment of oneself in personal relationships is irretrievable, so the stakes are high. High stakes make the relationships emotional, and emotion crowds out objectivity. Thus definitive relationships tend to be unique, emotional, and holistic.

People defined by relations assess their self-worth from the quality of their interaction with those who are definitive of them. Love can be characterized as positive definitiveness, and hate as its opposite. Love is best, but in its absence, overt harmony in the tribe will do, which anthropologists call the "harmony ethic."²² When interactions are harmonious, everyone feels good. When interactions are dissonant, everyone feels bad.

Living harmoniously on close terms is an art. "Respect" is a word the Mackinaws' band used a lot when speaking in English. Observations of the Mackinaws'

²¹In the 18th and 19th centuries, the Hudson's Bay Company erected trading posts among the Cree and offered to employ them as trappers. Instead of attacking or running away, the Cree formed personal ties with the foreigners who staffed these marvelous emporiums of material goodness. That is how the Crees ceased to live in closed groups. cites history of Hudson's say. also Harvey A. Feit, "The James Bay Cree Self-Governance and Land Management," We Are Here: Politics of Aboriginal Land Tenure (1989), ed. Edwin N. Wilmsen, pp 68-98.

²²cite

band suggests that they maintain harmony by respecting everyone's autonomy. Respect involves allowing each other wide latitude for deviancy, so that each person can be who he is. The member of the band was free to follow his own desires so long as they did not conflict with others'.

Besides giving each person latitude, respect requires staying alert and attending to another being's desires, which we call "responsiveness." Response to others involves modulating demeanor and civility in social rituals in order to maintain harmony.²³ To illustrate, Russell Mackinaw disapproved of the way his brother Lawrence handled the pipe and sacred tobacco, particularly Lawrence's sharing of it with outsiders. As brothers, they must help each other repeatedly in a variety of ways, but Russell's help was not as full or enthusiastic after Lawrence "misused" the pipe. If one person gets out of line in a band, others withdraw or cease to do favors for him.

Love, harmony, and respect describe tribal aspirations, without prescribing who can do what to whom. Each tribe has a comprehensive set of traditions that specifies its own "way" (the "Navajo Way", the "Papago Way", etc.). The "way" prescribes acts and goals in general terms for various circumstances, but tradition usually stops short of prescribing exactly what is to be done. People mostly respond to the objective requirements of the circumstances and the particularities of others. To illustrate, everyone in the Mackinaw's band knows that they must hunt to eat and the Russell is the best at finding game.

For Joe Mackinaw, the land is as loved and familiar as his kinsmen. They live in the holy land, filled with sacred sites and alive with particular beings, such as a particular bear and a high mountain. These beings, who are often addressed as kin, are mysterious and powerful. One must be alert to them so as to respond appropriately. Respect for the land implies attending to its beings like a relative. Nature cannot be regarded merely as an instrument or a factor of production. For example, Thomas observed an Apache logging crew in Arizona brought to a halt by a bird's nest in a tree marked for cutting, much to the consternation of the nonIndian boss, and Cooter observed the same thing in a Nishga logging crew in British Columbia.

²³This general social phenomenon is discussed by Groffman in Interaction Rituals (1967).

Extracting a living from the land imposes objective discipline upon people. To satisfy material needs, people must draw upon each others' proclivities and talents. There is no predetermined formula for deciding who does what. Rather, people must coordinate themselves by sharing purposes and intimate knowledge of each other. Organizing the hunt is more like deciding who will shell peas for dinner and who will wash the plates, as opposed to deciding who will handle production, sales, and bookkeeping in a corporation.

Organization and Identity

"Human nature" refers to what people are inherently disposed to do. Relations in the tribe are perceived by its members as expressions of human nature in the sense that people are inherently disposed to form such relationships. Natural relationships, which contribute to prosperity and well-being, are sanctioned by religious traditions. Thus religious sanctions, social traditions, and prudential calculations align to strengthen kin ties in the tribe. Conversely, unnatural acts violate religious prescriptions, impoverish people, and corrupt them. For tribal Indians, the unnatural displaces the unethical as the criterion of destructive behavior.

In contrast to natural groups, instrumental groups are created to accomplish specific purposes. Examples are corporations, partnerships, trusts, clubs, charities, foundations, and legislatures. Their purposes are sufficiently narrow so that the principles of association can be scrutinized and modified in light of performance. Instrumental groups can be dissolved or restructured to increase efficiency or respond to changing purposes.

A high level of performance often requires a large organization that divides labor finely. Size reduces the frequency of interaction between the same people, and the division of labor fragments experience. Large organizations coordinate behavior on the basis of roles, that allow one person to see merely the fragment of the other person involved in performing it. Efficiency requires filling positions by open competition, which overcomes nepotism by substituting objective standards for personal relationships.

Tribes and instrumental groups are two types of organizations that correspond to two types of people, whom we differentiate according to whether their identifies are

social or individual. People with social identities require definitive relationships to stabilize their personalities. Definitive relationships tend to be unique, emotional, and holistic, as described above. Repeated face-to-face interactions between people, such as those in the tribe, are usually a prerequisite for definitive relationships. Thus people with social self-conceptions flourish in the tribe.

In contrast, most instrumental interactions are based upon the convergence of the parties self-interest. When the self-interest of the parties diverge, the interactions cease. Thus instrumental interactions are too unstable to be definitive. The most stable human relations, like parent-child or sister-brother, are largely beyond choice. Convergence of interests and values invigorates these ties, but the tie is usually sustained even if interests and values diverge.

Instrumental groups, which do not foster definitive relationships, can be essential to people who take their identity from internalized values. Individuals gain self-worth from performance, which may require participation in an instrumental group. For example, a surgeon cannot operate without the supporting services of a hospital. Instrumental groups thus supply the context for self-fulfillment by many individuals, but not the substance.

Instrumental groups also affect identity by providing tangible expressions of status. Efficiency often requires the organization of hierarchies that grade people according to authority and power. Rank in the hierarchy measures status. Individuals who have internalized status as a goal need hierarchical organizations to provide them with concrete objectives.

In contrast, no one in the Mackinaw's band ranks its members on a status hierarchy and tries to climb up it. Any attempt to impute a hierarchy of authority and power to the band would be artificial. The esteem of kinsmen and the pleasures of indulgence are sufficient aspirations for most band members.

Organization by Kinship

Kinsmen are by definition people who can trace an unbroken line of descent from common ancestors. Descent is traced by applying cultural rules to biological facts.

Different peoples trace descent differently, as illustrated by the contrast between matrilineal and patrilineal descent. The basis for tracing descent is different for Indians and Europeans. Europeans trace kinship by working out from the individual. The individual is immediately surrounded by the nuclear family; beyond the nuclear family are grandparents, uncles, aunts, nephews and nieces who are "close kin"; beyond close kin are more distant kin such as first cousins, second cousins, and first cousins once removed; beyond distant kin are non-relatives. The closer the kin, the fewer the numbers (two parents, four grandparents, eight grandparents, etc.), the stronger the obligations, and the greater the strain for affiliation. Distant kin, who fade into non-relatives, are often perceived by children as the strangers who appear at Christmas dinner.

Tribal Indians are not individuals and they do not have nuclear families, so they lack the starting point for grading kin by distance. In most Indian languages there are no kinship terms that necessarily refer only to a few people, like "father", "grandmother", and "brother" among whites. For instance, "father" might be applied to biological father's brothers and to biological father's first cousins on his father's side. The term "father" will thus be used by one generation to refer to most males in another generation in the kin group. Anthropologists refer to Indian kinship systems as "classificatory" because Indians lump numerous relatives into categories like "father" that individuals reserve for the nuclear family.²⁴ Tribal Indians feel they ought to relate similarly to everyone within a broad kinship category. The sense of mutual obligation and the strain to commitment is similar, although the opportunities for interaction may be different depending upon who lives nearby.

The individual grades kin by distance according to principles that structure the relationships. Setting principles between people implies withholding part of oneself from relationships, which gives kinship a role-like quality. Kin relations become role-like when they have an element of hierarchy. To illustrate, the father who "heads the household" may sometimes boss his children, like the head of a corporation giving orders to employees. The element of hierarchy is bolstered by internal values. The more the relationship is governed by internalized values, the more like a role it becomes. To

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illustrate, the father may feel that he has the right to boss his children, and they may feel obligated to obey. The father may cut off a son who refuses to obey him, like a corporate executive fires a recalcitrant employee.

Production in a hunting band, as in a modern city, requires differentiation of function and specialization by activity. People and tasks are matched in the tribe through kinship, whose two aspects are prescriptions and personal relations. Kin prescriptions establish some boundaries for allocating tasks, such as women cook and men hunt large game. These boundaries, however, are far too broad to be used in matching people to tasks in a hunting band. The division of labor in a hunting band is finer than kin classifications. There is, for example, no prescription for deciding who will lead a hunting party to game and who will care for the horses.

Efficiency requires assigning specific tasks according to individual talents, not by prescription. Once tasks are assigned, people must be motivated to work hard and coordinate their efforts. Allocation, motivation, and coordination was accomplished in the Mackinaws' band through the personal aspect of kinship. As people in camp set out to perform tasks requiring coordination, each one responded to the others by doing what he was best at. Responsiveness is an aspect of a personal relationship. Allocation, motivation, and coordination are achieved by building responsiveness into personal identity.

The rarest skill among successful hunters is finding game. It is not a mechanical technique like shooting straight. If Indian hunters are asked how they find game, they will reply that they are lucky, or they have a spirit helper, or they will be unable to answer. They appear to experience the environment as a totality. Knowledge about it surfaces in what is best described as feelings. Indians predict what animals will do by forming such a close relationship that the hunter knows what the animal feels. There is a connection between responding to nature and kin. Both require intuition and holistic thought. Perhaps a society based upon kin relations helps create people who can find game.

Adaptation in Organizations

The adaptive capacity of a hunting band can be contrasted with a system of interdependent roles. Occupational roles, such as executive, typist, attorney, or nurse, are consciously created by organizations in pursuit of profits. The roles are designed to complement each other in creating a saleable product. Coordinating people who are performing occupational roles requires authority of some people over others. The labor market thus arranges roles hierarchically, with power and wealth distributed unequally. The people who perform the various roles identify with them to some extent. The matching of people to roles says something about who people are in the eyes of others and themselves.

All roles have duties, rights, responsibilities, and so forth attached to them. When these normative aspects of a role are prescribed by explicit rules, the role becomes an office, such as secretary, shop steward, foreman, or vice-president. Most roles, however, are only partly defined by explicit rules. The greater part of role definition usually rests upon understandings. An understanding is a set of shared beliefs about how people will behave.

Rising to the top of an organization requires a sequence of promotions. At each stage of promotion, the organization tends to favor people who sustain its essential character, and to sift out those who threaten the structure of its roles. A person who invests his personality in his work must pay a psychological cost to change to a lower job in the hierarchy. Consequently, people resist restructuring organizations. Identification with roles thus stabilizes organizations.

Markets offer an alternative to hierarchical organization as a way of coordinating production. An automobile manufacturer may produce batteries in a subdivision of the company. The mode of interdependence within the company is bureaucratic authority. Alternatively, an automobile manufacturer may buy batteries from an independent supplier. The mode of interaction in the market is private contract. Market exchange thus establishes boundaries between organizations and limits the extent of bureaucratic authority.

Competition is required to overcome the natural conservatism of organizations and keep them productive. When people and organizations compete, roles are filled on

the basis of merit, workers exert their best efforts, and the assignment of tasks remains fluid and responsive to innovations. Competition releases the creativity in organizations. Thus efficiency in production is achieved through market competition. Similarly, responsiveness in government is achieved through electoral competition.

Sometimes competition has a blind, inductive aspect that resembles evolution ("routine is the gene"). Competition reinforces successful adaptations. In addition to evolving, social structure can be made. Organizational theories provide a scientific basis for restructuring an organization to meet its goals. An organization changes by re-ordering roles in response to authoritative orders of its managements, whereas a hunting band shuffles tasks among kinsmen as they respond to each other.

Flexibility versus Economies of Scale

Adaptation was contrasted in a hunting band and a hierarchical organization. Adaptation in the former comes from the responsiveness of its members to each other and the environment, whereas adaptation in the latter comes from competition for positions in the hierarchy. The modes of adaptation are so different that their opposition to each other helps to contrast underlying differences in social life. Competition among members of a hunting band would disrupt personal relations and destroy the band's efficiency. If Russell decided to charge kinsmen for the service of finding game, and others followed suit, the band would collapse. The members of a hunting band could not coordinate their behavior through a system of competitive contracts.

The flexibility of the hunting band comes partly from the fact that identity is invested in the totality of relationships, but not in particular tasks. To illustrate, Joe Mackinaws' granddaughter, who cooked for him, thought of herself as a loving and responsible granddaughter, not a cook. If circumstances and needs changed, she could shift tasks without psychological cost. Similarly, when Russell Mackinaw was asked whether he still did a lot of hunting, he replied, "No. I've done more than my share. Let these young guys do their part now." People who hold positions in a bureaucracy, in contrast, will resist diminishing the importance of their roles.

Just as the personal identity of the people in the Mackinaws' band does not reside in roles, neither does it reside in abstractions. Abstract ideals function as psychological props to support impersonal organizations, like the Democratic Party, Canadian government, or the Catholic Church. Thus liberty buttresses capitalism, equality buttresses democracy, and piety buttresses Catholicism. Liberty, fairness, opportunity, competition, equality, democracy, Catholicism -- these are not the topics of discussion in the Mackinaws' camp.

There are some aspects of our account of tribal Indians that may remind readers of socialist utopias, such as resources are shared, people respond to needs, identity is with personal relations, and people do not treat themselves or others as instruments. This analogy, however, is very misleading in most respects. Tribal Indians are organized into bands of kin, whereas socialist utopias have to hold unrelated people together by ideology. Tribal Indians cannot conceive of a person for whom ideas are that important. Furthermore, there is no rational planning or authoritative setting of objectives among Indian bands. Nor do tribal Indians stress accumulation or progress. Nor do the members of a hunting band dedicate themselves to democracy, equality, or human rights.

Psychologists have documented that people tend to filter and distort perceptions to make them consistent with prior beliefs.²⁵ Commitment to ideas apparently creates a screen that filters and distorts experience. Perceptual defenses should be stronger among middle class people, who are committed to ideals, than among tribal Indians, who are committed to each other. Openness to experience increases responsiveness to nature and kin.

Kinship cannot be extended too far without losing its effectiveness as an organizing principle. The limitation comes from the fact that the hunting band's activities are coordinated through personal relations. Coordination thus requires that everyone in the hunting band have a personal relationship with everyone else. Personal relationships demand intimate knowledge that takes time to acquire. There is a natural limit upon the number of personal relations that anyone can have.

²⁵ cite perceptual defense experiments and cognitive dissonance.

This limitation, however, does not apply to roles. A person who has mastered a particular role can perform with anyone who knows the complementary roles. Organization by roles thus economizes on the amount of learning required for coordinating specialized workers. In economic jargon, roles reduce the "transaction costs" of production. Further, complementary roles can be arranged in long chains that permit far more specialization of labor than in the hunting band. A high level of specialization achieves economies of scale and scope, and supports the application of scientific research to production, which gives corporations a distinct competitive advantage over kin groups.

The price of forming large organizations that achieve economies of scale is that motivation and coordination becomes more problematic. To motivate and coordinate people in a large organization there must be rewards for skill and effort. A vertical hierarchy of wealth and power provides those rewards. Alternatively, motivation and coordination can be achieved in a hunting band by the personal aspect of kinship. Vertical organization is unnecessary.

The differentiation of tasks in the Mackinaws' band does not amount to a hierarchy of power or status. To illustrate, Russell Mackinaw knew that his talent was finding game, but that did not give him the authority to order anyone to hunt in a particular place or a claim to the best cuts of meat. When people went hunting, they asked Russell where to go, or they just went out in a group and let Russell lead them where he thought they should go. Formal deliberations occur in hunting bands, but they are not occasions for officials to exercise authority. The style of Indian leadership is distinctive for its lack of authority. Chiefs are reminders of traditions, not officials who invent laws or exercise discretion.

Kin Structure?

Just as there can be rain without a "rainer," so there can be organization without an organizer. Indian tribes are organized without anyone imposing structure. Formal organization includes a variety of interrelated and overlapping kin groups such as houses, clans, moieties, lineages, bands, tribes, and nations. A sketch of the ability of these groups for corporate action shows the limits of formal organization among Indians.

The nuclear family is not a social unit among traditional Indians. The family's nucleus does not define the household. Boundaries are so obscure that there is not much of an Indian household. To illustrate, when Al Warhaftig began his field research in eastern Oklahoma in 1963, the first job that he set for himself was to take a census of the households in a Cherokee settlement.²⁶ There are separate houses in a Cherokee community, but a significant fraction of people float among them. The census proved complicated because people moved from one household to another in the time required to conduct the survey.

Sol Tax made a similar observation when he contrasted Mesquakie Indians in Iowa to a Guatemalan village of Indian peasants. He was struck that Mesquakie children, who lived a tribal life, flitted like a flock of birds from one house to another, whereas Guatemalan children, who lived a peasant life, played in their own house yards.²⁷

The households in Mackinaws' camp, which were distinguished in part by separate dwellings, often had at their core a married couple and their children. However, membership remained fluid. To illustrate, Joe Mackinaw shared his dwelling, which was made of plywood with a canvas roof, with his wife, a daughter and her baby, a grown granddaughter, and "Fred." Fred was a Cree who had become attached to this household. Joe's wife and her daughter were often away in the town of Hobbema. The granddaughter stayed at camp to see that Joe was fed.

Households in the camp were the locus of some activities, notably sleeping and eating. Many activities like hunting were undertaken by people from different households. Political decisions affecting the whole camp tended to involve participation by all of its members. Communal dinners for the whole camp were held in conjunction with ceremonies. People who live in a hunting band may yet interact with outsiders, especially with kinsmen in other small communities who speak the same language. Mackinaws' camp had frequent contacts with other Crees, especially kinsmen who remained in Hobbema when the band moved into the mountains.

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When a community contains no more 75 or 100 people, everyone can interact daily with everyone else. That is the upper limit on the size of most Indian bands. If the group is larger, then holding the community together by kinship requires linking units together through marriage. Several kin groups related through marriage can form a village. Or kinsmen can form a lineage group, as among the central Algonquins or the great houses among the northwest coast tribes. Or kinsmen can form societies to assume responsibility for specific tasks, such hunting, policing the camp, or sponsoring a ceremony. To illustrate, in a Mesquakie village, a group of people descended from the same ancestor in the male line might act corporately to put on a ceremony, but the whole village would probably attend, including kinfolk from other lineages.

Indian tribes can be grouped into nations who share a language and customs. The degree of identification and solidarity in a nation varies widely from one Indian people to another. Kin ties ran through the whole Cherokee people, who identified with each other so strongly that they could subordinate local interests and create their own national government.²⁸ The Sioux never created national institutions, but all the members of each Sioux tribe (e.g. Oglala) were related. The different Sioux tribes called each other "Dakota," which can be translated as "allies", and their dealings with each other were more peaceful than their dealings with other nations.²⁹ At the other extreme, some Apache and Navajo groups were willing to serve as scouts for the U.S. army in its military operations against other groups who spoke their language but were not kinsmen.³⁰

Beyond a people lie the strangers. Judging from language, most tribes in North America do not admit that strangers are the same species as themselves. In the far north of North America, the boundary between kin and strangers was a fact of human geography enforced by sparse population and difficult terrain. Tribes in southern North America, who felt the impact of ideas and social forms diffusing from the Mexican civilizations, were more familiar with strangers, as were the tribes of the Pacific coast. In these tribes, the boundary between kin and strangers was more a cultural creation than a physical necessity.

²⁸cross reference

Some concepts are dimensional with a name for each pole, such as high-low, raw-cooked, or the people and the strangers. Clear thought demands that dimensional concepts achieve a good fit with the objects to which they are applied. Some dimensional concepts that figure prominently in social theory do not fit traditional Indian tribes. "Individual" and "society" are among the most important. It is better not to describe traditional Indians as individuals because they do not go through the process of individuation. If "individual" is not the preferred term for the people in a group, then "society" cannot be the preferred term for the group as a whole. Better to refer to person and tribe, rather than individual and society.

Much the same point is implicitly recognized in ordinary speech. "Society" presupposes organizations in which people hold back enough of their identity to feel like individuals.³¹ In a modern organization, the members withhold enough of themselves from their roles for the contrast between individual and society to be salient. However, a middle class person does not describe his own family as a "society" composed of "individuals." The relationship between a family and its members is more intimate than these terms suggest.

"Social structure" usually refers to hierarchies, which involve authority and inequality. Some anthropologists have analyzed a network of kin relationships as a social structure consisting of a hierarchy of roles.³² There is no such organization in an Indian band. Kinship among Indians is not "structure" in this sense, because a network of relationships is not a hierarchy of roles.

Kin prescriptions among tribal people have been analyzed by anthropologists as duties, rights, and obligations. These normative structures presuppose the internalization of rules. That is not the way the Mackinaws' band thinks of kin prescriptions. Internalized rules have little or no place in the ethical system of an Indian band. Kin prescriptions are more fluid than internalized rules. The form of kin prescriptions can alter dramatically as tribes search for social harmony in changing conditions. To illustrate, the San Xavier Papagos currently appear to be switching from patrilineal to

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³¹ "Society" is apparently a new term in the English language....cite

matrilineal families, whereas the Oklahoma Cherokees appear to be going in the opposite direction.

Life Cycle of a Tribal Institution

Indian hunters adapt quickly to a natural environment, but over time an adaptation loses its spontaneity and acquires institutional character. The process of institutionalization has stages. Initially, someone in the band takes upon himself to solve a pressing problem. The initiative usually comes from a particular person, not from group deliberation. The innovator takes the attitude that others should join him or else hold back, but they should not criticize, advise, or interfere.

Instead of giving orders or deliberating, a person who attempts something new just tries it and others decide whether to join in. If the person who takes the initiative appears to succeed, others join in and back him up. Leadership among tribal Indians often consists in sensing the mood of the group and initiating by example an activity that the band was predisposed to do.³³ An analogy conveys the flavor of such initiatives. A flock of birds gathered on a power line do not deliberate about when to take off. Instead, a bird may start to fly off, find that others remain on the line, and return to it. Eventually a bird will take off and others will join until the whole flock flies together in a cluster towards some destination.

Once the task is repeated several times, the method of doing it, including the allocation of tasks to people, becomes routinized. At this stage an institution is beginning to emerge, but it remains tentative and flexible. Subsequently, the task may be given sacred sanction by virtue of being accompanied by prayers and blessings. Giving sacred sanction to an activity is public acknowledgement by the tribe's spiritual leaders that the activity is intended for man by the creator. Finally, after enough repetitions, the whole routine becomes a sanctified tradition. It is now complete as an institution.

These stages of institutionalization among tribal Indians can be described as innovation, routine, sacred sanction, and tradition. However, the term "institution" is a little misleading because it suggests permanence and inflexibility. In the Indian hunting

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band, an institution is just the way people sort themselves out as they respond to the environment. If objective requirements change, most of these "institutions" will be modified or abandoned without remorse or strain.

Since tradition is the end-product of institutionalization, knowledge is stored in tradition. This is especially true of environmental knowledge. To illustrate, in many tribes men must take a sweat bath before they hunt to purify themselves and avoid the spiritual vulnerability that could make them sick. The sweat bath also removes the human smells that alert game to the hunter's presence. The loss of tradition, which has been massive in recent years, is a loss of knowledge.

Sustainability Hypothesis

Social scientists have developed models to describe the economic objectives of various institutions. For example, a system of market competition tends to maximize the wealth of a nation.³⁴ Aboriginal hunters, however, had little use for wealth because they could not store it or take it with them when they moved.³⁵ This attitude persisted in the Mackinaws' camp. To illustrate, band members shared freely and did not hold back private wealth from the group, children were not taught to save money, there was faith that nature would provide for human needs, and wealth was consumed rather than accumulated.

A process can be described as efficient when it produces a given level of output with minimum resources. The Mackinaws' band apparently aimed to achieve a given level of production by minimum effort. The level of production was given by the requirements for sustaining the band's way of life. The "sustainability hypothesis" is the name we give to the theory that an Indian hunting band's economic objective is to sustain its way of life with minimum effort.

³³Maybe insert a paragraph here on management training with reference to Vine's article in ABC.

³⁴This idea is central to Adam Smith's The Wealth of Nations (1776), which stands at the beginning of modern economics. The proposition has been developed into a theorem in welfare economics. See any microeconomics text book, such as Hal Varian, Microeconomic Analysis (19).

³⁵Microeconomics would explain the Mackinaw camp's behavior by peculiar "tastes". For example, lack of accumulation indicates a high discount rate for time. Slacking off work when the necessities are met indicates a preference for leisure. In this way the camp's behavior can could described as wealth maximization by people with eccentric preferences. This forced description seems more likely to mislead than to provide insight.

Operationalizing the sustainability hypothesis demands a description of the way of life that a tribe seeks to sustain. The theory developed in this book asserts that kinship is the core of a tribe. The critical elements in a tribe's way of life are its kin relations, not artefacts or rituals. This point will be developed in detail in the next two chapters.

The longer a tribal group lives in a particular natural environment, the more efficient it becomes. For example, the archaeologist Joe Caldwell speculated that Indians in eastern America had become so efficient in the period 1000 B.C.. to 1000 a.d. that they were able to devote much of their time to elaborating their art and religious forms.³⁶ Such a process was at work in the Mackinaws' camp after it was established in the Rocky Mountains. Hunting large game animals involves locating, tracking, killing, butchering, and transporting the meat. The narrative describes a rapid adjustment in the Mackinaws' camp to accomplish these tasks efficiently. The social aspect of adaptation involved refining the activities that must be done, improving their coordination, and better matching persons to tasks.

As the Mackinaws band become more efficient, instead of catching more and more game, they caught the same amount with less and less effort. Enough game was taken to feed themselves and provide some income from pelts. Russell Mackinaw tried briefly hiring himself out as a guide to white hunters, but he soon abandoned this activity, not because the game was diminishing from over-hunting, but because he was repelled by the attitude of whites toward killing game. He was unable to treat wild animals instrumentally, as a factor in the production of the band's wealth.

In commerce, as opposed to hunting, the band failed when it tried to run a summer camp and start a store. Many factors contributed to these failures, such as ignorance about summer camps and title disputes over the land, but a significant factor was the band's reluctance to work more than needed for an adequate material life.

Resistance to accumulating wealth is built into tribal life. The identities of tribal Indians are in relations, not occupations, and their relationships are not hierarchical. Tribal Indians are not indifferent to wealth, but few contemplate changing themselves in the ways required to accumulate it in a competitive economy. In contrast, middle class

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people are propelled into economic competition by the social prestige and satisfaction they attach to wealth.

The sustainability hypothesis generates many predictions about tribal Indians. A "windfall gain" refers to an unanticipated, one-shot receipt of wealth. Tribes have received windfall gains from time to time, such as compensation for extinguishing Indian land claims or royalties for the sale of natural resources like oil. A windfall gain will cause a people whose behavior conforms to the sustainability hypothesis to stop working.³⁷ Anyone who has spent time on reservations when such a windfall occurred knows that many people stop working. Furthermore, Indians, like to indulge themselves, especially by drinking, so they spend a large proportion of a windfall on alcohol. Little wonder that Indian elders urge the tribes to use windfalls to purchase land, rather than distributing money to individual members of the tribe.

The common lands of Europe were, according to an influential theory, badly depleted by overgrazing, allegedly because every villager was entitled to free access to them.³⁸ A sophisticated economic analysis of the problem concludes that rational, wealth maximizing individuals will, in the absence of social cooperation or outside regulation, deplete and spoil a natural resource to which everyone has free access.³⁹ The logic of this process is so relentless that it acquired the monicker, "the tragedy of the commons."

³⁷There has been debate among economists about whether the typical consumer responds to a windfall gain by consuming it or saving it. Our hypothesis is that Indians not only consume windfalls, but reduce their labor.

³⁸Garnet Hardin, "The Tragedy of the Commons," 162 Science 1243 (1968). This thesis has been criticized by McCloskey. See McCloskey, D.N.

"The Persistence of English Common Fields" and "The Economics of Enclosure"
European Peasants and Their Markets

1975; W.N.Parker and E.L.Jones, eds.), pages 73 and 123 respectively
McCloskey, D.N.
English Open Fields as Behavior Towards Risk

Research in Economic History: An Annual Compilation, vol 1
(1976; P. Uselding, ed.)
McCloskey, Donald N.
The Open Fields of England: Rent, Risk, and the Rate of Interest, 1300-1815

American Economic Association meetings, New Orleans, Dec. 1986

The average product from adding an additional cow to an overgrazed common is positive, even though the additional cow does more damage to the common than it is worth to its owner.

³⁹Each individual, however, enjoys the average product from adding an additional cow to the commons, not the marginal product. So individuals add too many cows to the common. That is the cause of overuse of an open-access resource.

There is no evidence that the Mackinaws' band was caught in this tragedy. No one pursued game relentlessly in order to earn a large income by supplying animal products to the market. The persistence of gross imprudence is a sign of political paralysis that is uncharacteristic of kinsmen. Social cooperation among kinsmen and the goal of sustainability create restraints against degrading the environment, which suggests that Indian bands will escape the tragedy of the commons.

Hunting and gathering requires an abundance of land relative to people. Abrupt innovation that increases efficiency may cause a spurt in population growth. When population grows in an Indian band, harmony becomes more difficult to maintain, and the band may fragment. The splitting of kinsmen into two groups serves the important ecological purpose of spreading people in the natural environment. After the innovation is absorbed and the population has spread, a tribe's population must subsequently level off or the way of life will be eroded by environmental degradation. The leveling off may occur because of restraining mechanisms that operate within the tribe, or population may be decimated from time to time by disasters like famine, disease, or war. The sustainability hypothesis implies that tribal Indians have internal mechanisms for stabilizing population, so they escape the tragedy of overpopulation without suffering disasters.⁴⁰

Our observations of the Mackinaws' camp were too brief to provide evidence on this issue. Evidence from other Indian groups is suggestive, but unsystematic. European travellers who contacted aboriginal Indians often commented on how few children there were.⁴¹ When the Sioux got horses in the late 18th century, they left the woodlands and moved on to the Great Plains to hunt buffalo. The Sioux population apparently exploded around 1800, but by 1850 visitors were reporting only one or two children per family.

The most striking evidence for sustainable populations is broadly historical. Indians lived for centuries without devastating diseases like cholera, typhoid, and typhus. There were no invasions by exterminating armies like the mongols. Apparently no tribe could keep an army in the field for longer than a few months. During these centuries, Indians possessed an efficient hunting technology and agriculture, yet the abundance of

⁴⁰ Levi-Strausse argues for the sustainability hypothesis in [Levi-Strausse, 1995 #4341].

game persisted and the land was not depleted. Perhaps the population dynamics were sustainable, not Malthusian, but the quality of evidence is not high enough to yield a firm conclusion.⁴²

Necessity and Freedom

Imagine a community in which the people are fully disciplined by the pursuit of material ends, such as maximizing wealth. Suppose this community gains its living from the land by using a relatively static technology. Cultural forms in this hypothetical community are selected to maximize wealth, given the availability of resources and technology. Thus cultural relates to the organization of production as superstructure to base. In other words, wealth maximization and static technology imply environmental determinism.

We have argued that the economic objective of hunting bands is sustainability, not wealth maximization. Wealth acts as a constraint, not an unquenchable desire. Once production is sufficient to sustain the traditional way of life, the Indian band is released from its material constraint. The organization of production thus relates to cultural forms as necessity relates to freedom, not as superstructure to base. Efficiency diminishes necessity and increases freedom.

To illustrate, Nascopi women provided much of the meat to their families by snaring rabbits. The maintenance of rabbit snares requires detailed local knowledge, so it was appropriate that a Nascopi man who married went to live in his wife's household.⁴³ In contrast, Paiutes lived near springs and obtained meat from game trapped locally by men. This activity also requires detailed local knowledge, so it is appropriate that a Paiute women who married came to live in her husband's household.⁴⁴ After satisfying such constraints, Nascopi and Paiute culture enjoyed substantial freedom from necessity.

The scope of freedom can be measured by comparing different tribes in similar environments. Peoples with different cultural traditions and similar technology will, if they are efficient, arrive at similar social adaptations when responding to the same natural

⁴¹ cite

⁴²

⁴³ cite. Note that nature does not determine that women, not men, snare rabbits.

⁴⁴ cite

environment. Conversely, many cultural differences will persist to the extent that peoples are free from necessity. Anthropologists can construct what are called culture areas in North America, such as the Great Plains or the eastern woodlands. Within these areas, in which the natural environment is similar, the social organization of Indians speaking very different languages appears similar. They have made the same adaptation in broad outline to the natural environment, as the efficiency model predicts.

For instance, many different peoples moved into the great plains in the 1700s, some from the west and some from the east. Among them were the Cheyenne who had lived in earth lodge villages and farmed in the eastern Dakotas along the Red River. They were an eastern woodland village people, who were influenced by institutions and ideas from the Mexican civilizations. When they moved on to the plains to hunt buffalo, they took over much of the life-style of the plains Indians: horses, tepees, generational kin organization, bands, buffalo hunting, and sun dances.⁴⁵

Artefacts and rituals are not, however, the differences among tribes that are most important among from their own perspective. Tribal Indians are not deeply attached to artefacts or particular culture forms, because their identities lie elsewhere. The fundamental differences among Indians are, rather, differences in kinship. Kin prescriptions vary significantly from tribe to tribe, as can be described easily. Differences in the personal element of kinship, however, are more important and more elusive.

The timbre and tone of human relations varies greatly from one Indian tribe to another, as even the casual visitor can detect. These differences are easier to feel than describe, but they often spill over into aspects of life than can be documented. To illustrate again by the Cheyenne, their institutional structure, even on the Great Plains, is more elaborate, formal, and complicated, especially in politics and law,⁴⁶ than other plains tribes who were simple hunting bands before moving out onto the plains. The persistence of such cultural differences within the same ecological zone is evidence for freedom's extent.

⁴⁵cite

⁴⁶cite The Cheyenne Way by Llewellyn

Conclusion

The tribal life among American Indians was not just lived among kin, it was made from kinship. Production in a hunting band, as in a modern city, requires differentiation of function and specialization by activity. People are matched to tasks in the Mackinaws' hunting band through the personal element in kinship, in which people relate emotionally to each other as whole persons and respond to perceived needs. Adaptation of kin relations results in differentiation without hierarchy, so no one has power over others. Immersion in a natural environment allows consumption without accumulation, so no one has much market wealth.

The accumulation of adaptations creates traditions that define a way of life. A hunting band like the Mackinaws' camp seeks to minimize the effort needed to sustain its way of life. As the band becomes more efficient, it is freed from natural necessity and culture develops autonomously. Subsequent chapters on assimilation try to characterize the core of a tribe's way of life and describe the mechanisms of social change.

Chapter 4 The White Dove of the Desert -- Preemption, Assimilation, and Fragmentation

Almost one million and a quarter Americans identified themselves as Indians in the 1980 census. Some scholars feel that this is an over-count, but nearly everyone would concede that there are at least a million Indians in the United States today, which means that the Indian population has recovered from its nadir of around 200,000 in 1900 to reach a level similar to estimates for 1650.⁴⁷ There are Indian communities in the rural areas of almost every state and Indians are a visible minority in the Upper Great Lakes, the Dakotas, Oklahoma, and the Southwest. A minority of rural Indian communities are losing population through emigration, and a few small Indian reservations are largely peopled by older Indians and children, but most rural Indian communities, on or off reservations, are growing in population. Further, recently removed Indian families live in significant numbers in most major American cities.

The data demonstrate convincingly that Indians are not being *physically* absorbed by the larger society, but the questions which intrigue Indians and Americans as a whole are whether or not Indians are being *culturally* absorbed by the general society, and how much they retain of their ancestral heritage. In 1650 all North American Indian tribes and bands consisted of small, kin-based social units, which were very sacred and traditional, and not open to outsiders, but nevertheless Indian groups differed from one another with respect to language and customs at least as much as national groups in Europe. Thus on the Great Plains with the advent of the horse they became buffalo hunters and warriors dwelling in tepees, while along the Rio Grande in what is now New Mexico Indian farmers lived in permanent towns and did not highly value warfare. Today Indians still find themselves responding to a variety of natural environments, with some working as lumbermen, others as stockmen, and still others as professional fishermen, but now they are poor almost everywhere and some groups suffer acute social ills like alcoholism and family breakdown.

Indians have adopted much of contemporary America's material culture, such as cars, televisions, and mobile homes, and Indians are increasingly involved in America's

⁴⁷RT supplies a cite.

nonmaterial culture, such as Christianity, formal education, and bureaucratic government. At the same time, there has been a re-assertion of distinctively Indian practices, such as the spread of powwows (social dances) from Oklahoma to reservations throughout North America and the increase in aboriginal Indian religious ceremonies.⁴⁸ Some signs point toward absorption of Indians into the larger society, such as intermarriage, language loss, and weakening kin ties, whereas others point towards a cultural revival, such as the attempts of city Indians to return and rejoin their original rural communities, the deliberate use of Indian languages in the home and in public affairs, and the revival of aboriginal institutions of government and religion. These facts raise questions about the present and the future. To what extent have Indians assimilated, as opposed to remaining distinct peoples? Will there be an Indian renaissance or will Indians become indistinguishable from other brown skinned Americans?

Just as beads and turquoise do not make an Indian, so driving a car and living in a trailer does not make a person white. With culture as with other phenomena, changing forms can signify changing substance, or forms can change while leaving substance intact. As indicated, Indians have adopted many of the forms of white culture, but it is unclear how deep these changes go.

This question of assimilation is emotionally charged because it relates to the question, "What is authentically Indian?", or "Who is really an Indian?" Different tribes have different criteria for answering this question. The Mesquakie, for example, trace descent through the male line and hold that anyone with a Mesquakie father is also a Mesquakie. The Yaquis, in contrast, are inclined to say that a Yaquis is someone born of Yaquis parents and who takes part in Yaquis religious life, and has little foreign blood. Some Indians, especially young urban Indians, have adopted ideological and categorical answers that, for example, rule out native adaptations of Christianity from being Indian. Besides the emotional loading, the question is relevant to legal issues such as deciding who is entitled to vote in tribal elections, enter the reservation hospital, share in distributions of funds from local claims cases or receive an allotment and a house from the tribe.

⁴⁸Is there any membership data on the Native American Church which could be cited as evidence? Omer C. Stewart...

In this book we make no effort to decide who is entitled to the honorific title "real Indian," but we will try to assess the extent of assimilation from a scientific viewpoint. Instead of answering by slogans and rhetoric, we rely upon the theory that we began developing in the preceding chapters, which asserts that personal identity controls the meaning of many cultural forms. Thus, according to our theory, if Indians have adopted white cultural forms, while conserving traditional relationships and identities, the core of Indian society remains intact, and we predict that stable meanings will be attached to fluid cultural forms. To illustrate, if Guatemalan Indians who worship the Christian god identify God with the sun in the sky, the traditional meaning of worship has been conserved more than meets the eye. In contrast, our theory holds that acculturation is occurring if relations and identities have shifted and become like those of whites, which will be evidenced by the fact that Indians assign a similar meaning to cultural forms as whites. Thus we will try to measure acculturation by comparing the extent to which human relations, personal identities, and the interpretations of cultural forms among Indians have remained similar to those of R.H. in "A Cherokee Childhood".

This is the theme which we explore in this chapter by presenting and interpreting another narrative. This narrative by Robert K. Thomas, one of the authors of this book, is a description of the Papago village of San Xavier as it was when he first went there in the late 1940's and as it was when he returned in the 1980's. The Papagos were, and are, one of the least assimilated of American Indian tribes. This fact is especially interesting since San Xavier is so close to a large city, Tucson. Tucson was founded by the Spanish in the 1770s and soon became a thriving Mexican town. Arizona, the last territory in the continental United States to be admitted to the Union, was settled late by Anglo-Americans, but in recent years the city of Tucson has experienced explosive growth and its southern outskirts have stretched out to San Xavier. Now the northern boundary of the lands owned by San Xavier village is a barb wire fence with suburban housing on the other side. So San Xavier village is a good case study of the effects of American culture upon Indians.

"The White Dove of the Desert" -- A narrative by Robert K.
Thomas

I lived in Tucson, Arizona, while attending the University of Arizona, from 1945 until 1951. In this period I made many visits to the Papago* Indian village of San Xavier, ten miles south of the city of Tucson. It is situated in the northeast corner of the San Xavier Indian Reservation, which contains some seventy thousand acres. The Santa Cruz river flows from south to north through the eastern section of the reservation, and San Xavier people farmed the river bottoms in the extreme northeastern section of their reservation. When I arrived there were probably some eight hundred people who lived in the village. A majority of the houses clustered around a famous mission church built in Spanish times, which was located on the west side of the river. There were also quite a few houses along the road which lead from the mission church north to Tucson, and a considerable number of families lived on the east side of the river.

I had close friends at San Xavier whom I had come to know after several years of extensive visits. I attended ceremonies there quite frequently during the period from 1945 to 1951. In the spring of 1952 I married a San Xavier Papago girl and moved in with her extended family. We lived in what could best be described as a house compound, three rectangular adobe houses placed in a "U" shaped arrangement. An arbor was constructed in the middle of this U in the summer time so that the women could cook outside and the rest of us could eat and sleep outside in the hot weather.

Visiting the Papagos and having Papago friends was one thing; living and functioning among them as a family member was quite another. I had come to the conclusion that they were among the most "Indian" of the Indian groups I knew, and I say this from an Indian perspective. They were extremely low key people; one had to really keep alert to pick up cues among Papagos. They were the most respectful of a person's privacy and integrity of any Indian groups I have ever lived among; and North American Indians as a whole are noted for being respectful of the person.

But as I say, having friends is one thing, living among a people is another. When I lived with my wife's family, some sixteen months, from the spring of '52 until the fall of '53, I had to function as a member of that family. Besides being an extremely loving and

* The official name of the tribe, recently adopted by the tribal government, is Tohano Oodham; meaning Desert People in their language. I have chosen to use Papago in this narrative because the term Papago is used in the literature and because most elders at San Xavier feel that since San Xavier is a river village the term Desert People is not appropriate.

gentle people, Papagos are very subtle; and I am afraid that the standards of Papago social sensitivity were sometimes quite beyond me.

For instance, I was working on the railroad at that time, and on Monday morning I would get in my car to drive to work in Tucson. Sometimes I would be getting in my car when my wife would come to the door and say, "Aren't you going to wait on my aunt Elizabeth?" I would respond, "Well, I didn't know I was supposed to wait on Elizabeth!" She would say, "Well, didn't you see her getting ready?" And I must confess that I did not notice Elizabeth getting ready. My wife would then say, "Well, she wants to go to town." So I would wait. Elizabeth would get in the car and I would start for the Southern Pacific Railroad Terminal. When I would start the car I would ask Elizabeth where it was that she wanted to go, and she would tell me. Most of the time I was still a little sleepy in the morning, and more times than not I would drive by the place where Elizabeth wanted to go, end up at the railroad station, realize that Elizabeth was still in the car, and ask her again where it was that she wanted to go. She would tell me and I would back my car around and take her to a place that we had passed on the way to the railroad station. She would never say "This is where I get off." Papagos feel that if you are driving the car and you know where someone wants to get off, then you will let that person off; or you will continue on because of some reason of your own. But they feel it is not their business to try to direct you, even if you inconvenience them.

A common Papago custom in those days, and still today to a large extent, was that when you came to visit you would stand outside the house and wait until a person who lived inside came out of the house and spoke to you. This approach was supposed to give the family in the house a chance to have time to respond to a person standing outside. Most Indians do not like surprises! If you had come to the house to stay simply for an hour or so, people would come outside and talk to you. If you had come for a "visit", as Papagos conceived it, which meant a stay of several days, you would be told to "get down" - (come in) and a place would be found for you in the house.

I remember one time during the summer we were all eating our noon meal out under the arbor and a horseman approached--a Papago Indian. He reined up his horse a little distance from the arbor and sat in the saddle there for quite a while. Finally

someone got up and put down a plate for him and he dismounted and ate. After our visitor had eaten, he got back on his horse and left. So far as I heard, he never spoke a word. When I asked my wife who the stranger was, she replied that she did not know, and when I asked several other people, they indicated that the stranger must have been somebody from the desert. But in our presence he never said a word, and no one asked him his name. It should come as no surprise to the reader that until recently there were no words in the Papago language for "hello" or "thank you". The other side of the coin is that Papagos expect that their own privacy will be respected. If you look at Papagos for any length of time while they are eating they will stop eating. If Papago Indians in those days wished to break their bread, they held it down below the level of the table to break it. That was almost as intimate an act for Papagos as going to the toilet.

Papagos not only respected the integrity of adults, but the integrity of children as well. I don't think that I ever saw a Papago Indian strike a child in those days or even raise their voice to a child. When my wife and I had our first child, a son, we took him to a medicine man, a kinsman, for his birth ceremony. In the birth ceremony the parents and child must drink a concoction of what appears to be white clay and water. It is by this method that the medicine man puts part of his spiritual power into the child to insure that it grows up healthy. After we had finished the ceremony, the medicine man told us that he had put his power into the baby, but we had to be very careful not to drive that power out of our child. He said that "if you are angry with your child, look away. Don't let the child see anger in your eyes because that anger will drive my power out of the child".

Sometimes the Papago respect for the individual was a little too much for me. For instance, one time my wife's uncle, Peeping Coyote, the same medicine man to whom we took our child for "baptism", was living in our house compound and had been called upon to put on a curing ceremony. He decided to make a sand painting on the floor preparatory to the curing ceremony. We spent approximately five hours making the sand painting. When we had almost completed it, one of the children in our family group came riding into the house on a stick horse and rode right through the diagram. My wife's uncle looked at the ruined sand painting for about 30 seconds, then he took a stick

and began to rake the sand over to one side. He said "Well, maybe we can start on it again after dinner." No one, however, said anything to the boy.

A more extreme case occurred at a ceremony for a dying woman in the Papago settlement in Tucson. A group of older ⁴⁹Papagos were saying the rosary for the dying woman, next to her bed. While they were saying the rosary, some Papago children were firing off fire crackers right outside the window near her bed; a little bit disconcerting to say the least! But no one told the children to stop. I must admit that town Papago children were far more aggressive and uncontrolled than Papago children in the country, but the same standards of respect were given those children as were given country children.

Papago Indians are unlike most American Indians in one regard: many North American Indians will respond very negatively and sometimes with hostility when one interferes in what they feel to be their personal business. Papagos, however, are extremely tolerant. At San Xavier, all the Papagos were very committed Catholics, in the Mexican mode. But the American Franciscans there were not of this style of Catholicism. Mexican Catholic clergy in most Mexican communities are primarily ritual specialists, and generally keep out of community and family affairs. The priests at San Xavier would violate Papago standards of good behavior by interfering in what the Papagos felt was personal or family business, in the manner of priests in Ireland and in American cities; perhaps stopping by a wood lot on a stormy day to inform the woodcutter that it was dangerous to chop wood with lightning flashing about or inadvertently pressuring parents to see that the common law union of a couple was sanctioned by marriage in the church. Papagos never reacted with hostility, however. They simply heard out the priests and then went on as they were doing before. Most times they were a little confused about what was being asked of them, but even when it was clear, they did not react negatively.

When I first moved to our house compound, there were some ten people permanently in residence, but this number was soon augmented by my wife's aunt, her husband, Peeping Coyote, and a teenage son. They had come from a Papago village on

the main Papago Indian reservation some sixty miles to the west of Tucson. Very shortly there were some fourteen people permanently in residence there--four children and ten adults. Three of the children had parents, my wife's uncle, Stanley, and his wife, who worked some twenty miles to the south on a cotton farm. They were usually home for the weekends, and some weeks Stanley's wife stayed permanently in the house compound. Further, an aunt who worked in town stayed at our house cluster on weekends. Sometimes my wife's parents who were working in the mining town of Ajo, Arizona, some 120 miles away, visited on weekends; as well as another sister and her husband, also living in the Papago quarter in Ajo. Most of the time we had to feed in two shifts at the table. Rarely were there less than 15 people at the table and on weekends some 25 to 30 people.

One of my wife's uncles, Augustine, and a cousin, Victor, from the main reservation "out on the desert" (as the San Xavier Papago's termed it) who was living permanently with our family, plus relatives from across the river, tilled the family fields. Our fields lay in the Santa Cruz river bottoms just below our houses. Like most San Xavier house clusters, our houses were on a bench just up from the river bottom. Our fields produced wheat, corn, beans, squash, chilies, chickpeas, melons, and the like. Most years we could make two crops and sometimes three, depending on how much irrigation water was available.

I was a wage earner, as well as Stanley who worked week days some 20 miles to the south. We provided the cash money for the family economy. No one asked that we put in a certain amount, we simply put in what we felt was necessary, and no one ever tried to figure out whether the wage earners contributed more than the men who were gardening; we simply contributed what we were able. Peeping Coyote, the medicine man from the desert, did not contribute any money to the house in so far as I could see, but he was not able to find much work when he was living at our house compound. He did help some with the gardening, and his knowledge of medicine was an invaluable asset to our family.

San Xavier was a veritable oasis in those days, with big cottonwoods along the river banks and large gardens in the river bottom. And, my, how the Papagos did, and do,

love that land of theirs--the fields, the desert, the mountains, the plants, the animals, everything! The Papagos do not "own" that country. They are part and parcel of it, and have been from "time immemorial." Recently, I was driving a young man, my wife's nephew, to his home and we passed by an area that was being cleared, preparatory to the construction of a housing development. He said, "Bob, what are all those animals going to do who used to live there?"

More, that land is a holy land if ever there was one. The Papagos feel that they plant their crops on the graves of their ancestors, and there is much truth to that sentiment. Every hill and mountain in sight has sacred stories connected with it. Even the giant sahuaro cactuses, the symbol of modern southern Arizona, are thought to be the spirits of long dead Papagos. The land is sacred and the land is the people.

The desert is filled with edible plant food, unlike the popular conception. As late as 1940 San Xavier people gathered much of their food from plants in the desert, but by 1950 that food source was little utilized. For Papagos on the large reservation further west, however, gathering wild plants was still important. In June, Papagos "out on the desert" would gather the fruit of the sahuaro cactus and some of the fruit would be made into a mild wine. Desert Papagos would drink this wine during their rain-making ceremonies and become "beautifully drunk," as they put it in the Papago language, in order to help call up the rain clouds; according to the instructions of Elder Brother, the giver of the Papago Way in the beginning. Then came the summer rains.

Southern Arizona does not get enough rainfall by itself to grow crops, and at San Xavier we had an irrigation system which watered our fields. In times past the San Xavier fields were irrigated by a sand dam that the Papagos built across the river. This dam backed up water, forcing it to flow into the irrigation ditches. Once a year, of course, that sand dam washed away, but it was very easy to rebuild. However, by 1950 the river had gone almost completely underground and water flowed in the river only sporadically. By 1950 we were getting our water from deep wells which had been drilled by the Indian Bureau, and water was not as plentiful as it had been earlier. There was a water co-op to which San Xavier families belonged, with an elected water boss. However, I never heard of the water co-op making any decisions. Families tended to take

what water they had taken last year unless they were farming less; and the local agricultural agent, an Indian Bureau employee, tended to make decisions when decisions were necessary for the water co-op.

Papago men did not do too much hunting when I lived at San Xavier, and they didn't seem to me to be very good hunters. But they were skilled gardeners, and had been for quite a long time, perhaps for a thousand years. And the Papagos knew and understood that desert country. There was some conflict between the agricultural agent's recommendations and the way the Papagos farmed. Papagos liked to put a lot of water on their fields before they planted and allow the water to seep down deeply into the ground, then Papagos used less water during the year while their crops were growing. This was at variance with the recommendations of semi-scientific experts who studied such matters and these "experts" concluded that the Indian method was wasteful. This was the beginning of a conflict between Papago notions of farming and Bureau of Indian Affairs' various recommendations, and, of course, the federal government did have the final say on our reservation.

I became convinced that the Papagos were probably right in dealing with water in the way that they did. An incident happened which, though only tangential to farming, convinced me that the Papago wisdom about desert farming was considerable.

One time a family at San Xavier had to dig an irrigation ditch a hundred yards or so long. I was interested to see how it would be accomplished. This family went to the Pima reservation north of our area near Phoenix to get an old Pima Indian to supervise the digging of the irrigation ditch. The Pimas are a related tribe, speaking virtually the same language as the Papagos and having a similar culture. This elderly Pima was said to possess the spiritual power needed to dig irrigation ditches. He stayed at San Xavier for several days; a very pleasant man who, unlike most Papagos of his age, spoke English. He never took a measurement as far as I could see. He simply marked out on the ground with a stick the width of the irrigation ditch, and after the men had started to dig, our Pima expert would show them on his stick how much further down they had to go; sometimes he would signal with his hand, indicating so many fingers or a hand.

I was not impressed by all of this. I was certain that they were digging the longest and most narrow swimming pool in Arizona. However, after the ditch was finished to the Pima supervisor's satisfaction, the pump was turned on, the water filled the irrigation ditch, ran to its end, and spilled out over the fields perfectly. So, as far as I could see, the job was done with minimum effort; a job which usually takes significant engineering skill and advice when done by non-Indians. As I say, this was a very convincing demonstration to me that Papagos had been in the farming business for quite a while in southern Arizona, and knew things about that desert environment of which scientific experts in universities were not aware.

Even though the San Xavier village was close to Tucson it was "old-timey" by Indian standards. Very few older Papagos spoke any English at all, although some few did speak Spanish. In our family, my wife's uncle, Stanley, who worked some twenty miles to the south, had been in the Second World War and spoke excellent English and was by any standards a sophisticated, worldly man. He had an aristocratic mien about him, as well. My mother, who was very much of a southern lady in some ways, always said that Stanley had "more class in his little finger than all the rich whites in southern Arizona in a pile." Stanley's wife, who had been born out on the desert, spoke almost no English at all. Stanley's older brother spoke almost no English and the thirty-year old visiting cousin from the desert spoke little English. The medicine man from the desert who was married to one of my wife's aunts and who had come to live in our house also spoke no English. Most of the family under 50, however, spoke fairly acceptable but heavily accented working-class English and the children in our compound were learning English well. They went to the school on the San Xavier reservation next to the mission church. The school was taught by nuns who were connected to the Franciscan order. Most Papagos youngsters at San Xavier at that time attended the local mission school; but few finished the eighth grade, and fewer still went on to high school at a federal boarding school.

My wife and I had moved into her family compound without giving it too much thought. I think that her family simply expected that I would move there after we were married. In past years it was preferred that when a Papago man and woman married, that the woman go live with the man's family. Land was usually inherited through the male

line. However this was not a hard and fast rule and many men went to their wife's family, particularly if their wife's family had an abundance of lands. I simply went there because it seemed to be my wife's wish and was much better for us than living in the town of Tucson. When I first moved in with my wife's family, a Papago friend of mine gave me some advice. He said, "I am going to tell you what the old people told me. 'If you go to live with your wife's family, don't let them make a pet out of you.'" But my wife's kin treated me more like a king than a pet.

I hadn't been at San Xavier very long when I found out that residence at San Xavier for an outsider was not automatic. One day while walking on a road, I met the San Xavier village chief, an elderly gentleman of some influence and prestige within the village of San Xavier. He made it known to me that he would like to speak to me, so we went to his house where there was a young Papago man, I believe the chief's son, who was able to speak English and interpret for us. My Papago was not very good at that time. I could understand simple Papago and speak a few broken phrases and words, but not enough to really understand a serious conversation and make a response. The chief of San Xavier village, Hohey, told me that it was alright for me to live at San Xavier. The rule at San Xavier was that Mexicans or other Indians, if they were married to someone at San Xavier, could come and live there; but not whites or blacks as they would have a hard time understanding Papago customs. Mexicans and other Indians would be able to fit in more easily to San Xavier life.

He told me that, although I was welcome to stay, I would present him with a problem. When my children grew up, he would have to find them some land and that would be difficult for him. Hohey said that he wasn't trying to run me out of the village, but he said it would be easier for him if I would take my wife to my relatives. When I told my wife's family about this conversation with the chief of San Xavier village, they became infuriated. It was one of the few times I have seen Papagos raise their voices in loud tones. The women of the family were the most indignant. They said that my children would be Papagos and their relatives and they would see that my children got land. It was no business of the chief of San Xavier village what happened in our family. That was their business and they would attend to the matter.

There was also a village council at San Xavier which was made up of revered elders. We had some relatives on that council. Open village meetings were quite common, and as my understanding of the Papago language increased, I attended these meetings. Many such meetings were called to hear what some Bureau of Indian Affairs official had to say, ever trying to involve San Xavier in some "betterment" program.

I remember that one time a Bureau of Indian Affairs expert came to present a plan to reseed the desert. His idea was to encase seeds in a kind of material which rabbits liked to eat, then to sow these pellets out over the desert by airplane. Rabbits would then eat these pellets and soon defecate the seeds out on the desert in their feces. Thus the grasslands would be rejuvenated again in a natural way. In that period the western three fourths of the San Xavier reservation was cattle country, the traditional area in which San Xavier villagers ran their cattle. Families in that period had a mutual understanding about what range land belonged to what families. I suppose that this grandiose idea was aimed at improving the Papago range. However, Papago interest in cattle raising was waning, I presume because a significant percentage of active Papago men were going into wage labor. Some Papago men were in full time wage labor, like my wife's uncle who worked on the cotton farm 20 miles to the south. And in different parts of the year whole Papago families left San Xavier to work as migrant labors in cotton or in other crops. As the case may be, this gentleman seems to have approached the San Xavier council with the best of intentions, but with an idea ahead of its time. Papagos at the meeting were simply stunned by such a plan. And over the months the council managed to stall this official by various strategies, always very polite and humble strategies, until he had either lost interest or until too much time had passed to put the plan into operation. After the expert attended a few meetings we finally saw him no more.

In past years San Xavier had had its own police and its own courts and, in fact, there was still a small abandoned jail over by the mission church. At least it was called a jail--it was a veritable dungeon. Before the jail was built San Xavier had had a whipping post on the plaza in front of the church. However, these functions had been taken over some years before by the Papago tribal government - the police and court systems - whose headquarters was in a small agency town called Sells, located in the middle of the huge Connecticut-sized main Papago reservation. San Xavier either elected

or appointed, I'm not sure which, two councilmen to represent them on the tribal council. One of them was a relative, a man called Spotted Indian who was also the sacristan of the mission church. As sacristan of the mission church he was also the head of the very elaborate Papago lay Catholic religious organization at San Xavier. He did not conceive of himself as participating in governmental decisions at Sells. He simply thought of himself, as did most San Xavier Papagos, as someone who went out to Sells to see what they were doing out there, and then to come back and report the news to the people. The tribal government was a very distant and foreign element in San Xavier life.

Perhaps one of the reasons behind this "foreignness" was the complexion of the tribal council itself. Probably 90% at least of the Papago tribe were Catholics and had been at least nominally Catholic for several hundred years. Around the turn of the century, however, Presbyterian missionaries managed to convert a small number of Papagos, particularly in the southern part of the Papago reservation. Over the years this nucleus of Presbyterians did not remain localized, some members moving to other Papago regions because of inter-marriage, better economic opportunities, or what have you. There is still a nucleus of Papago Presbyterians in the southern part of the Papago reservation, but individual Protestant families are scattered over quite an area in numerous villages. It appears that the Papago perception of the tribal government in that time was such that they required a councilman to be able to deal effectively with American whites. Most of the Papago Protestants had attended Presbyterian boarding schools, and had a very high level of education. As a result of this educational experience they had also internalized many of the white middle class Presbyterian values--hard work, progress, rationality, etc. Thus it was this kind of person who served on the Papago tribal council far in excess of their percentage in Papago population.

At times they were a source of some annoyance to the Catholic majority.

For instance, there is a town in Mexico, Magdalena, some sixty miles below the Mexican border which is a "holy city." Magdalena was the headquarters of mission activity in extreme northern Mexico and southern Arizona, the Piman speaking area, in the 1700s. Father Kino, the missionary Jesuit priest who converted the Papagos, is buried there. A church there houses a famous healing image of St. Francis. Papagos

and other Catholic Indians in the area travel to Magdalena in October to celebrate the feast of Saint Francis of Assisi and to visit his famous figure. One year, at the urging of a politically powerful Protestant councilman, the Papago tribal council almost passed an ordinance prohibiting Papagos from going to Magdalena for this feast. Papagos were a little annoyed, but they tended to ignore the issue and go on their way to Magdalena. In many tribes, of course, such an action on the part of the tribal council would have caused social havoc among the tribe, a near violent response from the majority. The Papagos in those days were great believers in "considering the source" and so did not respond so negatively. However there were people among the Papago Catholic majority who were not well pleased with such a Protestant inspired ordinance. One Papago gentleman said to me in commenting about the Protestant Papagos that "the Protestant Papagos were always against the Papago Catholics. They are even against Papagos going to the medicine man".

The water co-op and the San Xavier government were not the only institutions that were being preempted by outside authority. The socialization of Papago children was being partially pre-empted as well by the mission school, even if benignly so. And some institutions had been weakened. For instance, a large committee at San Xavier was responsible for the feasts of Saint Francis in October and December. It was the major feast committee operating at San Xavier. The committee changes composition yearly, that is, a new feast committee "comes in" yearly. The head of the Saint Francis feast committee carries a silver-headed cane, presumably given to San Xavier by the King of Spain and blessed by the Pope. This cane has been kept at San Xavier for more than two hundred years and every year there is a ceremony in which the head of the out-going Saint Francis committee presents this cane to the head of the in-coming committee. In the early 1950s older Papagos said that in past times the head of the Saint Francis feast committee was the active moral guardian of San Xavier. By the time I lived at San Xavier, this function was much attenuated. But the social impact of over-control by the federal government, tribal governmental intrusion, and influences from the general American society at San Xavier seemed to have been recent and not too profound at that point in time. Such was even more the case among the desert Papagos on the large reservation to the west of San Xavier. This reservation came into existence in 1916 and

was enlarged in subsequent years, one of the last Indian reservations to be created by the federal government. Papagos in this harsh and isolated area must have been one of the last native peoples in the United States impacted by Western society. I knew an older Papago from the desert who had been almost a young man when, in the 1880s, the first white man in the first wagon anyone had ever seen entered his village.

To illustrate, the Peeping Coyote, a man of sixty years of age, was born in a desert village around 1890 in a grass wickiup in a time when Papago men of his village farmed with digging sticks and wore little more than breechcloths. He was a "big boy" when the first wooden plow appeared in his village; and even older when the first saint's image was brought from Mexico by some of his relatives.

As late as 1939 very few Bureau of Indian Affairs official had ever visited the northwest quarter of the Papago reservation, and virtually no one spoke English in that huge region.

It was in this region that the last Indian "war" took place. In 1941, or thereabouts, the federal government instituted a program to register all young male American citizens in case the United States became involved in the Second World War and needed to draft young men for the armed services. Two prominent village chiefs in the northwestern part of the Papago reservation did not approve of the "Americans" involving their people in a foreign quarrel. They advised their young men not to register for the draft. The most prominent of the two chiefs, Pinya machitam, raised the Mexican flag over his village. The Papago tribal policeman was sent to investigate the matter. He later said, with much indignation in his voice, "Those Indians threw me down on the ground and cut my forehead!" I don't think that the Papago officer had ever encountered violent resistance from Papagos. A force of United States marshals, along with a small airplane, moved into the area. The airplane frightened the insurgents and scattered the Papago young men all over the countryside. The rebellion was thus quelled and the marshals arrested Pinya machitam and his co-conspirator. They were tried in federal court and sent to Terminal Island prison in California. These two chiefs remained in prison a year or so, were then pardoned, and sent back to their homes in Arizona.

In later years, someone asked Pinya machitam why he had undertaken his "war" against the Americans. He replied, "The only place I had ever been, away from my home, was Mexico where I went to buy supplies every year. I didn't know that the Americans were as numerous as the stars in the skies. I thought that the majority of Americans in the world lived at Sells (the agency town) and I thought we could whip such a small bunch of people. After our trial they put us on a railroad train to take us to prison. I had heard of railroad trains but I had never seen one. On our trip I was amazed at the numbers and the prosperity of Americans, as well as their rich lands. And they are a people of great spiritual power. At one place our train passed by huge iron boats floating in the sea. Only a people of great spiritual power can make iron float.

"Further, I found out that the Americans are a kind and generous people. When they took my friend and I to California I thought we were being taken there to be killed. But they simply kept us over there in jail for a while. They gave me a room to myself with a good bed, and I had running water right there in my room. The food was good and you could eat all you wanted. All I had to do was to just sit outside in the sun in the courtyard. I got fat.

"I was scared at first, and I missed my home and my family. I got over being scared after a while, when I saw that I would not be executed. I didn't like being penned up, but I lived well and got a lot of rest. But I was glad to get home and see my family."

Pinya machitam's story reads like an account by an Indian in the 1700s, and certainly must illustrate the recency of contact between American society and the desert Papagos.

I guess the aspect of San Xavier life which was the hardest for me to understand was my wife's religion, the San Xavier Papago religion. Nothing in my experience had really prepared me to come to an understanding of San Xavier religion. I was raised in the Cherokee tribe; part of the tribe were Cherokee Baptists and part were what were called Night-Hawks, Indians who worshiped in the ancient Cherokee way. Probably half the Cherokee tribe went to both the Baptist church and to the aboriginal ceremonies. I knew that some of the best Indian doctors among the Cherokees were Baptists, and I knew that many medicine men were in fact deacons in the community-based Cherokee

Baptist churches. I therefore had three categories in my mind: one was Indians who worshiped in the old aboriginal pattern; secondly, Indians who were Christians, and, thirdly, those who participated in both patterns. Although I knew that many Cherokee Baptist families passed along the stories of the Cherokee creation to their children, and that many Baptist deacons were also medicine men, I had not yet formulated in my mind that religious behavior in the Cherokee tribe is best thought of as a continuum with an old aboriginal religion at one end of the continuum and a native Christianity at the other end of the continuum. Cherokees simply conceived of the Cherokee Baptist religion as Christianity. We did not conceive of Cherokee Christianity as something that had been remodeled or nativized. We simply assumed that the distinct Cherokee form of the Baptist religion was "natural," because we were, after all, Cherokees; but as legitimately Christian as white Baptists.

I did have a great deal of experience with the Yaquis Indians who lived in Tucson. It was clear that much of their religious ritual was an integration of Spanish-Catholic and aboriginal Yaquis ritual forms. I could see that the Yaquis religion was one integrated system. This, however, was not so apparent to me in Papago religious behavior. When I visited San Xavier before I was married, I would come many times for the public celebrations on Catholic feast days. It appeared to me that there were two parallel religious patterns there--one was orthodox Catholicism, that is to say the celebration of the Catholic sacraments such as mass on the one hand, and another pattern which appeared to me to be modeled after Mexican style village Catholicism.

However, when I went to live on the San Xavier Indian reservation as a member of a Papago family group, it became clear to me that there was a great deal of aboriginal Papago religious practice which was not open to the public eye. For instance, one of the men of our household was a very noted Indian doctor; as well, the brother of my wife's grandmother who lived on the other side of the river. The main job of Papago spiritual healers is to diagnose the sickness by virtue of the spiritual power which they have received, so that by performing a certain ritual they can "see" the cause of disease in a patient. Once the cause has been established, let us say that the medicine man tells you that you have deer sickness, arrangements are then made to bring men to your house who know the songs for deer sickness. There is then an all night singing of the deer sickness

songs, and presumably the cure is effected. At that period in my life I was employed on the railroad. If one can appreciate ten singers in a small Papago house, one can imagine how hard it is to sleep under those conditions. A lot of times I went to work on the railroad having managed only a few hours sleep the previous night.

Papagos are secretive about their aboriginal religious practices because they feel there is spiritual power connected with those practices. The telling of a Papago origin story to a child, a curing ceremony, or even a public ceremony in the aboriginal style, is thought of as spiritual power-knowledge. The Papagos possess this spiritual power as a people even as an individual Papagos may possess spiritual power by virtue of a vision or a dream. When spiritual power-knowledge is made public to outsiders, Papagos think that it tends to dissipate and weaken, therefore Papagos do not like either to talk about or have outsiders witness features of the old Papago religious system. (I have carefully tried to avoid giving away any of the Papago secret knowledge, "throwing away" any of the Papago spiritual power, in this narrative.)

Now there had been in the past at San Xavier public ceremonies performed which were handed down from ancient times: puberty ceremonies, harvest ceremonies, hunting ceremonies, etc. When I was at San Xavier, most of these ceremonies had ceased, although they were being performed out in the desert villages, and many San Xavier people would go to those villages to attend such ceremonies.

I participated in the last great harvest festival at San Xavier. It was held in an area a mile and a half from the center of the village, probably a half a mile from the southern boundary of the village--that is from the houses which were the most southerly located--in an specially cleared area in the brush. My participation was something of a debacle. San Xavier families each sent a representative to be part of this great ceremony and on the urging of the Peeping Coyote, the medicine man from the desert who had married one of my wife's aunts and who was managing the ceremony, I went as the family representative to dance in the ceremony. I also took along with me the family mask which was said to be several hundred years old. In one part in the ceremony we danced inside of a large enclosure, in this case a square enclosure with sides of canvas, but with no ceiling and a very small doorway facing away from where the crowd would assemble

later in the ceremony. We were to dance for three days within this enclosure and on the fourth day leave the enclosure and dance for the public. For two days we danced inside the enclosure then at a certain point in the ceremony we were supposed to reach down and pick up the mask in front of us, put it on and go into another series of songs and dances. Our family mask had been last worn by someone with a very small head and when I went to put the mask on it broke. This brought the ceremony to an abrupt halt and the whole ceremony had to be started all over again from the beginning.

When I first broke the mask, everybody was stunned. I'm not sure if it was because the breaking of the mask was a horrendous happening or the realization that they would have to start the ceremony all over again. After this I excused myself, too embarrassed to appear again. I'm not sure what Papagos made out of my breaking of the mask. No one said anything about it to me, of course. The meaning of my actions was not explained to me. Papagos do not instruct foreigners or advise them. One simply has to learn Papago culture the hard way, even if culture shock and embarrassment are involved. I suppose there are two reasons for this. One is that Papagos simply do not instruct or advise anybody, nor can they imagine what a foreigner does or does not know, so that one would be unable to instruct him if one wanted to.

Besides all the curing ceremonies that took place and the one public aboriginal ceremony, there were other aboriginal ceremonies conducted which were connected with the different life crises. My wife and I had all our children taken through the Papago birth ceremony which was mentioned earlier. Further, young women at puberty must go through the same ceremony again. In the old days there was public dancing for young women at this time, but that had been discontinued in Papago life, except perhaps at some of the more remote villages on the main Papago reservation to the west.

It is true, however, that some of the ceremonies around these rites of passage utilized both aboriginal ritual and Catholic ritual. For instance, before my wife took our children to the medicine man for this aboriginal ceremony, we first took the child to church to be baptized by this white man of spiritual power, the Catholic priest. The baby's godparents were, in most cases, chosen from among close relatives, unlike the usual procedure among Catholics where the sponsors are never supposed to be related to the

child. Catholic priests, by virtue of the fact that they give the child a saint's name, do something very similar in the Papago view to the Papago medicine man: the priest puts some of his "spiritual power" into the child. By virtue of the holy water and the saint's name he gives to the child, the priest "gives" the child a guardian spirit at birth; something which in the old days Papagos had to strive for later in life by running or fasting. If one failed to get a baby baptized in the church and it became sick, Papagos would lay this to the fact that the baby had not been baptized. Papagos also think that an unbaptized baby will cause sickness to come to relatives as well. The death ceremony once again reflects the same pattern as the baptism in that some of the funeral is conducted in the Catholic mission at San Xavier and some of the funeral is conducted at the center of San Xavier folk Catholic worship, the feast house, or at home in the old time Papago style.

Papagos usually did not get married either by aboriginal ceremony or by a church ceremony, and of course, this was a source of great consternation to the local Catholic priests. After our first child was baptized, a local priest began to urge me to be married in a Catholic ceremony. I'm not quite sure why he singled me out for this urging. I remember that about the second or third time he mentioned it to me, I reminded him that I was neither Catholic nor a Christian, and told him that perhaps he should talk to my wife. I do not know how the matter was arranged, but my wife and I were married in the Papago Catholic church at Ajo, Arizona, a few months later. After the marriage ceremony we had a feast and a " chicken scratch dance" (Papago social dance). I must say that the affair cost me a small fortune, but my wife's mother was very pleased, as well as the local Catholic priest at Ajo. We were probably one of the few couples who had ever been married in the Catholic church at Ajo.

Of course the center, or at least the symbol of San Xavier religious life was the beautiful San Xavier mission church which stood in the middle of San Xavier village and which can be seen for miles before getting to San Xavier. The Mexicans call it "The White Dove of the Desert." To see that huge building gleaming white in the Arizona sunlight, surrounded by those green Papago fields was almost a religious experience in and of itself.

Papagos in the 1700s were eager Catholic converts and very much wanted to have a Catholic church and Catholic priest in their midst, not a rare occurrence among American Indian groups. Many tribes in North America have responded to Christianity, particularly Catholicism, in a like manner. Papagos are very proud of their mission church, which is some two hundred years old. From the Papago point of view, they built this beautiful church and it is theirs.

I knew an old Papago man from out on the desert who was a retired policeman. He spoke very good English. One time when he was visiting me at San Xavier, we went over to the church to look around. He said that in the 1700s his family had lived in what is called a "mother village" by some of the Papagos, a large village of several thousand inhabitants from which many villages sprang in the last part of the 1800s. My friend's mother village, Tecolote, has now been completely abandoned, but in the 1700s it was quite a large village. My friend told me that his family said that they came to San Xavier to help build the mission; and not only his family, but the entire village of Tecolote moved to San Xavier and camped for three years to help complete the mission church.

The mission is indeed a Papago product; perhaps Spanish engineers provided the engineering skill, but Papagos provided the labor and many ideas for construction, and the church decorations are interpreted by them according to their sense of propriety. On the inside of the church, completely around the wall, on a cornice some 10 feet from the floor, there is according to older Papagos a stylized portrait of the great Papago serpent. They say that this serpent circles the church and holds it together as does a cord around a bunch of sticks. On the altar near the west transept of the church lies a reclining image of St. Francis, a now famous healing image. Papago traditional history says that this image was once housed at Tumacacori Mission, some forty miles south of San Xavier, up the Santa Cruz river. In the 1840s this mission was sacked by raiding Apaches. The church was burned and the Papagos resident at Tumacacori fled to San Xavier. According to San Xavier oral history, one year later the image of St. Francis that had been in the Tumacacori mission church was seen by an Indian sticking up out of the sand in the riverbed at San Xavier. The Tumacacori refugees felt that St. Francis had followed them to San Xavier. The image was then placed in the San Xavier church where it has

remained. Since that time its reputation as a healing image, a holy object with spiritual power, has increased.

Papagos consider themselves devout Catholics, and indeed the mission church at San Xavier is full for Sunday mass as well as on many other occasions. When I attended mass at San Xavier, in those days the women sat on one side, the men on the other, and the older men in the front rows of the church, I presume in order to be near that man of spiritual power, the Catholic priest. This was very different from the Mexican pattern in the area where many adult Mexican men stood outside the church talking or conducting business while the women and children attended the mass inside the church. Although Papagos are good Catholics by their own standards, and probably by the standards of most Mexicans and other Indians, their understanding of Catholicism as a belief system is at variance with orthodox Catholic belief.

For instance, when I lived at San Xavier one of the theological issues discussed by older Papagos discussed was whether Saint Francis and God were the same person. They made little difference between Saint Francis of Assisi, who they venerated in October in Magdalena, Mexico, and Saint Francis Xavier, who they venerated at San Xavier mission in December. Further, in the Papago aboriginal creation stories there were some four creators of the world. One of them, Elder Brother, also became the Papago law giver and then lead the Papagos into the country which they now occupy. After the Papagos were settled and the law secure, the Elder Brother retired to a mountain, Baboquivari, which is conceived of as the center of the Papago world. Some Papagos believe that Elder Brother will emerge from his cave on the sacred mountain in times of trouble to help his people. Some Papagos at San Xavier in 1950 tended to equate Jesus and the Elder Brother. Further there were many parts of Catholic dogma in which Papagos were simply not interested, such as the concepts of redemption and salvation. Exactly how the Catholic priest, who spoke no Papago, could have educated Papagos in such matters of dogma, I have no idea. However, it was my impression in those days that most Catholic priests who administered to Indians felt that dogma was not particularly important. Much more important was participation in the sacraments of the church.

At that point it appeared to me, given my personal history and my anthropological training, that there were three religious patterns at San Xavier, one aboriginal Papago, one orthodox Catholic, and a third modelled after Mexican Folk Catholicism. It was clear that papagos observed most sacraments and rituals prescribed by orthodoxy, but they were not very orthodox in their beliefs. The third Papago religious pattern was probably the most important in terms of time spent by Papagos in religious activity and resembled Sonoran Mexican folk Catholicism. This style of folk Catholicism, which one finds in similar form all over Latin America, has been called the "cult of the saints" by orthodox North American Catholic priests who seem to disapprove of such nativized practices. To illustrate, if one attended these Papago ceremonies on a saint's day, the usual sequence was as follows--there was a mass which everyone attended in the mission church, then a procession. On occasion, the image of the saint would be carried southwest from the mission church, some two or three hundred yards to a rock house. Half of this rock house was used for cooking and feeding people who attended the celebrations. The other half, a single, large room, was used as an area in which to place an altar and the saint's figure. A Papago lay ministry then sat and said Spanish language prayers and hymns before the saint, a large part of the night. Nearby there was a pavilion where a "chicken-scratch" dance was held at night. The music and dancing are similar to Mexican feast dances. The only significant differences that I could observe in those days was that the music didn't seem quite like Mexican music and that a great many old people danced to the music, which is not the case among Mexican Catholics.

I was certain at the time that there were indeed, three parallel religious patterns at San Xavier.

Papagos, however, did not see their religious life as divided into three parallel patterns; they simply saw it either as the Papago religion or sometimes as the Catholic religion. It took me a long time to figure out that all of what appeared to be distinct rituals and practices are tied together by the same meaning system; that is to say, by the same Papago assumptions and perceptions about the nature of the world; or however one wants to characterize this way of being and seeing. I had to learn all this the hard way. I tended to dismiss Papago religious practice simply as primarily Mexican and to despair quietly that the people with whom I had cast my lot showed such a lack of cultural

integrity. It was necessary for me to have a few significant experiences to understand "the Papago religion."

The first such experience was a story told me by a friend. It seems that my friend and his wife were visiting friends who lived and worked on a cotton farm near Tucson. In the next apartment there was a Papago couple with a child who was very sick with dysentery. My friend could hear the child crying all night through the thin walls of the building, so he and his wife got up early, just before sunrise, in order to be on hand to take the couple and their sick child to the Indian hospital, if need be. When my friend walked out the door, the young Papago couple, the woman with the baby in her arms, were already walking toward the middle of the cotton field. When the couple got to the middle of the field they faced east, and just before the sun came up the young Papago man held a rosary at arms length up in the air so that the first rays of the rising sun reflected off the cross. He then placed the cross on the child's forehead to help cure it of dysentery. My wife explained to me that the young Papago man was capturing the sun's power to help cure his child.

Shortly thereafter I was attending mass with my wife, and I noticed sniffing sounds coming from the women's section of the church. When I asked my wife about the sniffings, she said that Papagos do not kiss the cross, they breathe the cross' spiritual power. She told me that Mexicans kiss the cross because Mexicans are by nature people who kiss--they kiss their children, they kiss their god-parents, they kiss the bishop's ring--but that Papagos do not kiss. Therefore, when Papagos bring the cross up to their faces they breathe in its power.

I was taken aback by all the above, but more was to come.

When my wife's aunt and her husband, the medicine man, lived with us, he and I became great friends and sometimes I drove him to houses when he would cure or perform other duties. One of the things that people would have him do at San Xavier would be to purify the saints' image at household shrines. Further, when my friend would diagnose, he would usually say that a person had deer sickness or Gila monster sickness, or some such cause which appeared to me to be purely aboriginal in content. One time, however, he told me that the patient had been neglecting his saint and therefore the saint

was causing his illness. My friend advised the patient to have a feast and dance for his saint.

In the next house cluster down the road lived more of my wife's kinsmen, one of whom was her cousin, Bastian. Bastian was a great guitarist but very bashful. When he played in a band at the local feasts he sat in a chair facing the audience but leaned way over with his head down. The first time I saw him in such a position, I thought perhaps he had dropped some money on the floor and was looking for it while he was playing, but my wife told me that he was just bashful. Later, when he played at the marriage feast for my wife and me, he sat with his back facing the audience looking at the wall behind him. Several times, Bastian asked me to take him across the river in my car where the rest of the band was assembled in order to get their instruments purified by a medicine man before they played music for the nightly dance at the celebration of a saint's day.

Further, a chicken scratch band, as they came to be called, led the religious processions at San Xavier, playing their music as they walked. At times, a band would go into the church to play for one of the saints. For Mexicans, the dance on a feast day is the secular part of the celebration. This is not the case among Papagos. Papagos play music at the evening dance for the saint. They dance for the saint. It is a sacred and essential part of a feast day. Even old people feel obligated to dance early in the evening.

Not too many years earlier, the fiddle was more prominent in chicken scratch bands than it was in 1950. One of my wife's relatives was a renowned fiddler. He used to dream dance tunes. One night he got drunk in Tucson and passed out by the railroad track. During his sleep he dreamed a dance tune. When he played it on his fiddle you could hear the clickity-clack of the train wheels going by.

At one feast that I attended, the Holy Cross feast, we carried a green cross some two feet high on a litter, green colored to represent the greening of the world and the change in seasons. By Holy Cross Day on May 1 gardens were beginning to mature and people were looking forward to eating fresh garden produce very shortly. It was an earth greening festival, a first-fruits feast and the beginning of summer to the Papagos. When we took this cross to the feast house, the rock house, one of the parts of the ritual was to

pass it around so that each person could bring the green cross up near their face and breathe in of its supernatural power.

After enough of these kinds of experiences, it began to hit me that this was all one religion, that its main concern and object was the handling of, the acquisition of, and the conservation of supernatural spiritual power. Thus Papago Indians have a beautiful mission church where they go to be led in ceremony by Catholic priests, men of great power trained in the powerful rituals of Catholicism; a place where they can eat of the blood and body of the greatest saint of them all, Jesus; a place where their babies are given spirit guardians by these same men of power; a place which houses the images of those great spiritual guardians, the Catholic saints. One of these figures has such power that one can put one's hand on his head and receive into the hand spiritual power from this holy object, then one can place the hand on the part of the body that needs healing and so be healed. One can participate in Mexican Catholic folk ritual and thus acquire, as a people, the protection of these great spirit guardians, the Catholic saints. One can even receive individual power by breathing the representative of the earth, the green cross, at Holy Cross Day. And of course Papagos can continue to acquire power as individuals and as a people in the ways that they were taught by the Elder Brother, the law giver.

So I came to understand, finally, my wife's religion, the Papago religion; a whole religion, a religion of one piece; not three parallel religious patterns as I first thought when I first observed the forms of Papago worship. The Papago Indians are a very old, complicated and deep people and I consider it one of my greatest intellectual accomplishments that I have come to understand at least the broad outline of their religious faith.

My general conclusion, as well as that of most visiting Indians, was that the Papagos were indeed a very old-time Indian people. As one Indian friend of mine put it, they lived far back with the old people.

The major changes which had occurred in Papago life in the last hundred years were borrowings from alien cultures, but these items were integrated into an autonomous society which had evolved in its own direction.

For instance, sometime in the last century, Papago Indians took over Mexican feast music, and if one listened to Papago feast music in 1950 it sounded vaguely like Mexican feast music, but it had evolved its own way. It had become Papagoized and then took its own direction. One of the major differences one hears immediately in Papago feast music, "chicken scratch," is a heavy emphasis on the drums and the very heavy beat. It reminds one of the Cajun music of Louisiana. (I understand from a friend, Alan Lomax, the famous folklorist and musicologist, that Cajun music is basically Latin music with a heavy Indian input.)

When I lived at San Xavier some people there felt that the village should celebrate some of America's national holidays along with other communities in the area. Papagos, who can be very generous of spirit towards others, knew that July the fourth was the "Americans'" birthday as a people, so they planned to treat it as a saints day and serenade everyone on the reservation named Julian. The celebration was canceled, however, when Stanley, a World War II veteran, explained that such an activity would not be appropriate for July the fourth.

However, San Xavier did celebrate Father's Day on June 17th. Some men built a long arbor in front of the church and placed a long table under. At noon we had a feast. The Franciscan priests were seated on one side of the long table and San Xavier children were seated on the other side. Of course, the Franciscan "fathers" understood very well that the purpose of Father's Day was to honor biological fathers, and the inadvertent symbolism of their being seated on one side of the table facing Papago children did not escape them. The "fathers" were a little embarrassed, and since all of them at the table were Irish and German Americans, the embarrassment showed in their coloring. I sat at the end of the table and looked at my plate all during the meal. I was afraid that if I looked up and caught the eye of one of the priests I would burst out laughing. Of course, the Papago ladies serving us picked up right away that something was amiss, and Fathers Day as a public celebration was never undertaken again at San Xavier.

Although Papago society is open to innovation, the strong Papago sense of cultural integrity re-interprets everything coming in from the outside. Papagos are neither naive nor resistant to change, but they have such a strong sense of themselves as a

distinct and unique people by nature that they would never think of looking for basic meanings outside of themselves and their own lives. As far as I know, one does not usually see such extreme and vivid evidence of cultural autonomy and change within autonomous societies in other parts of North America.

There had, however, been some preemption of life at San Xavier by 1950 which was not immediately observable because San Xavier community life was so rich and whole. For instance, the tribal police and courts had certainly preempted functions at San Xavier. The Bureau of Indian Affairs' agricultural agent had interfered significantly with autonomous decision making by the water cooperative. Unlike these aspects of preemption, San Xavier religious life had, over the years since the establishment of the reservation in 1874, become enriched by outside influences. The Catholic church had benignly preempted much of the socialization of San Xavier children by the establishment of a mission school there, but this school was probably less of a destructive force or an acculturating force than if it had been a secular school run by the federal government, as was the case on many reservations. San Xavier was in 1950 a fairly whole, stable, and autonomous entity, unlike many communities in the United States in 1950. Most of the changes which had taken place in Papago life, and there were many in the last hundred years, were to some degree additions and perhaps enrichments.

I remember, in later years, a discussion between my daughter and her aunt, her mother's sister (first cousin in English). My daughter was not too sympathetic to American culture and tended to resist customs and practices which came from that source. One time she said to her aunt who was visiting us from Arizona when we lived in another state, "Why do we have to be Catholics, why don't we just go ahead and depend on the old Indian religion?" Her aunt said, "Well, that's because we already have that," meaning, of course, that Catholicism was a rich addition to the stockpile of Papago power already in existence. This comment probably sums up, as much as one comment can sum up, the hundred years of Papago history and culture change before 1950.

I left San Xavier village in the fall of 1953 and returned in 1981. During that some thirty year period I visited San Xavier numerous times, but it was not until '81 that I came back to settle down on the northeastern edge of the reservation. One of my reasons

for returning to San Xavier in 1981 was that one of my daughters had died and I had the responsibility for her three children. I was in my mid 50s and a widower. I thought perhaps that I might be able to get some help at San Xavier from my wife's relatives. My oldest daughter had married and was living at San Xavier village with children of her own. However, when I returned the San Xavier village which I had known in the '50s had undergone extensive changes, some of which I should have been able to predict.

Tucson had grown right up to the edge of the reservation, and a freeway had been built right through San Xavier village and my wife's family's farming lands. Further, most adults were working, particularly the women. It's much easier for Papago women to find jobs than men since Papago women are able to work in the very lucrative domestics market in Tucson. But in many cases, both the husband and wife were working. This put more of the care of small children in the hands of older siblings. This was not as much of a change as the San Xavier preschool and summer program for preschool children, which was functionally a federally-sponsored day care center, if not in explicit purpose.

All this employment at San Xavier made the village much richer than in 1950. In earlier days, I have gotten up from the table hungry many times so that the little ones would get enough to eat. Further, many fewer babies under two years old die now than in the early 1950s. The price for this new material prosperity is that parents see less of children and kin see less of kin. In fact, some nuclear families with working parents appeared as socially isolated as the average working class American white family in the city. As a friend commented, "Nobody goes visiting around here anymore. They just work and watch television. They hardly even see the people in the house next door to them. And they wouldn't walk across the road to help a relative put out a fire." Some thirty percent of San Xavier must now live their lives in a condition approaching my friend's portrait. And few live as full a social life as they did in 1950.

Further, women have assumed greater social responsibility and greater social power at San Xavier. In Papago "Catholic" worship women are extremely important, whereas in the older worship women are much less important. I suspect that as the years went on the importance of women in the religion of San Xavier certainly gave them much more social power. The fact that many more women are wage earners modernly may

have contributed to this change. San Xavier family organization seemed to be shifting heavily towards the woman's line. More men live with their wife's family than in the 1950s.

Further, in 1950 a few Papago women were married to men some ten years younger than themselves. Papago men in that time told me that an older woman could take better care of a man. It is my impression that in the 1980s this marriage pattern of women to men ten years younger than themselves has increased.

Paradoxically, it is my impression that among some people at San Xavier the old corporate extended family household is no longer important and the larger kin group is the significant social unit. However, there are some genuine nuclear families in the village now.

There is much more English spoken at San Xavier now. Only some of the Papagos over 65 at San Xavier are unable to speak English now. Most everyone else, at least adults, are English speaking as well as Papago speaking. However, about 50% of San Xavier children can not speak Papago fluently. Some of them understood Papago and can even speak a few words, but they are certainly not fluent. Others really cannot understand or speak Papago at all. Some of this is due to the extensive amount of marriage of Papago women to other races and ethnic groups. There are quite a number of men of other Indian tribes, Mexicans, as well as whites and blacks, who are now married to San Xavier women and who live on the San Xavier reservation with their children and wives. In these days, blacks and whites are not excluded at San Xavier. Further, unlike when I married my wife and went to live in her house compound, foreigners who have married Papago women now are more than apt to be living in one of the newly constructed government houses made solely for the American nuclear family. Therefore there is no big extended family operating to socialize the inter-married foreigner nor to teach the children Papago.

The mission school at San Xavier is still operating, although many people send their children to the public school in Tucson. There is a significant difference in the acculturation to white norms between those children who attend the mission school and those who go to public school in Tucson. Those children who attend public school are, as

one might suspect, considerably more "Americanized" by virtue of their intimate association with young white Americans. However, few Papagos attend high school. Most drop out in the first or second year. Most people at San Xavier say that this is particularly true of those Papago youths who have attended the mission school.

Television is having a powerful impact on San Xavier children. Television may not directly inculcate new values and perceptions, but it interrupts Papago socialization; and, more important, television presents a model for life. Many San Xavier children are oriented toward American peer culture and look to white and Mexican-American peers, especially working class peers, as models for behavior. They feel that older Papagos and Papago culture is boring and beside the point, to say the least. English is "in" and Papago is "out". I know that some of my grandchildren consider me old fashioned beyond endurance.

Indian doctors, healers, or medicine men, however one might refer to these specialists, are not as plentiful at San Xavier as they once were. In 1986 there are only two at San Xavier, an older woman and one younger man who is rather limited in his knowledge. The older woman has a considerable reputation as a healer of much spiritual power and cures among San Xavier Papagos, Tucson Papagos, and Papagos on the desert. In past years, Papagos, like most Indians, learned simply by participation. Learning by participation is a slow and time consuming process, especially if one needs to acquire the mental set to be a spiritual healer of the visionary variety. In recent years most Papagos have been in school or at work and thus have not had the time to learn and developed such a facility.

When I first returned to Tucson in 1981, an old friend of mine died. She was a pillar of the Catholic church at San Xavier and was felt by Papagos to be a woman who possessed considerable spiritual power. In fact, those Papagos who were in the house at her death said that she asked for a glass of water just before she died and when given the water, she spit her crystals out into the glass. Papagos believe that those who have spiritual power have crystals growing inside of their chest. To Papagos this was proof that, although our old friend was not an active healer, she had great spiritual power.

Although medicine men are no longer plentiful at San Xavier, every year the mission church and most homes in the village go through a ritual purification by a cadre of medicine men. Medicine men from the desert are brought in to help the local healer in this annual event.

There are few public aboriginal ceremonies now performed at San Xavier*, although some villages on the desert continue nearly a full ceremonial calendar. San Xavier people are now too involved in wage labor to be concerned about insuring a critical crop or insuring success at hunting or even bringing rain. Most of these ceremonies at San Xavier would not be very functional given the present situation. Even when I lived at San Xavier in 1950, San Xavier people did not make rain, mainly because they did not need rain. Their fields were irrigated from deep-well water. Now, since the economy is primarily wage labor or welfare, San Xavier Papagos have allowed all of the aboriginal ceremonies to simply lapse since they would perform no function for them.

There is, however, a dance club made up of San Xavier and Tucson children and teenagers, along with some dozen older people who are the singers for the group. They perform for celebrations and various secular occasions at San Xavier and Tucson. At first glance they look like what one sees among other ethnic groups in the United States. However, there are older people in the group who are influential in the folk-Catholic ceremonies at San Xavier and who are talking of integrating these dances into various processions on saints' feast days. I have no doubt that this will occur. Therefore, one must draw the conclusion that this dance club does not merely reflect the kind of "preservation of heritage" that one sees in other ethnic groups in the United States, nor is this Papago dance group as secular a phenomena as it might appear. In fact I think it is very difficult for San Xavier Papagos to think in sacred versus secular terms. Those categories are not meaningful in Papago life.

There are some obvious changes that catch the eye as one drives around on the reservation. Everywhere one looks are houses built by the federal government for San

* Recently, San Xavier has built an old-style aboriginal temple or dance house (rain house in Papago). It is located out in the mountains, far away from prying eyes. It is the first such building in one hundred years. It is used for complex re-burial ceremonies, primarily. In the last few years many burials have been unearthed at San Xavier due to bridge construction, new roads, etc. San Xavier feels obligated to re-bury these long departed relatives, along with a complex and costly ritual.

Xavier families and these are "single family units." The great house clusters of the 1950s are almost gone. Population seems to have doubled since 1950.

It is in the political realm, however, that one sees striking institutional change. The old village chief and the council of elders are gone. Papagos at San Xavier now run their political life strictly by the Papago tribal constitution, adopted in the late 30s. There is an elected District Council of twelve people, and an officer called the District Chairman has replaced the old village chief. Elections have become a very hot item recently.

When I first returned to San Xavier in 1981, nobody was particularly concerned about who was on the District Council. In fact, I think most people tried to foist the job off on some unwitting innocent. The District Chairman, however, which is a paid position, was held by a half-white Papago Indian born on the main reservation, but who had married a San Xavier woman. He was the only Protestant living at San Xavier. He was a fairly well educated man with some experience in the wider world. He speaks very good English, but little Papago. The Chairman was also a man who very much reflected the values of middle class Americans. Most of San Xavier in 1981, thought that they had found a perfect man for the District Council.

However, controversy has arisen at San Xavier. A development company has approached San Xavier to lease some 18,000 acres directly south of the San Xavier village on which they hoped to eventually build accommodations for some 110,000 non-Papagos. The District Council approved of this development company's activities and allowed them to start the process of signing leases with individual Papagos. When Papagos began to understand what all of this meant, there was a great clamor against the activities of this company, and at the last election the District Council changed membership and the District Chairman was voted out of office. By and large the complexion of the Council is young and anti-development, although there remain on the Council some people who are, or were, pro-development. It is my feeling that the original Council which approved the activities of the development company really did not understand what was being asked of them. Nevertheless, political activity and interest in politics has gone from general apathy to active interest. It is my opinion that this was the

first time in years that a District Council has taken any action which affected San Xavier life at all, and certainly Papagos had every justification for being "apathetic" in the past and for putting their faith in the hands of a very acculturated and competent Papago Indian. Certainly the District Chairman in 1981 was the most competent administrator in San Xavier village.

There are many young Papagos now who do not live "back with the old people." There are a considerable number of younger people who have become significantly "Americanized", and some have even become standard American Catholics in their outlook. However, by and large, the Papagos are still an autonomous people. As a young Papago, who was raised in the city and then returned to San Xavier, said, "Boy! These Papagos just live in their own world!"

Certainly in the religious arena one still sees this autonomy at work. While I was absent from San Xavier, a group of prominent Tucsonians in cooperation with church authorities, had arranged for a pageant at San Xavier. This pageant includes a parade of the Spanish conquerors to San Xavier and culminates with a grand procession from the church. After the procession Papagos and Yaquis dance in the plaza. Perhaps this is a pageant to the people of Tucson and even to the church fathers, but it is not to the Papago Indians. After quite a few years now of walking in this procession, Papagos feel that it is indeed a real procession and Papago, Yaquis, and some Mexicans today make vows to their saints to walk in the procession at the festival. What started out as a secular event, and which still is in the eyes of middle-class Tucsonians and perhaps the clergy at San Xavier, could not remain a secular event for long if Papago Indians were to participate in it. They have made it a sacred event of their own.

Santa Claus is now a permanent fixture at San Xavier's Christmas celebration. After the feast committee feeds everyone at mid-day in the rock house, everyone assembles near the dance pavilion for games - tug-of-war, races, and the like. Santa Claus appears at around that time; dressed in classic red suit and white beard, but without the red face and blue eyes. With much "Ho!Ho!Ho!"ing and "Merry Christmas" ing, he distributes presents to the kids. After which older women go up to him and shake his hand, thanking the Papago actor for ritually impersonating a saint.

In the past few years San Xavier has enthusiastically embraced caroling. The carolers sing at many homes on Christmas Eve, but before they visit the homes they go to the cemetery and sing carols to the spirits of those who have passed away. San Xavier culture is yet autonomous and evolving in its own direction.

Papago kids at catechism still have some of the same difficulties with their teachers that they did when I lived in San Xavier in the early 1950s. A nun will ask the catechism class, "How many times can a person get married?" When she calls on these young Papagos, she is apt to get an answer ranging from "two" to "as many as you want". I presume that young Papago children are thinking of the experience of their own parents, or perhaps their older brothers and sisters. The sister will dutifully correct them and tell that one can be married only once and the union is only a true marriage if it is performed in the Catholic church. Later in the catechism she will come back to the same question again and ask how many times can a Catholic be married? She will get the same kind of answers, from two to as many times as you want to. At this point in Papago history, I do not think that one can say that this due to a misunderstanding; I think that Papago society is displaying its autonomy, perhaps not consciously or negatively since it is plain that the Papago children in catechism class want very much to please their teachers. Nevertheless it reflects, or is a symbol of, Papago autonomy.

Two things demonstrate to me the continuity and strength of San Xavier and Papagos as a whole. One, the Peeping Coyote has become an even more respected medicine man, a great medicine man, in fact. He is forever "on the road," going somewhere to administer to sick Indians. And at ninety eight, the Peeping Coyote still goes out to cactus camps in June (in over 100 degree weather) to help gather the fruit of sahuaro. Two, chicken scratch bands still play the old songs, as well as newly composed ones; and in the chicken scratch style. But saxophones have been added to the bands, and the guitars have been electrified.

This is not to say that Papago autonomy could not erode. Papagos have always been impressed by outsiders. Yaquis were always considered expert in Catholicism, as well as Mexicans, to the point that Spanish is almost a holy language to Papagos. Americans have always been conceived as experts in technological matters. In the past

Papago Indians tended to take the word of a white American experts on a technological matter unless it seriously conflicted with Papago experience or unless the advice appeared excessively foolish by Papago standards. However, Papagos under 50 will now take the word of white American experts uncritically. For instance, a friend of mine who was a tribal councilman from San Xavier, told me that several years ago the Bureau of Indian Affairs agricultural expert came to San Xavier and told them that in order to increase the fertility level of their farming, that they would have to remove the first six inches of soil from their fields. My friend said that San Xavier people were a little bit taken aback by this advice but labored very hard and at some significant expense, managed to remove the first six inches of soil from their fields. Now my friend said, an agricultural expert comes to us and tells us that we will have a hard time farming since it appears we have no top soil in our fields. He told of this incident with some annoyance in his voice.

I think this incident indicates some loss of autonomy by San Xavier village. The Papago elders I knew who were in control of Papago life in 1950 would not have seriously considered a request to remove the first six inches of soil from their fields, because such a request conflicted with traditional Papago knowledge. Elders in the early 1950s would have considered this advice very graciously and sagely, and with appreciation, but would have certainly subverted, in the gentle Papago manner, any attempt to remove the first six inches of soil from the fields.

One of the sad features of San Xavier life is the generation gap. Young people love and care for the elderly, but they no longer listen to them. Technical knowledge from the white world has become more important than knowledge of the Papago Way, an understanding of community dynamics, or human wisdom to young adults at San Xavier. Most elders have given up trying to counsel the young and have simply retired from the scene. A few elders think that they really do not have much to contribute to young people and San Xavier life generally. Such a shift in the position of elders accounts for much of the loss of autonomy of San Xavier as a community.

So although San Xavier is still in good shape as a community, and even as a fairly autonomous society, a rarity in these days in North America, there is some fragmentation and erosion in San Xavier community life.

Papagos, as a whole, are becoming aware of the fact that American civilization is pressing in on them and starting to intrude significantly into their lives. Papagos on the desert are working hard to keep modern America at arms length and many new Papago tribal ordinances reflect this mood. San Xavier is only too aware of that intrusion. In 1985 San Xavier celebrated Indian Day in September with a parade -- a contingent of Papago veterans carrying the American and Papago flags, Miss Papago riding on the hood of a convertible with her attendants in the car itself, Papago dance groups from several villages, a San Xavier old time fiddle band, and the like. One of the parade entries was the San Xavier school. Leading the school children was a youngster carrying a placard saying "our language" with children following and holding large printed cards with Papago words written on them. Next came a group representing "our land," carrying a large painting of the holy mountain, Baboquivari peak. Thirdly, children carried pictures of different types of wild foods -- cactus buds and fruits, etc. This third group portrayed "our food." Lastly, a youngster held up a sign saying "our dances," and following him a group of boys carried a model of the Children's Shrine, a sacred aboriginal Papago shrine on the desert. Thus, was demonstrated a public value to "our language," "our land," "our food (aboriginal)," and "our dances (religion?)." San Xavier awareness took a giant step forward that day. Hopefully, San Xavier parents will not allow their children to be completely seduced by television and the consumer society.

Of course, San Xavier has its problems like any other modern community. Black magic accusations are more common now than in 1950. Drinking was a problem in 1950 and it is still a problem. Violence sometimes now occurs at San Xavier drinking parties.

Drug use is becoming a concern, as well. However, compared to many parts of neighboring Tucson, life at San Xavier looks pretty good, and compared to most Indian reservations near American cities, San Xavier is a paradise.

San Xavier puts on an Indian pow-wow now, the second weekend in March, and plays host to hundreds of Indians of other tribes and thousands of white visitors. Life is

thus a little more exciting at San Xavier. And unless an ever expanding Tucson swallows up San Xavier lands, the Elder Brother's chosen people who have lived at San Xavier since the beginning of time may well live there until the end of time.

Chapter 4* The Meaning of Change in an Indian Village

"You cannot step into the same river twice." -Heraclitus of Ephesus

"All the streams run into the sea, yet the sea never overflows; back to the place from which the streams ran they return to run again." Ecclesiastes, chapter 1, verse 7.

People are born, live, and die, but is life constant or changing? Specifically, are Indians as different from their ancestors as outward appearances suggest, or is the underlying reality of their lives much as before? Beneath appearances lies the meaning that people attach to their lives. Meanings may persist in spite of changed appearances. The water changes but the river is the same.

To illustrate, most Indians can tell when they enter a poor Indian community by the appearance of the houses. The clue is not their need for repair -- other poor people live in ramshackle houses -- but the spatial arrangements. The yard around the house is usually bare of plants such as shrubs and shade trees. If the residents want shade, they usually build an arbor. If an old car is in the yard, it will be away from the house. Utensils and other materials are seldom leaned up against the house, and Indians have few outbuildings. An astute anthropologist, Richard Pope, said that most Indian homes resemble a fly that lands on a table where it pauses, ready to take off. If the house were removed, there would be little evidence in a few years that human beings ever lived there. Pope's observation gets at the meaning of Indian houses to the people who live in them. The meaning has not changed nearly so much as the building materials.

In this chapter we develop a theory about how meanings change, which we use here and in Chapter 5* to examine the extent to which the larger North American society is assimilating Indians.

Meaning

The author of an act brings his intentions, goals, aims, projects, feelings, emotions, and so forth to it. The goals and feelings of the actor are the act's meanings for him. The question of whether meanings change is thus a question of whether goals and feelings change.

The same act may implement several goals and express several feelings. To illustrate, a farewell kiss may express love, regret, anxiety, and jealousy. Similarly, a famous philosophical monograph analyses ____ different levels of intentions held by a man pumping water.⁵⁰ The multiplicity of meanings form a natural ordering according to their centrality to the actor. Instrumental acts are distanced from the person, so their meaning is not deep. To illustrate, a person may wash the dishes or repair the car with no further purpose in mind. Conversely, acts that express a person's self-conception are the most meaningful to him. For example, a person who conceives of himself as a good lawyer expresses himself through litigation, and a person who conceives of himself as a good father expresses himself through parenting.

The perception of meaning is a prerequisite for social life. Dogs can live on intimate terms with people because, according to a familiar maxim, even a dog can tell the difference between being kicked and being tripped over. Full participation in social life, however, requires fine discriminations of meaning. To illustrate, a successful politician must discern the mood of the public, and a successful lover must respond to his partner's emotions. To go beyond social competency and become wise, a person must be able to tell who people are by deciphering the deepest meaning in their acts.

Some people have a single project or dominant relationship that overshadows all others. For example, Alfred Whitehead was so absorbed by writing the *Principia Mathematica* that he did not answer the letters of his closest friends, and Edward VIII gave up the English throne for the love of Wallis Simpson. When a single project or relationship gives meaning to a person's life, he has a compact identity. More commonly, however, a person has a variety of projects and relations, none of which is clearly the most central. Most peoples' lives do not have a single meaning and their identities are diffuse.

The identity of a particular person evolves over time to the extent that he adopts new projects and forms new relations that are central to his life. However, the pattern of these projects and relations may change little from one generation to the next, just as a

⁵⁰ cite Anscombe.

river remains the same as water flows through it. The dispute over the extent of change in meanings must be resolved in light of patterns in personal identity.

The preceding chapters have contrasted two different patterns of identity, depending upon whether personal relations or individual projects are more central. A tribe is a network of personal relationships based on kinship, as described in Chapter 3*. Personal interactions express feelings that the parties must perceive in order to sustain the relationships. Coordinating behavior in a tribe thus requires each actor to respond to other people uniquely and holistically. In contrast, mass society coordinates behavior through roles, not relationships. Roles are standardized expectations about behavior that form the social units for the division of labor. To coordinate behavior in complementary roles, the actors who perform them must understand how the roles combine to make a product, but they need not perceive any deeper meaning, and there may be none. That is why strangers who know nothing about each other can perform complementary roles.

People who spend their lives performing roles with strangers take projects into their identities. When a person internalizes ideals and adopts a project, performing the roles connected to it express who the person is. Roles cease to be purely instrumental and come to exemplify status, express authority, and fulfill the person. We use "individuate" to mean withdrawing part of oneself from relationships and taking projects into identity.

When we rise to a high level of generalization in this book and contrast traditional Indians to the general society, the difference turns upon individuation. The central contrast is between social identities made from relationships and individual identities made from projects. Traditional Indians, who vest their identity in kin relationships, remain social and autonomous, but not individuated. In contrast, middle class Americans withhold much of themselves from kin relations and internalize ideals and projects.

To the extent that Indians individuate, an array of meanings shift from their aboriginal pattern. Social reality will begin to consist of roles and status arranged in a vertical structure, rather than consisting of personal relationships guided by kin prescriptions and responsiveness. Children become self-creators whose self-esteem depends upon what they make of themselves. If individual projects displace kin relations

at the center of personality, the kin group shrinks to a nuclear family, and the Indian's aboriginal understanding of the world falls away.

If the network of kin relationships disintegrates, the tribe may disappear and its members may be absorbed by the general society. Alternatively, the tribe may be reconceptualized. Rather than conceiving of the tribe as a network of kin relationships, its members may come to view it as a community, religion, administrative unit, or a people sharing common values and history. Either possibility -- disintegration or reconceptualization -- implies social change at its deepest level. The question of whether Indians are much the same as before thus becomes a question of the extent to which they have individuated.

Causes of Individuation

What causes individuation in a tribe? Identity formation begins early in life, so different childrearing practices are required to produce individuals and tribals, as described in Chapter 2*. Most children are raised much the same as their parents. Conceiving of an alternative and implementing it exceeds the inventive powers of most parents. Children are, consequently, much like their parents, and society reproduces itself from one generation to another, like water recirculating through the rivers.

To divert the social stream in a new direction requires change at the formative stages in personality. Personality development will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 9*. For now, we analyze two causes of individuation that we have observed among Indians. One cause is intimate personal relations with nonIndians. An obvious example is intermarriage between tribal Indians and outsiders, especially when it results in the creation of a nuclear family. Children in such a family develop dramatically different conceptions of themselves from traditional Indian children who are socialized in a large kin group. Intermarriage is the main cause of individuation in rural Indian communities.

Institutionalizing Indian children has some of the same effects as intermarriage. A variety of programs such as Headstart, day care, and the consolidated school take Indian children out of their homes or tribes and place them in institutional settings, often

among nonIndians. The people in these institutions are acquaintances and friends, not relatives. Instead of being immersed in kin relations, Indian children spend an increasing proportion of their time in structured environments with explicit educational purposes. These influences affect a child's emerging identity. Substituting a purposive environment for kin relations early in life, before socialization in the tribe is complete, prompts individuation. Institutionalization of children and intermarriage are the main causes of individuation of urban Indians.

The second cause of individuation is intensive competition between a tribe and outsiders. When history creates a competition that kinsmen seem destined to lose, and, at the same time, the kinsmen glimpse of an instrumental institution that could win, they may respond by creating it. Competition is most intense in warfare. Sustained warfare imposes the need for rationality and purposefulness for survival's sake. To illustrate, some 19th century Kiowa soldiers tied a knot in their leggings for each person they killed without the help of "medicine." Killing without the help of medicine was a secular act that shocked traditional Kiowas. Perhaps the years of continual warfare made Kiowas more instrumental and calculating than their ancestors.⁵¹

Trade does not focus a people like warfare, but it involves competition with outsiders. The market teaches a sharp lesson to people who treat sellers as kinsmen or confuse exchange with a personal relationship. As Indians buy and sell, they must learn to step outside themselves and assume roles. Perceiving oneself as an object is the first step towards individuation. For example, haggling over prices reduces social interaction to instrumental terms, which is why many Indians think it is demeaning. Through years of commerce with other tribes, however, the Hopis and other Pueblo tribes perfected their ability to haggle.

We identified intimacy and competition as two causes of individuation. They do not, however, come to the same end. Intimacy with individuated people causes Indians to borrow foreign meanings and objects. The internalization of these meanings prompts individuation. Thus intimacy causes a loss of distinctively Indian institutions and meanings. In contrast, competition with outsiders causes Indians to view their own

⁵¹ cite

institutions and relationships instrumentally. Individuation proceeds by adaptation of Indian institutions. Adaptation retains more that is distinctively Indian in institutions and meanings. In brief, individuation by intimacy results in cultural loss, whereas individuation by competition results in cultural development.

Adaptation, Elaboration, and Borrowing

We distinguished change on three levels: personal identity, meanings, and objects. Self-conception changes when tribal Indians experience intimacy or competition with outsiders that causes individuation. Individuation in turn causes an array of meanings to change. Thus deep change causes shallow change. However, the opposite is not necessarily true. Objects can change without changing meanings, and some meanings can change without changing personal identity. We begin to explain these alternatives by distinguishing three processes of change.

When confronted with the need to extract a livelihood from the environment, Indians will select those cultural objects that are efficient and then alter, refine, and improve them to increase productivity. Adaptation to the environment involves modifying objects in response to material needs and external necessities. Some cultural objects decay and others flourish, but the changes are instrumental and they do not express deep meaning.

A second type of change, elaboration, is neither instrumental nor constrained by necessity. Rather, it is expressive. As songs, stories, prayers, and religious rituals pass from one generation to another, they mutate and grow. Elaboration follows the internal logic of cultural forms, rather like, say, the roccoco art style developed out of the baroque style in 18th century Europe. Elaboration often appears to be variations on a central theme, as illustrated by the many forms Papagos give to the idea of spiritual power. The art of interpretation involves identifying the themes which bring significance to objects.

Adaptation involves modifying a cultural object for an instrumental purpose, whereas elaboration involves modifying a cultural object in order to draw the meaning out of it. A third process is borrowing from other cultures. Objects may be borrowed for an instrumental purpose, like a broad-brimmed that shields the face from the sun. Or

objects may be borrowed to express new meanings. To illustrate, the powwow is a purely secular dance that facilitates socializing among Indians from different tribes. Holding a powwow signifies a willingness to reach out to other tribes and develop friendships with non-relatives. The powwow spread from western Oklahoma to many tribes that formerly had only religious dancing. For example, the San Xavier village has held an annual powwow since 198_.

Forms of Interaction

Some processes of social change are manifestations of autonomy and freedom, whereas others are consequences of dependency and coercion. Elaboration manifests the purest autonomy because it is unconstrained by necessity. Adaption, while responding to necessity, does so in a way that manifests a people's creativity and ingenuity. Finally, borrowing can be voluntary and beneficial, or it can be coerced and destructive.

The forms of contact between different people affect the quantity and quality of borrowing, as can be seen from a functional analysis. Sustaining human life requires organizations to perform economic, social, political, religious, and cultural functions. The people in the organizations that perform these functions for Indians may be purely Indians, purely nonIndians, or a mixture of Indians and nonIndians. If all of the organizations are purely Indian, we say that Indians are "functionally independent." Before contact with Europeans, Indians were functionally independent. If some functions are performed by purely Indian organizations and others are performed by purely non-Indian organizations, we say that Indians and nonIndians are "functionally interdependent." After contact and before conquest, the tribes that engaged in extensive trade with Europeans became functionally interdependent.

Functional interdependence changes appearances, because Indians eagerly borrow superior technologies, as illustrated by building techniques and materials in Indian homes. Indians may also borrow institutional forms, especially when these forms appear to carry spiritual power, as illustrated by Papago catholicism. Consequently, functional interdependence quickly erodes the distinctiveness of Indian material culture and some of its institutional forms. However, Indians may attach tribal meanings and

significance to borrowed material culture and institutional forms, as illustrated, again, by Papago catholicism.

Tribal meanings come from the network of kinsmen that define the tribe and provide its organization. If kinship continues to provide tribes with identity and organization, aboriginal meanings will persist in spite of functional interdependence. To erode the tribe as a network of kin, its members must have individuating experiences. As explained, such experiences can come from sustained competition that kin-organization are sure to lose, or from intimacy with individuals.

If nonIndian organizations perform the life-functions for Indians, we say that Indians are "functionally dependent." Dependence restrains competition. When combined with racial subordination, dependence directs interactions between Indians and nonIndians into formal dealings. The absence of competition and intimacy inhibits individuation. To illustrate, after their military defeat the Sioux became economically dependent upon the U.S. government, whose officials often treated the Sioux as racially inferior. The reservation system thus inhibited individuation among the Sioux.

Acculturation of Objects and Meanings

Indians have obviously borrowed material items and institutional forms from the larger society. Indeed, the borrowing of objects is so extensive that little remains of aboriginal objects in some tribes. The question addressed in this chapter is, "Have meanings changed as extensively as objects?" The distinctions that we made among processes of change can be used to answer this question. People who take identity from kin relations are not deeply committed to ideals or principles, nor are their identities tied up in jobs or representations of social rank. Among Indians, resistance to change does not come from ideology, class structure, status hierarchy, or roles. Further, the stress on personal autonomy in Indian life, as portrayed dramatically in San Xavier's child rearing practices, provides scope to Indians who wish to experiment with new cultural forms without being crushed by orthodoxy or suppressed by authority. Indians show a singular talent to substitute new institutions and objects for old ones, without resistance or sentimentality, provided that the innovation is consistent with kin relations and the

meanings that they carry. Where new institutions or objects are inconsistent with kinship and their meanings, assimilation of them is difficult or impossible.

To illustrate, the Papagos at San Xavier were eager converts to Catholicism. Indeed, they built the mission church voluntarily with their own hands. Catholicism at San Xavier is much the same in form as everywhere else in the world, yet the people's understanding of it is distinctively Papago. To take an example from the narrative in Chapter 4, Papagos breathe the cross in order to acquire its supernatural power, rather than kissing it to show love and humility. Similarly, many Papagos do not distinguish clearly between Jesus Christ and Elder Brother, who lives on the sacred mountain Boboquivari. Catholic religious forms were easily adopted because Papagos transferred aboriginal meaning to them.

Some tribes even perceive the nativized Christians among them as closer to their ancestors than followers of the aboriginal religion. For example, Cherokees in eastern Oklahoma in the 1960s said that the "real Cherokees" are certain groups of Baptists who go to church, not the "Nighthawks" who go to the stomp ground. These Baptist Cherokees were thought to have retained more aboriginal meanings than the Nighthawks, even though the Baptists borrowed nonIndian forms and the Nighthawks rejected them.

Another example from the narrative concerns the Papago family. For Indians in general, and Papagos in particular, the ties created at birth by kinship are stronger than the ties created by marriage. When a Papago man marries and goes to live with his wife's family, there is an expectation that if, say, friction with his wife's mother requires one of them to leave the household, he should be the one to go. This pattern does not correspond to the orthodox Catholic conception of family life as expressed through the sacrament of marriage. Papagos are, consequently, reluctant to be married in church, much to the consternation of those priests at San Xavier who think orthodoxy is true religion.

The rejection of the sacrament of marriage by Papagos can be explained by our theory. Suppose Papagos adopted orthodox Catholic views on marriage. To accommodate this view, their family structure would have to change. Relations between husband and wife would be elevated in importance, and relations between blood kin

would diminish. The change in family structure would diminish the significance of the tribe and increase the significance of the nuclear family. The institutional Church, however, is unable to reach deep enough into the lives of Papagos to bring about this change. Although Papagos are devout -- some would say, fanatical -- Catholics, there is little evidence that they have accepted the orthodox Catholic conception of marriage, or that Papago family life is losing its aboriginal character.

We have explained that Indians can borrow institutional forms so long as meanings and relations persist. The same is true of material objects. To illustrate, Indians have eagerly acquired automobiles, but not the meaning attached to them by the larger society. A Mercedes automobile affords transportation and conveys prestige upon its owner among nonIndians. As a rule, however, Indians show almost no regard for the appearance of their cars. Traditional Indians treat cars strictly as utilitarian objects, not as symbols of the owner's social rank. On the other hand, some Hopis put prayer feathers under the hoods of their cars, because they believe that an automobile has a spirit.

Foreign objects are easily acquired by Indians, provided that their use and maintenance is consistent with kin relations in the tribe. However, traditional Indians cannot easily appropriate objects whose use and maintenance must be supported by social structure. To illustrate, Indian tribes purchase heavy construction equipment from time to time, and it often remains idle for lack of repairs. The maintenance of heavy construction equipment requires a repair shop with an inventory of spare parts and specialized labor. The organization of such a shop demands a vertical hierarchy that cuts against the grain of kin relationships. Business enterprises of sufficient scale to require a hierarchy of authority are almost entirely absent from the Papago reservation.

The Papagos of San Xavier village have abandoned many material objects and social forms of their own invention, and replaced them with cultural objects from America and Mexico, but the Papagos have been much slower to adopt foreign meanings. Borrowing foreign objects and retaining indigenous meanings can be described as the acculturation of objects but not meanings. However, the people of San Xavier village have borrowed some foreign meanings as well as objects.

To illustrate the latter, when the men at San Xavier gave up communal gardening and entered wage labor, they had to acquire the ability to work alone, without social support from other Papagos. Individual work has in turn prompted a more individualistic attitude towards money and its use. Earnings are more likely to be regarded as the property of the worker rather than the worker's household. Similarly, when Papago women adapted western clothing, they took on the idea that showing their breasts in public is immodest. The forms of propriety relate to underlying conceptions of morality.

Our analysis of San Xavier village in the 1950s indicates extensive change of objects, some change of meanings, and persistence of tribal identity. Furthermore, the village was largely dependent upon the federal government, which pre-empted many tribal functions. This portrait is consistent with individuation theory. The dependent status of the village prevented deep change by depriving its inhabitants of intimacy with outsiders and shielding them from competition.

Cultural Change Through History

Now we apply our theory of social change to the broad sweep of Indian history. The processes of adaptation, elaboration, and borrowing were at work in North America before 1650 when Indians are conventionally regarded as still living relatively free from European influence. To illustrate, there was a long period of intensive warfare in eastern North America before 1650 between the Algonkian peoples and the tribes who subsequently formed the Five Nations of the Iroquois. The wars ended with the formation of the famous League of the Iroquois and its conquest of a large portion of eastern North America. During the long years of struggle the Iroquois became more rational and consciously innovative in warfare.

This mentality may explain why the Iroquois could stand above kin and view the tribe as a whole when forming their League. The members of the League were divided into clans that consisted of households in many different villages. Personal ties were usually stronger within the village than between members of the same clan in different villages. However, the clans were represented in the councils of government, not the villages. This principle of representation forced people in different villages to act corporatively through their clan. The Iroquois League was unique among Indians in

adopting this principle of representation, which may explain why it was singularly successful in knitting many villages together into a single government.

Another source of change before 1650 were influences moving north from the great civilizations of middle America, particularly from Mexico. Such influences were probably responsible for the cultural florescences some 700 years ago in eastern North America and in the Southwest of those cultures called Pueblo and Mississippian. ...[RT fills in]...There were Indian towns of substantial size...[RT fills in]...

By 1650 Mexico had been conquered for more than 100 years, the Spaniards were established in the Southwest, the French were moving into the St. Lawrence area, and the English were settling the eastern coast. The first years of European contact brought far reaching changes. Contact enriched and altered life in many tribes. To illustrate, In the Great Plains, the introduction of the horse created a whole new Indian culture which eventually came to symbolize Indian life to the outside world. Some tribes like the Cree became so enmeshed in the fur trade that their economic life was part of the general European economy. Later, in the 1800's, the Navajos of the Southwest, who were Athabascan newcomers to the region with very adaptable cultures, reorientated their life around the raising of sheep.

An interesting new synthesis was the "modernization" of the Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks, and Seminoles in the southeastern part of North America. These peoples regularized their governments along the lines of a republic with a constitution, a formal court system, and laws adapted to their own needs. They developed schools patterned after the best American models, became literate in their own languages, and published school texts and newspapers. These tribes also accepted Christianity and developed their own style of native Protestantism.

These massive changes occurred in the context of wars, removals, migrations, epidemics, and other disasters that threatened all tribes and destroyed some of them. Throughout the latter half of the 18th century and the 19th century, movements for social and cultural revitalization arose among Indian tribes. Sometimes the movements were associated with military resistance, as for example Pontiac's rebellion in the 1730's, which destroyed every British fort north and west of Fort Pitt (Pittsburgh) except Detroit.

Later, when military resistance was impractical, religion predominated in the revival movements. For example, the ghost dance was intended to restore the buffalo to the Plains, and the Red Bird Smith movement among the Oklahoma Cherokees actually restored the "stomp grounds", which are sites for aboriginal ceremonies.⁵²

Pre-emption

By 1900, all the surviving Indian peoples had reached a similar condition. They were denuded of resource, militarily and politically powerless, disoriented, and immersed in an alien social environment with outsiders controlling their lives. Independence had changed to interdependence, and interdependence had subsequently changed to dependence. Most Indians lived on American reservations or Canadian reserves, where a foreign bureaucracy administered the affairs of a conquered people. That is why intellectuals called reservations "internal colonies." Similarly, the leadership of Indian communities located off reservations was bypassed and ignored by state and local governments.

Reservation and non-reservation Indians were alike in being powerless, but their governors were different in an important respect. Reservation Indians were governed by a federal bureaucracy created explicitly for that purpose. Nonreservation Indians were governed by state and local officials mainly concerned with the goals and welfare of local whites. As a result, Indian culture was merely ignored off the reservation, whereas on the reservation the federal bureaucracy undertook programs to assimilate Indians at varying times and with varying degrees of rigor.

To illustrate, reservation Indian children were dispatched to off-reservation boarding schools far away from their relatives, where the nonIndian staff was intimidating and sometimes brutal.⁵³ Proselytizing religious groups were invited onto reservations where they devalued culture and called into question traditional moral authority. The land on some reservations was divided into small allotments and given to individual Indians, ostensibly to make them into yeoman farmers. The actual effect,

⁵²cite

⁵³cite Stuart Etcitty's biography.

however, was to facilitate the land's transfer to nonIndians or to create insuperable obstacles to its use.⁵⁴

Survival of a people requires performing certain tasks such as governing, producing, learning, worshipping, punishing, socializing, and creating art. On and off the reservation, Indian people and institutions were pre-empted by outsiders who performed these tasks on behalf of the colonized people. Outsiders occupied the space of activities, leaving no room for indigenous institutions. To illustrate, the school teacher displaced grandfather in instructing children, the nursing home displaced daughter in caring for elderly mother, the doctor displaced the medicine man in healing the sick, the minister displaced the shaman in performing last rites, the Indian agent displaced the chief in governing, the army and police displaced the war societies in preserving order, the court displaced the council of elders in adjudicating disputes, friends displaced cousins at work, the welfare officer displaced the give-away in redistributing wealth, and so on.

Pre-emption placed government bureaucrats between the tribes and the outside world. The bureaucrats created monopolies to control trade, which shielded Indians from economic competition and exposed them to exploitative prices. Pre-empting activities denied Indians the opportunity to grapple with important problems. Grappling with problems involves active learning by which adaptation proceeds, whereas passive recipients of services do not learn much. Pre-emption thus inhibited social learning.

When pre-emption deprives indigenous institutions of their purpose, some stagnate and others wither away. The reservation destroyed many native institutions and brought an end to the development of others. As a rough generalization, indigenous culture continued in the family and religious spheres of life, and died elsewhere.

⁵⁴To illustrate, the allotments in Oklahoma were often held in trust for legally incompetent Indians by white attorneys and the trustees somehow ended up owning most the land. Or the allotments were bought from the Indians in transactions of dubious legality. Or, as was the case at San Xavier, the land was held permanently in trust by the federal government and divided equally among heirs of the original trustees, according to white law, so that within a few generations no one owned a parcel large enough to make

Government officials in the 19th and early 20th century often imagined that Indians would merge into the general population and lose their identity. Merging into the general population requires intermarriage. However, traditional Indians and nonIndians hold different conceptions of family life -- the tribe versus the nuclear family -- that neither side wished to abandon. Those officials who believed that Indians would merge into the general population apparently did not think carefully about who would marry whom. In reality, nonIndians leaders residing near reservations obstructed intimacy between the races by segregating schools, churches, and social clubs. In addition, reservation life channelled contacts between Indians and outsiders into formal dealings.

As explained, the reservation system shielded Indians from competition and obstructed intimacy with nonIndians. Competition and intimacy were identified earlier as two causes of individuation. The reservation system thus blocked the experiences that cause individuation and impeded the acculturation of meanings. Some people left their communities and were absorbed into the general society, but for the majority who remained behind, indigenous culture continued within the narrow scope afforded to Indian autonomy. That is why so many aboriginal meanings persist and so few aboriginal objects remain on reservations.

Conclusion

Some empirical anthropologists Indians have concluded that personality remains constant among Indians even as the material culture changes. For example, Irving Hollowell showed that Chippewa Indians in northern Wisconsin, whose material lives were like their rural white neighbors, resembled in personality the Chippewas in northern Canada who lived much like their ancestors of a century or two ago.⁵⁵ This general pattern has been corroborated by anthropologists studying other Indian communities.⁵⁶ The culture and personality school also concluded that there is a general Indian personality type in North American. Similarly, anthropologists like Kluckhohn and Vogt

farming economical. For a further discussion, see the chapter on economic development.

⁵⁵RT inserts citation.

⁵⁶Wallace, Spindler, McGregor, Erickson, and Honigman. RT inserts citation

found that values in particular American Indian communities are unique, distinctive, and apparently very much like the ancestors of the groups they were studying.⁵⁷ They also found that values, like personality, are similar among different Indian peoples.

These studies pose conceptual problems. How can personality and values remain relatively unchanged within each tribe in spite of massive cultural loss?⁵⁸ What explains similarities in personality and values across tribes? The theory developed in this chapter answers these questions. According to our theory, personal identity is most fundamental; next comes meanings; and last comes objects. Tribal Indians take personal identity from kin relationships, which makes them similar to each other and dissimilar to people who live in nuclear families. Interaction with kin expresses feelings and frames goals, which give significance to objects. Indians easily substitute one object for another so long as feelings and goals are conserved. The loss of distinctiveness among Indians will appear more advanced than it really is if the observer focuses on objects and not their meaning.

Novel experiences are needed to give new significance to objects, so meanings are harder to change than objects. The deepest change, which occurs when tribal Indians individuate, is caused by intimacy or intense competition with outsiders. Stripping Indians of power after the conquest inadvertently preserved or fossilized the core of Indian culture.⁵⁹ The reservation system limited intimacy and competition by preempting Indian institutions. Colonialism, whose explicit aim at some points in history was assimilation, slowed the pace of significant change by shielding Indians from individuating experiences. While Indian institutions atrophied and aboriginal cultural objects disappeared, tribal identity and meanings were preserved within the reduced

⁵⁷RT inserts citation.

⁵⁸Hollowell himself, if I may paraphrase him, said that the basic personality of Wisconsin Ojibwa resembled that of their ancestors in spite of tremendous cultural change (culture in this sense meaning items) and in spite of the change in specific child raising techniques.

⁵⁹Oddly enough, our conclusion is similar to the claim that government practices tended to isolate Indians on the reservation and deprive them of jobs and political participation, as expressed, say, by Theodore W. Taylor in

sphere of life left to Indians. The conservation of meanings among Indians is a consequence of stability in significant social relations.

Chapter 5 Kickapoos and Yaquis -- Two Enduring Peoples

Some Indian tribes have survived as distinct peoples by forming a tight enclave within the larger society. The next two narratives describe two such peoples, the Kickapoos and the Yaquis. Their way of life may exemplify the route that will be taken by other Indian groups who survive as distinct peoples. Many tribes are not currently living in "defensive" enclavements, but as the country fills up and the larger society presses upon them, their situation comes closer to that of enclaved groups.

"Bertha Matapina and the Kickapoos" -- A Narrative by Bob Thomas

In 1947 when I was attending the University of Arizona in Tucson, I took a trip with two of my fellow students to the Sierra Madre Mountains of northern Mexico. There are actually two Sierra Madre mountain ranges in Mexico; one is called the Sierra Madre Oriental (eastern) and the other is the Sierra Madre Occidental (western). However, for the people of Arizona there was only one Sierra Madre; that vast, rugged and mysterious mountain range which runs from north to south in northwestern Mexico. The northern part of the Sierra Madre lies in two Mexican states, Sonora and Chihuahua. As one travels west, the Sierra Madre slopes up from the high plains country of central Chihuahua, to become a high wooded plateau. At the Sonora-Chihuahua state line it breaks up into a very rugged, mountainous and eroded area. The north-south Chihuahua-Sonora border starts just to the east of the southern terminus of the Arizona-New Mexico border and continues south.

One of my student friends was a Mormon who had relatives in the fundamentalist Mormon colonies on the Chihuahua side of the Sierra Madre, an area of tall pines, rushing streams, and high grass--beautiful ranch country. We decided to visit his

relatives by traveling from Douglas, Arizona, toward the southeast through northeastern Sonora and into Chihuahua. At that time I had a '31 model A Ford and it took us two days to get us from Douglas, Arizona, to Bavispe, Sonora, a little less than 100 miles.

While we were at Bavispe, someone told us that there were some Oklahoma Indians living near Baserac, a few miles to the south. So we decided to drive down and visit them, mainly at my urging. We found three Kickapoo Indian brothers there -- Pesikia Matapina, Namarsik Matapina, and Ekuchi Matapina -- all three married to Mexican women, and hunting and gardening in that Sierra Madre area. Their settlement there at the western foot of the Sierra Madre was called Tomeshopa. All of these brothers spoke Spanish as well as Kickapoo, and they were natural gentlemen. When I left they told me that they had a sister living near Hurrah, Oklahoma, and asked if I would look in on her the next time I returned to Oklahoma.

I must say that I was more than a little puzzled at finding three Kickapoo Indians in Sonora. I wondered how in the world that family had ended up in the Sierra Madre. Later, I discovered that there was a whole village of Kickapoos in northeastern Mexico, a village of dome shaped wigwams! When I had lived in Wisconsin in 1944 and '45, I had seen a few wigwams among the Indians there; but in Mexico?! And a whole village of Wickiups?! It took me several years to unravel that mystery.

The Kickapoo Indians are interesting people with an interesting history. The Kickapoo's regard their traditional home as southeastern Michigan and there is some historical evidence to corroborate this view. The Kickapoos speak the same language and have the same basic culture as other central Algonkin tribes who lived in the northern Ohio valley and southern Great Lakes Region: the Sauk, Mesquakie, Shawnee, Miami, and the Illinois. The first solid historical record, however, shows the Kickapoos living in Wisconsin along with other central Algonkin people. It appears that the Iroquois expansion in the middle 1600 pushed the central Algonkin people out of the southeastern Great Lakes country and the northern Ohio valley into central and southern Wisconsin. After the Iroquois expansion subsided in the mid-1700s, many of the central Algonkin tribes, the Kickapoos among them, drifted back down into the northern Ohio Valley region; the Kickapoos into Illinois and Indiana. Kickapoos were heavily involved in the

conflict with American settlers in the period from 1770-1795. By 1800 there were Kickapoo bands crossing the Mississippi, and by 1830 there were Kickapoo bands in Texas associated with groups of Cherokees, Delawares, and Shawnees. Other Kickapoo bands in the late 1830s moved west across the Mississippi River into Missouri and finally into Kansas. After Texas became independent in 1836, the Kickapoos living in Texas moved north into central Oklahoma where they were allowed to live on the frontier of the Creek Indian settlements in the Creek Nation, as a buffer against the plains tribes. The traditional history of the Creeks says that by 1840 the Kickapoos had become more of a liability than an asset, that the Kickapoos stirred up trouble with the Plains tribes, and that they were asked by the Creeks to leave the Creek Nation. It also appears that bands of Kickapoos from Kansas were drifting into central Oklahoma at this period.

In 1850 the famous Seminole chief Wildcat, Osceola's lieutenant, took some of his Seminole Indian and Seminole black followers from what is now central Oklahoma to northern Mexico where they received a land grant from the Mexican government. A large contingent of Kickapoos went along with Wildcat. The Mexican government, like the Creeks, wished to use the Seminoles and Kickapoos as a buffer, against Comanche and Lipan Apache raids into northern Mexico. By the time of the American Civil War, there were Kickapoo bands again living in central Oklahoma. These Kickapoos were joined by bands from Kansas, the more traditional part of the Kansas Kickapoos. When the Civil War came, these Kickapoos migrated to the settlement in Mexico, fighting with white Texans along the way. By 1860 most of the Seminole Indians had returned north to the Seminole Nation. However, the blacks who followed Wildcat into Mexico stayed in Mexico. There are now two settlements on this land grant, one of which is called Nacimiento de los Indios, and another settlement called Nacimiento de los Negros. A few Seminole black families yet live at the latter settlement. The majority of the Seminole black families, however, moved to Ft. Brackett, what is now Bracketsville, Texas, in the 1870s to work as scouts for the United States Army. These families have remained in Bracketsville up until today.

In the 1870s the Kickapoos were raiding quite heavily into Texas. There had been a long enmity between the Kickapoos and the Texas whites which had arisen in the 1830s, so the United States army raided across the border, captured quite a number of

Kickapoo women and children and returned then to the Indian Territory (what is now Oklahoma). Shortly afterwards many of the husbands and fathers of these captured women and children followed them to the Indian Territory. In some sense the Kickapoos in Oklahoma and in Mexico are really one community. There is a great deal of travel back and forth between the Mexican settlement and the Oklahoma tribe. The village in Mexico is a structurally more complete community and retains most of the ceremonial medicine bundles that are necessary for Kickapoo ceremonies. Many Oklahoma Kickapoos must travel a thousand miles to this Mexican settlement for certain necessary ceremonies. There is also a great deal of travel back and forth between the Mexican settlement and the Oklahoma tribe. Moreover, individuals and family groups from Mexico spend long periods of time in the Oklahoma Kickapoo settlement. And many Oklahoma Kickapoos have spouses from Mexico. Thus, the Oklahoma Kickapoos are continually "re-charged" culturally by unacculturated Kickapoos from Mexico.

The Kickapoos who remained in Kansas tended to be much less resistant to American control and have slowly, over the years, become acculturated to the norms of their neighbors, the Kansas Potawatomies, in both language and culture.

In the 1890s the federal government undertook the allotment of the Oklahoma Kickapoo land to individual Kickapoos with a view to bringing about the political and social integration of the Kickapoos into American society; and the admission of a future state (Oklahoma) into the Union. However, the majority of the Oklahoma Kickapoos were very resistant to such a policy. They left Oklahoma and moved first to Nacimiento de los Indios in Coahuila. The Kickapoos at Nacimiento did not receive their Oklahoma brethren with open arms. They felt that the Oklahoma Kickapoos had been corrupted by 30 years of American contact. There does seem to have been quite a bit of drinking in the Oklahoma contingent, but the Nacimiento Kickapoos were speaking of a deeper level of spiritual corruption. Their Oklahoma kin were not allowed to live in the village itself even though they were allowed to establish a nearby camp on Kickapoo land.

Finally, the refugees were able to purchase land many hundreds of miles to the west in the state of Sonora near the town of Baserac. The "kicking" Kickapoos lived here from the early 1900s until the late 1920s when they started drifting back to Oklahoma.

By 1940, the Matapinas were the last Kickapoo family left in Sonora. The children of Matapena, the chief of this band of Kickapoos, were raised surrounded by Mexican families with no other Kickapoos nearby.

In Mexico there is considerable tension between the Kickapoo Indians and the Seminole blacks who live on Wildcat's original land grant. The Kickapoos live on the western part of the land grant, and the blacks live in the eastern part. The land grant was issued to los Maskogis, which is the name the Creek and Seminole Indians use when referring to themselves. The Seminole blacks also refer to themselves as Maskogis and they feel that they are the real owners of the land grant area. The Mexican government, by and large, has tended to treat the Kickapoo Indians as the rightful heirs, at least functionally if not actually in law.

Kickapoos in Nacimientto have a lot of autonomy. Mexican authorities look the other way and let the Indians there take care of their own business in their own way. In the 1930s the Cardenas administration in a misguided and benign effort to help Kickapoos built a school at Nacimientto. It mysteriously burned to the ground a few months later and was, wisely, never rebuilt.

In 1950, these Kickapoos in Mexico, some 500-600 altogether still lived in Kickapoo wigwams, both older men and women wore Kickapoo dress. They were probably the most traditional and conservative Indian group in North America. Since 1950, however, there has been a drought in that part of Mexico accompanied by a great population increase. Kickapoos can neither put in gardens nor can they find game animals such as deer. From 1950 to the present numbers of them have been leaving their village from late spring to late fall to work as migrant laborers in the United States. Some of them now have become roofers and travel around roofing on a contract basis. Migrant labor and roofing allows Kickapoo families to gain a livelihood in the U.S., but since these families are always on the move they are able to keep their children from the clutches of the American school system. The Kickapoos are afraid that American schools will corrupt their children, "de-Kickapooize" them, and turn them into Americans. This work pattern also allows them to return to Nacimientto for the winter and early spring, the season of their important ceremonies.

For years, Mexican Kickapoos maintained a temporary camp, a way station for migrant workers, under the International Bridge at Eagle Pass, Texas on the border. This camp has been recognized as a federal Indian tribe by the U.S. government. Mexican Kickapoos now own a piece of land on the outskirts of Eagle Pass and have moved their camp there.

I did not know any of this complicated Kickapoo history when I visited the Matapina brothers in Sonora in June of 1947. I had only vaguely heard of the Kickapoo tribe. I wasn't even sure exactly where they lived in Oklahoma. I only knew for sure that there was an Indian cartoon character in the comic strip "Li'l Abner", called Lonesome Polecat, who made and drank Kickapoo Joy Juice, a potent home brewed liquor. However, the Matapinas were so hospitable and had been so nice to me that I was determined to accede to their request and to "look in on our sister when you next return to Oklahoma."

I did return to Oklahoma later in the summer, and I did in fact look in on their sister, a young women by the name of Bertha Matapina. She lived with relatives on their family allotment in a grove of large pecan trees near the highway that runs east out of Oklahoma City. Their allotment was in a very rich bottomland area of the Canadian river, and they leased these lands out to white farmers. When I arrived at their homestead after eliciting directions from various Indians, I found Bertha cooking outside over an open fire in front of a Kickapoo summer wigwam, a domed reed-mat house. The domed roof of the house was of reed mats, the sides were of small split logs set in the ground vertically and spaced several inches apart so the air could circulate into the house. The Kickapoo winter wigwams are domed shaped as well, but entirely of bark or reed mats in order to withstand the winter cold. In the winter, the fire is inside the wigwam, whereas in the summer cooking is done outside.

Bertha was dressed in Kickapoo dress, a kind of a Mother Hubbard arrangement that the Kickapoos had adopted from whites probably sometime in the 1820s or 30s, although the dress reaches only halfway between the ankle and knee. She wore a scarf on her hair. Bertha was a very charming woman of perhaps 25 years of age and spoke beautiful Spanish. She had a small child at the time, whose father was a young Mexican

man in the Baserac area. In later years I would take hand-tanned deerskin from her brothers in Sonora, back to her in Oklahoma so that she could make moccasins. Bertha made, and still makes, very fine moccasins. In those days she, like most Kickapoo women and many Kickapoos men, wore moccasins as "everyday dress."

I have known Bertha now for some 40 years. There have been very few years in which I have not been able to stop by and visit her for a while. In the mid-fifties I lived at Shawnee, Oklahoma for some fifteen months. I must have seen Bertha at least twice a month in that time period. In the sixties I lived four years at Tahlequah in eastern Oklahoma, some 150 miles to the east of Bertha's home. However, I came by to see Bertha at least once every two months. She is, by this time in my life, an old and valued friend, whom I admire greatly.

Shortly after I first visited Bertha in Oklahoma, the Kickapoos managed to arrange a Kickapoo husband for her. He was a young man named Green (and that was his only name) who had moved to Oklahoma from the Kickapoo settlement in Coahuila, Mexico, some 100 miles south of Eagle Pass, Texas. He spoke neither Spanish nor English. My friend Bertha had several children by this marriage. They are now grown men and women. However, shortly after her marriage, some six years or so after I had first met her in Oklahoma in '47, she contracted tuberculosis and spent almost two years in the Indian TB hospital in Talihina, Oklahoma, 160 miles east of her home. During this period in the hospital, she learned English quite well. She speaks English with a slight Kickapoo accent, but fluently, unlike her Spanish which is both fluent and without accent.

Bertha had become a close friend by the middle 50s. A friend of mine at the University of Chicago wanted to do the field work for his doctor's thesis among the Kickapoo. I was living in central Oklahoma at the time. I introduced my friend and his wife to Bertha. She took them "under her wing" and introduced them to the Kickapoo community. In that time there were probably between 400 and 500 Kickapoos in Oklahoma, spread along the Canadian River from Jones, Oklahoma, east to Shawnee, Oklahoma, in some three clusters from northwest to southeast. Under my friend Bertha's sponsorship, this young graduate student, Dick, and his wife were completely taken into

the Kickapoo community, so much so that they were adopted into the Kickapoo tribe. This adoption was not honorary but real. They were adopted into a clan and each given a Kickapoo name. The Kickapoos will not be able to use those names for other children until my friends pass away.

Part of the acceptance of my friends by the Kickapoos was due to Bertha's sponsorship, but a good deal of their acceptance was due to Dick himself. Kickapoos have a reputation among anthropologists for being one of the most closed, secretive, and hostile peoples in North America, an Indian tribe in which it is almost impossible to do anthropological field work, or even be accepted in any degree if one is an outsider. However my friend's sight is not good, and this fact coupled with his extreme gentleness and gentlemanly manner touched the Kickapoos. They took him to their hearts. Besides being open to him, they took care of him. They always made sure if they were having a feast or religious ceremony that there would be no objects for him to "run into."

One time I was invited to a Kickapoo ceremony near Shawnee. I parked my car, and as I was walking across the yard to a wigwam in back of the house I noticed that our host was taking down all the clotheslines. When I asked him what he was doing he said, "Dick is liable to hang himself on these clotheslines." Another time the sacred singing at a ceremony almost came to a stop until Dick had threaded his way past obstacles and seated himself properly. And Dick indeed became a Kickapoo Indian after his adoption.

The Kickapoo Indians are a very hospitable and accommodating people. It is clear that their adaptation vis-a-vis the outside for survival purposes, does not reflect the Kickapoo character. Closedness, hostility and secretiveness appear as minor themes in relationships among Kickapoos, in Kickapoo relationships to other tribes, or even in relations with whites who do not pry into Kickapoo religious affairs. Some anthropologists have characterized the Kickapoo response to American society as one of withdrawal, and indeed that is true insofar as a one word encapsulation of a people's response can be true, but such withdrawal is simply a tactic and does not reflect much of the Kickapoos as a people or as a culture. In different circumstances the Kickapoos would present a much different face to the outside.

Sometime in the late '50s, my friend Bertha and her husband Green "broke up." I am not sure of the particulars. Bertha is too much of a lady to discuss the matter. According to rumor, The Green was living with another woman while Bertha was in the hospital and may have been stepping around on her even after her return and she, as the Kickapoos say, kicked him out. A mutual friend thinks that her intimate association with Mexicans as a child firmly implanted a Latin sense of honor and betrayal in her. But I like to think that she is simply a woman not to be "trifled with." The Kickapoo community was scandalized by Bertha's behavior. They did not feel that The Green, as they called him in English, was too much "out of line" and that to kick out a man and break up the family for such a small transgression was scandalous. However, Bertha was, and is, a woman of strong principle. She withstood the negative reaction of the Kickapoo community, and countered all of the maneuvering of the Kickapoos to reunite herself and The Green. Bertha undertook at that point to raise her five children by herself. Although she said that The Green didn't do enough to support the family during their marriage that she missed what he did provide. She is a fine crafts worker, making beautiful Kickapoo style beaded moccasins and other crafts as well. She had become a noted cook by that time of her life. By the early 1960s, she was employed on weekends at one or another powwow as a cook. Further, she gets a small payment for the leasing of her allotment as well as some help from the Welfare Department.

Bertha, as our readers can see from this narrative, was a little bit of a rebel, to say the least. The Kickapoos disapproved but allowed her rebellion against Kickapoo sentiment in the case of her marriage. However, one incident they would not allow to pass. At one point in the 60s, a nearby white Baptist church began to come by, pick up her children in a church school bus, and take them to their Baptist church for a program and a meal. I believe this must have been a Baptist summer school or the like. After this had gone on for a little while, the Kickapoo elders visited Bertha. These elders told her that "if you like the Baptist church so much, when you die, you can get that Baptist preacher to conduct your funeral. He can paint your face with the marks of your clan so you can enter into heaven." What the elders were saying was tantamount to "reading" Bertha out of the Kickapoo tribe. She had to tell her well-meaning white neighbors that her children could not attend Baptist functions any more. To deny a Kickapoo Indian the

services of the Kickapoo priesthood at a funeral is literally condemning the spirit of the dead to be forever separated from the spirit of one's relatives in the afterlife.

Bertha's youngest brother, Willie, was the "apple of her eye." Willie lived with Bertha and she took care of and protected him as if he were a child. At one point, Willie married a charming, out-going, and sophisticated Caddo Indian woman and brought her to live in Bertha's household. The tension between Bertha and Willie's wife was painful. Bertha considered Willie's wife to be a maniac to begin with, and, further, that she did not take care of Willie very well. Willie's wife was indeed a little bit of a "high stepping lady," as we say in Oklahoma. Finally, Willie's wife became tired of her living arrangements and Bertha's disapproving looks. She was also a little bored as well, so she wandered off to greener pastures. Bertha was immensely relieved, but sorry for Willie. She became even more concerned with Willie's welfare after that. Willie died about ten years ago. I don't think that Bertha has ever really gotten over his death.

At present, Bertha still lives in the same place she has always lived. Her children are grown. Most of them have married Indians of other tribes and moved to other areas. She has one daughter who lives in Alaska, and the oldest son has married a young white woman and lives in the nearby town of Hurrah, Oklahoma. The others are scattered about Oklahoma married to members of other Indian tribes and take part in a general pan-Indian life now, as do members of most tribes in western Oklahoma.

In recent years she has assumed the care of some of her grandchildren.

Although Kickapoos are to a large degree a closed society with sharp boundaries, they have had contact with other Indian tribes over much of their recorded history. In the 1700s and the 1800s Kickapoos associated intimately with other midwestern Algonkin speaking tribes -- the Shawnee, Sac and Fox, and Potowatomi. In fact, they speak virtually the same language as the Shawnee and the Sac and Fox. Kickapoos were part of the Ohio Valley Indian Alliance which resisted the American expansion militarily in the late 1700s, and many Kickapoos were involved in Tecumseh's pan-Indian movement in the early 1800s. In Texas they were allied with a branch of the Cherokees, the Caddos, a band of Delawares, and a band of Shawnees. The Sac and Fox and the Shawnee are their neighbors now in Oklahoma and Kickapoos attend Shawnee and Sac and Fox ceremonies

and social gatherings. Some Kickapoos travel to western Oklahoma to visit the Caddos. However, this kind of pan-Indianism is one in which a tribe as a whole has relationships with other tribes as wholes. Individuals are still firmly rooted in their own tribe. However, modern pan-Indianism sentiment among young Indians in central and western Oklahoma has so fostered marriage between different tribal groups that the integrity of the tribes themselves is endangered. Bertha, therefore, thinks that cross-tribal marriage is out of control.

Although Bertha was a rebel when she was a young woman, she has turned into a bastion of Kickapoo culture and morality. She now has decided, for instance, that inter-tribal intermarriage is a bad thing and freely admits that she must have made a mistake in raising her children since they have married members of other tribes. She feels that this kind of out-marriage process might very well bring about the end of the Kickapoo way, the Kickapoos as a people and as a culture.

Bertha decries what she sees as massive language loss among the Oklahoma Kickapoos. However, I am not sure how to judge her reporting of it. Older Kickapoo Indians, like elders in many eastern tribes, are always predicting social death, and if there is any slight deviation from tribal custom, eastern woodland people will see this as a massive change. I hear from other people, both young Kickapoos and whites, that, although there has been some language loss, it has by no means been massive. I suspect that Bertha, now that she has become a Kickapoo elder, is simply functioning as eastern Indian elders do by becoming a prophet of doom. Thus, elders keep everyone's attention focused on social and cultural survival. Nevertheless, her attitude does show how concerned she is with inter-tribal marriage and with language loss.

Bertha has also become a healer in the Kickapoo style--a medicine woman--and is beginning to gain some reputation as a curer among Kickapoos and other tribes. When I visited her several years ago she asked me to get her a piece of punk, a special kind of rotted wood that one finds in hollow maple trees. Such wood is rare in central Oklahoma. Bertha uses punk plus flint and steel to make "clean" fire over which to boil her herb medicine.

I am not sure how Bertha became a healer. It appears that she is a herb doctor, not a spiritual healer; but a herb doctor is the classical eastern Indian pattern. I understand that Kickapoos have lost much of their herbal lore, due to their wandering through many plant zones. I know that many Mexican Kickapoos go to Mexican "curanderos" (herbalists) when they are sick. I am unclear therefore about the source of Bertha's knowledge of herbs.

When I visit her now, she will lapse into long lectures (primarily to see if I will agree with her) about inter-tribal marriage, language loss, and the Indian way. I think that Bertha has a notion that most eastern tribes have basically the same world view, and she talks with me, a Cherokee, about "Indian" culture. On another level, however, she identifies the Kickapoo religion as a unique and distinct religion. Our discussions take place on a very general and philosophical level. She certainly would not want to reveal any Kickapoo "secrets."

It is my impression that the Kickapoo religion has not eroded in Oklahoma. However, there are some ceremonies that never could be performed in Oklahoma because certain hereditary leaders or holy objects were in the Kickapoo village in northern Coahuila. It is necessary for many Oklahoma Kickapoos to travel some thousand miles to this village in northern Mexico for certain essential ceremonies.

Bertha also talks a lot about the Kickapoo lack of a homeland. She says that the Kickapoo were bad people in the old days; that they were driven out of their homeland in southeastern Michigan and have had to wander over the surface of the continent, never really able to put down roots, as if this were God's punishment. Although this lack of a homeland is an extremely important symbol to her, she talks of the Kickapoo tie to a general "ecological" area. She feels that there are certain ecological requirements for Kickapoo life. For example, she says that the Kickapoo Indians have to live somewhere where there are lakes with cattails growing in them, since cattail mats are necessary to make Kickapoo homes, and that Kickapoo religious ceremonies can only be held in those kind of homes. Unfortunately, there is no male around to help her build a summer wigwam in these days. Like most Kickapoos now, she spends the winter in a small, white frame house, but she would like to spend the summer in a Kickapoo house. She

says that cattails are getting scarce in central Oklahoma, and that Kickapoos must move out of that area and go somewhere where cattails grow. Part of her argument is the need to make mats for the Kickapoo house-temple, but she also feels that by definition the Kickapoo Indians must live in a place where there are lakes with cattails in them. Bertha Matepina believes that cattail country is, in a sense, a generalized holy land and homeland for the Kickapoos.

My friend Bertha, who in her youth was the young, free-spirited rebel who faced the Kickapoos down on her marriage break up, has become in her sixties a citadel of the Kickapoo way.

I visited Bertha in May of 1988. She told me then that she was 68 years old. (The first time she has ever admitted her age to me). She said, "I am an old lady now," and laughed. She told me that there are so few Kickapoo elders left now in Oklahoma that some Kickapoos were pressuring her to assume the directorship of ceremonies. Of course, we traded news about our children. In the conversation she mentioned a local Baptist church several times. I asked her if she was going to church now and she admitted, a little sheepishly, that she was indeed. When I asked her why she said, "Because they were the only people who came around to see me when I was sick a while ago." That seemed like a good enough reason to me.

On that visit my son Lance accompanied me. She was as pleased as punch to see him. He had been a child when she last had seen him. Two friends were with me. She tried to sell them a pair of beautiful Kickapoo moccasins which she had made, but they didn't seem too interested. When we were driving away from her house one of my friends, a young Cherokee man, commented about Bertha, "She just sits there with character oozing out of every pore!" That remark goes a long way toward summing up my friend, Bertha Metapina.

Bertha was not my only friend among the Oklahoma Kickapoos. Another good friend was Frank Wapehpah, a man prominent in Kickapoo religious life and a mediator between Kickapoos and the outside world. Frank has passed on now, but his children have continued the family tradition and are active in the Oklahoma Kickapoo tribal government. This tribal government performs a necessary function for Kickapoos. It

mediates between Kickapoos and white authorities, but acts as a buffer for Kickapoos as well. At the same time it manages to extract benefits from the federal government while holding outsiders at bay so that their interference in Kickapoo life is minimal. What a creative and social arrangement! The old Cherokee would say, "Those Indians are not a foolish people. They've got some sense!" And the Wapehpah family are central in this sophisticated adoption. I see Frank's son Jimmy at Indian conferences from time to time and one of Frank's daughters was a student of mine.

I became acquainted with the Mexican Kickapoos by a roundabout route. In early summer of 1949 I took a Cherokee leader, a renowned Indian doctor, to an Oklahoma Kickapoo peyote meeting. This Cherokee spiritual leader had heard of the peyote but like most Cherokees he had never experienced it, and wanted very much to attend a peyote meeting. Some Oklahoma Kickapoos in that period were having meetings in their area. A peyote meeting is a very intense affair and we became well acquainted with the Kickapoos at the meeting. They urged us to return in a few weeks for the Kickapoo pow-wow at Jones, Oklahoma. We did attend the Kickapoo pow-wow at Jones and enjoyed the pow-wow immensely. The Kickapoo pow-wow was very successful, but it was discontinued after a few years. I believe that the Kickapoo elders objected to such a secular and "foreign" event. Nevertheless, we enjoyed

the pow-wow and visited with many Indians there. I noticed a big cattle truck with a Mexican license plate parked on the pow-wow grounds, and a number of young Indian men leaning up against the side of the truck. I went over and began talking Spanish to one of them. The young man replied, "Just a minute" in Spanish and called over another man who was sitting in the cab of the truck. This gentleman spoke good Spanish. We carried on a long conversation. Every once in a while he would talk in an Indian language to the other young men, obviously translating my remarks. Finally, he asked if I were a Navaho. I replied that I was an Oklahoma Cherokee. He looked at me a while and said, in English, "Well, why are we talking in Spanish?" The other young men broke into gales of laughter. Since the "ice was broken" we talked in English together at some length and they told me of the Kickapoo village in Mexico. It was clear to me that their life was completely isolated from Mexican society. They spoke less Spanish than English, in spite of the fact that their ties to Oklahoma were minimal.

In 1973 my daughter and I were touring Mexico. We stayed one night at Musquiz, the closest town to the Mexican Kickapoo settlement. The next morning while I was inquiring around town to determine the best way to get to Nacimiento, my daughter became acquainted with a young matron in town from Nacimiento. She wore moccasins and a Kickapoo dress. She spoke some Spanish and more English. Our new friend told us that the road to Nacimiento was being repaired and was almost impassable therefore. She advised us to take a taxicab rather than risk our car. We hired a taxi and headed for the Kickapoo village. A few miles from town we passed the very small Seminole black settlement. Finally, we reached the Kickapoo village. Except for the desert mountains in the background, the chaparral foliage, and the few irrigation ditches, I felt like I had been transported back in time to a seventeenth-century Wisconsin Indian village. One man had a Mexican style house next to his wigwam. I understand that some older Kickapoos are not too pleased with this innovation, but tolerate it. We were treated royally by the Kickapoos and enjoyed our visit immensely. The man with the Mexican house spoke good Spanish and was the contact person between the Mexicans and the Kickapoos. He was one of nature's noblemen and the next day drove us back to Musquiz in his truck. The young woman whom we had met in Musquiz was a host in the grand manner as well, and very friendly; at least to us. She confided in us that she did not care for either American whites or Mexicans, but that we were fellow Indians.

As usual, I was once again amazed by the Kickapoos. It seemed to me that the Kickapoos, particularly the Mexican Kickapoos, were a cross between a very old time tribe and some kind of an Indian religious commune. A Mexican Kickapoo elder said one time, "Kickapoo life is my hand. Each finger represents some aspect of the Kickapoo Way. One finger might represent our language, another finger might represent our clan system, and so on. But all the fingers join onto the palm of the hand, and the palm is our religion." That just about says it all!

I have been a casual observer of Kickapoo life for some forty years now. I couldn't count up how many times I have visited their area in Oklahoma. I know that I have attended three or four of their annual Green Corn Dances, one of their rare public ceremonies. I think that I have some "feel" for Kickapoo culture by this time in my life.

They are tribal Indians from another time and have a remarkable cultural integrity. They are Kickapoos, and that tells the whole story!

A few years ago the federal court in Oklahoma was holding hearings to determine exactly who were and who were not American citizens among the Kickapoos. As one can imagine, with all the movement back and forth between Oklahoma and Mexico national status among the Kickapoo is problematical, to say the least. However, federal Indian law requires that an Indian be an American citizen if he or she is to inherit all or part of an individually owned American Indian land allotment. Needless to say Kickapoo land affairs is a legal quagmire and the federal court hoped to clean up a long overdue mess. For two days older Kickapoos testified about these matters. Late on the second day the hereditary chief of the Oklahoma Kickapoos, Ataskwe, took the stand. However, his testimony was cut short because of the late hour and held over until the next day. The next morning Ataskwe resumed his testimony. After about a half an hour the U.S. attorney interrupted Ataskwe. He said, "Sir, your present testimony is completely contradictory to what you said yesterday!" Ataskwe said, "Yes, that's right. I didn't want to contradict those older men who had testified before me. However, they aren't here in the courtroom now and I can say what I want to today." The U.S. attorney was profoundly shocked and stunned. He looked like someone had just turned a hose on him. No one had told the young attorney that the Kickapoo Indians live in a faraway world, a thousand years away from a white man's courtroom.

The Sac and Fox Indians live just to the east of the Kickapoos. The Sac and Fox hold a very fine and well-known pow-wow in August of every year. The Kickapoos like to attend this pow-wow and to mingle with their Sac and Fox kindred. Usually the Kickapoos sit as a body in the spectators' bleachers. They make quite a contrast to the middle class whites seated near them, and to sophisticated Indian spectators of other Oklahoma tribes. The Kickapoos look like photographs taken of Indians in the last century.

At the last Sac and Fox pow-wow that I attended I saw Ataskwe there. He was standing off to the side in the shadows under the trees -- a small and humble but iron-willed man, with long hair and a Mexican straw hat on his head. When I left the pow-

wow grounds I saw him still standing in the shadows, eating an ice cream cone and watching the dancing; nodding his head occasionally as Bertha talked animatedly into his ear.

"The Yaquis of Barrio Libre" — A Narrative by Bob Thomas

When I lived in Tucson, Arizona, between 1945 and 1953, I became acquainted with some of the Yaqui Indians who lived in that city. There were two main Yaqui settlements in Tucson, one on the north side called Pascua, and the other in the south part of town called Barrio Libre. Both of these settlements, at the time I knew them, were about 40 years old.

These Yaqui Indians had fled from the neighboring Mexican state of Sonora to Arizona around 1900. Yaquis had been notably successful in their military resistance against both Sonoran and national armies, and the Diaz dictatorship in Mexico decided, after some eighty years of bitter warfare between Mexican settlers and the Yaqui people, to crush the Yaquis once and for all. The Mexican army was at the time forcibly deporting Yaqui Indian families to Yucatan hemp plantations in the south of Mexico in an effort to disburse the tribe from along the Yaqui river in Sonora. Such was the Mexican government's "final solution" to the Yaqui problem. This effort by the Mexican government was an act of planned physical and social genocide, the Mexican government's "final solution" to the Yaqui problem.

These Yaqui settlements in Tucson had originally been located on the north and south edges of town, but as Tucson had grown, both of these areas had been surrounded by the city itself. Both were neighborhoods in which the population was predominantly Yaqui, although some Mexicans living within the two neighborhoods. The northern village was surrounded by Mexicans. Barrio Libre in the south part of town was surrounded by Mexicans on three sides and on the north side by an old neighborhood which consisted primarily of Papago Indians who had moved from the desert into Tucson over the years. In most Indian tribes households do not act as a corporate body. (See chapters 3 and 3*). However, the Yaqui household is more of an independent structural unit than among most Indians. The Yaqui households in villages along the Yaqui river are extended families that have a structural integrity of their own. For instance, in the

Yaqui river country the household is a significant unit for feasts of different kinds: marriage and baptismal feasts, and other kinds of religious feasts. Further, Yaquis have been heavy involved in the Catholic godparent system for 350 years now so that Yaquis who are not kin are able to establish relationships very quickly through the godparent system.

When Yaquis moved to Tucson, they came as individuals and as nuclear family groups. The godparent system and the fact that Yaqui households function as a corporate body probably stood the Yaquis in good stead when they migrated to Tucson and thus they were able to form into communities rather quickly.

In the middle of each of the Yaqui neighborhoods there was a Yaqui Catholic church, and a dance ground in front of the church. Yaquis were converted to Catholicism in the early 1600s. Over the years they have developed a very elaborate religious life based on a combination of older Yaqui ceremonialism and Spanish--or perhaps Mexican--folk-Catholicism. Of course new elements have risen out of the combination of those two traditions. Yaquis are most famous for their Easter ceremony, a sacred passion play depicting the life of Jesus. From Palm Sunday to Easter Sunday the life of Jesus is acted out by various Yaqui religious and/or dance societies. The average observer would probably not recognize this ceremony as a sacred passion play because it is the Yaqui's own unique interpretation of the life of Jesus. And it is indeed more than a passion play, it is to some extent a world-renewal ceremony.

I became acquainted with the Yaquis in Barrio Libre, the most conservative and orthodox of the two settlements, simply by attending their many religious ceremonies and thereby becoming acquainted with people on these occasions. Sometimes I would help out by driving Yaquis to places where they could collect cottonwood boughs needed for certain parts of a ceremony, or willow branches, or firewood. At other times I would act as a guard to control the crowd at large ceremonies. During this process I became casually acquainted with many Yaquis and intimately acquainted with two men in particular, both of whom were in their sixties. One was a singer, who sang for the deer dances, and the other a deer dancer. In fact, in 1950 both of these men and I went to a southern California Indian pageant together and put on some exhibitions of Yaqui deer

singing and dancing. My friend the deer singer played the rasp and sang. I played the water drum, and my other friend danced. The public loved it.

Anyone casually acquainted with Yaquis can see that their involvement with religious ceremonies takes up a lot of time. During Easter week, most Yaquis got very little sleep. At that time in history, Yaqui men were employed as wage laborers. They were able, without too much trouble, to put on their ceremonies all Palm Saturday night and Palm Sunday; and again the end of Holy Week, on Easter Saturday and Easter Sunday. During Holy Week, however, the ceremonies had to be held after work. Many people missed meals and were up the greater part of each night during that week. It was apparent that Yaqui life revolved around their religion and they would as much as tell you that this was the case. Baptisms were followed by ceremonies, deaths were followed by ceremonies, there were ceremonies on saint's days, and on and on. The average Yaqui must put at least one third of his or her free time, discounting work and sleep, into Yaqui religious life. However it was my impression that most of the Yaquis I knew never imagined that they could choose not to participate in Yaqui religious life. The average Yaqui simply did his or her part in Yaqui religious life. A good Yaqui contributed heavily of time and resources. Someone born a Yaqui who did not fulfill his religious obligations was a non-Yaqui, in Yaqui eyes. Almost by definition, it was the Yaqui's nature to hold these ceremonies. This is what Yaquis did, period! In fact, Yaquis felt it was necessary to hold their Easter ceremony in order for the world to go right, not only for the Yaquis, but for the whole world, for all nationalities; or at least for the whole Catholic world.

The Yaquis had their own autonomous lay Catholic religious organizations. Yaqui communities could get along well without an officially sanctioned Catholic priest to guide them. And, indeed, Yaquis have had to function as Catholic communities without Catholic priests throughout long periods in their history. Perhaps the Jesuit fathers who converted the Yaquis foresaw just such a future and taught the Yaquis accordingly. Whatever might be the case, Yaquis developed their own style of Catholicism quite different from standard American Catholic practice, so tensions have appeared at times between Tucson Yaquis and the local white, Catholic clergy.

Yaquis conceived of what they did in ceremonies as religious service, as work. They expected religious service to be taxing and difficult and they took pride in their ability to do such disciplined and hard work in "the vineyard of the Lord," so to speak. Yaquis felt themselves to be Catholics par excellence.

Individual Yaquis "promised" themselves to take part in one or another of Yaqui religious societies, usually for a certain number of years. They might make a vow to a saint that if they were cured of a sickness they would perform religious service. Sometimes parents might promise a child for a lifetime of service. Some Yaquis might decide to "serve" simply to help the whole Yaqui people.

In the early 1950s I worked on the railroad and saw Yaqui track gangs perform on the job. In those days gangs were used to lay track and straighten it. The Southern Pacific Railroad tended to have track gangs made up of men of one single ethnic background: there were Yaqui track gangs, Mexican track gangs, Papago track gangs, and white (usually Oklahoma/Texas migrants) track gangs. The Yaquis who worked for the railroad considered themselves to be far better and harder workers and much more efficient than any other track gang. They thought that the Papagos were much too slow and the Mexicans impossibly lazy and inefficient. In fact, several times when we had to do a particularly dangerous and exacting job on the track, the Yaqui track gang would request that they be allowed to do it and asked that the rest of the track gangs stand aside while they performed this arduous task. Generally speaking, the Yaquis had a very good reputation as workers among Anglo-American employers.

After 150 years of enmity, 100 of those years involving bitter warfare, Yaquis did not have a very good opinion of Mexicans, although Yaquis did have close relations with individual Mexicans. Mexicans did live in the neighborhood of Barrio Libre, most Yaquis were able to speak Spanish well, and there were some godparent relationships between Mexican and Yaqui families. However, by and large, Yaquis considered the Mexicans a quarrelsome people without a respect for law and order. Often I acted as a guard at Yaqui ceremonies, trying to keep back the crowd and to discourage picture taking while sweltering in the heat. A Yaqui explained to a friend of mine that "the difference between Americans and Mexicans is that if an American has a camera and you

tell him there is no picture taking allowed at the Yaqui ceremonies, he will put away his camera. But a Mexican will put it away until you turn around, then he will pull out his camera again and try to sneak a picture."

Further Yaquis felt that Mexicans were rather lackadaisical Catholics, as opposed to Yaquis who fulfilled their difficult religious obligations. Yaquis felt that their neighbors, the Papagos, were nice people, a little uncivilized, who might become good Catholics with a little time and effort. I think that most Yaquis in that time would have been puzzled or would have smiled at the notion that many American whites were Catholic. People who put such little effort into being Catholic were not Catholic at all in Yaqui eyes. Yaquis had no ill-feeling toward American whites. In fact in the late '40s many of the older Yaquis that I knew, those who had been born on the Yaqui river and had fled to the United States as children, appreciated the fact that Americans had given them refuge.

When my friends would talk about the Yaqui river, the sacred homeland of the Yaquis, with its eight sacred Yaqui pueblos, I did not hear the nostalgia in their voices that one hears from many other immigrants to the United States. In some large sense, the Yaquis in Tucson felt that life was better in the United States, and they were ambivalent about whether or not they should return to the Yaqui river. However, when they talked of the Yaqui river country, they talked of it in the same way that Jews of that time talked about Israel, as a holy land; and of course as the well-spring of Yaqui culture. Yaquis in Tucson were relatively rich and for many ceremonies people in Barrio Libre would "import" a noted deer dancer and singers from the Yaqui river.

Most Yaquis in the late '40s spoke both Yaqui and Spanish. Such was the case with my friend the deer singer; he and I communicated in Spanish. He spoke Spanish very well, my Spanish was adequate in that period. My friend, the deer dancer, spoke Yaqui, Spanish, and English well. By and large I found my older Yaqui friends to be very sophisticated. Most of them spoke at least two languages, and were well traveled, both in Mexico and in the Southwest. They were self possessed and self confident, with a firm identity as human beings and as Yaquis--men of personal integrity. They were hard

workers, well disciplined, and devoutly religious in the Western sense, more than any men I have ever met.

Perhaps a story would illustrate something of the Yaqui character. In the early 50s I married a Papago girl and one October we journeyed to Magdalena, Sonora in Mexico, about 120 miles from Tucson, perhaps 60 miles south of the border. In early October the feast of St. Francis was held in Magdalena. This feast was always attended by many Papagos, Mexicans, and Yaquis from the Yaqui river. I remember that we pulled into Magdalena and rented a space in the courtyard of a Mexican family there, and began to settle in. When we were about half way unpacked a truck load of Yaquis pulled up. Bed rolls flew out of the truck, Yaquis quickly jumped down from the bed of the truck, unrolled their blankets and were asleep in about five minutes. We were still unfolding covers!

Many Yaquis camped alongside of the church in Magdalena. They drove small spikes into the wall of the church from whence they extended canopies, built camp fires (after the feast there were blackened streaks running up the white church wall), and then went to church. After devotions some of them began to perform deer and pascola dances on street corners throughout the town center, collecting money to pay for their trip to honor the saint. To my wife's family and to most Papagos, the Yaquis were a very prestigious people. Papagos not only considered them very worldly and sophisticated, but also as a people expert in Catholic practice, particularly in folk Catholic ritual; an attitude which I am sure Yaquis shared.

In later years I made several visits to the Yaqui river itself and found most of life there familiar to me, particularly the religious ceremonies and the character of the Yaquis themselves. Like Arizona Yaquis, they are a formal and reserved people, but also very gracious in the Latin manner. Some Yaquis in Sonora feel that Tucson was a nest of apostate Yaquis, or else that Arizona Yaquis were almost no longer Yaquis. Such a Yaqui inside view must highlight characteristics of which I am unaware. So far as I could see, the some 50 years residence of the Yaquis in Arizona had not brought about too much alteration in Yaqui culture or character. Of course in that period Arizona Yaqui children were just beginning to stay in school past the sixth or eighth grades; and to some

degree the large Mexican population which surrounded both of the Yaqui villages in Tucson insulated Yaquis from the dominant Anglo-American culture. I would hear from my friends about Yaquis who had become Mexicanized, but the low Yaqui level of English, their occupational niches in Tucson society, plus their bounded community did not allow for too much intimacy with Anglo-Americans.

In 1953 I left the Tucson area. I was living in Michigan around 1970 when Carlos Casteneda's "The Teachings of Don Juan: A Yaqui Way of Knowledge" appeared. I read it and enjoyed it, but it had nothing to do with Yaquis whatsoever. If Don Juan was an Arizona Yaqui he was a most peculiar one. Don Juan never mentioned the Yaqui river, the Yaqui holy land and homeland; the wars with the Mexicans; the Virgin Mary; the eight sacred pueblos of the Yaquis; Catholicism; deer dancers; the Easter Ceremonies; nor any of the things that pop out of Arizona Yaquis on every occasion. Even a Mexicanized Yaqui could hardly be so "de-Yaqui-ized." Thankfully Tucson Yaquis in the 70s did not read enough English nor were they familiar enough with the general American society to notice Casteneda's books. If they had, I imagine that their response would have been that "everybody knows about Yaquis and knows that those books aren't true," or possibly "anybody who is foolish enough to believe what is in those books is too foolish to believe the truth anyway." Yaquis are a tough-minded people.

In 1981 I returned to Tucson after an absence of 30 years and once again became acquainted with Barrio Libre. I discovered that my friend the deer singer had been killed in the 1950s in Sonora by unknown parties while looking for buried treasure. He had told me in 1952 that he knew where the Yaquis had buried a chest of gold dollars, loot from a train which had been blown up by Yaqui guerrillas in the Yaqui-Mexican wars. Just before I moved away from Tucson in 1953 he pleaded with me to go with him to Sonora to find the treasure. My friend the deer dancer, in contrast, lived a long life and died just after I returned to Tucson. He must have been in his eighties when he died. Unfortunately, I did not hear of his death until after the funeral.

In fact, all of my old friends had passed on and the younger Yaqui people did not know me. However, very shortly I became re-acquainted with Barrio Libre and made many friends there, particularly in the younger age group.

There had been significant changes in Yaqui life since I had left Tucson. The most obvious change was a large freeway cutting right through the center of Barrio Libre. The building of the freeway had caused the destruction of many Yaqui homes and had dislodged many Yaqui families. The freeway ran immediately in back of the Yaqui church. Noise from passing diesel trucks made holding ceremonies difficult, but the Barrio Libre Yaquis pointedly ignored the noise and stubbornly persisted in being Yaquis and holding their ceremonies.

There were no more track gangs on the Southern Pacific railroad, nor was there cotton picking or many of the kinds of jobs at which Yaquis had worked in the late 1940s. There is more unemployment among Yaquis now, although Yaquis still have a reputation for being hard workers, at least among the older Tucson residents. Tucson has expanded rapidly since 1970, and a great deal of the population of Tucson has recently migrated from the northeast and west coast. Most are only vaguely aware that there are Indians in the Tucson area, much less that there is a tribe called the Yaquis living in Tucson.

In 1979 the Yaquis received formal, legal recognition from Congress as an American Indian tribe, that is, as a tribe for which the federal government has some responsibility. Yaquis now have a very small reservation southwest of Tucson. It is hardly large enough for all the Yaqui house sites. Most of the Yaquis from the village of old Pasqua in the northern part of Tucson have moved to the new reservation. The reservation is usually referred to as New Pasqua. Barrio Libre has probably lost half of its population to the reservation. However, Yaquis who moved onto the reservation recently from Barrio Libre still keep their ties with Barrio Libre religious organizations. The new reservation community has a large religious organization as well so that, whereas in the late 1940s there were two functioning Yaqui communities in the Tucson area with two religious organizations, there are now three.

One of the most significant changes in Yaqui life has been the rise in educational level. Most Yaquis under 40 have finished grade school and many have completed at least one or two years of high school. However, this longer school experience means that Yaqui youngsters after 1960 had intensive contact with their fellow Mexican and white

students. Such contact has brought about some confusion in the identity of some of these students. As a young Yaqui friend said to me, "The Mexicans thought we were ignorant savages. The whites thought we were Mexicans. And the Papagos weren't sure whether we were Mexicans or if we were Indians." Further, many Indians of other Arizona tribes viewed the Yaquis in the 1960s and '70s simply as a Mexican variant. Arizona Yaquis were trying to be recognized by the federal government as American Indians in the late 1970s. The problem of Indian legitimacy came to a head in that period and it remains a problem to younger Yaquis. A few younger Yaquis have even been affected by trends now prevalent among young urban Indians generally -- long hair, wearing beadwork and Indian jewelry, taking part in religious sweat baths, an interest in Indian "spirituality," and the like. A well-known, Sioux medicine man visits New Pascua regularly and has some small following there. Older Yaquis, however are not very interested in these pan-Indian activities. The deer dance has become the symbol of being Yaqui to younger people, the most undeniably authentic "Indian" feature of Yaqui religious life; and that is the face presented to other Indian tribes.

In the past few years educated Indians, members of other tribes who live many hundreds of miles from Tucson (Hopis, Navahos, Cherokees, Caddos, Sioux, etc.), have travelled to Tucson to observe the Yaqui Easter ceremonies. The Yaqui Easter ceremonies are a great religious spectacle and, further, they are a striking example of a genuine Indian Christianity, a rarity in the United States and Canada.

I have seen the Yaqui Easter ceremonies many times and they have never failed to touch me, to almost over awe me. One can feel the tension build among the Yaquis during Holy Week as the societies that represent the evil forces become steadily more powerful in Yaqui life. One society, called Chapayekum, represent evil spirits from the wilderness and come into Yaqui life to help the other evil forces overcome Jesus. The dancers wear helmet masks and hold a rosary between their teeth to keep the evil from entering their bodies. When these "impersonators" put on their masks they become transformed. They become evil, stupid, and gross; much like a European troll. When the chapayekum appear every child at the ceremony, Yaqui and otherwise, watches them fearfully. Yaquis advise their children not to look at a chapayeka directly, but even dutiful children watch them out of the corners of their eyes. And most adult Yaquis are

very afraid of being touched by a chapayeka. The chapayekum get unruly at times and could very well run into the crowd at the ceremony, but they are carefully controlled by the leaders of the evil forces who recruited them from the wilderness.

Tension at the Easter ceremonies is at its height on Easter Saturday morning. Jesus has been crucified. It feels like time has stopped, or as if there a hole in the universe. The evil forces are riding high, their evil power seems so strong that they cannot be stopped. The chapayekum have a procession then, carrying a figure of their saint, Judas, who is costumed like a chapayeka. They place this figure of Judas in the plaza in front of the church and serenade him with Mexican drinking songs. At around noon all the evil forces march in front of the church and then charge the church in an attempt to take it over. The church bell rings. The deer and pascola dancers throw roses (drops of Jesus' blood) and confetti at the evil chargers. Fireworks explode. Small girls dressed as angels are brought from the church by their parents. These little angels, frightened and trembling, strike at the evil ones with white, freshly peeled switches. The charge is turned back, temporarily.

The evil forces regroup and march in the plaza again. The crowd is deathly still. Again they charge and again are repelled. On their third charge they are defeated. The chapayekum place their beautiful masks at the feet of Judas and set them on fire. The godparents of the chapayekum impersonators put cloths over the heads of their godchildren and rush them into the church to be re-baptized. The Yaquis and the Christian world are safe for another year. Balance and order has been restored.

The deer dancers and pascolas begin to dance, as well as the matachines, a dance society that resembles religious dance groups in medieval Spanish times. This celebration continues until Easter Sunday afternoon when the little angels come from the church to announce that Christ has arisen. If even a group of people radiated the feeling of a "hard job well done" it is the Yaqui Indians at that moment.

Most Yaquis under 40 are able to speak Spanish well, and English fairly well. Most are able to understand Yaqui, but are usually unable to carry on much more than a very simple conversation in the Yaqui language. This is of serious concern to most

Yaquis. It has reached the point in Barrio Libre that some younger people who sponsor feasts are unable to give the appropriate addresses in the Yaqui language.

At the same time Yaqui religious activity has increased. A major religious dance society has been revived in the last two years, a warrior society that has religious duties called the Coyotes. And other ceremonial societies are full with young people between 15 and 30.

I have a close friend, a man about forty years old, who is a chapayeka during Lent and Holy Week. When not playing his role as chapayeka he is gathering wood, hauling benches, and the like at the ceremonies. Further, he is a working man with a demanding job. During Holy Week he spends most of his free time as a chapayeka -- wearing sandals, cocoon rattles around his ankles, a heavy blanket coat, a heavy belt of deer hoof rattles, a helmet mask, and carrying a wooden sword and dagger. On Easter Saturday in Tucson the temperature is usually ninety degrees or more and there is my friend out in the dance plaza, marching around in a blanket coat, wearing a helmet mask. After the end of the ceremony on Easter Sunday afternoon the expression on my friend's face is one of complete exhaustion. He never complains. He is doing God's work and ensuring the Yaqui place in God's world. He must be an inspired man in order to be able to do all he does for his religion. I respect and admire him. I am lucky to have such a friend.

The Yaquis in Barrio Libre home have been more than generous to me in terms of their hospitality, their help, and their time. A deer dancer and pascolas from Barrio Libre always came and danced at the Wa:k Pow-wow at San Xavier during its first years when I was managing the pow-wow. In 1985 my good friend mentioned above helped arrange for a Yaqui river Coyote Society, their warrior society, to travel to Tucson to dance at San Xavier in the Wa:k Pow-wow. The Coyotes danced to honor a group of Indian Viet Nam veterans from western Oklahoma. The Indian veterans did feel honored and very impressed by those real warriors, and so were many of us at the pow-wow. They told us that, "We are called the Coyote Society because when our parents dedicate us as young boys to be Yaqui warriors, protectors of the Yaqui land and religion, they said that from that moment on we would have no real family or friends. Our only purpose in life would be to give our lives, if need be, to protect the Yaqui people. Our bodies would lay where

they fell on the battlefield, and our only friend would be the coyote who comes to carry our bones away." When I repeated these remarks over the mike to the public at the powwow a hush fell over the crowd that lasted almost a minute.

In 1986, I held a feast to celebrate the confirmation of my two grandsons. A deer dancer, deer singers, pascolas, and the newly revived Coyote Society in Barrio Libre all came and danced at my feast. My grandsons felt more than honored. I will never be able to repay my Yaqui friends for that fine gesture.

Yaquis are becoming involved in many unfamiliar activities because of their newly acquired federal Indian status. Yaqui now have a reservation with a tribal government, a tribal court, a housing program, and a bingo hall. There is considerable tension in Yaqui life these days. Recently, Yaquis revolted against the Yaqui tribal chairman and the Yaqui political "machine," and the political in-fighting was horrendous.

The former political "patron" of New Pascua is a remarkable man. He almost singlehandedly accomplished the impossible. He arranged for the recognition of the Yaquis by the federal government and established their present reservations. This gentleman was a godsend to the Yaquis of the 1970s and early 1980s. He is a great man by any standard. However, those same qualities, an unrelenting drive, a fearlessness, and an acute intelligence, that were so invaluable for the Yaquis in the above years are not so productive in the present context. Yaquis rebelled against what they felt to be his authoritarian rule. It is an old story in Yaqui history and in Indian history generally. Yaquis sometimes, like other Indians, turn against a great war leader in times of peace.

The Yaqui river country, of course, is still the well-spring of Yaqui culture. Like the Oklahoma Kickapoos, Tucson Yaquis are to some degree perpetually re-vitalized by their contacts with Yaquis in Mexico. Yaquis from the Yaqui river are still imported for various ceremonies, but Arizona Yaquis have begun to try to equal or surpass their relatives on the Yaqui river in "purity and strictness." For example, in the late 40s deer dancers were able to perform at festivals, powwows, or special exhibitions and the like almost any time of the year except when they were needed in the Yaqui community. There is a part of the "Yaqui law" which says that deer dancers should not appear during Lent until Palm Sunday. However, most Yaquis in those days interpreted that to mean

that deer dancers should not be seen at Yaqui feasts or in the Yaqui villages during the prohibited time. Deer dancers felt free to perform at non-Yaqui secular events during Lent.

The San Xavier powwow is held the first part of March during Lent. In 1982, 83, and 84, Yaqui pascolas and deer dancers performed at the San Xavier powwow. However, in 1985 there was an objection on the part of some Yaquis to these past appearances so that these deer dancers and pascolas did not appear on the San Xavier powwow program in 1985. It seems almost a certainty that this prohibition, that deer dancers should not be seen during the first five weeks of Lent, will now apply to any event. A few Yaquis tend to ridicule such an idea and say that Arizona Yaquis are "playing Yaqui" and trying to be more Yaqui than the Yaquis on the Yaqui river, to be "super-Yaquis." By and large, however, present Yaqui sentiment seems in favor of restricting the appearance of deer dancers at any function during the first five weeks of Lent, whether or not it is within the Yaqui community.

The Yaquis on the new reservation are now very involved at their school in a Yaqui language program. Whether this attempt to revive the language by way of the public school will succeed remains to be seen. The Yaqui language almost died out in Arizona between 1900 and 1920, but was then revived. There are also Yaqui leaders who are interested in reinterpreting Yaqui sacred history. One hears comments in these days that Yaquis have always lived in Arizona; or that Yaquis had lived in Arizona in the beginning of Yaqui history, but gradually drifted further south. There are now eight sacred pueblos on the Yaqui river. It might be the case, however, that for future Arizona Yaquis there will be nine sacred pueblos of the Yaquis. New Pasqua might well become such the ninth sacred pueblo in the minds of Arizona Yaquis. The re-interpretation of traditional, sacred history to fit new conditions is a sign of an alive and functioning tribal society. Yaquis in Arizona seem to be entering a period of enlargement and refining of Yaqui sacred history. It is possible, however, that the forces of secularization and the public school's emphasis on secular linear history might very well cut off this rethinking of Yaqui sacred history "in the bud". Thus it appears that while there are certain "cracks in the dike" in Yaqui self confidence, at the same time there are movements, intellectual

and revivalistic, within the Yaqui community to further legitimize Yaqui permanency in Arizona.

Urban America sits heavily on the Arizona Yaqui shoulder in these days. That Tucson Yaquis have problems is no surprise. They have, after all, lived in an American city for over eighty years. In that length of time, many ethnic groups have become largely acculturated to American norms in their public life and socially assimilated at least in part. The fact that Arizona Yaquis persist as a distinct people and so steadfastly maintain Yaqui culture is a miracle and a tribute to the Yaqui spirit. Of course, Yaquis have had a lot of practice in their history of surviving under impossible conditions. Very few communities are able to ignore a busy, city freeway as does Barrio Libre. That is tantamount to learning how to breath under water.

Chapter 5* Enclavement, Ethnicity, and the Indian Destiny

There are, according to the 1990 census, almost two million North American Indians in the United States, up by 38% from a less than one and a half million in 1980.⁶⁰ The increase is attributed to population growth, fewer omissions in the census, and more people identifying themselves as Indians. Some scholars feel that the census has over-counted, but nearly everyone would concede that there are at least a million Indians in the United States today, which represents a recovery to a level comparable to 1650 from the nadir of approximately 200,000 in 1900.⁶¹ Slightly under half of Indians recorded in the 1990 census live on or near reservations.⁶² There are 510 federally recognized tribes and

⁶⁰ Here are summary data for the 1990 census, taken from Friends Committee on National Legislation, Indian Report, summer 1991.

	1990	1980	%
Change			
Total U.S. Population	248,709,873	226,545,805	
9.8%			
American Indian,	1,959,234	1,420,400	
37.9%			
Eskimo, or Aleut			
Indian Pop. as % of U.S. Pop	0.8%	0.6%	

TOP FIFTEEN STATES IN INDIAN POPULATION

	State	% of State Pop.	Indian Pop.
1.	Alaska	15.6	85,698
2.	Oklahoma	8.0	252,420
3.	South Dakota	7.3	50,575
4.	Montana	6.0	47,679
5.	Arizona	5.6	203,527
6.	North Dakota	4.1	25,917
7.	Wyoming	2.1	9,479
8.	Washington	1.7	81,483
9.	Nevada	1.6	19,637
10.	Oregon	1.4	38,496
11.	Utah	1.4	24,283
12.	Idaho	1.4	13,780
13.	North Carolina	1.2	80,155
14.	Minnesota	1.1	49,909
15.	Kansas	1.1	21,836

⁶¹ cite

⁶² "American Indians, by the Numbers," New York Times, 26 February 1992, page A13.

278 reservations, of which 140 are entirely owned by the tribes that live on them.⁶³

There are Indian communities in the rural areas of almost every state and Indians are a visible minority in the Upper Great Lakes, the Dakotas, Oklahoma, and the Southwest. The physical survival of Indians as a race seems assured.

An intriguing question concerns their cultural survival. How much do Indians retain of their ancestral heritage? Are they being socially absorbed by the general society? Chapters 4 and 4* developed a theory of social change and applied it to Indian reservations prior to 1960. In this chapter we describe the massive changes in the intervening years that have increased the pressures towards assimilation, and we canvas the tribes' responses that will determine the Indian destiny.

Age of Participation

If one examines an inventory of Indian institutions and artefacts in 1650 and then looks at most American Indian communities today, few cultural items remain which can be readily observed. A visitor can hear the native language being spoken in some Indian communities and perhaps attend a public religious ceremony or a secular celebration like a powwow. Many Indian communities, however, look like any other poor, rural community to the casual observer. Furthermore, most Americans know people with some Indian ancestry who are indistinguishable from their non-Indian neighbors. These facts leave the impression that Indians are being absorbed by the larger society.⁶⁴

In Chapter 4* we probed beneath these appearances by distinguishing objects, meanings, and identity. "Objects" refers to material items and institutional forms. "Meanings" refers to the significance of objects, which comes from peoples' goals and feelings. A person's deepest goals and feelings enter his self-conception, which is what we mean by "identity". In its original condition before contact, the tribe was a network of kin relations, which provided personal and national identity. The meaning of acts were the feelings that they expressed toward kin. Material items and institutions developed by adaptation to the environment, elaboration of meanings, and borrowing from other tribes.

⁶³"American Indians, by the Numbers," New York Times, 26 February 1992, page A13.

⁶⁴This impression was reinforced by social scientists who took the view that poverty has its own culture and who lumped Indians with other poor ethnics such as Appalachian whites or blacks in rural Mississippi. This view of social scientists was, perhaps, a reflection of the materialism of the age.

After contact, Indians quickly borrowed superior technology and institutional forms, so most of the original tribal objects disappeared. However, the original meanings and identity were retained in many tribes, especially those who lived in isolated parts of the country and those who insulated themselves from the larger society. We concluded in Chapter 4* that the reservation system kept the tribe in tact as a network of kin by increasing isolation and insulation, while pre-empting its institutions. Kin relationships continued to supply identity and meaning, even though institutions and material items changed completely. This account was confirmed by the portrait of San Xavier offered in Chapter 4, which describes an Indian village in the 1950s in which the important interactions were among kin, people spoke Papago to each other, retained a sacred world view, responded to the natural world, and maintained a closed and bounded society.

This portrait would be misleading, however, if generalized for most Indians in the 1980s. Instead of pre-emption, a new dynamic of change has established itself in the last twenty or thirty years. Many Indian children have been placed in programs like Headstart before they are old enough for school. The majority of Indian children have been going to integrated public schools since the 1950s, Indian children are usually a minority, and they are staying longer in school. The television set, which lights poor living rooms all over North America, offers a glitzy, ersatz intimacy with nonIndians. National religious denominations are more active than ever in pressing their Indian members to join in various activities. Indian families are expected to participate more actively in schools and local government. These facts suggest that the era of pre-emption on reservations has yielded to an era of participation.

The areas of the country in which many Indian communities are located have been undergoing economic development for recreation, tourism, manufacturing, and natural resource industries using Indian coal, air, oil, and water. As a consequence, few indigenous or autonomous economic institutions are left on Indian reservations. For example, Pueblo lands are not farmed cooperatively as much as they once were. Eastern Woodland tribes no longer put in gardens. Sheep raising has become progressively less important to Navajos. Sharing among relatives and formal giveaways persist, but there is little cooperative labor in farming, stock raising, house building, or wood cutting. More

and more Indians are welfare recipients, wage laborers, or bureaucrats. The care of the sick and the aged are being taken over by agencies.

The physical isolation of most reservations has broken down, and the nonIndian population has grown explosively, bring the city to the Indians. In addition, the Indians have gone to the city, beginning after World War II under the government relocation programs and as economic refugees from undeveloped areas. Almost half of the American Indian population now lives in cities. City Indians scatter throughout a metropolis, rather than bunching up in bounded, ethnic neighborhoods, so their children spend much of their time with nonIndians.

The age of participation demands intimacy and induces competition, which can cause individuation among tribal Indians. Some Indian children have successfully internalized projects and roles, and they are remaining longer in school, acquiring technical skills, competing for jobs, and generally getting ahead. At the same time, individuation has shifted meanings, undermined authority, and confused the identities of young Indians. The social bonds are loosening and communities seem to be falling apart. For example, when someone dies at San Xavier, the drunks are the people available to dig their relatives' graves in the Mission graveyard. There has been massive language loss and accelerating social ills, including youth crime and substance abuse. A generation of Indians has now been raised in cities and the tribe has receded from their lives. They are generalized Indians, without the specific culture of a particular tribe.

Possibilities for Change

Individuation theory can be used to categorize the possibilities for change in this new age of participation, where identity and meanings are more malleable. One possibility is to hold onto the original identity and meanings by preserving the tribe as a kin network. To preserve the tribe as a kin network under modern conditions requires a strategy called "enclavement", which intensifies insulation. To follow this strategy, boundaries separating the tribe from the larger society must be firmed up and obstacles to individuation must be consciously erected.

Another possibility is to abandon the tribe as a kin network and reconceptualize it. To understand this possibility, a confusion in the sociological tradition about communities must be clarified. To illustrate, consider George Meade's concise formulation:

"[w]hat goes to make up the organized self is the organization of attitudes which are common to the group. A person is a personality because he belongs to a community, because he takes over the institutions of that community into his own conduct."⁶⁵

Meade's formulation suggests that persons are tied together by internalizing attitudes that supply order to a community's institutions. By focusing upon shared values and institutions, Meade's definition does not require people in a community to have intimate, sustained relationships with each other. This definition is consistent with such language as the "university community," "the community of insurance brokers," or the "intelligence community." The fact that such attenuated usages are consistent with Meade's definition suggest a flaw in it.

A community based upon attitudes or institutions can only arise among people who have already individuated and learned to withhold part of themselves from their relationships. Furthermore, such a community can only stabilize itself through institutions, in which individuals compete to fill a hierarchy of roles. A different concept of community is required for tribal Indians. Paraphrasing Meade, we could say

A tribal Indian is a personality because he takes into his identity the kin relationships that constitute the tribe.

This paraphrase elevates relationships above attitudes or institutions. Relationships in a tribe, which ideally which includes everyone with everyone else, tighten and thicken into a network of people who raise their children together, share a

⁶⁵ G. Mead, Mind, Self, and Society 162 (C. Morris Ed., 1937), quoted in Post, Robert C., "The Constitutional Concept of Public Discourse: Outrageous Opinion, Democratic Deliberation, and *Hustler Magazine v. Falwell*, 103 Harvard Law Review. 601-686 (1990) at 617.

concept of the good life that requires them to pursue it together, and thus acknowledge a common destiny.

Reconceptualizing the tribe involves viewing it more like Meade's community. Thus the tribe may be reconceptualized as a religion, nation, people sharing common values and history, or an administrative unit. A tribe that conceived of itself as a nation would continue to aspire to effective political sovereignty. The members of the tribe would think of themselves as, say, Cherokees or Chippewas. Another conception is the tribe as ethnic group. The members of an ethnic group consider themselves to be integral, but distinctive, members of the larger society. If an Indian ethnic group identifies with the history and values of a specific tribe, its members might think of themselves as, say, Cherokee-Americans, or Chippewa-Canadians. If an Indian ethnic group loses the particularity of tribal history and retains only a generalized conception of being Indian, its members might think of themselves as Indian-Americans or Indian-Canadians.

Abandoning the kin network and reconceptualizing the tribe implies individuation, which changes identity and meanings. The change represents a decline in the distinctiveness of Indians relative to the larger society. The final possibility, and the one most discussed, is assimilation, which carries the loss of distinctiveness to its logical conclusion. Having lost distinctiveness of objects, meanings, and personal identity, an Indian people might take the final step and abandon its distinctive national identity. The result would be absorption into the general society.

Proponents of each of these possibilities, which are summarized in the table below, are active in most tribes. It is possible to classify some tribes according to which of these three tendencies now has the upper hand. However, the main use of these distinctions is to analyze tendencies at work in all of the tribes.

Table: Possibilities for Indian Tribes
 "dstnct" = distinct from the general society
 "same" = same as general society

personal national					
objects meanings identity identity					
aboriginal tribe		dstnct	dstnct	dstnct	dstnct
isolatd/insulatd/enclavd		same	dstnct	dstnct	dstnct
modern nationalism		same	same	same	dstnct
ethnic group		same	same	same	dstnct
assimilated		same	same	same	same

Isolated and Insulated Groups

There are still unacculturated tribes in North America that have been relatively isolated from the dominant society until recently. Like all Indians, these tribes suffered pre-emption over many years, which impeded change at a deep level. Among these tribes are the majority of the Papagos; the majority of the Navajos; the White Mountain Apaches; many of the western Sioux; the Dene speaking people of the Northwest Territories in Canada; the Algonkian speaking people in the great forests of northern Quebec, Ontario, Saskatchewan, and Alberta; plus some of the peoples in the Great Basin, in the Plateau area of eastern Washington and Oregon, and in interior British Columbia.

Isolation of some tribes is an accident of history, but others have deliberately put physical space and social barriers between themselves and others. We use the term "insulation" to describe deliberate isolation. People whose aim is insulation move into physically inaccessible country if possible, keep a low profile, avoid contact with the general society, censure out-marriage, and use language to measure group membership. Some are unwilling to let outsiders acquire information about their lives and culture, and individuals may lie about their people to outsiders.

The first narrative is this volume, "A Cherokee Childhood," exemplifies insulation. This community of Cherokees first retreated from the eastern mountains into Arkansas and Texas to escape the advancing frontier, then backed into the Oklahoma Ozarks. As physical distance diminished, the Cherokees tried to retain social distance by limiting their contacts with whites. After the dissolution of their nation and their absorption into the State of Oklahoma, the Cherokees kept their life and culture as far from white eyes as possible. Cherokees became very poor in this period, their educational level dropped, and the general level of Cherokee sophistication fell. This band of Cherokee avoided whites socially, abstained from voting or political participation, and remained skeptical or hostile to public schools. They did not protest the public myth that Cherokees were happily assimilating. Items of culture were raised to the level of symbols of their distinctiveness, specifically the Cherokee language and its syllabary, the old Cherokee constitution and laws, the old capitol building, and certain foods such as wild game, kanuchi, and skinned corn. Insulation apparently ensured Cherokee survival but at a high cost.

Insulated peoples might include four of the Five Civilized Tribes (Cherokee, Seminole, Choctaw, and Chickasaw) of eastern Oklahoma, the Winnebago of Wisconsin, probably the Crows of Montana, the Mississippi Choctaw, the Utes of Utah, and some Shoshoni groups in the Great Basin area. There is also evidence that some tribes such as the White Mountain Apaches and the Papagos of Arizona are now responding to increased intrusion from the dominant society by insulating themselves.

Enclavement

When the age of pre-emption gave way to the age of participation, isolation and insulation became difficult or impossible. Formerly isolated and insulated tribes are now reeling under the impact of an overwhelming intrusion into their lives. There are, however, many examples of groups retaining their distinctiveness while being submerged in a larger society. Edward H. Spicer coined the term "enclaved group" to refer to people who retain a national identity while living surrounded by or within the dominant society.

Enclaved groups that he observed or studied include Basques, Jews, Cherokees, Yaquis, Copts, and Irish.⁶⁶

Enclaved peoples cannot cut themselves off entirely from the larger society. At a minimum, they must engage in trade and submit to outside government of their external affairs. But to retain their distinctiveness, they must create social distance between themselves and the larger society in some spheres of life. Instead of minimizing contact with outsiders, enclaved groups calibrate the terms of interaction to preserve their distinctiveness.

What kinds of boundaries are most effective in preserving the identity of a submerged nationality? Spicer's observations led him to a definite answer to this question. He noticed that enclaved groups take some aspect of their culture and used it to symbolize their identity as separate peoples with a distinctive destiny. The symbols are also used as a shield against corrosive forms of outside contact. He concluded that the most important cultural features for retaining national identity within a dominant society are the following four: (i) a unique language, sometimes the language of the household, sometimes a holy language; (ii) a distinctive religion, even if it is a variant upon a world religion; (iii) a tie to a particular geographic area which is a homeland and often a holy land as well; and (iv) a sacred history, which defines the group as an enduring people, a chosen people, and often with a sacred destiny. Secondary symbols that Spicer thinks are less important might include music, songs, dance, dress, and heroes.

These aspects of culture constantly remind a people of who they are and that they live under perpetual threat of absorption. Further, these symbols establish boundaries, define membership, and set up standards of judgment about the commitment and behavior of one's fellows. To illustrate, the Jewish identity is most expressed in religion, which presupposes the Hebrew language, tells of a sacred history, and ties these things to a homeland and holy land, Israel.

Although the four features mentioned above appear in nearly all enduring, enclaved peoples, different peoples weigh them differently. Spicer considered the most

⁶⁶"Persistent Identity Systems", cite. Check actual list given by Spicer

important symbol of peoplehood to be a sacred history, perhaps because it is explicit about identity and survival. From another perspective, language appears to be the keystone because it can function as a social boundary, and it contains those conceptions most appropriate for a people to use in examining, talking about, and analyzing their life and their problems.

Enclavement, which intensifies the strategy of insulation, is an old adaptation to Western Civilization for some tribes. The Pueblos adapted in this way to the presence of the Spaniards in the early 1700s. Many communities of Iroquois underwent such a transformation with the Handsome Lake Movement in the early 1800s. Most of the Central Algonkian tribes had come to this adaptation by 1850. Other enclaved Indian groups might include the Kickapoo and Yaquis described in the narratives in Chapter 5, the Mesquakie, the Kansas Potawatomie, the Creeks, the Miccosukee in Florida, and perhaps the Nishga of British Columbia and the Greis in central Saskatchewan.

Among enclaved Indian tribes, religion has served as the most important symbol of national identity. The aboriginal religion or a native Christianity is the center of culture and the symbol of peoplehood. In fact, some North American Indian groups have become more like religious sects than a kin network. To illustrate from the narrative, Oklahoma Kickapoos who came as refugees to their relatives in the village in Mexico, fleeing from the pressure of acculturation in Oklahoma, were turned away because Mexican Kickapoos felt their kinsmen were too corrupted by contact with American culture. Religious purity took precedence over kin ties. This is also true of some Hopis who expelled religious deviants from the villages on top of the mesas and forced them to form new communities on the plains below. In recent years more Indians are apparently moving towards enclavement by building their identity around their religion. There are indications that such a process is happening now among the Pine Ridge Sioux and some other groups in the northern Plains and Southwest.

People who think of the tribe as a kin network could not expel heir relatives for religious deviation. Enclavement involves a departure from the ideal tribe, because cultural symbols are given priority over kinship. Religious ideals are internalized and regarded as so central that they become part of identity. In this respect, enclaved people

are more individuated and ideological than isolated or insulated peoples, although enclavement keeps a kin group together in the midst of a society of individuals.

Nationalism

Any political philosophy distinguishes between public and private spheres of life. Americans usually regard family life, religion, and many aspects of art and culture as private, whereas politics and many aspects of economics are regarded as public. The strategy of enclavement concedes most aspects of public life to the larger society by accepting a subordinate position in its politics and economics, while at the same time resisting vigorously intrusions into the private sphere. Thus the enclaved group does not contest political hegemony and economic dependence or interdependence, but stubbornly retains its religion, language, sacred history, and homeland. Another possibility, nationalism, follows the opposite strategy. Nationalists focus on political autonomy and economic power as key to cultural distinctiveness and national survival. Nationalists are very visible to the larger society, because they contend in the public sphere, rather than the private sphere of life.

Indians have a stronger legal and historical basis for nationalism than other submerged groups in the United States and Canada. Some tribes are recognized in law as nations by virtue of treaties with the United States. The American courts regard these Indian tribes as "dependent nations," which means that they are, paradoxically, separate sovereignties subordinate to Congress. This paradox gives federal Indian law its vitality and biting irony. Other Indian groups remain nations in their own hearts, even though they were not recognized as such by the federal government or had recognition withdrawn. However, all tribes lack the political or economic power for effective self-government, which nationalists regard as the core of the problem.

Enclaved groups and nationalists do not want to be treated like everyone else. Rather they want to be different. Political sovereignty, economic power, and cultural distinctiveness are more central concerns than combating discrimination or inequality. Nationalists often challenge the legitimacy of the government to which they are subjected and lack allegiance to it. Without legitimacy or allegiance, the state rules by force. Consequently, nationalism can lead to violence, as recently occurred when Iroquois

groups in New York and Ontario barricaded communities and exchanged gunfire with American and Canadian police. Whether the dominant society can reach any accommodation with Indian nationalism remains to be seen.

Ethnic Group

Boundaries have broken down for many tribes to such an extent that some people in many tribes now feel themselves to be part of the general society -- a special, distinctive part, but a part nevertheless. The Indians under discussion are not attempting to fashion autonomous institutions of government, nor do they feel that their freedom is threatened or curtailed by the larger society. They have abandoned the conception of the tribe as a distinct nation. These Indians would like to be considered part of a progressive and respectable community whose distinctiveness remains within the framework of the general society.

These Indians have come to think of their tribe as an ethnic group similar to Italian-Americans, Irish-Americans, French-Canadians, or a group like Jews whose definition lies somewhere between ethnicity and religion. Even in very unacculturated tribes there are sizable minorities of Indians who have a conception of themselves as, say, Navajo-Americans, Cree-Canadians, or possibly Indian-Americans. Many of these people have no desire to assimilate socially and disappear into the general society. Social oblivion is rarely looked on with favor by a people. An ethnic group retains a separate social or cultural identity by stressing symbols of its distinctiveness such as religious practices, foods, and holidays. These symbols impart racial pride and an historical vision of the group's contribution to the larger society. For some ethnic groups, these symbols exemplify distinctive social meanings and patterns of personal relationships among kin. For other ethnic groups, these symbols are all that remains of their distinctiveness.

When Indians conceive of themselves as an ethnic group, they become more conscious of their low rank in the eyes of the larger society. The more urbanized and educated members step forward to be leaders in improving rank and respectability. Their motive is to raise the group and thereby raise themselves. The success of their own careers may depend upon acquiring leadership in their community so that they can represent it to the general society. Such people are in the forefront of a movement for

ethnic nationalism. A middle class Indian elite is now forming in almost every Indian community, which tends to regard most Indians as poor ethnics and to pursue economic development at the price of cultural loss, while marshaling the symbols of cultural distinctiveness.

These elites are consciously trying to create Indian ethnic groups. In addition, an Indian ethnic group may emerge as a consequence of intermarriage among Indians. For instance, in western Oklahoma there has been so much marriage between Indians of different tribes that it is almost impossible for some of them to continue using their native language. The generalization of kin relations has proceeded far in these groups. For example, lineage groups have been transformed into generational kinship systems. The children of such marriages, who belong to two Indian nations, may have a national identity distinct as Indian-Americans.

Absorption

One group is absorbed by another when distinctiveness is lost in identity, meanings, and objects. History affords examples of Indian groups being absorbed into black, white, or other Indian populations. For example, the Miami Indians have become white by intermarriage. Papagos and Opetas in Sonora have become Mexican. ____ have become black....

The polar opposite of the Indian tribe in North America is the larger society, which we have variously characterized as the "general society," "mass society," or "middle class society." In the general society, national identity is American or Canadian, and personal identity includes projects and roles, as well as relationships. The meaning of acts includes the projects that they advance and the position of the actor in the social structure that they express. Material items are the products of scientific technology and market exchange, and institutional forms include instrumental organizations consisting of a hierarchy of roles. Absorption of Indians into such a society presupposes individuation, which requires intimate relations with nonIndians, especially through intermarriage.

Absorption by a foreign culture can be voluntary, as with many immigrants to North America. Without intimate personal relations, Indians would not know how to

make their family life and personal relations like whites even if they wanted to. While intermarriage is possible for some individual Indians, it is unlikely to be followed wholesale by Indian communities. Most Indians would not want intermarriage if the opportunity arose. Perhaps that is why the examples of absorption concern Indian communities that were dispersed by military force or economic necessity.⁶⁷ The external environment for Indian tribes, which was originally the natural world, is now the larger North American civilization. In these circumstances, most Indians view absorption as a threat, not an opportunity.

Destiny of Particular Tribes

We have considered four possibilities for Indian tribes: enclavement, nationalism, ethnicity, and absorption. The probabilities of each apparently varies systematically with cultural regions in North America. The tribes that continue to resist the loss of distinctiveness or national identity most vigorously tend to have resided originally in the eastern woodlands of the United States or in the Southwest. The tribes that originally resided in the Great Lakes, the Plains, and across northern United States and Canada, are less resistant to the loss of distinctiveness or nationality. One could almost draw a line through the middle of North America and say that north of it the tribes are becoming ethnic groups, while south of it the tribes are becoming enclaved groups.

Individual theory suggests reasons for this difference in levels of resistance. The history contact with outsiders is very different. Tribes in the south of the continent had more aboriginal contact with other Indian peoples than did the more northern tribes. This is reflected in the way such peoples refer to themselves in their native languages. Many refer to themselves as "real people" or "people of peoples" or some such term, which recognizes that though they are superior there are other kinds of humans in the world. Outside of the southwest and the east, most American Indian groups refer to themselves only as human beings or people.

Furthermore, most of the eastern, southern, and southwestern tribes had more extensive contact with outsiders at a time when their political autonomy was intact and they retained military and economic strength. Many of them were well organized

⁶⁷cite

institutionally and had a rich economic base, so they were not as impressed by white technology as the more northern tribes. These tribes suffered severe military pressure over a long period of time early in their history when they were still independent societies. They were not overwhelmed and powerless for long periods in their history. Some of them like the Five Civilized Tribes have never been on a reservation. The Pueblos were not part of the same reservation system as other tribes. Their lands are held by them under Spanish land grant titles, and thus the federal government did not have absolute power on those lands. Most of the peoples in the Southwest were on reservations, but tribes like the Navajos and Papagos were spread over such a large, isolated area that they did not feel the full brunt of the reservation system. The more northern tribes, in contrast, were either quickly involved in the fur trade or, like the Plains tribes, abruptly crushed militarily and then pressured toward assimilation.

Apart from history, there is a structural difference. Within the society of most eastern and southwestern tribes there is greater functional specialization, including a formal priesthood in the aboriginal religion. The Indian priesthood is a group of intellectuals whose responsibilities include thinking about the destiny of the people.⁶⁸ Perhaps the priesthood was better able to conceptualize the forces of dissolution and devise a definite course of resistance. Tribes such as the Creeks, Hopis, Pueblos, and Yacquis, who were committed to religious institutions, consciously strengthened them as a way to retain their distinctiveness. Other tribes, such as the Mississippi Choctaws, the

⁶⁸To appreciate this fact, consider the Indian elders described in the narrative, "The Indian Ecumene," in Chapter 10, who were involved in the Indian Ecumenical Conference in 1970. They were genuine Indian intellectuals, particularly the elders from the southern tribes. Wahrhaftig's analysis of the Cherokees supports this conclusion:

...a society that places the traditions that define identity in the custody of a specialized personnel such as a priesthood should be especially favored [to retain their identity as a distinct people], being less subject to disruption of social meaning than societies whose traditions are transmitted through immediate personal relations based on subsistence, coresidence, and kinship.-- Albert Wahrhaftig, "We Who Act Right" Persistent Identity of Cherokee Indians," page 254.

Cibique Apaches, and some bands of Cherokees, whose institution life is more fluid, withdrew and insulated themselves. In any case, the ability to analyze their condition and devise a strategy of national survival indicates a higher level of individuation in these tribes.

The greater resistance of the southern tribes may not be enough to retain their distinctiveness. Language offers one indication of how tribes will come to grips with the new situation. English is now the household language in many Indian communities. Mastering English removes an obstacle to social interchange, which makes Indians more open to innovations and trends that originate in the general society. As they learn English, however, many Indians communities are abandoning their native language. Language loss has accelerated dramatically in recent years. Much of the intellectual life of Indians is embodied in religion that is difficult or impossible to translate. To illustrate, some formerly Salish speaking tribes in the Puget Sound area of the state of Washington must now import Salish language speakers from other areas to assist in their winter Spirit Dance observances.

Language loss implies that an Indian people have surrendered much of their intellectual autonomy to the larger society. It also means that many Indians have a new conception of their destiny and place in the world, which involves being more American. These trends in language are suggestive of the future, but it is still too early to tell how far this process will go. Adopting English makes enclavement more difficult, but ethnicity and nationalism remain as alternatives to absorption by the larger society.

Assessing the depth of resistance to loss of distinctiveness is difficult because of systematic confusion created by the politics of images. One way for a people to improve social rank is by acquiring political and economic power. Political and economic power can be acquired in the United States and Canada by controlling significant institutions such as government bureaucracies. To acquire control over such institutions, a submerged nationality needs political cohesion, which is fostered by using cultural symbols as a rallying point.⁶⁹ To illustrate, Indian reservations spend much money

⁶⁹The anthropologist Martin Orans, in his book The Sontal: A Tribe in Search of a Great Tradition (19), has outlined in some detail, and with great insight, how this same general process works in a tribal group in India.

promoting Indian culture and on buildings, which provide tangible proof of the tribe's cohesion in the eyes of outsiders.

Cohesion is necessary for bargaining with the dominant society, in which the Indian elites have alternated threat and conciliation. Sometimes the language was low key in order to facilitate cooperation, and at other times threats and militancy predominated. Listening to the rhetoric of militants and tribal leaders in the 1970s, one would have thought that an uprising was at hand and that Indian groups were about to secede. That is how the game was played -- one threatened separatism to get concessions from the powerful and to cooperate on more favorable terms. These strategies are working to some extent and the elite Indian groups, particularly on reservations, are acquiring institutional power. However, the way that the game is played obscures the real commitment of tribes to a distinctive life. This game is what most observers in the United States see as Indian nationalism. The extent of true nationalism remains obscure.

Ambiguity of language runs deeper than political opportunism. There is a wide gap between the values that Indians articulate publicly and their private behavior. To illustrate, Indians will say that tribal government should be more efficient and business-like, but they are deeply offended when their tribal office treats them impersonally. Or they will say that young Indians should go out into the world and better themselves, and then be shocked and hurt when one of their children leaves home. Perhaps this gap just reflects the chasm between values taught in public school and feelings learned in an Indian home.

Conclusion Relations Responding to Roles

The central contrast in this book is between societies organized around kinship or roles and people whose identities are in kin relations. The acculturation of meanings changes Indians from one into the other. Its causes are sustained competition or intimate relations with outsiders, which some tribes avoided by isolating or insulating themselves. Now that the age of pre-emption in Indian policy has yielded to the age of participation, Indians are being drawn into formative relations with non-Indians by integrated schools, national denominations of churches, interstate commerce, tribal and local governments,

the media, massive growth in the nonIndian population, and the city's encroachment on the country.

Those tribes who resist the dominant culture and try to minimize intimacy are probably becoming enclaved groups. Those tribes whose members are open to intimate relations with people in the dominant culture are probably becoming ethnic groups. Those tribes who want to succeed in political and economic competition with the larger society are becoming nationalists. Perhaps some Indian communities will break up and dissolve, and some individual Indians will be incorporated into the mainstream. It seems likely, however, that most Indian groups will continue for many years as they are now -- distinctive communities, very poor, of low rank, and evidencing many social ills.

Chapter 6 Associated Indians of Detroit

The Short History of an Urban Indian Organization

By Robert Cooter

When President Lyndon Johnson's "war on poverty" went on the offensive in the late 1960's against an elusive enemy, the Vista Program, a domestic version of the Peace Corps, became a haven for idealistic college students who wanted to improve the lives of the poor and also escape fighting in Johnson's other war, Vietnam. I was such a person. I was employed by the Unitarian Universalist Service Committee to work with a group of Vista volunteers in the "Cass Corridor," an area in downtown Detroit about five city blocks wide and several miles long. Its physical boundaries were discrete: on the west side, six lanes of speeding traffic beyond which lay the Jeffries Housing Project; on the north side, Wayne State University and the General Motors World Headquarters; on the east, a broad boulevard (Woodward Avenue); and on the south, the downtown office district. The streets formed an orthogonal grid, the broad north-south avenues lined with stores and low apartment buildings, and on the smaller east-west streets, turn-of-the-century mansions and large houses. The mansions and houses were carved up into rental apartments with invisible owners, the symphony hall was boarded up and leaking water was ruining the seats, cheap facades concealed formerly elegant shops along the avenues, apartment buildings were in conspicuous disrepair, paint was peeling, concrete was

cracked, weeds and trash were in yards. The appearance, in brief, was grandeur turned to slums, the surfaces had the textures of neglect.

The stores, under the eye of armed private guards, purveyed the goods favored by the ethnic poor, such as used furniture, second hand clothing, live poultry, billiards, salvation, a hamburger and a cup of coffee. Politicians and planners had converted the streets into high speed traffic corridors for commuters. The police seemed unable to find the "drug houses" where heroin was sold and consumed, although children knew their locations. When Detroit's white skid row was condemned, it relocated in the Cass Corridor, so Third Street was replete with strip joints, pornographic shops, prostitutes, derelicts, and store-front salvation missions. Even the great elm trees that once spread a forest canopy over the neighborhood were dying from an insidious disease and their leafless hulks stood in silent vigil until felled by overburdened city workers. When I arrived in 1969, there were a few burned and abandoned buildings, there were more when I left in 1971, and destruction and depopulation were almost complete when I returned in 1985.

This, then, was the place where rural Indians (and suburban me) had their first taste of inner-city life. Some came to improve their conditions materially, either by finding jobs or taking advantage of a welfare system that they perceived as more generous than Canada's. Others came for the excitement of the city, or to escape the old-style prejudice of the more personal world at the edge of Indian reservations. Few considered Detroit "home" or intended to remain indefinitely. Indeed, of the people in the core of the Indian organization described below, all but one had returned to rural areas when I came back for a visit to Detroit in 1985.

The most numerous of the Indians living in the Cass Corridor were the Chippewas from places like Sugar Island at Sault St. Marie, Manitoulin Island, Cape Croker, and Walpole Island. Most Chippewas were from rural Canada, although some were from rural Michigan. There were smaller numbers of Potawatomi, Ottawa from Western Michigan, and Iroquois from Brantford in Ontario and from St. Regis and Caughnawaga in Quebec. There were also individuals or families from such tribes as Delaware, Dakota

Sioux, Oklahoma Cherokee, and Saskatchewan Cree. Turnover was incessant because Indians regarded "back home" as somewhere other than Detroit.

More numerous than Indians were the whites, primarily the elderly remnants of Detroit's ethnic groups (Poles, Hungarians, Germans, Scandinavians, etc.), and young people from the south or Appalachia who had not yet escaped to the working class suburbs south along the Detroit River. Besides these whites and Indians, there were some Chinese, blacks, hippies, and Wayne State University students. Some Indians were married to Mexicans whose enclave was just southwest of the Cass Corridor, around the Detroit Tigers' baseball stadium. The Cass Corridor was alive in 1969 with a diverse population most of whom were bound together by two facts: They were too poor to live in the suburbs and they preferred this little enclave to the surrounding black slums.⁷⁰

My hope was to improve these people's lives in some small way, through charitable activities and by forming organizations in which individuals could influence the larger institutions that controlled so much of their lives. The latter activity, "organizing" in the argot of the 1960's, had as its ultimate purpose "community control." It was unclear whether this community was controlled by commuters who drove through it, absentee landlords who owned it, officers who policed it, construction companies who paved it, businessmen who fed it, bureaucrats who educated its children, or politicians who ignored it, but it was patently obvious that it was not controlled by the people who lived in it. I drew inspiration and ideas from my socialist friends -- weren't we all, from tender-hearted youths to convinced Stalinists, part of "the movement" against the Vietnam war, poverty, and racism? -- but they regarded me as politically unreliable and for good reason. I associated with the loose organization called Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), but I could never fully join in the ideological fervor of those times, which now seems like a distant dream. I was more interested in Indians than ideology, so, instead of organizing tenants or analyzing the city's power structure, I

⁷⁰This ethnic and cultural definition of the neighborhood was more real its natural physical boundaries, which is why some of the Indians described below were part of the neighborhood, even though they lived on the west side of the Jeffries Expressway.

concentrated my efforts upon creating an Indian center. This narrative is an account of its birth, brief but vital life, and demise.

Where to Begin?

The first step was to become better acquainted with my Indian neighbors, which proved easy and enjoyable. I just sat in kitchens and living rooms drinking coffee, talking, and mostly listening. One of the first people I met was Isabel McGraw, who was well known as an amateur country music singer and activist in the local Methodist church that figures prominently in this story. Isabel was an Oneida (one of the Iroquois tribes) in her mid to late thirties. She was married to a Chippewa, Buddy McGraw, who was a younger man from Manitoulin Island in Lake Huron. Isabel had children by a previous marriage -- a grown boy, perhaps twenty years old, an adopted daughter in her mid-teens, a daughter in her early teens, and the youngest child, a little girl of perhaps six years. Isabel stayed at home with her family or worked at the Methodist Church, while Buddy worked irregularly delivering furniture.

Isabel's previous husband, who was named Doxstater, was a structural steel worker -- a dangerous line of work for which the Iroquois are famous -- and he had left Isabel with some money. The family rented a brick house and subleased the upper stories to Indians who were visiting the city temporarily. There was affection and warmth in the family, and the children's faces shined brighter for the contrast with the world around them. The family's circumstances were difficult, not because of absolute poverty, but because their relative poverty blocked escape from the drugs, alcohol, crime, and chaos that spilled over from the neighborhood into family life. Isabel's oldest son, who was hot tempered and a fighter, had recently returned from prison. He was jealous of his mother's affections for her new husband, Buddy McGraw. Buddy suffered from fits of depression that a psychologist might have traced to his years spent away from his family in an Indian boarding school. One day I was in their living room when Buddy came home and said that a young man had just aimed a gun at him in the alley and demanded his money, then apologized for taking it, explaining that he was a drug addict. Buddy was not particularly disturbed by this event. Later a student from the Wayne State University School of Social Work knocked on the door to take a survey. One of the student's questions was

whether the McGraws had ever been the victims of crime, to which they all replied that they had not. I was no longer a stranger in their home.

Isabel introduced me to a number of her friends who were important in founding the Indian center. Louise Morales, a middle-aged Chippewa woman, was married to Nick Morales, who identified himself at Indian Affairs as Aztec. Louise stayed at home taking care of their little boy whom they called Boo-Boo, and Nick worked as superintendent of an apartment building. They lived in an attic flat perched on top of a large wooden house that was reached by a wooden catwalk from the backyard. Climbing those stairs was no easy matter for a woman of Louise's girth (she weighed over 200 pounds), and it did not provide a very safe place for a small child, since a false step would send a person plunging perhaps 70 feet to the ground. It was, nevertheless, a very warm home in which I always felt welcome. Louise had a great deal of love and affection for her family and for her friends. She was a gracious hostess, generous towards others, quick to laugh, and strong enough to shoulder others' burdens. Louise took to the idea of starting an Indian center to, as she put it, "Help the Indians." She also had ties with Holy Trinity, a Catholic church whose priest, Monsignor Kern, was well known for helping Mexicans and Indians.

Louise introduced me to two other friends. Jim Jones was retired, a Chippewa from Cape Croker who had seen and done a great deal. He told wonderful stories of service in the British Army and he said that he was a graduate of Sandhurst (Britain's West Point), although I could never tell when he was speaking the literal truth and when he was embellishing a story. Jim was knowledgeable about the old ways of Indians and I was an eager listener. ("You close a bad wound with clean spider webs." "Try climbing a snow field in moccasins smeared with bear's grease.") Jim, who was a little shy, gave a steady presence and a sound judgment to the Indian Center, and he was a hard worker.

Winona Arriaga, a good friend of Jim Jones and Louise Morales, was a Chippewa from Cape Croker. She had two grown children living in the area, both of whom had important roles in the Indian center, and several other grown children who visited from time to time. Winona's husband, Frank, a Mexican-American from Michigan, was a good man and a steady worker at the automobile factory on East Jefferson Street. Like Louise,

Winona had a warm heart and a generous disposition, and she acted as clan mother to her family and many friends. She also had a deep attraction towards the old religious beliefs that proved important to the Indian center. I was always partial to Winona because her gentle but firm ways reminded me of my mother.

Finally there was Laurie Williams, an attractive, independent young Chippewa from Walpole Island. She was separated from her husband, so she lived with her three small children in a two room apartment on Second Street. At the time I met Laurie she was living off welfare and, being smart and energetic, she was trying to acquire marketable skills so she would have the means to get her family into better circumstances. Her economic situation was precarious and the neighborhood was difficult for her small children, to say the least, but there was a great deal of affection in her family and the children seemed happy. Many times I have observed that Indian families, which are tribal and extended, remain gentle and affectionate with each other in a brutalizing environment where families from other cultures, including southern whites like me, fracture and become sharp as the shards of a broken pot.

My Indian friends tended to have ties with local churches, but not deep ties, perhaps because Indians were a small minority in each congregation. They were not active in social clubs, sports teams, or educational institutions. Work was a way to make a living, not a career. Indians in the Cass Corridor did a lot of visiting among themselves and with relatives, both in the city and back home. Informal socializing usually took place in homes or -- the truth must be told -- in local bars with names like the Red Dog and the Shamrock that catered to Indians. Heavy drinking bouts and aching heads were familiar experiences for Indians in the Cass Corridor, although not among my friends named above. My friends believed that something more was needed than socializing in homes and bars. Indians were not deeply involved in, or committed to, formal organizations of city life. Perhaps an Indian center could provide a better atmosphere for socializing and for cultural or educational activities.

This, then, was the core of people who first began to discuss creating an Indian center in the Cass Corridor. When I wasn't talking with them, I became acquainted with other people who might help. One such person was Bob Thomas, the co-author of this

book, who was at the time a professor at Wayne State University. I often walked from the Cass Corridor north to his office to seek advice. Some young people got involved with the Indian center, notably Bob's teenage son and two of Winona's children, all three of whom were decisive to the Indian center. There were, in addition, many friends who floated in and out of the organization. Indians who came to the Cass Corridor for a brief period of time, perhaps to spend the winter or perhaps to work for several months, were temporary participants in the Indian center.

What To Do?

Talking was enjoyable, but action was a risky business in which embarrassing mistakes could be made, friends could be offended, reputations could be tarnished. Isabel McGraw, who had the drive and executive authority for which the Iroquois people are famous, traits that enabled them to create an empire before whites came to America, led the way. She approached the minister of the local Methodist Church to which she belonged and he agreed to provide space for the fledgling Indian center, which was named Associated Indians of Detroit or AID for short. While AID was testing its wings, another Indian organization, the North American Indian Club, was in full flight. What attitude would the older, established North American Indian Club take towards AID? This was a question that vexed and troubled my Indian friends.

At this point I need to explain the history of urban Indian centers. In the 1950s Indians began moving to the cities, sometimes lured by the Bureau of Indian Affairs whose relocation program offered free bus tickets, moving subsidies, and promises of jobs and apartments. It was in this period that Indian organizations were created in many cities. The largest and most active urban Indian organization was the Chicago Indian Center, which occupied a former Masonic hall on the city's north side. The Center housed a school for Indian children, provided a variety of charitable services such as emergency food and shelter, and various social activities were held there, including powwows (Indian social dances). I drove several of my friends from Detroit to Chicago to attend a meeting of its board and to discuss the formation of AID with them, and the Chicago Indian Center became an inspiration to us.

The North American Indian Club, whose exact origins are unknown to me, was founded in Detroit during the same period as the Chicago Indian Center or even earlier. It held an annual ball with a beauty pageant, distributed food to poor Indians at Christmas, and raised money for college scholarships through a powwow at a suburban high school. The North American Indian Club, however, never achieved the same vigorous life as the Chicago Indian Center, and it made no effort to reach out to the Indians of the Cass Corridor. Most leaders of the North American Indian Club, who lived in working class suburbs, were well-to-do relative to other Indians. The Cass Corridor Indians felt that the North American Indian Club treated them as poor relations, an embarrassment to their more successful cousins who knew so much about white ways.

Would the North American Indian Club provide encouragement and support, or would they "take us over" and "squash us"? The Cass Corridor Indians hoped for help from the established club, but feared a battle over turf, a fight over who would be the voice of Detroit Indians. To appeal for help and avert a confrontation, we requested a meeting with the North American Indian Club's leaders. The meeting was held at the home of a family whom everyone liked, Dorothy Marcus and her parents, the Sebastians, one of whom was Chippewa and the other was Iroquois. Dorothy Marcus was a young mother who had returned to college and was a student in the program taught by Bob Thomas. Although the Marcus/Sebastian family lived in the suburbs and enjoyed a steady income, they did not make the Cass Corridor Indians feel uncomfortable or unwelcome. When the two groups met, however, the tension in the Marcus's living room was palpable. Isabel McGraw, always a woman of courage, made the first speech announcing our intentions. She did not ask the leaders of the North American Indian Club for anything specific, but in effect she asked them to sanction AID by acknowledging the legitimacy of its existence. Nothing more conclusive happened at the meeting than an exchange of views and the suggestion that the North American Indian Club might help AID. The North American Indian Club leaders had no programs planned for the Cass Corridor, and they did feel some responsibility for their poor relations. After the meeting, Isabel and the others were justifiably proud of their assertiveness and pleased that they were not squelched, but fear persisted of what the North American Indian Club might be plotting to do.

After the informal meeting at the Sebastian's home, an open meeting was set for a Saturday afternoon in the Methodist church on Cass Avenue and everyone on the Indian grapevine was invited to attend. Perhaps seventy five Indians gathered that afternoon in a large formica walled room resembling a grade school cafeteria. Most were from the Cass Corridor, although the North American Indian Club leaders also came. The founders of AID were nervous. Could they attract the interest of their friends and provide leadership for a new organization, or would they make fools of themselves? Would this be the occasion for a verbal assault by the North American Indian Club?

The original plan was for Buddy McGraw, Isabel's husband, to make the introductory speech and conduct the meeting. As her husband, Buddy was uniquely situated among the Chippewas to assume the role of spokesman without offending Isabel. My hope, to put it crudely, was that this husband-wife team could unite the drive of the Iroquois and the sociability of the Chippewas. At the initial meeting at the Sebastians' house, Buddy failed to speak when required and that responsibility devolved on to Isabel. The general meeting at Cass Church was the second, and last, such failure, because Buddy withdrew from the organization and became a grumbling presence on the sidelines. When Isabel assumed the leadership and spent her days at our office, Buddy felt jealous and neglected. Although he liked me, he blamed me for disrupting his family life, which I had done. From time to time he threatened me, but like so many things that he intended to do, he never quite got around to breaking my nose. Buddy was a nice man with a low opinion of himself. Not long after I left Detroit in the fall of 1971, I learned that he died in an automobile accident that his friends regarded as suicide.

When Buddy contracted stage fright, Isabel took the microphone to make the introductory speech. She explained AID's aims and purposes, then called upon people from the audience who wanted to express their views. Various suggestions were made by Cass Corridor Indians. The crucial moment came when Russ Wright, the Chairman of the North American Indian Club, made his speech. Mr. Wright, a social worker by profession, was one of Detroit's most vocal and visible spokesmen for Indians. I first encountered him at a suburban high school fund raiser where he performed what was billed as the Lord's Prayer in sign language. Mr. Wright professed to be Cherokee, but rumors circulated questioning his authenticity. Some people with the physical traits of

Indians lack cultural characteristics such as proficiency in a native language, whereas others who lack the physical traits possess the cultural characteristics. This confusion fuels gossip about who is really Indian. When Americans with a little Indian blood proclaim to the world that they are Indians, as they do from time to time, they typically profess to be Cherokees. Was Mr. Wright such a person?

His speech, much to my surprise, said nothing about AID or the North American Indian Club, but instead it addressed the mutterings about his Indian identity. He described playing with Potawatomi and Chippewa children when he was growing up on his reservation in Oklahoma. This speech deflated tension in the room like a spike in a tubeless tire. It was not only a self-defense, but a plea for Indian unity, which implied that AID and the North American Indian Club could coexist or even work together. The audience felt relief that Mr. Wright had not taken an adversarial stance and gratitude that he had spoken in personal and emotional terms about Indian identity. Few people knew that there are no Indian reservations or Chippewas in Oklahoma.

The Program

After the obstacles to action were cleared, AID put together in a brief period of time a program that was remarkable for its breadth and vigor. I will describe some of these activities to give the reader a feeling for the organization. Many people in Detroit, including Indians, had not graduated from high school. They could take a test administered by the city of Detroit and those who scored high enough on it were awarded a "graduate equivalent diploma," which certified that their basic language and math skills are on a par with high school graduates. AID established night classes to prepare Indians for the test and, as a result, a number of Indians received their graduate equivalent diploma.

Another educational activity was a class in Indian history that Bob Thomas taught at Cass Methodist Church once a week to some fifteen Indians and myself. The study of Indian history was an aspect of a cultural renaissance and a new-found pride in being Indian that coincided with the black power movement among blacks. Another dimension of this movement was the rehabilitation of Indian religious practices that were disparaged for so long by missionaries and government officials. Jim Jones acquired a new pipe of

beautifully carved pipestone from a Canadian friend. Bob Thomas, who was knowledgeable about religious practices, supplied sanctified tobacco and he opened AID's general meetings with a pipe smoking ceremony. The ceremony's purpose is to remove tensions and put everyone in a good mood, so the group can focus upon its task without distractions. I don't know what was in the pipe besides coarse tobacco and sumac, but it certainly made me feel at ease with the world. The pipe ceremony accomplished much more than that for most Indians as was apparent by their emotional reaction to it. The ceremony was seen as symbolizing that aboriginal religious practices are acceptable in urban life and that they can be carried on without apology.

Besides the pipe ceremony, a feast and procession were held in the autumn at Father Kern's church, Holy Trinity. The Detroit Indians did not know much about the organization of such a festival, and, once again, Bob Thomas took the lead by serving as director and organizer. The feast began with a mass in the church, after which corn and vegetables were carried in a short procession down the block from the sanctuary to the church cafeteria. An altar was prepared in the cafeteria as a shrine and before it some ceremonies were held, such as drinking a herb medicine to prepare for the winter months, Indian dancing, and smoking the pipe. These events were followed by a large dinner (corn soup, fry bread, chile, and much more) and a rock-and-roll dance.

A religious revival was occurring among North American Indians at this time whose formal expressions was the Indian ecumenical movement. (See the narrative on the Indian Ecumenical movement in chapter __.) In July of 1971 I drove to the Indian Ecumenical Conference held at the Stoney Indian Reservation in Morley, Alberta, with three friends from AID. When we reached our destination, we saw a large oval of tipis on a grassy bench, beyond the tipis lay a grove of aspen trees, the grumbling of river rapids ascended from a gorge, and the Rocky Mountains rose up in the distance. This setting increased the power of the medicine men, ministers, and elders who spoke in assembly under the aspen arbor or conducted special ceremonies in tents. Some elders from remote places were unaccustomed to encountering whites outside of narrowly defined roles, and I sensed that my blue eyes made them uneasy, so I stayed on the periphery of activity or just wandered off on my own.

My three companions from AID -- Jim Jones, a man I will refer to as V.N., and Winona Arriaga's son whose name is Butch Elliot -- were deeply affected by this meeting. Jim came back with a better understanding of the role religion must play in an Indian revival and a deeper commitment to it. Butch, who was at loose ends, returned from the meetings at Morley a deeper and more troubled person. Like many young urban Indians, the 1970's awakened in Butch an agonizing sense of cultural loss and a search for personal identity. No longer would he work episodically as a reposessor of cars ("Stay low when rolling out of the driveway in case someone shoots, get the engine started, and you've got \$50."), or stay at home complaining about a mysterious back ailment. Now he felt part of a pan-Indian movement that was bringing the powwow, religious feeling, and the message of red power to every Indian community in America. As for V.N., whom I did not know well, his fate was very different from Butch. V.N. was smart and a good talker, but, just as Jim Jones needed his cup of coffee in the morning, V.N. needed a six-pack of beer by noon, and by evening he was sniffing around for women. When V.N. returned to Detroit, he was very active in Indian matters, but several years later he allegedly raped a teenager and the Indian community responded in its characteristic way, not by bringing criminal charges, but by ostracizing him so completely that he just disappeared.

This was a time in Indian history when powwows were springing up all over North America. A skilled singer or dancer could spend the summer travelling from one powwow to another throughout Indian country, eating and lodging with friends or acquaintances and winning an occasional cash prize in the dance competitions. A group of young men at AID decided to form a drum and begin preparing to perform at powwows. An Indian drum consists of approximately 12 men who beat on a single instrument and sing together in a manner that sounds like melodic chanting to whites. An Indian from New Mexico, Teofilio Lucero, who was the uncle of Dorothy Marcus' ex-husband, Joe Marcus, led the AID drum and taught the younger men. He was a renowned singer who had performed at powwows all around North America.

Beadwork remains a cottage industry for Indians, especially for women. An old Chippewa woman, who lived in a depressing welfare hotel in downtown Detroit, was known for her beadworking skills. She couldn't travel far enough to see her relatives in

Canada, and her life in the welfare hotel was lonely, so I figured that she would be eager for a chance to teach others and socialize with them. Contacting her was difficult because she had no phone and, when I came to see her, the desk clerk at the hotel interrogated me abusively, apparently convinced that I was setting her up for a robbery. It was, however, worth the effort in the end because this old woman, cranky though she was, taught a successful evening class in beadwork at the Cass Methodist Church.

Canadian Indians are fond of softball, so AID decided to recruit a baseball team. Our star, a Chippewa giant who could be found at the Red Dog bar whenever his construction job paid off, had played professional baseball as a minor league pitcher. With his help we put together a squad, mostly recruited from Indian bars, and began to practice on the baseball diamond at Wayne State University. The high point of the team's brief career came when we played the North American Indian Club team. We left the field feeling that we had won -- that much I can recall (along with the fact that I struck out) -- although I don't remember whether we actually scored more runs or whether the score was merely close.

These, then, are some of the activities that AID fostered. In addition, we collected food and clothing with the help of the North American Indian Club and distributed it to needy Indians who drifted through the Cass Corridor from time to time. There were also some social dances, holiday parties for children, dinner parties -- something social was always going on. A catalogue of activities, however, cannot convey the exhilaration with which they were done. Most Indians in the Cass Corridor told tales of attending Canadian schools where they were punished for speaking their own language, their religious beliefs were dismissed as superstition, they were made to feel culturally inferior or even savages. Now, living as they were in the interstices of the large, formal institutions of modern life -- the school, the church, the welfare office, the factory -- they were treated by the larger world as a low status ethnic group. When the Cass Corridor Indians formed an organization and started to do things, instead of being the world's passive victims, they felt that they were actively shaping their fate. A list of the organization's activities leaves out the exhilarating sense of power from doing them.

This, then, is a brief portrait of AID as it existed in 1971 when it was a very active organization. To understand how such an organization could quickly unravel, I need to discuss its governance. AID provided a framework of support in which Indians could undertake any activity they wanted -- beadwork, baseball, drumming, and so forth -- so long as someone took the initiative and others participated. The question of who had authority to do what seldom arose. The governing body, in so far as there was any government, was the council. The council consisted of anyone who was doing anything, such as the teacher of the history class, the teacher of the bead work class, the organizer of a social dance, the head drummer, or the person collecting food for distribution to the needy. I was the "advisor" to the council, and, unlike the other members I did not have a vote, -- not that I recall a vote ever being taken. The chairman of AID who presided at the general meetings was George Thomas, Bob Thomas's eldest son. As the son of an Oklahoma Cherokee and an Arizona Papago, George was outside the tribal and family alliances that divided local Indians into factions. In addition, George, who had a great deal of youthful self-confidence, did not give orders to anyone or instruct anybody on what they ought to do. Besides the chairman, we had a position that we simply referred to as "the leader." This name was used so that we did have to spell out exactly what the position was. The acknowledged leader was Isabel McGraw, who enjoyed this position because she was bold, energetic, outspoken at meetings, articulate concerning our goals, and she spent more hours than anyone else at the AID office in Cass Methodist Church.

The story of AID's unraveling involves our host church and its minister. Cass Methodist Church is a turn of the century grey stone fortress with a military tower and a sense of mission. The Cass Methodist Center was a charitable organization sponsored in part by donations from the church's congregation and in part by donations from suburban churches. The minister of the church and director of the center, Reverend Redmond, was a deeply Christian man with unbending moral strength and a capacity for self-sacrifice. It was his calling to live in the Cass Corridor, run a community center, and do battle with the sins and psychoses that were overwhelming the neighborhood. He made the ultimate sacrifice several years later when his teenage son answered a knock on their front door in the early evening from a stranger and was fatally shot. Reverend Redmond

disliked me for my free ways, but I admired him for his moral strength and over looked his want of imagination

Given the Cass Methodist Center's tight financial situation, Reverend Redmond was always on the look-out for additional funds, which takes us back to President Lyndon Johnson's war on poverty. The President had decided to demonstrate how to defeat poverty by choosing certain "model cities," including Detroit, as targets for intensive federal programs. Model Cities had a governing board elected from the target communities in Detroit, including the Cass Corridor. The board, which was too new to have established prudent procedures, was eager to give grants to organizations like AID, in part I believe to hide chicanery and embezzlement under the cloth of legitimacy. Reverend Redmond, who generously supplied facilities to AID at no charge, had the idea that Model Cities might provide AID with funds to pay a salary for Isabel McGraw and some others, as well as paying some rent to Cass Methodist Church. At Reverend Redmond's urging, Jim Jones met with city officials and acquired materials from them concerning the prerequisites for receiving such funds. The basic requirement was to legally incorporate and acquire a formal constitution defining the powers and the roles of the various people in the organization.

Reverend Redmond was insistent that AID should incorporate, not only to improve the financial situation, but also because he believed that incorporation would strengthen our organization and give it an enduring existence. Several members of the council, including Isabel McGraw, were convinced that we had to go ahead with incorporation. Don't all real organizations have a formal structure? Isn't the scope of activity reflected in the size of an organization's budget? Shouldn't AID be progressive and modern, not a throw-back to country ways?

My own view was diametrically opposed to theirs. My strategy for containing family and tribal rivalries was to keep roles, statuses, and powers ambiguous. I believed that the incipient tensions in the organization between families and tribes were kept under control by its informal structure, and the process of defining a hierarchy of roles would expose these tensions and exacerbate them.

The immediate step to incorporation was holding an election for leader of the organization, which I tried to head off and failed. Who can stop progress? I certainly couldn't. At this point, however, the hoary specter of the North American Indian Club reappeared. Suppose one of its stalwarts decided to run for leader of AID. Would this be the avenue of infiltration, the take-over route? To preclude that possibility, the council decided to write into the constitution a restriction against persons standing for office who did not reside in the neighborhood. When the proposed constitution was described at our next general meeting, an Iroquois woman stood up, her voice shrill with anger, and said that George Thomas would be disqualified from chairing the meetings because he lived in Orchard Lake. No one on the council had intended to exclude George, whose unflappable style and neutral tribal affiliation helped keep the peace between Iroquois and Chippewa. These remarks exposed our blunder, the chink between Iroquois and Chippewa opened into a crevasse at that meeting, and Bob Thomas covered the peace pipe.

The position of director was contested by two people, Isabel McGraw and Carlene Pedrotti. Carlene, who lived with her daughter in an apartment near the Cass Methodist Center, was a young woman of ability and good will, who had devoted many hours to AID. She was also a Chippewa and the daughter of Winona Arriaga. Isabel, as already explained, was a strong person, a gifted speaker, a hard worker, and an Iroquois. The Chippewas, who were in the majority, were impressed by Isabel's energy but found her abrasive. Tension, that already surfaced between Isabel and Carlene when they worked together at the AID office, was fired by the election and hardened into a symbol of struggle between families and tribes. It was obvious that whoever lost the election would be too hurt and angry to continue participating in the organization. To avoid choosing sides, many of the people who were most devoted to AID withdrew. Why participate in a vote at the cost of strife with friends and family? Jim Jones, for example, never seemed available for council meetings.

The End

The election was held and Carlene won, but Isabel was furious and even the people who had voted against her felt bad about giving the boot to someone who had

worked so hard and unselfishly. The elected officers had a far smaller membership to preside over.

Even without the crisis of incorporation, a new influence, Indian militancy, would probably have changed AID's character. The spread of militancy among young Indians in Detroit can be seen through the life of Carlene's brother, Butch Elliot. Not long after his return to Detroit from the Indian Ecumenical meeting at Morley, Butch became involved with the radical organization called the American Indian Movement (AIM). Principally composed of Sioux and Chippewas, AIM began in Minneapolis and spread to other cities by attracting urban Indian youth who, having felt the bite of poverty and discrimination, noted the success of black militants. In 1973, when AIM staged a military uprising at Wounded Knee, Butch drove to the Dakotas and joined the rebels. The rebellion was immediately aimed at the elected tribal government of the Sioux, and ultimately aimed at the federal bureaucracy that administered the reservation. The rebellion ended when the armed Indians, who were surrounded by federal marshals, negotiated an agreement with the U.S. Attorney General's office. The FBI attempted to locate Butch for some months thereafter, but no charges were brought. Butch eventually moved back to his home community in Canada where he became prominent in Indian affairs. A friend who visited him recently said to me, "Butch has acquired so much depth; a most impressive man."

I could gauge the progress of radicalism by the way Indians treated me. From time to time someone on AID's periphery objected to my role in the organization. For example, a young Chippewa man, Thurmond B., who was a student at Wayne State University and married to a white woman, once complained at a council meeting about my presence there. And a young Chippewa woman, Mona S., who was fond of drawing the AIM symbol -- a rifle and a spear laid diagonally across a shield -- grouched loudly when I smoked the pipe that was passed around at our general meeting. But these were isolated incidents. The founders of AID, who were older Indians with mixed feelings towards the AIM radicals, treated me as a friend, not an abstraction. I did not want to hear Indians condemn whites wholesale, so my friends at AID had the courtesy to keep such remarks beyond my hearing.

The election brought younger people to prominence in AID who, like me, were attracted to political protest and the symbols of resistance. To illustrate, the feast and procession was moved from Holy Trinity Church into the country because some Indian radicals objected to gathering in a Christian church. The founders of AID, who were deeply respectful of religion, would have been uncomfortable with this new style of action.

Ambiguity and improvisation served AID well in the beginning, and, with time and sufficient socializing, we might have evolved definitions of offices and mechanisms for filling them that did not divide people into winners and losers. But everything happened too fast. Instead of offices emerging, incorporation required the council to stipulate offices and their powers. The fact that the council had gone through this exercise did not convey legitimacy upon the structure it created. A paper document requiring elections could not supply the balm to soothe the hurt when a relative, who worked selflessly for others, was publicly rejected. AID was undone by an imperative from the larger world to formalize its organization. If AID could have avoided this trauma, it might have fractured anyway, not by family and tribal rivalries, but by the tension between its founders and young militants. I am unsure how long AID could have thrived, or if my presence on the council would have become an objectionable symbol, but in its brief history AID touched many lives, including mine.

Chapter 6* Urban Indians

Before World War II few North American Indians lived in cities, but by 1980 at least 50% of all the people identified as Indians by the American and Canadian census resided in cities, and the majority of them were born there.⁷¹ How did this migration change Indians? What are its implications for the future of Indian society? These questions will be answered in this chapter by analyzing the portrait in the preceding chapter on the Associated Indians of Detroit (AID).

When Indians migrate to cities and encounter an organization such as a business or a church, they wonder how it can be operated by acquaintances and strangers, without kin ties. Coordination among strangers is a mystery to traditional Indians because they have an imperfect understanding of what a role is or how to perform one. A successful adaptation of traditional Indians to urban life, according to the themes of this chapter, depends upon having experiences that enable them to conceive of institutions as interdependent roles.

Why Cities Are Possible

How can self-interested individuals form a society? This question has been a starting point for theorists at least since the 17th century when Thomas Hobbes wrote Leviathan.⁷² Implicit in the question is the assumption that people act like self-interested individuals, which is the foundation for powerful theories of politics and economics. Political theorists in the social contract tradition, from Hobbes to Rawls, have viewed society as a cooperative agreement by which the parties advance their own interests. Economists have learned to analyze economic institutions as an equilibrium in the interaction of self-interested decision makers.

Self-interested individualism is a distorting abstraction that leaves out such traits as natural affection and idealism. Without natural affection, families disintegrate, and without ideals like patriotism, nations collapse. Natural affection and idealism, however,

⁷¹cite

are absent or kept in the background in most dealings between, say, sales clerk and customer, lawyer and client, patrolman and motorist, or landlord and tenant. Natural affection and idealism impose constraints upon behavior, but, within these constraints, people aim to advance their own interests in commerce and politics.

These facts give force to the question, "How can a city be formed by self-interested individuals?" Sociologists, who seldom frame this question with the same precision as political theorists or economists, have a comprehensive answer. Institutions perform tasks efficiently by factoring them into parts and collecting the parts into bundles that are assigned to different people. A shared understanding of how tasks are bundled serves as the basis for coordinating the efforts of different people. The bundles eventually become standardized, with a name, job description, place in the hierarchy, salary, and, possibly their own culture.

When bundling is accomplished by rules that assign duties, responsibilities, and privileges explicitly, the jobs are offices. Usually, however, the explicit specification of jobs through rules is incomplete and the basis of coordination remains merely an understanding. There is an analogy between the tasks in an institution and the roles played by actors in a play. An institutional role can thus be defined as the social unit of the division of labor, or, more comprehensively, as a general understanding about the standardized aspects of distinct jobs that must combine and coordinate to achieve the institution's purpose.

Individuals can form a society, according to the functionalists, by creating a system of inter-related roles and filling them. Roles enable the individuals who fill them to coordinate their behavior and accomplish necessary tasks such as production, government, and cultural transmission. According to the functionalists, institutions consisting of inter-related roles hold together an aggregation of individuals forming a city.⁷³

These institutions enable people to specialize according to their talents, which contributes to productivity, and the roles can be dissolved and reconstituted in response to

⁷²Precursors of Hobbes in the 16th century include Jean Bodin and Richard Hooker. These writers also found routes in classical Greek and Roman texts.

⁷³cite Weber on the city.

changing circumstances, which contributes to creativity. The most productive and creative people can see their role's place in the larger system, just as good actors can see their role's place in the play. To illustrate, a good hardware store clerk understands the goals of the hardware store. At a higher level, a good hardware store owner understands the place of hardware in the economy. Similarly, a good politician understands how electoral competition secures the representation of constituents.

Functional institutions have mechanisms that adjust to changing conditions and stabilize society. As conditions change, different roles must be combined in different proportions. For example, an institution may need more computer technicians and fewer typists. The most important mechanism for keeping people allocated to roles in the right proportions is the labor market. The labor market continually re-evaluates the relative importance of occupational roles and adjusts wage rates accordingly. More urgent jobs, where demand is strong and supply is weak, command higher wages, until such time as new workers meet the shortage and drive wages back down again.

Changes in relative wages, by adjusting the proportions of people in various roles, keep activities in balance as needed to perform the functions of a complex society. Urban society tends towards an equilibrium at each point in time in which everyone is simultaneously maximizing the pursuit of his own private interests and no one can do better by changing his behavior.⁷⁴ What brings order out of chaos is the tendency of labor markets towards an equilibrium in which the requisite functions of city life are performed efficiently.

Competition is sustained through legal institutions that prevent any group from obtaining excessive market power and exploiting others. Given such a legal framework, competition automatically keeps roles balanced and filled. Competitive mechanisms like the labor market work through incentives provided by unequal rewards of wealth, power, and prestige. The mechanisms for automatic adjustment presuppose inequality and hierarchy, by which people are graded into higher and lower orders. Without inequality and hierarchy, institutions based upon roles could not maintain their balance.

⁷⁴The modelling of such phenomena is a magnificent accomplishment of mathematical economics. See for example Arrow and Hahn, General Competitive Analysis.

While the labor market tends towards an equilibrium, this tendency is continually disturbed by resource depletion, innovations, and external shocks like wars or stock market crashes. Furthermore, increases in productivity are achieved by improvements technology and organization, which are not necessarily smooth. When left to its own, urban society develops through a sequence of disruptive innovations that require redefining roles and re-allocating people.

Urban Identity

Institutions reproduce themselves, according to functional theory, by fitting each generation of young people into the roles vacated by retirements in the older generation. The labor market, as explained, provides incentives that are essential to this process. Incentives are only effective, however, for people who are predisposed to respond to them. These predispositions are, in turn, shaped by norms that establish the person's identity and give life its meaning. Identity is, according to the theory of the individuation process, the core of personality. There is, thus, a psychological dimension linking roles to identity.

The identities of city people are fine-tuned to respond to incentives for balancing and filling roles. The onus of creating identity for urban people, according to the theory of the individuation process, is upon the individual. The middle class child, as discussed in preceding chapters, learns at an early age to invest himself in the skills that he learns. The major avenue for self creation in the modern city is thus the occupational role. By choosing an occupational role a person chooses a conception of who he is and adopts standards for self-evaluation. This is especially true for occupations that are careers, like accountants, lawyers, professors, executives, or politicians, and less true for occupations that are jobs, like bus driver, waitress, or fireman. What brings order out of apparent chaos in western cities on the psychological level is, then, the ability of urban man to create himself. Self-creators can stabilize their personalities and work effectively or even creatively among acquaintances and strangers.

The fine division of labor in cities, and the wide variety of corresponding roles, provides urban people with breadth of choice concerning who they will be, which is part of what urban people mean by freedom. The successful performance of roles provides a

sense of fulfillment to individuals who identify with them. There is, however, a dark side to the labor market. For every winner in a competition there is a loser. The same inequalities that give an assembly line worker the incentive to apply himself diligently in the hope of becoming a foreman may also create resentment and destructiveness, especially in those who are overlooked for promotion. Some people refuse to identify with their jobs -- "I'm an actor who drives cabs by day." Others give up on jobs -- "There are no jobs for free spirits like me."

The incentive system that enables institutions to balance roles and fill them can thus undermine and destabilize social order. There is an alternative, however, to filling the lowest level of jobs by self-creators who feel demeaned by their positions. The alternative is to fill the lowest jobs with new arrivals to the city, like Indians. In the case of traditional Indians, the new arrivals obviously perceive differences in power and wealth, and know that they have neither, but do not understand that these are aspects of a social hierarchy. Traditional Indians are, in a sense, not part of the social hierarchy because they do not fully recognize its existence. These facts create a dynamic of classes and types that we will explore.

Classes and Types

Migration from rural areas to the city has been a persistent feature of American life. The collision of opposites like traditional Indians and corporate executives creates a dynamic in which various classes and types of people evolve over time. Describing this class framework, into which Indians have fitted, helps to explain the process of individuation. The lowest position on the socio-economic ladder is occupied by people without regular jobs, or by families whose head has no regular job, such as most residents of the Cass Corridor as described in the AID narrative. Some elderly people cannot work because they have outlived their usefulness as evaluated by the job market, some mothers are prevented from working by child care responsibilities, and other people cannot work because they are disabled, psychologically disturbed, or dependent upon drugs.

These are not, however, the reasons why traditional Indians who migrate to the city find themselves at the bottom of the economic hierarchy. Traditional Indians carry to the city a culture designed for a different ecology, and they cannot understand the city

well enough to see how they would have to change themselves to succeed in it. To illustrate, traditional Indian men work episodically, rather than systematically bettering themselves. The lowest rung of city life is occupied, not only by the detritus of urban society, but the migrants from folk society, such as southern blacks, Appalachians, Mexicans, and American Indians, who live on the edges of the city in a figurative sense, although they may live in the center of the city in a literal sense.

A middle class person who falls to the bottom of urban society suffers not only material deprivation but loss of self respect. For traditional Indians, however, work in the city provides livelihood, but not identity. Suffering deprivation in urban slums is no reason for a traditional Indian to lose self respect. A traditional Indian's assessment of himself comes from his kin, who do not judge him by success in the job market. As long as they hold him in esteem, there is no reason for him to feel differently. The traditional Indian's incomprehension of a city as a system of roles thus affords psychological protection against denigration of the lower classes and racial discrimination.

Traditional Indians often experience class denigration and racial discrimination as meanness. They think they are deprived of material goods that they badly need because whites are too mean to share with Indians. Deprivation from meanness does not cut like disrespect for a person. The traditional Indian is shielded psychologically from perceiving the element of disrespect in discrimination. If you never thought life was a race, you cannot fully appreciate that others think you finished last.

These facts go far to explain Cooter's observation that Indian families often remain warm even in the brutalizing environment of inner city Detroit. The Indian family in the inner city perceives itself in circumstances that are difficult at best, and brutal at worst, but these are unfortunate facts about the external world. Family life can persist in much the same way as the past even in these difficult circumstances. The Indian family in the inner city retains much of its tribal character, in which personal relations are definitive. Thus Cooter's Indian friends did not treat him as a white man for long, because their world is personal, not categorical.

Immediately above the lower classes, who are unemployed or employed episodically, is the working class, who work regularly at low paying jobs. Waiter,

hospital worker, barber, truck drivers, stock-boy, factory sweeper -- these jobs require perspiration, not imagination, punctuality, not creativity, effort, not cultivation. Success in these jobs requires respect for authority and discipline, which, as sociologists have noted, is a major concern of the working class in child rearing.

These are merely jobs, not careers. Much less of the person has to be invested in a mere job to succeed at it, as opposed to a career. A person who is a sweeper at a factory, as opposed, say, to an attorney, may reserve more of his self-conception for his personal relations and invest less in his occupational role -- "I am a father and a husband who supports my family by sweeping the factory's floor."

To enter the working class, a tribal person must break with the rhythms of nature and stop relying upon social discipline, and acquire self-discipline. By abandoning episodic work in favor of regular employment, an Indian takes on industrial discipline, which is inconsistent with immersion in the life of the tribe. To illustrate, an Indian who wants to keep his job cannot take leave for several days to mourn every time someone in his clan dies. Industrial discipline is consistent with responsibility for a nuclear family and inconsistent with responsibility for a clan.

Self-discipline to perform a job, however, falls far short of expressing oneself through the performance of a role. The best sweepers need a lot of self-discipline, whereas the best attorneys experience their work as self-expression. The process of individuation must advance for tribal Indians to enter the working class, but it can stop far short of the urban ideal of identity with role.

The next step in the direction of identification with role, after the working class, is the lower middle class, where people not only work regularly, but have relatively engaging and responsible jobs that pay modestly. Examples are foreman, nurse, counselor, social worker, storekeeper, teacher, and tradesman. These occupational descriptions are elastic and can reach higher in economic rank, and the extent of self-commitment can vary. To illustrate, a dedicated school teacher may identify closely with his work, even though the pay is less than a bricklayer who does not identify with his work.

Success in these jobs require greater assimilation into an occupational culture and more psychological commitment than working class jobs. As a consequence, these jobs intrude more upon responsiveness to kin and require a more decisive break with tribal identity than working class jobs. Indians who are most drawn to these jobs sometimes exemplify individualistic Protestantism and its ethic as characterized by Weber. Such people are the Indians who make their way into the suburbs of the American city.

Moving another rung up the economic ladder, the middle class and upper middle class consists of people who have careers, not just jobs. Attorney, accountant, doctor, politician, professor, executive -- these careers, which require imagination and cultivation over long periods of time, are forms of self-expression. An attorney who writes a brief, a doctor who saves a patient, a professor who writes a book, is expressing who he is. Self-expression occurs within the context of an occupational culture with its own standards of morality, etiquette, dress, and its own measures of success. A person who chooses a career must resolve to acquire skills and also to be socialized into the culture. To illustrate, it is hard to say whether students in the first year of law school are working harder to learn skills or to become socialized. Socialization into the culture replaces external discipline as the organizing force of work for people with careers. Executives need not punch a time clock because they must enjoy their work in order to succeed at it. Most professionals have flexibility in choosing what they do and when they do it. In choosing a career, a person exercises the freedom of self-creation, and, having done so, self-discipline is required so as not to be deflected by the wayward impulses and attractions that lead to alternative selves that were not chosen.

The middle classes are, then, self-creators who are farther advanced in the process of individuation than the lower classes. Tribal Indians who want to come this far must submit, not to industrial discipline, but to socialization in occupational roles. A person who disciplines himself to work in a factory holds back part of himself from his job, but a person who holds himself back in a career will be limited in his success. It is one thing to miss a relative's funeral because you are constrained by your job, and another thing to miss it because you care more for your career than your extended kin. Whereas a job requires abandoning the rhythms of nature in favor of industrial discipline, a career demands leaving the clan behind psychologically.

At the pinnacle of American society are the upper classes, especially those who have enjoyed wealth for several generations. They are sometimes characterized as kin oriented ("...the Lowells talk to the Cabots..."⁷⁵), at least when compared to the upper middle classes who are so career-orientated. This fact has prompted the suggestion that the upper classes have something in common with tribal Indians that neither shares with the middle class. Whether this idea is romanticism or truth need not concern us, because, since they have nothing to do with the lives of urban Indians, the upper classes need not concern us.

Sociologists have suggested that, while most urban Americans have families and some live in communities, America has become more of a mass society in the sense that impersonal roles have increasingly displaced personal relations as the organizing principle of social life.⁷⁶ Households are smaller and community life has evaporated in many "bedroom communities." Children at a younger and younger age are finding themselves in role-like relations in nurseries, schools, and day care. The hypothesis that a child must enjoy a minimum of personal relations to possess a firm identity as an adult may explain the confusion over identity that appears endemic in American society.

History of Indian Migration to Cities

The account of the city sketched above is probably understood more or less by most city people, whether or not they could articulate it. It is not understood, however, by Indians, who lack experience with engineering constitutive relations for instrumental purposes. Migration to the city confronts a sacred, traditional people with a secular, instrumental one. We will explain the dynamics of their interaction, beginning with history.

⁷⁵The famous toast by John Collins Bossidy goes

And this is good old Boston
The home of the bean and the cod,
Where the Lowells talk to the Cabots
And the Cabots Talk only to God.

⁷⁶cite

The only North American city with a substantial Indian population before World War II was Tucson, which had enclaves of Yaquis and Papagos. Yaquis, who came to Tucson in the early 1900s fleeing the conscious genocide campaign waged against them by the Mexican government, made two settlements on the outskirts of town where they managed to reconstitute villages much as they were on the Yaquis river in Sonora. Yaquis institutions are incomplete in these villages because there is little indigenous political organization, but the institutional core of Yaquis village life, consisting of the Yaquis ceremonial societies that perform the great religious ceremonies for which the Yaquis are famous, was in place by 1920 in these two villages and continues today.⁷⁷

The Papago neighborhood of Tucson was populated by people who removed from Mexico or from the main Papago Indian reservation "out on the desert," as the Papagos say. Some Papago families lived on the edges of Tucson for many generations, but the majority were transients who came from the desert to live in town for a few years and then returned home, to be replaced by others like themselves. The high rate of turnover among the Papagos in Tucson resembles Indians of the Cass Corridor in Detroit.

The Tucson situation was unique in North America cities until after World War II, when Indians began moving into cities in large numbers, especially after 1950. One impetus for migration was the relocation program promulgated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Planners in Washington felt that migration to cities would improve the lives of Indians materially and relieve population pressures on rural Indian communities. Although it was not stated explicitly, many planners felt that city life would soon assimilate American Indians, so the Indian problem would diminish by reducing the number of Indians.

A relocation officer was stationed on almost every major reservation in that period whose job was to induce local people to relocate in a city. The most unacculturated portions of American Indian tribes were often drawn into this program and moved into American cities under the guidance of the relocation officers. Bureau of Indian Affairs relocation officers were also stationed in the city to help Indians settle and adjust to city life. It was a premise of the relocation officers that locating Indian families

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far from each other would minimize the danger that they might form a distinct community and thus retard the processes of assimilation.

Horror stories are legion about incidents that occurred in this unfortunate and misguided program. To illustrate, a Papago couple relocated to Chicago and the husband died from some unknown cause. The young wife, who spoke no English, sat immobilized in the apartment with the corpse until neighbors complained to the police about the stench. The police called the director of the Chicago Indian Center, a native Papago speaker. He convinced the wife to open the door to her apartment and they made arrangements to have her husband's body taken to the appropriate agency in Chicago.

In another such incident, the director of the Chicago Indian Center phoned Bob Thomas concerning a Cherokee family in which the wife complained bitterly of the long hours that her husband spent at work. She assured the director that her husband left for work at 4:00 in the morning and did not return until 8:00 in the evening. The director waited until the husband appeared at the home and asked him why he worked such long hours. The husband replied that he walked four hours to work and he walked four hours back home after work. The director asked why he did not take the bus, and he replied that he could not read the signs on the front of them describing their destinations.

After telling this tale to Bob Thomas on the phone, the director asked whether some Cherokees, who have a reputation for being well integrated into the American mainstream, are unable to speak or read English. Bob replied that tribal Cherokees in Oklahoma are very traditional and many of them, even those in their 20s, did not speak English well, although the myth of their assimilation served the Oklahoma establishment. The director agreed to print in bold letters on a piece of paper the numbers of the buses that would enable this Cherokee man to commute without walking for eight hours.

Long after tribal Indians learn about undertakers and bus schedules, they still find the American city a bewildering place. This bewilderment is an aspect of this book's central concern -- the encounter between the people and the strangers. According to the theory of individuation proposed in this book, the tribal Indian's incomprehension of the city is, at the deepest level, an imperfect ability to form impersonal relationships and make strangers the instruments for satisfying needs. This imperfect ability, which makes

all country rubes the butt of jokes, made Indians into pigeons for the cruel hawks in places like Detroit's Cass Corridor. The AID narrative, however, repeatedly contrasts the warmth of Indian families with the harsh external environment. It turns out that the tribal Indian's incomprehension of the urban world, which makes them physically vulnerable, also provides a psychological shield against brutalizing circumstances.

The relocation program was more important than suggested by the actual numbers of Indians moved,⁷⁸ because it prepared the way for Indian individuals and nuclear families, particularly young people, to come to the city on their own initiative. This self-motivated migration continued after the relocation program was discontinued [in 195? cite]. The new migrants were people with some modicum of education, some ability to speak English, and a significant fund of experience with the general American society. Some of the more knowledgeable and affluent Indians, who already had learned a marketable skill in their hometown, were able to move immediately into working class suburbs, but most Indians lived interspersed among Mexicans, blacks, or southern whites.

Most Indians who were relocated in the city either bunched together to enjoy the help and society of other Indians, or else returned to their rural homes. By 1957 there was an entire building in Chicago which housed Navajo Indian couples and the English-speaking Navajos were able to help the non-English speakers grapple with the city. Besides largely Indian apartment buildings, there were, and are, largely Indian blocks in the city. In a few cities, like Minneapolis, there is an Indian skid row or ghetto, but, unlike immigrants to American cities from Europe or Asia, Indians were unable to form ethnically homogeneous neighborhoods of kin and friends from back home. In most cities Indians are a visible minority in ethnically heterogeneous neighborhoods, as was the case with the Indians of the Cass Corridor.

Indian migrants came from a multiplicity of tribes, each with different cultural traditions and rivalries. The category "Indian" was insignificant for these migrants relative to their tribal identity such as "Navajo," "Chippewa," or "Cherokee," and there were not enough people from any one tribe to make a neighborhood. Further, Indians got housing according to their economic circumstances, which dispersed them according to

⁷⁸cite ; get statistic here

their ability to pay. Ethnically homogeneous neighborhoods afforded other immigrant groups more cultural continuity than is possible when living dispersed among alien people.

For most Indians, the best hope for continuity lay in maintaining contacts back home. For example, the Chippewas and Iroquois narrative frequently left Detroit to visit their home reservations. For Indians living in cities such as Albuquerque or Phoenix, which are close to reservations, maintaining contacts back home was easy, but it was a problem for migrants to cities like Los Angeles, Chicago and San Francisco, which are far from the rural communities that are the homes of the Indian migrants.

Born In the City

By 1970, when AID was forming, there appeared for the first time large numbers of Indians who had been born and raised in the city, or at least spent most of their lives as children and teenagers in cities. These young people experienced poverty and discrimination differently from their parents. Growing up on the reservations, the parents were immersed in a familiar tribal world and suffered discrimination only at this world's boundaries, whereas Indians growing up in the city were immersed in the alien world that discriminated against them as soon as they left their homes. Only the family, not the tribe, afforded some measure of psychological protection to Indian children in the city, and the centrifugal forces of the city undermined families. The new generation of city Indians, who had a better understanding of white society, were hurt more intimately by it.

Many of these young city Indians experienced an identity crisis in their late teens. Like the white hippies of the same period, they opted out of a pattern of life offered to them by the school system in which the principle rewards for hard work were a house in the suburbs and a place in the corporation. Most of them wanted to retain their "Indianness," rather than being absorbed and assimilated, but they were confused about what an Indian is. Their first impulse was to reject whites out of hand and to try to build cohesion among Indians of their age by engaging in purely Indian activities, such as aboriginal religious practices, and to create an image of Indianness by wearing long hair, beads, feathers, and leather. The pan-Indian ideal, as opposed to identification with a particular tribe, was more important to them than to their parents because, on the one

hand, they were separated from their tribe, and, on the other hand, they were treated simply as Indians by a larger public that was ignorant of tribal distinctions.

This dissatisfaction among young city Indians was first organized in Minneapolis by the American Indian Movement (AIM), which was formed by an alliance between the Indian children of the suburbs and the Indian ghetto.⁷⁹ AIM adopted a radical style and engaged in symbolic protests that attracted young city Indians and made older, rural Indians uncomfortable, much like young blacks were attracted to organizations like the Black Panthers and SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee), and young whites were attracted to left-wing, anti-Vietnam war organizations like SDS (Students for a Democratic Society). The leaders of AIM, like many young people in America, understood the value of media-politics. Their armed occupation of the town of Wounded Knee on the Sioux reservation at Pine Ridge caught the attention of the American public, as well as federal marshals and the FBI. As AIM became more successful, the high levels of participation in, and identification with, AIM activities by young city-raised Indians was positive proof to themselves and others that they were indeed true Indians.

AIM was successful in helping young Indians create an Indian identity and in revitalizing Indian culture among acculturated Indians. New funding sources -- government, foundations, and churches -- became more responsive to Indian concerns as a consequence of AIM's vocal presence. But AIM's strategy was unsuccessful when applied to tribal Indians in rural communities. Tribal Indians were not suffering from anxiety about personal identity and they were puzzled by symbolic protests. They wanted more decision making power in their hands as a community, more local jobs so the young would stay at home, and they wanted to preserve their way of life. Giving power to rural Indian communities would require reducing the power of white officials in federal, state, and local government. Re-allocating political power is far more difficult than obtaining government grants or marshaling sentiment against racial discrimination.

The attempts of young city Indians to forge formal links with rural Indian communities were largely unsuccessful, except at the Pine Ridge Reservation. AIM had credit with the Oglala Sioux at Pine Ridge through their protests against discrimination,

⁷⁹Is there a history to cite? What is the date of its founding and by whom.

especially the racial murder of a young Sioux by whites in Rushville, Nebraska. The traditional Sioux chiefs and the Oglala Citizens for Better Government invited AIM to come to the reservation and assist them in their struggle against the established tribal government.⁸⁰

This was a switch for AIM from fighting discrimination to rural community organization. The military occupation of Wounded Knee by armed AIM Indians followed, and the Indians were soon surrounded by U.S. marshalls. Eventually a surrender was negotiated.⁸¹ The long, bitter denouement to these dramatic events was a continuing fight for control of the tribal government at Pine Ridge, which the AIM forces eventually lost.

The turmoil and identity seeking in the decade of the seventies was formative for a generation of young urban Indians. Many of them have returned to their own reservations, bringing new knowledge to that community about the larger world. Having sorted out their priorities, some have become public figures working for cultural preservation in their own communities, particularly religious revival, whereas others, who are simply making a living and maintaining a family, as are most Americans, retain the commitment to Indian culture that they now try to transmit to their children.⁸²

What Indians Encounter In The City

When explaining the possibility of a modern city, we started from the point that individuals can interact with each other through roles. When explaining the migration of traditional Indians to cities, we started from the point that only individuals can perform roles and traditional Indians are not individuals. This starting point will enable us to explain the misunderstandings and blunders, some comic and some tragic, that afflict urban Indians.

⁸⁰ cite

⁸¹In exchange for the AIM surrender, the U.S. government made four promises that were significant to AIM: i) the Pine Ridge tribal government books would be audited, ii) a Congressional Inquiry into Pine Ridge would be conducted, iii) no reprisals would be made against individuals involved in the insurrection, and iv) a conference between Sioux chiefs and White House Officials would be held concerning the treaty of 1868. Only the last promise was kept. cite

⁸²See Gerald Wilkinson, "The Indian 'Red Power' Movement: Alive, Dead, or Just Sleeping," Americans Before Columbus, volume 17, No.2, 1989, page 5.

Traditional Indians' failure to understand roles is illustrated by the difficulty many Indians in the city have when applying for a job. If the interviewer asks a tribal Indian what he did on his last job, the interviewer wants an answer such as, "I laid bricks" or "I typed." The Indian might reply that he liked the foreman, even though the foreman was bossy, but another worker objected to his smoking and never paid back the money he borrowed. The Indian answers the question in terms of details of relationships, whereas the interviewer wants an answer in terms of functional roles. Tribal Indians, who live in a kin world, have difficulty cutting themselves into the categories required when applying for a job.

The fact that traditional Indians do not identify with urban jobs has a bearing on the Marxist theory of alienation, which is a condition, not just of psychological distance from work, but of estrangement and resentment.⁸³ Estrangement and resentment, according to Marx's labor theory of value, comes from the indignity of reducing labor to a commodity and using workers as an instrument of production. Certainly a person who identified with his work would find the Victorian factory stultifying to personal development.

Our observations suggest that traditional Indians often experience work as difficult, tiring, and constraining, but they do not feel Marxist alienation. The fact that the jobs traditional Indians hold in the city are inferior does not make them resentful or estranged, however much they dislike work and their bosses. To find work demeaning, a worker must identify with it and then be assigned a low status job, but traditional Indians do not identify with their work. In general, "alienation" often means estrangement from oneself, which presupposes individuation.

The fact that the Indian family in the inner city retains much of its tribal character, in which personal relations are definitive, has the advantage of shielding family members from demeaning interactions with outsiders, but there are also serious disadvantages. A disadvantage of psychological distance from work is that many traditional Indians are not very reliable workers, at least by the standards of factory discipline that is required of them. In an individualistic work setting, the traditional Indian just does not get the job

⁸³ cite

done, because he has not internalized the norms attached to occupational roles, and his effort is not fueled by existential anxiety. Traditional Indians need social support to work well. To thrive, the work setting for tribal Indians must be social in character, rather like a family, which was created at AID, but it is not found in many jobs. Another disadvantage of tribal families in the city is the extremely permissive style of child rearing, which works well in a life among kin, but provides little protection for children exposed to the ferocity of an urban slum in which there are unimagined dangers.

Learning From Experience

When Indians came to the city in the 1950s and afterwards, they found that many functions of the kin group back home were performed by large, bureaucratic organizations, such as nursery, school, police, welfare office, hospital, grocery store, church, political party, bank, and factory. However, these institutions were alien in every way -- they were staffed by strangers, expressed values of an alien race, and obeyed unintelligible principles. To understand the city, Indians needed experience with these formal institutions, but not the passive, reactive kind that leads to uncomprehending dependency, but rather the active, grappling kind.

In previous periods, immigrants from Europe and Asia arrived in American cities where some vital functions were not already performed by entrenched institutions. Previous generations had to organize nurseries, create schools, staff the police, improve markets, found churches, make political parties, pool funds in loan associations, and start industries. The absence of essential services sometimes amounted to official neglect, which caused suffering, but neglect also provided room to act and a reason for acting.

Indians, however, migrated to the city when there was less official neglect, but the institutional space was filled more completely. The civil service system of objective examinations precluded Indians, with their low levels of formal education, from acquiring executive positions in government bureaucracies. Unlike, say, the Irish and Italians in New York City, Indians were, and are, too few in numbers to form a significant political block in any city, so Indians have never enjoyed patronage jobs. In those areas of the private sector where Indians were most likely to advance -- the skilled trades such as construction -- they face racial discrimination from employers and

hegemonic unions. With only rudimentary business skills, no commercial tradition, and no credit standing, Indians were not likely to start their own businesses. In these circumstances, there was little prospect for Indians to staff and run nurseries, schools, police precincts, stores, churches, political parties, or factories. City Indians thus became the passive recipients of services provided by alien bureaucracies that remained unintelligible to them. Much of the traditional Indian's encounter with the city stuns, like a blow on the head, without teaching.

A person who is successful in organizations can see his role's place in the larger system of roles. Traditional Indians, however, do not see how roles knit together to make the city work. At low levels -- say, a typist in the stenographic pool -- it is hard to see how different roles knit together to make the city work or to have the experiences that provide an understanding of an organization. Learning occurs fastest at the top where policy is made and where one observes how one person's failure ripples through the system of interdependent roles and disrupts them.

A great deal of selling and persuasion is necessary to succeed in many roles. For instance, if one must have memos to distribute at an important meeting that is scheduled for the morning, the foreman of the print shop must be convinced to put other material aside and print the memos. Selling and persuasion, however, cut against the grain of Indian childrearing as explained in previous chapters. As children, traditional Indians never acquire the habit of receiving orders, at least not from other Indians, so as adults they lack the knack for giving them.

Further, a large part of persuading and selling is managing the image associated with the role.⁸⁴ Images permit people to form quick judgments about a person's competency to fill a role without knowledge of the individual's traits. Without the right image, a city person will be treated by others as incompetent. People who are immersed in kin relations, in contrast, have no experience with such images. Traditional Indians have trouble learning a role because they do not appreciate its purpose in the role system, they have little experience with images, and they are unaccustomed to manipulating others.

The sphere of action that remained open for distinctively Indian organizations was the formation of Indian centers or clubs like AID and the North American Indian Club of Detroit. These organizations provided an environment for socializing, such as dinners and powwows, and they also provided social services like emergency food or temporary shelter that bureaucracies had trouble delivering. In some cases, such as the Chicago Indian Center and AID, a more extensive list of educational and recreational services were offered. Most important, however, these organizations provided Indians with the experience of creating a purposeful institution and grappling with the problems of maintaining it. This is the kind of experience that enables tribal Indians to discover how to form instrumental relations with strangers and create an institution with a limited purpose.

Government agencies made formal contracts with Indian centers, as with tribal governments, to serve as agents for distributing health and welfare services. These contracts, which increase the flow of funds through Indian organizations, also create pressures to formalize and professionalize the organization. The AID narrative illustrated how funding agencies can require organizations to adopt institutional forms that preclude participation in them by traditional Indians. Some Indians centers are now staffed by Indian professionals who leave little room for traditional Indians to become active participants or exercise control.

Beside experience with organizations like AID, Indians are learning about the city by raising children in it. The children of traditional Indians are being socialized by urban people in institutions like public schools. At school, Indian children learn that the question, "What are you going to be when you grow up?" concerns personal identity, not just making a living. In school children also learn that their worth in the eyes of others depends in part upon performance. Assimilation of Indian children through schools illustrates the power of formal institutions to affect identity.

As explained, the labor market adjusts relative wages to allocate people to required roles. This is an assignment, not merely of tasks to people, but of identity to people. The labor market's allocation of urban people to roles implies that it shapes the

⁸⁴Perhaps this is what Reesman is indicating when he writes that this generation of Americans can best be characterized as

identities of the people who respond to it. The power of formal institutions over the identity of people is gained at the expense of kin groups that formerly defined people through relationships. Among the people whom formal institutions shape for needed roles are the children of Indian migrants.

Another way that traditional Indians become more individuated is through religion, especially certain strands of Protestantism. According to Max Weber's famous account of the origins of capitalism, a new kind of person first appeared in western Europe with the Protestant Reformation.⁸⁵ This new man, the protestant, had internalized a sacred ideology that required each person to discover his calling and rationally discipline his life to satisfy its demands. Restated in the language of our theory, Weber proposed that people in the western Europe achieved a higher order of individuation by adopting a sacred ideology that stresses self-creation as a religious duty.

Religious sanction is the way tribal Indians characteristically justify departures from tradition. It is appropriate, then, for a folk people to motivate and justify individuation by a sacred ideology. The historical accuracy of Weber's account must be decided by others, but its psychological accuracy is confirmed by observing urban Indians. The truth of Weber's analysis, applied to Indians in the city, is that the strain in Christianity stressing individual choice as the crux of salvation provides a sacred sanction for self-creation and thus prepares traditional Indians to choose careers and integrate into a system of interdependent roles. Protestant ideology remains an important route by which Indians enter the lower middle class. Indeed, as we remarked earlier in this book, a disproportionate number of leaders in tribal government are partially assimilated Indians who converted to Protestantism.⁸⁶

Some tribes have had prophets arise who preached a new religion with elements of self-creation similar to Protestantism. One prominent example is Handsome Lake. The Iroquois were already an aggressive, innovative peoples before they were first influenced by whites. (That tradition continued in Iroquois people who were active at AID, like Isabel McGraw.) It was among this people that a prophet appeared in the early 19th

outer directed while the proceeding generation can best be characterized as inner directed.

⁸⁵ cite

century with a new religion resembling Quakerism in some aspects. To illustrate, Handsome Lake stripped most magic from Iroquois religion so that, even today, the "Long House" abjures magical rites that are essential to the "medicine" of other tribes. Handsome Lake stressed the internalization of ethical principles and the dispatch of missionaries to spread the new revelation, both of which are alien to most Indian religions. [cite]

Conclusion — The Fate of Urban Indians

The cement of cities is supplied, according to our theory, not by people like tribal Indians, but by self creators performing impersonal roles. People from the country, like tribal Indians, are, however, an enduring presence in cities due to steady migration from rural areas. The collision of opposites like tribal Indians and corporate executives creates a dynamic in which various classes and types of people evolve over time. Understanding this dynamic helps to predict the fate of Indians who reside for several generations in cities.

The life of the tribe is difficult to maintain in the city, but the family life of Indians is also difficult to alter. The tribal character of social relations in the family is likely to persist among urban Indians long after certain cultural artifacts -- language, religion, hunting skills, and so forth -- are gone. The implication is that the core of tribal personality -- people whose self-conception is relational -- will resist change.

Tribal Indians come from a world in which each year repeats itself and only the elders are expected to see the cycle of an entire life. Indian children are not taught to objectify themselves and predict the consequences of their behavior for their lives. So long as Indian family life and personality is conservative, Indians will continue having difficulty understanding the city as a system of roles. Without the ability to become self-creators, access to prestigious jobs and to middle class life will be limited for Indians. There are new, stronger barriers to upward mobility for Indians as a group than other migrants faced because the institutional space in the American city is filled. Large organizations are in place to serve most needs, which reduces suffering, but the option of

⁸⁶See chapter __ on Indian government. Similarly, in Mexico sects like Jehovah's witnesses have converted ambitious Indians in Catholic villages and made them successful at business.

building new institutions, as previous immigrants did, is precluded. This fact limits the opportunities for Indians to learn about a city in the deepest sense of the word.

The possibility for distinctively Indian organizations is limited to such endeavors as the Associated Indians of Detroit, which not only provided Detroit's inner city Indians with a better social life for a while, but allowed them to come together as an ethnic group and acquire a new spirit of optimism and confidence. It also allowed for real institutional learning by which Indians were able to see what the city is made of. The Indians involved in AID learned to relate to each other in terms of roles and to form personal ties with nonIndians.

"Indian" is a general category that originally described people who thought of themselves, not as Indians, but as members of particular tribes, clans, and families. As Indians raise children in the city, tribal identity becomes attenuated because the life of the tribe is difficult to maintain there. In its place, the category of "Indian" achieves a new reality. It seems likely that as urban Indians distance themselves farther from the rural tribes that were their origin, as their children become more categorical in their thinking, and as they come to understand roles better, "Indian" will become a reality to them and a part of their identity. Instead of "Indian" describing all people belonging to particular tribes, the term "city Indian" will describe people who belong to no particular tribe. If this happens, city Indians will cease to be a collection of displaced tribals and, instead, they will become an ethnic group, not unlike Irish-Americans, Italian-Americans, or Mexican-Americans. One prediction is that urbanization will create an Indian ethnic group.

Chapter 7 Tamacraft and the Wa:k Pow-wow

This chapter contains two narratives concerning how Indians come to understand market exchange and business organizations. The first concerns a small tile business operated by the Mesquakies of Iowa, and the second concerns the organization of a powwow by the San Xavier Papagos.

"Tamacraft" by Robert K. Thomas

In 1953 I went to the University of Chicago to work on my doctorate in anthropology. The second year I was there I became the Assistant Director of the Fox Project; the Director was a prominent scholar, Sol Tax. I will have to give you a little background on the Fox Project in order for you to understand at what point I came into this ongoing research project.

Sol Tax had gathered material for his Ph.D. thesis among the Fox Indians of Iowa, or the Mesquakie as they prefer to be called, in the 30s and subsequently maintained contact with his Mesquakie friends. He was therefore in a position to set up a project for the training of graduate students there. The anthropology department at Chicago set up a graduate training program on the Mesquakie Indian settlement in Iowa in the late 40s. Very shortly, however, most of the trainees involved in this program became dissatisfied with ordinary anthropological field work. Traditionally, anthropologists go into a community, observe life there, leave, and write up their observations at their university. The students felt that the Mesquakie were in some trouble socially and culturally. Further, the Mesquakies tended to talk a lot about their problems to the graduate students. These graduate students wanted to be more than simply "neutral" observers who gathered material. They wanted to be of some use to the Mesquakie community. Tax held a great many discussions with his students about this matter and finally they developed together what came to be known as action anthropology.

The purpose of action anthropology is two-fold. First, this kind of anthropology allows the investigator to participate with the community in grappling with some problem or setting some direction. He or she tries to help people obtain these ends. This hopefully allows the investigator to put a little bit back into the community rather than to be simply a "taker". Further, Tax and his associates felt that there was no way to do any

kind of field work and not interfere in the life of a community. Therefore, rather than try to minimize this influence, a difficult task, they wanted to be a constructive influence.

Secondly, if one works with a community in helping them to do something, the investigator is better able to see the social and cultural dynamics of a community. One is able to see what is important to people as they respond and deal with problems, acquire new aspirations, and so on. This was the philosophical underpinning of the Fox Project. Further, some of Tax's "followers" feel that this approach is an attempt to approximate the experimental method of the physical sciences; at least as nearly as anthropology can duplicate such a methodology when dealing with fellow human beings.

The Mesquakie had originally been removed from Iowa by the federal government to a Kansas reservation in the 1840s. The Mesquakie did not like Kansas and soon returned to Iowa, sold their horses, and purchased 70,000 acres.

The Mesquakie located in the middle of Iowa along both sides of the Iowa river in a hilly, wooded area, near the small town of Tama. They settled down to a life of gardening, some hunting, and much farm labor in the area. After a time, the federal government placed their lands in trust status and the Mesquakie area became a federal reservation, technically. However, the Indians still pay state taxes on this acreage.

In past years the Mesquakie had put in extensive gardens, but by the 1950s most of the Mesquakie's income came from skilled labor. There were many Mesquakie who were tradesmen and who worked off of their settlement as carpenters, brick layers, and such. Some were wage laborers, but a great many were skilled laborers. By 1950 there were few gardens on the Mesquakie settlement, much less beef cattle, dairy cattle or large corn fields. Neighboring white Iowans were appalled that Mesquakie lands lay "idle." Remarks like "70,000 acres and not a cow on it" were common. The Mesquakie did lease out part the 70,000 acres to a white farmer which allowed them to pay the state taxes on their tract. White Iowans were openly critical of the Indian utilization of that 70,000 acres, which was primarily woods and swampy bottom land.

It was probably in response to white criticism that the Mesquakies felt they should cultivate some of their lands. One of the first "practical economic endeavors" in which the University of Chicago's Fox Project, was involved was in helping the Mesquakie

grow a cooperative potato crop. The potato cooperative lasted about one year, one potato crop, before the Mesquakie discontinued their efforts. The "official" reason that the Mesquakie gave for the collapse of their cooperative was that the man who headed up the cooperative resigned and the cooperative could not find anyone else to take his place, but I think this was only the surface reason. Most Indian groups that garden organize by families. Families have their own garden plots and kin help out each other out in the planting, cultivating, and harvesting of their family-owned garden plots. Sometimes this help is formal, and sometimes it is informal. Among the Papagos, "communal" gardening tended to be informal, that is to say, people spontaneously came and helped out when someone built a house or during harvest time, then they all ate together, and perhaps there would be a dance that night. Cherokees were more formal. One person in the community was chosen to call out the people to help individual families. Such a community group would go throughout the whole community helping individual families put in gardens or to harvest. I would guess that in the time when the Mesquakie grew gardens in the last century they may have had a more formal institution, much like that among the Cherokees, in which the war chief was the formal officer who helped to organize communal work. However, I know of no Indian group in which a field belonged to a whole group of unrelated people, collectively, who would then allocate among themselves the proceeds of the harvest. Indians are helpers not cooperators.

Most tribal Indians in North America try very hard not to interfere with others. Hierarchically organized activities, with built-in authority, are rare in Indian groups. I suspect that the cooperative, given the form of ownership, required someone to assume authority and give orders. The young man who was chosen to head the project was too young for such a difficult position and, as well, he did not have enough community sanction to "boss" his relatives. That is why he resigned his position and no replacement could be found.

When I came to the University of Chicago, the Field Director of the Fox Project was Robert Rietz. Rietz had been a graduate student trainee in the late 40s at Tama and then had gone into the Bureau of Indian Affairs. He was stationed at the Fort Berthold reservation in North Dakota during the time that the Fort Berthold Indians were being impacted by the newly completed Garrison Dam, which was flooding out all of their

bottom lands along the Missouri River. Rietz left the B.I.A. and returned to the University of Chicago in the mid-1950s to take over the job of Field Director of the Fox Project. He lived right on the edge of the Mesquakie settlement in an old farmhouse that had been purchased by the University to house graduate students. During the first few months he was there, Rietz talked quite a lot to the Mesquakie about ways in which they would like to act in their own behalf.

Rietz had become friends with a young Mesquakie by the name of Charlie Pushatonequa, an Indian artist with a large family who lived not too far from Rietz. There wasn't much demand for paintings in central Iowa, so Pushatonequa picked up wage labor jobs as often as he could. Pushatonequa wanted to find some way to make a living as an artist and still remain on the Mesquakie settlement. Rietz, Charlie Pushatonequa and several other Indians came up with the idea to make distinctively Indian tiles. During the 1950s decorated ceramic tiles were starting to be popular--the kind that one can hang on the wall or put on a table as a hot pad. The Fox Project research funds underwrote their endeavor.

There were many technical difficulties to be solved. For instance, Charlie Pushatonequa would paint a picture depicting some aspect of Mesquakie life and then the other Indian workers would silk screen it on to a tile and then "cook" the tile. Where they used many colors, they had to silk screen one color at a time on the tile and "cook" each color. If there were five or six colors in a design, which was usually the case, it took quite a bit of silk screening and "cooking" to overlay these colors onto the tile.

No one was hired or fired; whoever wanted to work simply came, signed in on a sheet, put down their time, and then signed out when they left. At the end of the week or the end of the month, each individual's hours were tallied up. Thus there was not even as much hierarchy or control as one would find even in most cottage industries. I don't think it came to anyone's mind to cheat, but if they had cheated, I'm sure it would have been very quickly known since there were only five or six hundred Mesquakie in the whole world, all living there on that 70,000 acres, all in intimate association with one another.

One of the striking things about the Mesquakie in those times was how little they knew about the demands of the American economic system. Mesquakies always seemed to most anthropologists as very bright and quick-minded. This lack of knowledge, therefor, was due not to lack of intelligence, but to lack of experience. There was really no economic activity on the settlement except perhaps women's craftwork, a little hunting or fishing, and the yearly pow-wow which charged a small admission to outsiders. Aside from that, all of the Mesquakie income came from off the Mesquakie settlement. Mesquakies went as individuals into wage labor and skilled labor jobs into Iowa towns, sometimes working with a fellow Mesquakie, but rarely were there more than three Mesquakies working at the same place. Most workers commuted, sometimes long distances. A few lived during the week near their jobs, coming home on weekends.

Most young adult Mesquakies had completed high school, and nearly everyone spoke adequate or good English. They were, however, a very traditional and tribal Indian group. In 1950 many Mesquakies still maintained a dome-shaped wigwam alongside of their houses. The vast majority were non-Christians, and continued to worship in their native religion. In the last century the Mesquakie chiefs are said to have boasted that they would be the last Indian people to "become civilized" (like whites). Mesquakies, then, were a very traditional and tribal Indian group, with a high level of education, but with little intimate experience in the American economic system as such. Working as a laborer, even as a skilled laborer, does not teach one about the dynamics of the American economic system. A working man may have to learn to be individually disciplined, and even be skilled, but viewing the system from a worker's vantage point does not teach one about the rationale for management decisions. Further, tribal Indians do not learn about the American economic system in their families as children. Basic notions about the market system are imbedded in the socialization of children in most white American families. White workers know intuitively much more about American economic matters than do most tribal Indians.

For example, if a Mesquakie was approached by a relative, perhaps an older uncle who asked to be driven some place, then the uncle would be driven where he wanted to go. If this meant that a person arrived late for work, such a circumstance was seen by the Mesquakie worker as unavoidable. If the worker was fired in spite of his explanation that

he had had to take his uncle somewhere, the worker left the job with a bad taste in his mouth. The Mesquakie suspicion that whites were unpredictable and mean was confirmed. There was no realization on the part of Mesquakie workers that the demands of a production schedule take precedence over kin obligation in American economic life. Such was the case in most Indian tribes in that area.

One of the first experiences of the Mesquakies in their small tile industry brought home forcibly an understanding of market demands. Charlie Pushatonequa's uncle died in late November and Charlie, by Mesquakie religious law, had to go into seclusion for four days. This was a month before Christmas, the time when demand for tiles peaked. Charlie Pushatonequa was the only one who could draw the pictures for the tiles. Most of the Indians involved in what was now called Tamacraft felt that it would not be possible to fill all the orders on hand if they lost four days of Charlie Pushatonequa's time and that the business would fail; a most dismal state of affairs.

There was an influential gentleman living on the Mesquakie settlement, Pete Morgan. Mr. Morgan was a man in his early 60s and a house painter by trade. He was what could best be called the head priest of the Mesquakie religion, although I'm sure he would not have appreciated such a title. Someone suggested that the employees of Tamacraft put the problem to this gentleman and see if he could think of some way to solve it without violating religious sensibilities. Mr. Morgan told the delegation of Tamacraft employees to come back the next day so he could have a little time to ponder. When the delegation returned, Mr. Morgan told them that Mesquakie religious law only required that Charlie be in seclusion for four days, out of contact with other people, but it did not require that Charlie be inactive for four days. Mr. Morgan suggested that Charlie Pushatonequa be placed in his workroom in the back of his house and that nobody speak to him. However, when Pushatonequa went into his workroom, he should have a clear idea of the work that he needed to do over the following four days. Then, as he completed the work, he could slide his paintings out under the door to be picked up. As long as no one spoke to Charlie, Mr. Morgan felt that this procedure would fulfill the requirements of the four days of seclusion. Tamacraft employees were elated by Mr. Morgan's instructions.

Another event involving the Tamacraft industry which impressed me was when Tamacraft had to incorporate. For a couple of years the University of Chicago had "fronted" for Tamacraft, and the industry had been able to slide along without real legal existence, but eventually the legal reasons for organizing became compelling. White businessmen in Tama and the Bureau of Indian Affairs were happy to give the Mesquakie bad advice, which they followed at their first organizational meeting. The Tamacraft "employees" decided that the board of directors of Tamacraft would consist of the heads of the families who were working in the industry, a wise decision. Once that was done, however, there had to be a chairman. Tamacraft employees then decided to nominate candidates for the position of chairman after which there was to be a vote to select the chairman. No one would accept the nomination. By Mesquakie standards, one does not push one's self forward into a leadership position; that is almost tantamount to social suicide among the Mesquakies and among most Indians of the 1950s, so the meeting adjourned without a chairman or even a vote for chairman.

At that point I thought that Tamacraft was in very big trouble. I was not in Iowa then, but Rietz outlined the situation to me in some detail by telephone. I did not think that the Mesquakie in Tamacraft would allow themselves to be organized into such a hierarchy, which would appear to them to be somehow vaguely immoral, and if in desperation they proceeded along these lines, they would desert the organization, one by one.

At the next meeting, however, it appeared that they had found a solution by talking among themselves. The solution was that, of the men and women who were on the board of the directors, the chair would be that person who had worked the most hours in Tamacraft during the previous year. None of the Tamacraft workers knew exactly who had worked the most hours. It was necessary to tally up the hours on each person's work record. Such a "mechanism" solved a lot of difficulties. No one had to accept a nomination and thus expose one's self as a power-mad maniac in fellow Mesquakie eyes. There were no elections so that an outvoted minority would feel coerced to the point that they left the meeting. The chairmanship emerged from that situation almost unconnected to the desires of the person who got the office. I was impressed by the ingenuity of the

Mesquakie Indians in handling the problems arising from the tension between the demands of the market and the demands of the Mesquakie social and cultural life.

Tamacraft provided a new source of income for Mesquakies. Some Mesquakies were able to live on their settlement and to make a decent living as well. Further, Tamacraft eased racial tensions between the Mesquakies and their white neighbors. For the first time white merchants were able to say to Mesquakies, "How's Tamacraft doing? How's business?" And some whites no longer saw Indians as incompetents and Mesquakie culture as valueless. Further, some Mesquakies learned how important it is to many white Americans to relate to others by way of common roles and common activities.

The Mesquakies learned a lot about their own community dynamics, and American economic life and culture by way of Tamacraft. We, in turn, learned a lot about Mesquakies and about American culture as well. There was a significant interchange between Mesquakies and anthropologists in our mutual experiment, Tamacraft. We each helped the other. It would be impossible to say who learned more, the Mesquakie or anthropologists. I only know for certain that it was a rich intellectual experience for me.

There is no doubt that the Mesquakies were very proud of that little industry. It was their industry. The University of Chicago simply assisted at important junctures. Further they had a tremendous investment in and commitment to Tamacraft. They ran it successfully until the early 60s, long after the tile fad (and the University of Chicago) had disappeared, because they were

proud of it and because it was their own.

There have, of course, been other successful Indian business ventures which were not initiated by outsiders. In the 1970s a part-Cherokee business man in Tahlequah, Oklahoma operated such a successful business for several years there. This gentleman was able to enter into contracts with the military to rebuild electronic equipment. He hired a local Cherokee elder as his personnel manager and located his plant in a Cherokee community just east of Tahlequah. All of his employees were local Indians and the

owner simply turned over the work to these Indian employees. The owner himself handled only the business end of the operations.

The shop floor of the small industry seemed chaotic by most standards. Non-employed members of the community wandered in and out of the shop -- small children, kids on bicycles, women bringing food to their husbands, and the like. Yet this industry was extremely efficient and drew high praise from Pentagon officials. The workers were committed to their work and would take pieces of electronic equipment home in order to work on them in their off hours. Sometimes kin would work together on an especially difficult job of repair at someone's home on weekends. Government inspectors were uneasy with the fact that workers with such little education were successfully repairing complicated electronic equipment, but the plant's efficiency held their doubts at bay.

Unfortunately, a federal inspection showed the firm's accounting system to be in excessive disarray and the Pentagon canceled their contracts with the business.

I am not certain what this Cherokee community learned from such an experience. I suspect that they were confirmed in the opinion that Cherokees were competent in anything they wished to undertake, but that whites would block off any Cherokee attempt to independently act in their own behalf.

"The Wa:k Po"w-wow" by Robert K. Thomas

In 1981 I moved back to Tucson, Arizona, and settled right on the edge of the San Xavier Papago reservation about a mile from my adopted daughter's home and near my many in-laws and friends at San Xavier. In 1982 some of us at San Xavier began to think about the possibility of holding an inter-tribal pow-wow. Powwows are held in most Indian areas of the U.S. and Canada. Indians of many tribes gather at a pow-wow for several days of visiting and dancing together. Indian dancing on such an occasion is social, not religious, and pow-wows are celebrations of Indian culture and an Indian identity. Non-Indians are welcome at these celebrations. Most times the public must pay a small admission charge to attend a pow-wow. These celebrations, as events and as institutions, were just appearing in southern Arizona in 1982. Urban Indians in the Phoenix area were just starting to put on pow-wows. Many Indians in the Phoenix area

are pow-wow devotees. Most have recently moved to the Phoenix region from Oklahoma, an old and major center of pow-wows.

We formed a pow-wow committee consisting of about 12 people: six San Xavier Papagos and six non-Papagos, who were primarily people of other tribes living in Tucson and who had had experience in putting on pow-wows. The committee planned to replace our non-Papago members as San Xavier persons were "trained" by assisting the more experienced non-Papagos. At the present time (1987) there are some 21 people on the pow-wow committee, each one responsible for some aspect of the work in putting on the pow-wow. Eighteen of them are Papagos and three are non-Papagos -- myself, a young Mexican-American married to a Papago girl, and a Navajo man who lives in Tucson and who is a pow-wow singer and knowledgeable about pow-wows.

There are eight feast committees at San Xavier. Each committee is responsible for a certain number of San Xavier's folk Catholic celebrations on Catholic holy days. Each committee must pay the cost of food and cook for the many visitors, hire a band for the social dance, arrange for a procession and the folk Catholic worship, pay for fire works, sometimes hire Indian religious dancers and dance societies, and the like. Arranging for a feast is time consuming and costly. The "official" reason for the pow-wow was to raise money for these eight feast committees. Therefore, the eight heads of the different committees also sit with the pow-wow committee, if any of them so desire.

As I stated above the "official" reason for the pow-wow was to help defray the expenses of the feast committees. San Xavier Papagos are poor people and the cost of feasts are prohibitive, to say the least. However, I thought that such a pow-wow would serve some other purposes as well. Papagos are, by and large, unfamiliar with "modern" ways of organizing or modern business practices. I hoped that the pow-wow would familiarize San Xavier people with these matters.

Secondly, Papago society is as yet somewhat closed and bounded. Papagos are one of the most tribal Indians left in North America. Nevertheless, many San Xavier people see themselves to some degree as general human beings. The pow-wow could serve to allow San Xavier to host other races and peoples. Further, young people at San Xavier view themselves as Papagos and as Indians. The pow-wow could be a vehicle to

play out that facet of their identity and build solidarity across tribal lines as well. There was a problem with this last aspect. Some young Indians in Arizona -- ex-prison inmates, former alcoholics, Indians of mixed tribal background, rootless urban Indians, etc. -- had dropped off their local tribal identification and were trying to build a new social life as Indians qua Indians. Some even opposed this identity to their tribal society; Indians vs. Navaho, for example. Quite a number of these later types of "Indians" were heavily involved in pow-wows. Pow-wows are very attractive to younger Indians. I knew that as pow-wows proliferated in southern Arizona that young Papagos would become involved. I did not want to see them recruited into an "Indian" social group as opposed to being a Papago. I reasoned that a genuinely Papago pow-wow would not face these youngsters with an impossible choice, and that they could thus be both Papagos and Indians. As a Winnebago-Sioux elder, very influential among "pow-wow people", once said, "Pow-wows are supposed to add to what you are, not take something away."

We called our pow-wow the Wa:k Pow-wow. Wa:k is the name for San Xavier village in the Papago language. It means 'marshy area.' This pow-wow has, indeed, been a significant learning experience for people of San Xavier. Redfield at one time wrote that it is a characteristic of folk societies that their economy is one of status rather than of the market; that is to say, your share of the gross national product in a folk society is not based on your productivity or your skill in the marketplace. Rather, it is based on to whom you are related. It is true that a great many San Xavier people, both men and women, are employed in Tucson, but when they bring their money back into San Xavier society, it is distributed on the basis of kin. Most Papagos, therefore, have had little experience in understanding very simple notions about the marketplace. For instance, the Wa:k Powwow, as it is called officially, lost a few hundred dollars the first year it was held in 1983. In 1984 it did well. The Wa:k Powwow is held on an athletic field on the north side of San Xavier mission church. Each one of the eight feast committees put up a food booth and have a monopoly on food sold on the pow-wow grounds. In 1985, since the feast committee food booths had done so well in 1984, people who were working at the feast committee booths had their relatives set up food booths in front of San Xavier church, to the south of the church, in order to make money for their own families. They were surprised to find out that their feast committee booths only made half as much as

they did the year before and that their family booths in front of San Xavier mission church did not do very well either. In other words, in the second year San Xavier people provided more supply (food) than there was demand. This came as a great surprise and shock to many San Xavier people. They had imagined that they would simply make twice as much money as they had in 1983, even though the crowd at the pow-wow was the same size both years.

Many of the tasks of the pow-wow committee are allocated to committee members on a strictly functional role-task oriented basis. Such a social arrangement is a little uncomfortable for Papagos. The Wa:k Pow-wow committee is modeled after pow-wow committees in other Indian groups. On the first committee in 1983 there were non-Papago members who had served on old, established pow-wow committees in other Indian tribes.

However, learning how this type of organization functions is in itself a significant learning experience if Indians are to deal with white society. Further, the committee members who are dealing with these tasks have learned that when one goes to a newspaper to ask for publicity or to a merchant for a contribution that functionaries in white society do not do "favors" simply because they think it is morally right to do so or because they want to help out Papago Indians particularly. The committee members are learning that powerful whites help projects that are of mutual benefit to both Papagos and whites. In this case, the Wa:k Pow-wow is becoming a major tourist attraction in the Tucson area.

San Xavier Papagos are also learning that a great many whites in middle class American life, particularly in the public arena, relate to others primarily in terms of common purposes and common roles.

When the pow-wow committee divided up the profits from the pow-wows among the various feast committees, some of the committees did not have to use their money for some six months, that is to say that their obligation for a particular feast was six months from the end of the pow-wow. I suggested that we put the money into a savings account or else a short term certificate of deposit so that their share could grow a little bit. Further, one of the non-Papagos on the pow-wow committee suggested that perhaps the

pow-wow committee could broaden its function and take some of the money from the profit of the pow-wow to stimulate other Papago economic endeavors, perhaps constructing a traditional Papago village exhibit and charging admission to the thousands of visiting tourists who yearly come to tour the mission church at San Xavier. Some Papagos on the committee were startled, but began to understand that they had options open to them that they had never considered before and that they had considerably more social, political, and economic clout than they had imagined. Whether or not these efforts materialize is another question, but simply the raising of these kind of concerns as practical possibilities is in itself a learning experience and is confidence building for Papago Indians.

San Xavier Indians are beginning to get new definitions of leadership. Many Indians on reservations think that the main job of government or of any of organization is the making of decisions alone, without any worry about the carrying out of the decisions. This is particularly true of tribal government. No one in most tribal governments worries too much about the implementation of decisions. I suppose that Indians have seen white governmental bodies make decisions without being aware that there is a huge bureaucratic structure that implements political decisions. In any case, in the first few years of the pow-wow committee some members suggested plans that we were not able to carry out or were unwilling to carry out. These same members did not seem concerned about whether their suggestions were carried out or not. It is as if plans, in and of themselves, are the most important ends. For example, a decision would be made by the pow-wow committee to do things that were really beyond the time or the competence of any person then serving on the committee.

As time went on, however, these "planners" were either weeded out or else put in a position where they had to "produce". One member, a lady who also served on the San Xavier council was one such "planner". She was finally delegated finally to be the assistant to one of the non-Papago committee members, one experienced in pow-wow matters, and was thus put in a position of having to carry out what was assigned to her. Another such young woman was assigned to another task, a task which took place during the pow-wow itself where there was enough structure to carry her along so that she could

accomplish her specific task. The doers became valued on the pow-wow committee rather than the decision makers or the people with brilliant but unworkable ideas.

At first the Papagos on the pow-wow committee were largely drawn from one kin group. Now several kin groups at San Xavier are represented on the committee. It was a little difficult for San Xavier kin groups to learn to work together, as San Xavier person relating to another San Xavier person in terms of common purpose. Further, it was a little difficult for the original creators of the pow-wow to let others "in on the act," so to speak.

Putting on the Waa:k Pow-wow takes much more work than meets the eye. The Waa:k Pow-wow takes place on the second weekend in March and by November the work has started. There is a special sub-committee of the overall pow-wow committee called the war dance committee. This sub-committee must, by November, have arranged for the head man and woman dancers and the head drum group. Further, the pow-wow program must be planned at that point. Then, flyers must be printed, mailed out, and distributed to dancers at other pow-wows in the state. Letters asking for food or money contributions, with flyers enclosed, should be mailed out by early December to local businesses.

One member of the pow-wow committee purchases a quilt or blanket to be raffled off at the pow-wow. She and others begin to sell raffle tickets by mid-January. In January posters and brochures are printed up, mailed out, and distributed by hand to motels, hotels, and other places in Tucson. Letters are also mailed to a list of Indian "traders", people who sell arts and crafts at Indian celebrations, telling them the dates of the pow-wow and setting a fee.

By February 1 arrangements are made to rent bleachers from the Tucson Parks Department and toilets from a local supplier. These are delivered a few days before the pow-wow itself. Further, tribal dance groups must be contacted at around this time, verbally invited to the pow-wow, and arrangements made for their lodging at the pow-wow weekend. The University of Arizona is also contacted then and arrangements made for the committee to borrow several hundred folding chairs for the pow-wow.

In early February Papago toka teams (a kind of women's field hockey) of various villages must be contacted and invited to play at the pow-wow. As well, arrangements must be made then with San Xavier elders for the demonstration of old Papago games. Further, in early February attempts to get publicity must begin in earnest. Publicity releases and radio "spots" are mailed out. Local television and radio stations are contacted personally, reporters on local newspapers are contacted and encouraged to write feature stories on some aspect of the pow-wow. The media is usually extremely accommodating.

The Fiesta de los Vaqueros, the Tucson rodeo, is held the first weekend in March. The Wa:k Pow-wow enters a large unit in the parade just preceding the rodeo.

The week before the Wa:k Pow-wow is hectic, as one can imagine. An ex-commercial artist at San Xavier paints large and artistic signs, indicating the way to the pow-wow, and these are placed at important road junction. Large amounts of wood are cut and piled at crucial spots on the school athletic field, the soon-to-be pow-wow ground. Arizona nights can be cold in March and at times dancers need the warmth of fires.

The grounds must be prepared this last week. Arbors needed to house elders demonstrating games or special kinds of Papago dancers called pascolas are built or repaired. Trash cans must be placed around the grounds. The driveway down to the athletic field must be repaired every year and the toka field leveled. The San Xavier Sand and Gravel Company, a local white-owned business, usually donates gravel for these last two efforts.

The Wa:k Pow-wow feeds all the many singers and dancers who participate in the dancing. A Papago cattleman, from the main Papago reservation ("out in the desert"), puts on a "jack-pot" calf roping during pow-wow time, near the pow-wow grounds. He usually donates a beef to the committee. Of course, that beef must be cut up a few days before the pow-wow. Food contributions must be collected and some food has to be bought directly from stores. The head cook must be hired and volunteer cooks and waiters contacted.

The day before the pow-wow trucks must go to the University, bring back hundreds of chairs, and set them up on the grounds. By that time the bleachers and toilets have been delivered.

Saturday morning, the day of the pow-wow, trucks must go to a local Tucson business and return with a hundred or so rented mattresses. These are individually placed in the community center, so that dancers can "bed down" Saturday night. The drum arbor in the arena, benches placed around the dance area for the use of the dancers, and a borrowed p.a. system are all in place by noon. Lights are also set up around the dance area, for use in the coming night performance.

The quilt booth and a booth which sells Wack Pow-wow T-shirts and caps are in operation by noon, as well, the eight feast committee food booths. Incoming Indian traders have been assigned spots and are starting to sell. Two soft drink booths, which are allocated to the mission school, are open for business. War dancers who wish to enter various war dance contests -- based on age, sex, and dance style categories -- are registered at a special table. And the pow-wow begins shortly after 12 o'clock.

The pow-wow is supervised by two arena directors. They have a cadre of San Xavier teenagers for water boys. There are two announcers for the tribal dance portion of the event -- one Papago language announcer and one English announcer. The same is true of the war dance or intertribal dance portion. The arena directors and the war dance committee arrange the dance contests at various junctures in the war dances.

Parkers, ticket-sellers, and ushers do essential jobs at the pow-wow. The numbers of visitors are formidable. The Papago tribal police are on hand to keep order.

Between 5 and 7 p.m. on Saturday an old-time Papago fiddle band contest is held. A special committee of Papagos, unconnected to the pow-wow committee, is responsible for this event.

The pow-wow ends at about midnight on Saturday, but a clean up committee is up early Sunday morning "policing" the grounds. The welcoming ceremony which starts the pow-wow takes place at about one o'clock, just after the last mass in the mission church. The pow-wow usually ends about seven p.m., and many participants start the long drive

back to their homes. However, some stay to attend a "chicken scratch" dance, a Papago social dance, held on the pow-wow grounds from approximately 9 p.m. to 1 a.m.

The next morning, Monday, the chairs must be returned to the University, the mattresses taken back to their owners, the grounds cleaned up, the lights hauled to the rental company, benches stored away, the arbor taken down, and the community center cleaned up. (The kitchen and eating area has been cleaned up late Sunday night.)

On Monday afternoon the pow-wow committee and many others at San Xavier collapse into a state of exhaustion, but with a feeling of deep satisfaction and of a job well done. Many at San Xavier work so hard that last week and at the pow-wow itself that they literally get on a "high", feeling over-exhilarated. Further, they have a profound sense of accomplishment, and rightly so. Before and at the pow-wow many take an oath to themselves that they will not go through such strain and turmoil ever again. A week after the pow-wow is over most are talking to friends about what we should do at next year's pow-wow.

However, San Xavier Papagos do not like the structure of the pow-wow committee. They are uncomfortable with it. People who serve on the pow-wow committee are responsible for some specific task. Therefore the committee is organized on the basis of role functions on the American model. Most Papagos would prefer less specialized roles in an organization. They like to help out one another as the occasion demands rather than simply to perform a single assigned task through thick and thin. I do not suppose that Papagos will voluntarily set up this type of organization to do other things in their village, but now they certainly know what such an organization entails. Therefore their experience and understanding of white society has increased considerably even if it is an implicit understanding.

It is apparent, not only among the pow-wow committee members but at San Xavier in general, that San Xavier people are very proud of their pow-wow. It is, indeed, quite an undertaking for an Indian village of less than 1,000 people. The W:k Pow-wow has become a major attraction in southern Arizona and in 1986 there must have been ten thousand people who attended the pow-wow in its two day existence.

I have recently seen a side of Papagos which I had never seen before, their willingness and ability to "come down hard" on another individual in order to ensure the existence of their pow-wow. One of our committee members is a very traditional Papago and one of the singers of the Papago dance group that performs at the pow-wow. He took it upon himself at the 1986 pow-wow to go up to the area in front of the church where some Papagos had food stands and to solicit a contribution for the pow-wow from each of the stands. He did so in the polite Papago manner but firmly. The families running the food booths of course were not forced to contribute, but it must have seemed like a good idea when called upon by this prestigious and influential gentleman.

There is another, more vivid example of social control at the pow-wow. Before the pow-wow I went to the elders of San Xavier who assemble twice a week at the Community Center, and asked them what kind of rules they wanted people to follow at the pow-wow.

The pow-wow is divided basically into two sections. One is the tribal dances plus the games that are put on by Papagos and other Indian tribes. Then there is the part of the pow-wow which is called inter-tribal war dances. This second section, the inter-tribal war dancing, is a style of dance celebration and song which has moved into the Southwest from Oklahoma in recent years. It is a style of dance and song which originated among the Sioux in the last part of the nineteenth century and has spread into almost every corner of the United States and to almost every Indian tribe. This new dance form has spread very recently into eastern Oklahoma and southern Arizona. Therefore, the section of the pow-wow which involves tribal dances and Papago games is familiar to Papagos but the inter-tribal dancing part of the pow-wow is a little bit strange to them. Papagos are just coming to understand that war dances are an inter-tribal endeavor, and not the "property" of any particular tribe.

Further, there is some tension in pow-wows as they are evolving in the Southwest. For the last hundred years or so, since pow-wows came into existence, they have been primarily secular affairs where Indians of any tribe and of any religious commitment (traditional, Christian, Peyote, etc.) could dance together with their fellows. However, the local customs of the host tribe has loomed large at particular pow-wows. Now some

young Indians, possibly because of the growth of city pow-wows unconnected to a particular tribe, have gotten the idea that there is a standard format for pow-wows. Further, some Indians who have little particular tribal identity or few community ties are trying to make pow-wows into an "Indian" sacred ceremony. I was concerned about these recent trends.

I went to the San Xavier elders and told them that at this point in time that there were probably a half dozen young people in the Papago tribe who had taken up this new style of dancing and who would be participating in the war dance part of the pow-wow. Our head man dancer was a young Papago who was on the Papago police force and who had attended school in Oklahoma. He had learned to war dance there. The preceding year he had made himself a costume and had started dancing at the few pow-wows in southern Arizona. The head woman dancer was, half Sioux and half Papago, who taught school on the main Papago reservation some 60 miles to the west. I told the elders that Papago participation in this style of dancing would no doubt increase as time went on, and that I would recommend that they begin to establish some rules for the whole pow-wow itself so that no one would inadvertently shock Papago sensibilities. As there were many tribes participating, I felt that the Wa:k Pow-wow should remain under the control of San Xavier people and become more and more of a genuine Papago event. The elders and I dealt with this problem together, and the result was a list of rules which the elders thought would start the process of firmly integrating the pow-wow into Papago culture. One of the rules that the elders proposed was that Papagos males participating in the inter-tribal dancing could wear eagle feathers only if they did so under the supervision of a medicine man, and that Papago women and children were not to wear eagle feathers at all. Members of other tribes who did wear eagle feathers in the dance should be careful not to brush against Papago women and children. (Papagos considered eagle tail feathers, particularly golden eagle feathers, to possess immense spiritual power and therefore they are considered dangerous to the health and well being of Papago women and children. Eagle feathers are also unsafe for Papago men without proper supervision).

I knew that our head man dancer wore two eagle feathers in his headdress. I went to him and suggested that he get himself two imitation eagle feathers which in these days are virtually identical to the real thing. He told me then that he was working under the

supervision of a medicine man. On Sunday afternoon, the second day of the pow-wow, toward the end of the war dances, a very brisk wind came up quickly and blew both of the eagle feathers from our head man dancer's headdress onto the ground. We had a medicine woman who sat in the drum arbor in the middle of the arena whose task it was to pick up eagle feathers which blew off of dancers, Papagos or non-Papagos, and fell onto San Xavier ground. When she went over to look at the two eagle feathers on the ground she saw that these feathers had blown off the head of our head man dancer. This medicine woman and the young fellow were personally acquainted. After a very short ritual, she picked up the eagle feathers, wound them up a cloth, took them to the arbor, and did not return them. In the last part of the inter-tribal or war dancing, contests are held in which dancers compete against one another for cash prizes. However, our head dancer was unable to compete in a contest since he did not have a full costume, that is, two feathers in his headdress were missing.

Further, a young woman dropped an eagle feather fan on the pow-wow ground very shortly after our head man dancer's feathers had blown off, and when the medicine woman went to help retrieve those, she found out that this young woman's mother was a Pima Indian. The Pimas are a closely related tribe to the Papagos, speaking the same language and observing the same customs. The Pimas are less traditional than Papagos, however. Our San Xavier medicine woman was shocked, to say the least, that this girl's mother would allow her to carry an eagle feather fan. The mother's response to the medicine woman's shock was, "Well, she wanted to be like the rest of the girls"--the rest of the girls being members of tribes from out of the southern Arizona area, either Navajos from the northern part of the state, or transplanted Oklahoma Indians living in the urban areas of Phoenix and Tucson. Arrangements had to be made for the young woman to go through a very complicated ritual curing and purification ceremony later that month.

Usually Papagos are very self-effacing people and will concede rank to whites, Mexicans and other Indian tribes in most circumstances, particularly in circumstances with which they are unfamiliar. Papagos think that Mexicans and the neighboring Yaquis Indians are experts in folk-Catholicism; and that whites are experts in all matters of technology and business. Papagos are apt to follow the recommendations or cues of outsiders in most unfamiliar situations. However, this was not the case with the pow-

wow; San Xavier Papagos took a hard line with those who transgressed a Papago custom. I think that this reflects how much San Xavier Papagos value their pow-wow and how much they want to make it a genuine San Xavier Papago event, so much so that they are willing to bring sanctions against other Papagos and even strangers at the pow-wow.

The Wa:k Pow-wow has indeed increased intertribal solidarity. San Xavier even has its own war dance drum group now, and these young men are able to be both Papagos and Indians at the same time equally. San Xavier is a gracious host to outsiders, particularly to fellow Indians.

Papagos at San Xavier, along with me, have learned a lot about San Xavier itself. We have learned that only some people at San Xavier can be depended on, and who is dependable; that talkers are not necessarily doers; that education does not by itself mean competence; and that many uneducated Papagos are both dependable and competent.

San Xavier Papagos have learned how to operate a role based organization that is tempered by Papago moral values. They have learned to work closely with other San Xavier Papagos who are not kin. Political differences at San Xavier are life and death issues. For a tribal person to put aside personal squabbles and work with a political "enemy" is nothing short of a miracle. Yet San Xavier Papagos have come to live with such deep political divisions. They have learned that political disagreements can be temporarily put aside in order to work for a commonly and deeply desired goal. They have begun to learn how much whites relate to others in terms of mutual benefit.

People of San Xavier now understand some basic American market notions -- supply and demand, the value of advertising, etc. -- much better than ever before. In fact, the "pow-wow has a product" orientation and the profit motive of the committee in some instances overwhelms me.

Self-confidence and feelings of competence have increased. The Wa:k Pow-wow is an event of which to be proud. It is certainly the biggest thing that happens in the Papago tribe, and it is a successful event financially. San Xavier feasts are much improved. San Xavier people are beginning to see that many whites are now aware that San Xavier is a Papago village, more than just the location of a beautiful and historic mission church; that the Wa:k Pow-wow is a valuable cultural and business addition to

the Tucson area; and that competent people live at San Xavier. In 1987 the W:k Pow-wow entry won a prize in the huge Tucson rodeo parade, and San Xavier was delighted.

In April the Tucson Festival society in cooperation with the Catholic clergy puts on a pageant at San Xavier. In past years San Xavier Papagos were passive participants in the San Xavier Pageant. In the past few years, however, San Xavier has literally taken over certain events in the Pageant and made them their own. One of the Catholic clergy commented on the new trend positively at the last Pageant.

The W:k pow-wow has been a smashing success financially. We have not only underwritten much of the costs of the feast committee, but we are also able to contribute to the elder's program and the mission school. More, in 1986 we were able to pay the cost for arranging to have a prestigious and knowledgeable medicine man, Frank Lopez, to come from his home "out on the desert" to San Xavier on four consecutive Saturdays and tell the story of the Papago Origins (the Creation, the Papago migration, the Receiving of Law, etc.). We will soon have the tape of that story, some 24 hours, in the community library. The committee was also able to finance a Papago language school in the summer of 1987 for small Papago children. Some children learned a little Papago, while others expanded their language skills, and all were able to visit Papago sacred sites and hear the stories connected with them.

San Xavier self-confidence is flexing its muscles. San Xavier self-confidence has grown to the point where the pow-wow committee will no longer accede to my every suggestion, and will openly oppose and defeat me on issues. I have recently (1987) resigned from the committee. They certainly don't need me anymore.

Chapter 7* Hunters Without Game -- Economics

The collision between wants and obstacles generates economic life. The wants of Indians arose historically from life in a band and the obstacles were presented by nature. Now that the game and the gardens are gone, the market increasingly supplies the material needs of Indians. Most Indians enter the market economy through employment contracts with private businesses. To prosper, Indians must compete successfully against others in labor markets. Why do Indians, who adapt so easily to nature, have such difficulty adapting to labor markets? The answer given in this chapter is that the band adapts to nature, whereas individuals adapt to labor markets.

Qualifying for good jobs requires technical education, which is a process of individual learning. Once trained, people sell their services as individuals, not as a kin group. On the job, people work with friends and acquaintances, not relatives. Most jobs in the modern economy require individuals to fit into roles. Individuals internalize roles by building them into their personal identity. Traditional Indians, whose identities are formed by kin relations, have difficulty internalizing roles. Adapting to labor markets involves deep learning that touches self-conception and loosens social bonds.

The need for deep learning disadvantages Indians in labor market competition, but offsetting advantages also exist. The responsiveness of kinsmen to each other gives them an advantage in those jobs that require teamwork. Part I of this chapter traces the implications of this fact for business strategy and economic theory. The principle of comparative advantage, which is used in international trade, will be applied to Indian reservations. Besides income from labor, some Indian tribes own valuable land and resources that yield rents and royalties. Part I also discusses how Indians should manage the valuable resources that they own.

Experts on development, who apply economic theory mechanically to unfamiliar cultures, often give bad advice to Indian communities. Valuable techniques like cost benefit analysis are misused, and standard measures of economic well-being, like the "poverty level", are misinterpreted. Part II of this chapter tries to sort out some of the resulting confusions in economics and business. A central theme of Part II is that Indian kinsmen share a conception of the good life that requires them to pursue it together.

Economic progress involves increasing the material welfare of kin groups, not just individual enrichment.

The Comparative Advantage of Indians

19th century Englishmen disagreed bitterly about whether to retain or abolish trade barriers against imported wheat. The land was suitable for wheat, which the English had always grown, but, even so, economists argued that wheat farming was no longer England's comparative advantage. Let the wheat be grown on the North American prairies and the Argentine pampas, reasoned the economists, and let England concentrate upon manufacturing. England eventually heeded the economists by removing tariffs on imported wheat and expanding exports of manufactured goods.

A comparative advantage consists in the ability to produce a good more efficiently and cheaply than others. The principle of comparative advantage focuses policy makers upon relative strength, not absolute strength. Instead of asking, "Can England grow wheat?", the English economists asked, "Is the cost of production in England lower relative to other nations for wheat or manufactured goods?" The repeal of England's import duties on wheat was perhaps the first major policy debate decided according to the principle of comparative advantages. Subsequently, economists studying international trade have used this principle as a guide for economic specialization by nations, especially developing nations.

Many Indian reservations, like developing nations, find themselves in unequal trade with outsiders.⁸⁷ Indian reservations seem to buy many goods from outsiders and sell relatively little. No tariffs or trade barriers exist to impede commerce between reservations and the larger society. In this free-trade situation, the only viable economic projects or businesses must be strong relative to the competition. Policy makers should ask, "Can the people on this reservation do this activity better than non-Indian competitors?", instead of questions like, "Is it possible to do this activity on this reservation?" or "Can Indians learn this trade?"

⁸⁷Does the law preclude Indians from imposing tariff barriers on imports into the reservation?

What Is the Comparative Advantage of Indians?

Once stated, the principle of comparative advantage seems obviously true, but, even so, Indian policy makers and outside experts seem unclear about its application. What is the comparative advantage of Indians? No one has answered this question.

An answer can be found by drawing upon the theory developed in this book. Earlier chapters discussed the ease with which tribes assimilated western technology, so long as its maintenance did not require an alien social structure. Indians resist deep assimilation, which involves the acculturation of meanings and the reformulation of personal relationships, as explained in Chapters 4* and 5*. Different types of work require different personal characteristics. To illustrate, working on an assembly line requires punctuality and dexterity, whereas selling insurance requires persuasiveness. Given these facts, the principle of comparative advantage asks, "What types of work draw upon personal traits that Indians naturally possess, rather than requiring assimilation into alien roles?"

An obvious place to look for a comparative advantage is traditional Indian products. Increasing output of a traditional product is often the path of least resistance for Indians to enter the market. For example, the eastern tribes expanded their hunting activities to provide hides for the fur trade. Similarly, the Navajo expanded rug weaving to sell to the market.

A less obvious, but more profound, search for the comparative advantage examines traditional production, not traditional products. In the traditional economy, much work was done by kinsmen working together. By their nature, social relations among Indians support and sustain teamwork by kinsmen. For this reason, Indians have a comparative advantage in jobs that must be performed by teams of workers.

To illustrate, some construction work demands close coordination in hazardous circumstances. The most famous example are the Iroquois who construct high rise steel buildings. Their intimacy and trust enables them to undertake dangerous work with greater confidence than others. The Yaqui track gangs who constructed many of the Arizona railroads provide another example of Indians doing jobs that others shy away from. Similar examples include Indian construction crews in the Denver area, especially

roofers (mostly Sioux and western Oklahoma tribes), and the Indian forest fire fighters in several western states. Indian kin groups often perform better in teams than more individuated white or black workers.

Production, whether in the tribe or the corporation, requires the cooperation and motivation of different people to give their best effort. When assembling a complex product, there is always a temptation for individuals to take shortcuts that create more work for others. These inefficiencies can be avoided if workers form a closely-knit team. Bonds of trust and friendship enable workers to motivate and monitor each others' performance better than quality control specialists, and to coordinate their efforts better than supervisors.

There is much discussion in business schools these days about the demise of the assembly line and its replacement by decentralized networks of workers. To illustrate, Henry Ford's original assembly line contrasts starkly with the disbursement of computer manufacturing in Silicon Valley. The joint Toyota-General Motors assembly plant in Fremont, California, has achieved substantial productivity gains by following Japanese management techniques and grouping its workers into teams. By mixing socializing with labor, teams blunt the narrowly instrumental character of work and enable bonds of trust and friendship to form. These bonds apparently contribute to quality and productivity in the manufacturing process.

Wage labor and employment contracts have drawn most working Indians into jobs which they find uncongenial. The work seems uncongenial in part because they cannot work with their relatives. The trend towards teamwork in manufacturing may produce job opportunities that are more congenial to Indians. Perhaps Indians can find a niche in forms of industrial production that require teamwork. If industries that organize the labor force into teams allow Indians to take their social organization inside the factory, the result may please both groups. To illustrate, the Choctaws have three small industrial plants on their reservation near Philadelphia, Mississippi, that are apparently successful in performing contract work for industrialists.⁸⁸

⁸⁸The plants are discussed in the October, 1984 issue of Choctaw Community News, volume 14, No. 8. Choctaw's 3 industrial plants on their reservation in Philadelphia, Mississippi.

Game Theory and Responsiveness To Kin

Understanding the comparative advantage of Indians requires an explanation of why they are responsive to each other. The theory developed in this book explains the responsiveness of tribal people to each other in terms of self-conception as it arises in a network of kin. Self-conception defines self-interest. Economic theory especially concerns how self-interested behavior arranges itself into stable patterns of interaction, called equilibria. Our theory of the tribe can thus be extended to explain the comparative advantage of Indians by showing how responsiveness among self-interested actors forms into stable patterns of behavior.

Indian families traditionally worked together hunting, house-building, clearing fields, planting, harvesting, as well as caring for children and celebrating festivals. Farmers regularly help each other through the cycle of the seasons, first giving help to a neighbor, then receiving it.⁸⁹

Reliance upon others involves risk and reward. For example, suppose I ask you to take my car and deliver a package to someone, and I promise to return the favor in the future. I stand to gain from your delivering the package, and you stand to gain in the future when I repay the favor. However, I run the immediate risk of losing my car and the package.

Giving, receiving, and relying has its own logic. To analyze its logic, we formulate the preceding example abstractly as a game in two stages. In the first stage, the first player decides whether or not to make an investment. Making an investment corresponds to lending the car. If no investment is made, the game ends.

If an investment is made, the game goes to its second stage. In the second stage, the second player decides whether to help. Helping corresponds to delivering the package. If the second player helps, both players receive a modest payoff. Instead of helping, however, the second player can appropriate the first player's investment. Appropriating the investment corresponds to keeping the car and package. By appropriating the investment, the second player enjoys a large payoff for himself at the

⁸⁹There is a large anthropological and ethological literature on reciprocity. In some tribes people keep careful count on what they give and receive, modulating rewards and punishments with precision. See, for example, Rope of Melpa.

expense of the first player. However, appropriating the investment precludes the productive activity that benefits both people. In technical terms, appropriation maximizes the second player's immediate payoff, whereas helping maximizes the joint payoffs.

Explicit numbers are attached to this game in the following matrix. The 1st player's payoff is shown in the lower left corner of each cell of the matrix, and the payoff to the 2nd player is shown in the upper right corner of each cell. The 1st player moves first and chooses whether to invest 10 (first row) or to invest 0 (second row). If the 1st player invests 0, the payoff is 0 for both players. If the 1st player invests 10, the 2nd player moves next and chooses whether to help or appropriate. If the 2nd player helps, he receives a payoff of 2, and the 1st player receives a payoff of 2 plus the 10 that he originally invested, for a total payoff of 12 to the 1st player. However, if the 2nd player appropriates the investment, he receives 10 and the 1st player loses 10.

Payoff Matrix for Reciprocity Game

		2nd Player	
		help	appropriate
1st Player	invest 10	12 2 +10	-10
	invest 0	0 0	0 0

In terms of the preceding example, "invest" means that I give you a package and my car. "Help" means that you deliver the package and return the car. "Appropriate" means that you take the car and the package for your own use. The "payoff" from helping means the benefit the 2nd player conveys to the 1st player, and the benefit the 2nd player subsequently enjoys when the 1st player returns the favor.

Suppose the two players are strangers without a personal relationship, and each one looks only to his own advantage. If the game were played only once and the 1st player invested 10, the 2nd player would appropriate rather than help, because appropriating pays him 10 and helping pays him 2. Knowing this, the 1st player will invest 0. Consequently, the players will be unable to cooperate with each other.

Now change the assumptions and assume that the players are relatives who have a long run relationship with each other. The long run relationship creates the opportunity to repeat the game over and over in the future. Suppose the 1st player invests 10 the first time the game is played. The 2nd player knows that if he helps, he will receive 2 on this play of the game, and the game will be repeated with the same result in the future. The 2nd player also knows that if he appropriates 10 the first time the game is played, the 1st player will invest 0 in the future. Consequently, the 2nd player recognizes that he will profit more from receiving 2 each time the game is played than from receiving 10 only once. Thus helping is in the self-interest of the 2nd player, and, recognizing this, the 1st player will invest 10.

This game is an economic parable illustrating the role of trust in cooperative activities. The payoff matrix shows that "one-shot games" often have unproductive, noncooperative solutions. However, repeating these games over and over can transform them into productive, cooperative games. Kinship provides a framework for repetition. Repeated games among relatives achieve efficiency through norms of reciprocity among kinsmen, which can be regarded as the solution to repeated games. The etiquette of reciprocity, which players internalize as morality, corresponds to the strategy of "tit-for-tat" in repeated games.⁹⁰ Reciprocity serves the long-run self-interest of relatives.

Reciprocity involves investment which is "relation-specific" in the sense that the payoff to the investor depends upon an enduring relationship with the helper. The investor risks losing the investment in the event that the relationship ends. Relation-specific investment occurs, not just among traditional Indians, but in market activities between non-relatives. To illustrate, a firm cannot recoup its investment in on-the-job training of an employee unless the employee continues working for the firm.⁹¹ Similarly, a tenant must continue living in an apartment in order to recoup any improvements he makes to the landlord's building.

When strangers and acquaintances take such risks, they have little to fall back on but formal law. Knowing this, the employer or landlord will build incentives into the

⁹⁰Axelrod, op.cit.

⁹¹Strictly speaking, the firm cannot recoup firm-specific training that occurs on the job. General training that occurs on the job can be recouped by an appropriate adjustment in wages. For a general discussion of this problem in labor economics, see...

contract so that the employee or tenant benefits from sustaining the relationship. For example, the employer will promise to pay a bonus to the employee who remains with the company, or the landlord will promise to reduce the rent of a tenant who repairs the building. Once inserted in the contract, these promises are usually enforceable in court.

Unlike acquaintances and strangers, relatives seldom rely upon formal law to sustain cooperation. They can fall back upon relationships. To keep sharing alive, each person does favors for the other, and receives favors in turn. Cooperation is self-enforcing among relatives, which is cheaper than formal enforcement among strangers and acquaintances.

The reciprocity game thus explains the comparative advantage of Indians in jobs requiring teamwork. Jobs requiring teamwork involve mutual reliance and relation specific investments. Kinship creates stable relationships in which cooperation is self-enforcing through reciprocity. Self-enforcement is cheaper than formal enforcement through law. Unlike Indian kin groups, acquaintances and strangers require expensive formal enforcement of their cooperative relationships. The difference in enforcement costs creates the comparative advantage for Indian kin groups over strangers, acquaintances, or friends in jobs requiring teamwork.

Other economic advantages of kinship, besides cooperation and teamwork, can be noted in passing. First, a kin group can spread risk among its members, which is especially important to people living close to the margin of survival and without access to insurance markets. Second, a kin group can pool investment funds among members, which is especially important when credit markets are undeveloped or inaccessible. Third, a kin group can reduce transaction costs by substituting rules of thumb, which are flexible, for formal contracts, which are relatively rigid. In brief, kinship lowers costs by substituting relationships for insurance, commercial lending, and formal contracts.

Comparative Disadvantage of Indians

The mirror image of the comparative advantage of Indians is their comparative disadvantage at highly individuated jobs. Some such jobs demand sustained effort by individuals without group support. When social interaction is absent, motivation among

Indians may erode and purposes may fade. For example, it might not be prudent for an employer to send a traditional Indian out to work alone digging fence-post holes.

Some individuated jobs are organized, like a railway, according to a rigid time schedule. Many of the unskilled or semi-skilled jobs in industry that are open to recent immigrants from rural areas put a premium upon punctuality, reliability, and self-discipline. Indeed, these virtues characterize the prosperous working class in industrial societies. Furthermore, most skilled jobs in industry require technical education, which is usually organized so that students work on their own and produce according to an examination schedule.

Responding to kin requires flexible work schedules. Traditional Indians must be able to interrupt work in order, say, to bury a relative. Sometimes innovative organization can increase flexibility at work. Thus the narrative in Chapter 7 on TamaCraft shows how Indians organized themselves to avoid rigid time schedules and solitary labor. Most modern business organizations, however, will not strive for novel solutions to accomodate Indian workers. They must adjust as best they can.

Indians often work on the land in jobs such as forestry, ranching, or surveying. Their understanding of nature gives them an advantage in these jobs, but they have a disadvantage as well. Indians who still live in their ancestral home regard it as a holy land. They must respect a variety of prohibitions that impede exploiting nature. The long run effects of these prohibitions may be advantageous, but Indians are disadvantaged in the short run relative to nonIndians who are accustomed to treating the land as a factor of production.

To succeed in the professions, a person must be a lawyer, surgeon, accountant, or professor, not just do litigation, surgery, bookkeeping, or lecturing. The professions require the most thorough internalization of occupational roles. Absorbing role into self-conception is the most alien aspect of the labor market for traditional Indians. At a professional school, a traditional Indian must learn a new identity, not just skills. The need for deep learning disadvantages aspiring Indian professionals.

Becoming a professional usually means becoming an individual, and becoming an individual usually means leaving kin behind both physically and psychologically. Kin

must be left behind physically because many professions require a highly differentiated, urban labor market. Kin must be diminished psychologically to make room in identity for a professional role. Most professionals who move away from kin and community continue regarding themselves as Indians, but they are not integrated into the life of a band or tribe. Their children grow up knowing little of the particular ways of their particular tribe, which is how an Indian ethnic group comes into existence in America and Canada.

The prosperity of some tribes and rapid economic growth in the countryside is enabling more Indian professionals to remain at home. By remaining among kin and community physically, they stay closer psychologically. The resulting tug-of-war between kin ties and professional pressures may have unexpected outcomes. In general, the collision of adaptable people like Indians with obstacles like labor markets produces many surprises. In thinking about comparative advantage and disadvantage, we must always open our imaginations to new possibilities. Generalization about peoples are averages, not universals. People are causes, atoms are effects. Regularities in social life arise from choices, not necessities.

What Indians Have that Others Want

Besides income from labor, some tribes enjoy rents and royalties from owning valuable land and scarce natural resources. The prosperity of these tribes depends upon good resource management, which maximizes rents while preserving the land. We will discuss the comparative advantages and disadvantages of Indians in managing resources.

The White Mountain Apaches have operated a saw mill and a ski resort for several years with apparent success.⁹² Such projects draw outside investors onto Indian

⁹²"Apaches Striving for Self-Sufficiency", New York Times, 9 Jan. 1985, p.9. "Built with a Federal economic development grant in 1970, [Apache] Sunrise [ski resort] has expanded to become the most successful ski resort in Arizona...It employs about 400 people, nearly 80 percent of them Apaches. In 1983 it brought in \$4 million for the tribe....It is timber that has earned the tribe its greatest wealth...The Fort Apache Timber Company started in 1963 with \$2 million of borrowed money. Today, the tribe owns an extensive sawmill and its annual lumber sales exceed \$14 million. The company has more than 450 employees, 90 percent of them Apaches." [Ask RT if he can verify the accuracy of this press account; also ask Vine if the Lummi project has really worked out as he initially described it.]

reservations. Land and its resources are what outsiders have always wanted from North American Indians, from three hundred years ago until the present. Large tracks on western reservations that were formerly worthless have become valuable under the crush of population and resource depletion, as have small plots of Indian land that the frontier swept past and settlers overlooked.

Most reservation land is legally restricted to prevent its outright sale to non-Indians. As the industrial economy grows, however, pressures increase to circumvent these legal obstacles. If the land itself cannot be sold, the right to use it can be. For example, reservation land can be leased for, say, ninety-nine years. Such long term leases have been granted to developers by tribes in Palm Springs, California, and on some Pueblo lands. [get details right from letter to San Xavier Papagos.]

Transactions involving Indian land, whether past or present, are usually unsavory affairs clouded by charges of illegality and chicanery. To see why, it is necessary to understand traditional Indian conceptions of property. Tradition, which is the common law of the tribe, often assigns the rights to use land to the clans or similar kin groups. However, tradition usually did not contemplate the sale of land to outsiders or the exploitation of nonrenewable resources. In so far as Indian common law did not contemplate these activities, it is ambiguous about who, if anyone, can do them.

Indians who want to use reservation land in novel ways must obtain authorization or risk proceeding without it. Authorization can only be obtained from someone who has the power to give it. For novel activities, Indian common law is unclear about who has the power to authorize the activity. New powers emerge in common law by extending existing powers according to analogies. For example, suppose the counsel of elders traditionally allocated unoccupied land in a particular tribe. Allocating unoccupied land may be similar to authorizing novel uses. If the similarity is close enough, perhaps Indian common law should be regarded as attributing the power to authorize novel uses to the counsel of elders. Thus a tribal court facing a dispute over novel use of the land might decide authorization must be obtained from the counsel of elders.

In reality, the tribal courts have had little role in deciding most questions about land use and economic development on reservations. Instead of developing the common law, most such questions have been decided by the tribal counsel and chairman, who enact new legislation or issue new orders. Indian common law has not undergone systematic development in most tribal courts, and it has been largely ignored by state and federal courts.

Non-Indians who want to acquire rights over Indian land must identify an Indian whom the courts will recognize as having the power to sell or lease these rights. If American courts looked to Indian common law, identifying such a person or institution might prove difficult. American courts have, however, typically ignored Indian common law, and relied instead upon statutes and treaties in deciding Indian land issues. Consequently, the land transactions with outsiders often violate Indian common law. Tribal governments that authorize development projects are often engaging in what amounts to the taking of private property without compensation, which violates the United States constitution. However, the taking of land from clans and families is not identified as such because Indian common law has not been developed sufficiently by tribal courts. If Indian common law were well developed, it seems likely that many land transactions involving the participation of tribal governments would be held unconstitutional.

Case Study San Xavier District

A good example of unsavory land transactions is provided by recent events on the San Xavier District of the Papago Reservation.⁹³ There are approximately 1,000 Papagos at San Xavier living on approximately 70,000 acres. The land on the reservation was allotted to Indian families by the federal government several generations ago in violation of the customary law of ownership, which created havoc and paralyzed agricultural production. The City of Tucson has grown out to meet the reservation and now a fence with a few strands of barb wire is all that separates the Indians from the suburbs.

⁹³ For an account of the economic situation of the Papagos, including the San Xavier Reservation, see Henry F. Manuel, Juliann Ramon, and Bernard L. Fontana, "Dressing for the Window: Papago Indians and Economic Development," American Indian Economic Development (1978) ed. Sam Stanley, 511.

Most of the reservation land is not being used, even for farming. The city of Tucson, which is rapidly paving its open land, benefits from the preservation of open space at San Xavier. However, the reservation represents a great opportunity to real estate developers. Santa Cruz Properties, Inc., a California land development company, has proposed a 99 year lease to develop almost one third of the Reservation and locate over 100,000 non-Indian residents there. The Bureau of Indian Affairs urged the tribal government at San Xavier village to accept this proposal. Most of the land has been allotted to individuals, but a substantial block belongs to the tribe as a whole. The San Xavier District Council agreed to lease the land which belongs to the tribe as a whole to Santa Cruz Properties, and recommended that individual allottees add their property by signing the lease.

In the end, the development project came to nothing. To make a long story short,⁹⁴ tribal officials favoring the development lost an election and their successors repudiated the initial agreement with Santa Cruz Properties. In addition, some allottees never signed the lease and others who signed it changed their minds and attempted to withdraw their signatures. The developer could not proceed under these circumstances. The San Xavier community has endured years of worry and tension over this project, and Santa Cruz Properties, having spent several million dollars on plans and politics, apparently will come away with nothing. The failure of the project drags in its wake charges of bribery and breach of duty directed at everyone concerned -- the developer, the tribal government, the BIA, and individual allottees.

The proposed lease to Santa Cruz Properties looks like a modern version of an old story, specifically, government sponsored theft of Indian land and the planned destruction of an Indian community. Instead of the cavalry, the path is cleared for a modern developer by well-paid experts such as lawyers, city planners, and professors, some of whom are deluded and most of whom are venal.⁹⁵ (A University of Arizona

The newly proposed tribal constitution will, if adopted, will change the name of the tribe from Papago to Tohono O'odham. I have used the old name in my essay because it is the official name at the time of writing.

⁹⁴The story, which is not entirely finished, has been reported in detail in the Papago Runner, which is the tribe's newspaper, over more than five years.

⁹⁵We would like to record here some of the names of the people who promoted this development...

anthropologist wrote the "human impact" study for Santa Cruz properties to justify this project.⁹⁶⁾

If the development had occurred, "San Xavier Papagos" would be the name which the law gives to some brown skinned people in Los Angeles and Phoenix who are entitled to receive a check each month for renting land to a development company. In order to survive as a community, the San Xavier Papagos need distance from the disintegrating influences of Tucson. Instead of inviting Tucson onto the reservation, the Papagos need a buffer between themselves and the city.

The arable land at San Xavier is either unused or planted in cotton by an agricultural cooperative. Growing cotton is a capital intensive activity that does not take advantage of San Xavier's labor supply or its proximity to Tucson. It is possible to imagine alternatives that could prove more profitable. For example, the city offers a good market for truck farmers. Papagos are skilled dry-weather farmers with hundreds of years of experience at growing gardens. Putting some of the San Xavier land back into garden production would draw upon farming skills for which the Papagos were once renowned. Garden production permits whole families to work together at their own pace. Furthermore, putting the land into gardens would create a buffer between San Xavier village and the advancing suburbs.

Many obstacles stand in the way of Papago truck farming at San Xavier. Disputes about land ownership created by the allotment of land to individuals would have to be resolved; water would have to be diverted from other uses to irrigate the fields; the young Papago men would have to recover their tradition of hard work. The Papagos who aspire to be middle class, including some leaders, would have to give up their new dream of managing condominiums. Facing these obstacles might draw the community together by calling upon its traditional strengths.

There is another type of project which is not so idyllic, but could be profitable without being destructive. The exquisitely beautiful mission church at San Xavier has become a tourist attraction. The San Xavier Papagos could reconstruct a traditional Papago village on land near the mission and charge an entry fee to tourists. Operating

⁹⁶⁾cite

such a development without losing personal dignity is a delicate problem that Papagos could solve by running the enterprise themselves. Papagos know how they lived in times past, so a Papago village for tourists is something that Papagos could staff better than outsiders.

These two proposals -- truck farming and a traditional Indian village -- draw upon the comparative advantage of the San Xavier Papagoes. Even so the projects may never occur. Instead, the Papagos may continue to lease the fringes of the reservation to Tucson's industry and commerce. Property management is not a Papago strength. It is, however, very profitable, and over time the tribe will learn to do it better.

Returns to Scale

An ironic fact about San Xavier is that, even though the Indian community lives in poverty, its existence is threatened by its potential wealth. Many tribes who own valuable land are similarly situated. Will they be stripped of their last remaining resources, or will they profit handsomely from surging land prices? The answer depends upon power, politics, and economics in ways that we will explain, beginning with an account of forms of economic development appropriate for Indian enterprise.

Economists distinguish production technologies according to scale economies. A technology is said to exhibit increasing returns to scale if the average cost of output declines as the project gets larger. For example, the cost of refining oil is cheaper per barrel in large refineries than in small refineries. By contrast, a technology is said to exhibit constant returns to scale if the average cost of output is the same in small projects as in large projects. For example, providing a haircut costs about the same whether the barber shop has two chairs or twenty.

When a project exhibits constant returns to scale, it is possible to start with a small investment and see whether it succeeds. If a small investment proves profitable, the project can be expanded, but if the small investment loses money, the project can be abandoned. Projects exhibiting constant returns to scale can thus prove themselves to an Indian community by degrees. The investor learns by trial and error, without risking much.

By contrast, projects exhibiting increasing returns to scale are susceptible to grand success or dismal failure, because a large investment must be made in order to find out whether the project will be profitable. Rather than learning by degrees, projects exhibiting increasing returns demand that investors forbear from investing or risk investing a lot.

Isolation and insolation, which has kept some Indian communities in tact, has shielded many leaders from experience with modern institutions. Many Indian leaders lack the experience with business and the training in economics to assess risks involved in development projects. As a consequence, Indian communities are vulnerable to cheats and impractical do-gooders. Vulnerability is worst for large scale projects that are susceptible to dismal failures. Indians have been gulled into investing in a variety of unsuccessful businesses.⁹⁷ Raising money for a large initial investment requires borrowing, and borrowing requires collateral. Indians do not have much collateral except land and resources. Usually the law does not permit Indians to mortgage reservation land or resources, but there are examples of Indians who owned land, put it up as collateral for a loan, and lost it.⁹⁸

To illustrate the problem of large scale investments, consider the village of Supai on the Havasupai reservation in northern Arizona. It nestles in a beautiful, fertile oasis in the Grand Canyon. A crystal stream running through the village culminates in a waterfall so picturesque that it could be a Walt Disney movie set. Tourists have come in droves in recent years, even though the village is inaccessible except by helicopter or a narrow, winding nine mile trail. The main source of income for the small village, which consisted in the early 1980s of approximately 500 Indians, is the entry fee charged to tourists and the rental fees for pack animals. Many villagers keep gardens to supply their tables and to feed their pack animals, but arable land is scarce relative to the Indian population.

When one of this book's authors visited Supai in the summer of 1982 with a small group of friends, we received a generous welcome from the tribe. The tribal chairman

⁹⁷Illustrate with Hopi example of the denim factory, but get the facts right.

met with us and discussed the problems faced by the village. He described a plan to build a 40 room luxury hotel in the village. Considering the attraction of the site, such a project, if carried out properly, could be very profitable. However, a hotel represents a large, fixed investment. Such an investment must be managed properly or it will lose money instead of making it. A small margin in managerial skill can make the difference between a ten percent profit and a ten percent loss.

Hotel management cannot be parcelled out among relatives who call upon each other for help, nor are hotels run by teams of workers. There is nothing in the traditions or way of life of the Havasupai Indians to suggest that they have a knack for hotel management. Having stayed at their small lodge, it is apparent that the villagers could not manage a large hotel without outside help. The village went ahead with the hotel construction, but the project has not flourished according to the reports that we have received.

The general point which the hotel example illustrates is that Indians should be wary of proposals with two characteristics: They require a large initial investment, and their management requires hierarchical organization rather than teamwork. Instead of a large hotel, the people of Havasupai might look to economic activities where they have skills that others lack. For example, why not try to extend the mule packing business by providing trips for tourists, rather than merely transporting them between the rim of the canyon and the village? The Havasupai have a legal monopoly on such a business in so far as it is conducted within their reservation. No doubt the Havasupais are familiar with places in the canyon that are inaccessible except by mule and they could earn a tidy profit by serving as tour guides.

Money, Fraud, and Navajo Mines

Mining was one of the first activities by which the industrial revolution reached peasants in Great Britain. In the coal mines, British peasants learned to submit to the

⁹⁸.At the urging of C.P. Cornelius, the Cherokees in eastern Oklahoma mortgaged land and bought cows to start a herd at the beginning of this century. Unfortunately, cattle prices fell the project failed, and the land was foreclosed. See Wahrhaftig at footnote 21.

discipline of the clock and the machine, rather than responding to the rhythms of nature. Navajo men are now having this experience in mines on the reservation.⁹⁹

Royalties from the extraction of oil, gas, coal, uranium, and other minerals have brought large revenues to the Navajo tribe and allowed it to finance a wide array of activities. Some Navajo officials showed one of the authors of this book the tribal accounts during a visit to the reservation in 1982. The tribe had a budget of over \$50 million,¹⁰⁰ a significant part of which was derived from royalties on mining. The accounts were neatly printed out by computer and seemed impressive on the surface for their orderliness. However, on closer inspection their organization did not resemble the accounts of most governments. In fact, the figures were so badly jumbled that making sense of them was virtually impossible. For example, there was a large public health program, but the budget did not reveal how much the tribe spent on salaries for workers in the field of health. The same was true of other fields, such as public housing.

There may be better accounts for the Navajo nation than the ones which we saw, but it appeared that the officials in Window Rock were spending over \$50 million per year of their own income without bookkeeping procedures necessary for accountability.¹⁰¹ When officials dispose of vast sums of money without having to

⁹⁹Commenting on the important social effects of mining is appropriate. On the Navajo reservation, as in Britain during the industrial revolution, mining disrupts community life and contributes to social problems, including alcoholism. However, mining is less disruptive than having the young men go off to distant cities to find work, at least so long as there are minerals left in the ground. If the choice is between mining and leaving, then mining may be the lesser of the two evils in the short. However, community development requires discovering enduring and less disruptive options.

¹⁰⁰The budget is discussed in the Navajo Times, Oct. 5, 1983, p1.

¹⁰¹Highlights of the 1984 budget are described in an article entitled "Council Sets \$190 million Tribal Budget," Navajo Times, Friday Sep 21, 1984. The total expenditures for fiscal year 1985 were projected to be \$190.2 million, of which \$54.4 million was to come from the tribal treasury (mainly mineral royalties), which is purely at the Council's discretion, and \$122.3 million was expected to come from various federal funds. The residual came from interest bearing accounts (\$1.2 million) and state grants (\$3.1 million).

Tribal council members received a basic salary of \$20,000 per year in 1983 and a per diem of \$44 for days actually worked on government matters, plus travel expenses of \$.22 per mile. 25 Navajo Times 1 (No 41 Oct 5 1983, page 1. Unfortunately, the Navajo Times has ceased publication, so more recent information is difficult to obtain.

account for it, the situation is corrupting.¹⁰² Indeed, the former tribal chairman has recently been convicted of crimes involving the misappropriation of funds.¹⁰³

The relatively strong commitment of traditional Indians to their relatives, and their relatively weak to abstract principles, is a strength in forming a team and a weakness in handling large sums of money. The Navajo tribe has become so rich so fast off mining that some people are helping themselves and their relatives, not working together to benefit the tribe as a whole.¹⁰⁴ This situation is duplicated on other reservations where money has come quicker than the ability to manage it.¹⁰⁵

No Links in the Chain of Command

Game theory was used to show that kin groups are economically efficient within the traditional scope of their activity. No claim was made, however, that Indian organizations are efficient when they expand beyond kinsmen and encompass people who are not in long term relationships with each other. For example, no claim is made that tribal government, which is not organized on kin principles, is efficient or effective.

Kin organizations are inherently limited in size. The limitation comes from the fact that the Indian band's activities are coordinated through the personal aspect of kinship. Effectiveness requires that everyone in the group have a personal relationship with everyone else. Thus if person A relates to B and B relates to C, team work also requires A to relate to C. As the number of people in the team increase, say, 10 to 20, the numbers of personal relations must increase from 45 to 190.¹⁰⁶ Little wonder that Indian bands tend to be small.

¹⁰²"Records missing in chapter audit" reads a headline in Navaho Times, July 16, 1984, p1. The article begins, "No records exist showing how Tuba City Chapter officials spent \$13,000 of chapter money between October 1981 and March 1983, an audit by the Navajo Office of Auditor General found."

¹⁰³The saga culminating in the trial and conviction of former Chairman MacDonald was extensively covered by national newspapers, including the New York Times.

¹⁰⁴Perhaps that is part of what the voters were saying when the reform candidate, Peterson Zah, beat the incumbent, Peter McDonald in 1982. Subsequently, McDonald was returned to office and is currently under investigation for fraud.

¹⁰⁵For an overview of the economic situation on the Navajo reservation, and for a discussion of investment projects in one Navajo community, see Lorraine Turner Ruffing, "Navajo Economic Development: A Dual Perspective", American Indian Economic Development (1978), ed. Sam Stanley, p15.

¹⁰⁶The formula for the number of personal relations in a band with n members is $nC2 = n!/(n-2)!2!$.

This limitation does not apply to roles, which can be filled by anyone who has mastered the job. To illustrate, suppose an organization requires each person who performs role A to coordinate with each person who performs role B, and each person who performs role B must also coordinate with each person who performs role C. There may be no requirement that the person forming role A coordinate with the person performing role C.¹⁰⁷ Roles can be combined in very long chains, which permits a high level of specialization. The degree of labor specialization is, consequently, far more in a corporation of modest size than in hunting band.

From a functional viewpoint, a bureaucracy fragments social exchange to achieve economies of scale, whereas a tribe integrates social exchange to lower monitoring costs. The connections among roles are displayed by the "organizational chart," which executives scrutinize and rearrange from time-to-time. There are several basic types of structure, some more hierarchical than others.¹⁰⁸

Indians have great difficulty creating and operating hierarchical organizations with a chain of command. Bureaucratic management is not their comparative advantage. The inability to understand a chain of command is an obstacle to working in a hierarchy, even at the lowest level. To illustrate, the Tama Craft narrative in Chapter 7 explained how the Sac and Fox encountered Christmas production deadlines and learned that profits hinged upon meeting them. Suppose, contrary to fact, that the Tama Craft workers were on the assembly line of a large organization. If faced with a rush of Christmas sales, the order to speed production and avoid absences or delays would descend through the bureaucracy. Indians on the shop floor would probably perceive the orders as evidence

¹⁰⁷In technical terms, the crucial characteristic is transitivity. A relationship R is transitive if aRb and $bRc \Rightarrow aRc$. If role A is complementary in production to role B, and role B complements role C, then role A also complements role C. The complementarity of roles is transitive. However, if A has a personal relationship with B, and B has a personal relationship with C, A and C do not have a personal relationship. Coordination by personal relationships is limited by their intransitivity.

¹⁰⁸American automobile manufacturers were originally organized as simple pyramids, called the "U-form" or unitary organization. This organization was subsequently replaced by the multi-divisional organization or "M-form." To illustrate, Chevrolet and Buick are separate divisions in General Motors Corporation. The multi-divisional form allows separate divisions to make their own production decisions, but capital is allocated by a central organization, not a market. Alfred P. Sloan, My Years At General Motors (19). The organization of production workers into teams presents a third alternative. Competition directs organizations to arrange the flow of information and orders, and the structure of incentives, to maximize the organization's profits. See, generally, Oliver Williamson, Markets and Hierarchies (19).

that the boss is mean. This misperception would arise to the extent that Indians could not perceive the organization as a hierarchy of interdependent roles.¹⁰⁹

Conclusion to Part I

Several related points have been made concerning the management of valuable resources by Indians. First, the lease or sale of land and resources is problematic in Indian common law because it never contemplated modern transactions. Instead of extending Indian common law, the courts have bypassed it when deciding disputes involving sales or leases of Indian land and resources. Consequently, the legality and morality of these transactions seems dubious to traditional Indians. In addition, such transactions often generate large sums of money for people who lack the accounting skills and procedures required for accountability.

Income has often been invested in large projects that exhibit increasing returns to scale. These projects do not permit Indian people to learn by degrees and gradually expand the scope of activity. Rather, investments with increasing returns to scale lend themselves to spectacular successes or dismal failures. Managing large projects requires bureaucracies formed by a hierarchy of roles. Traditional Indians are unfamiliar with these forms of organization.

The general recommendation that flows from these considerations is to favor development projects with constant returns to scale, in which people can learn by degrees and income increases by degrees. The best organization for work would consist in teams that respect kinship. To improve the alignment of law and moral convictions, Indian common law should be developed and extended over land and resources. Common law ownership is decentralized, which reduces the need for bureaucratic and hierarchical ownership and control.

Community Development

It is not only work, but also consumption, that traditional Indians prefer to do together. Sharing food and giving gifts is part of the ceremonial and religious life of an Indian tribe. Celebrations and feasts on saint's days, pow-wows, ceremonies to mark the

¹⁰⁹This point is discussed in greater detail in Chapter _* on urban Indians.

seasons, and puberty rights for girls involve the whole community in the redistribution and consumption of its economic surplus. In general, the community dimension receives high priority in thinking about economic activities. To illustrate, many traditional Indians stress economic objectives like more jobs near home, less involvement with non-Indians, and less vulnerability to outside interference.

Such observations commend less emphasis on individualistic goals such as amassing private wealth or finding self-fulfillment through a career, and more emphasis upon community development. Unfortunately, individuals are often confused about what a community is, so they make mistakes when thinking about its development. Part II tries to explain what a community is and to correct the errors that individuals are inclined to make in thinking about community development.

Community Development As Collective Choice

An economic community can be defined as a group of people who share a conception of a good life that requires them to pursue it together. ...distinguish individual from collective choice...requires collective choice...tradition and collective choice...

To make such choices, Indian communities must take collective action in economic matters. Community development should mean, not necessarily investment directed and controlled by tribal government, but a legal framework for channelling development that is congenial to Indian communities.¹¹⁰ Indian communities should possess and exercise at least the same powers of land use regulation as other local governments.¹¹¹

To illustrate the necessity of collective choice, consider tradeoffs between economic development and cultural loss. Discrimination and coercion of Indians has declined in recent years and this fact, combined with economic growth, enables more Indians to improve their living standards by integrating into the larger society. Is the

¹¹⁰Vine Deloria, Jr., See "Management and Community Consensus, Part II," Americans Before Columbus, volume 17, No. 2, 1989, page 4.

¹¹¹It is ironical that Indian tribes, who enjoy the legal status of "subordinate sovereigns," which should give them at least as much power as municipalities or states,

resulting loss of culture and language a price that most Indians are willing to pay for individual wealth?

An Indian community, like a family, averages wealth by propping up its poorest members and weighting down its most productive members. Traditional Indian communities are not oriented towards accumulation and economic growth. The drag of poor relations can make an ambitious person want to abandon his kin, individuate, conserve his earning, and move up in economic status. Some marginal Indians undoubtedly want to pursue wealth as individuals. Stifling their ambitions by preventing them from leaving traditional communities would violate their constitutional rights as well as the Indian conception of personal autonomy.

In contrast to individualists, traditional Indians may prefer to avoid further cultural erosion even at the cost of forgone economic opportunities.

In principle, Indian tribes are "subordinate sovereigns", which should give them more power than state or local government.¹¹² In practice, Indian reservations have been administered by outsiders through most of their history. Congress possesses "plenary power" over Indian lawmaking, which apparently means that Congress can over-rule almost any decision by a tribal government.¹¹³ Furthermore, the federal government has a trust responsibility for reservations, so the Secretary of the Interior can veto most decisions by tribal governments.¹¹⁴ The veto is seldom used because many tribal officials share the understanding and objectives of federal officials, and tribal officials remain sensitive to the wishes of the Secretary of the Interior. Indian autonomy is severely compromised as a consequence.¹¹⁵

Outside control of everyday decisions is exercised through the federal bureaucracy, especially the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Indian participation in

must obtain permission from the Secretary of the Interior for actions that other local governments are free to take.

¹¹² cite Resnik article

¹¹³ cite Ball article

¹¹⁴ cite Ball article

¹¹⁵ The veto is complete for Indian expenditure of federal funds, but some decisions regarding expenditures of tribal funds from Indian resources cannot be vetoed by the Secretary of the Interior.

administration has been increasing, in spite of opposition by vested interests.¹¹⁶ The report of President Reagan's Commission on Indian Reservation Economies called for the federal government to give tribes more control and less money ("self-determination").¹¹⁷ Government has responded by reducing expenditures and shifting from direct provision of services to contracts for the provision of services by Indian organizations. Instead of deciding and doing everything, the Bureau of Indian Affairs now decides things and Indians do them.

Years of coercion by outsiders have left Indian communities divided about who has authority to do what.¹¹⁸ Given this fact, ascertaining what Indians want with respect to economic development is difficult. American government has imposed the alien legal conception of majority rule upon Indian communities. The new principle of majority rule and the old principle of consensus and hereditary offices both carry weight on most reservations. Elected officials hold legal authority and the elders, including hereditary chiefs, hold moral authority. Both kinds of authority are needed to legitimize economic development projects, although their roles are different. Ideally, the elected officials

¹¹⁶See for example, Albert L. Wahrhaftig, "Making Do with the Dark Meat: A Report on the Cherokee Indians in Oklahoma," American Indian Economic Development (1978), ed. Sam Stanley, 409.

¹¹⁷Reagan's Policy went as follows:
Indian Policy: Statement by the President
 press release 24 Jan 1983

"This Administration believes that responsibilities and resources should be restored to the governments which are closest to the people served. This philosophy applies not only to state and local governments, but also to federally recognized American Indian tribes...Excessive regulation and self-perpetuating bureaucracy have stifled local decision making, thwarted Indian control of Indian resources, and promoted dependency rather than self-sufficiency...It is important to the concept of self-government that tribes reduce their dependence on federal funds by providing a greater percentage of the cost of their self-government...federal government has been one of the major obstacles to economic progress. This Administration intends to remove the impediments to economic development and to encourage cooperative efforts among the tribes, the federal government, and the private sector in developing reservation economies...This Administration, therefore, is establishing a Presidential Advisory Commission on Indian Reservation Economies. The Commission, composed of tribal and private sector leaders, is to identify obstacles to economic growth in the public and private sector at all levels..."

¹¹⁸A struggle between traditional leaders, whose legitimacy is based upon heredity, and the tribal government, whose legitimacy is based upon majority rule, is a common and tragic feature of politics in many tribes. For example, in 1984 the kikmongwi in one of the Hopi villages withdraw their support from the village's elected tribal representatives, thus provoking a constitutional crisis which was extensively discussed in the tribal newspaper, Qua' Toqti.

formulate details and implement projects, whereas the traditional authorities advise and consent, or veto the project, but do not participate actively in it.

Outside investors who proceed after approval of tribal and federal officials, but not the traditional authorities, may react with surprise and puzzlement when Indians fail to cooperate or obstruct the project. Investors who appreciate that moral sanction from the elders is required may not know how to obtain it. In reality, outside investments in reservations have been modest. Government expenditure, especially transfer payments for social service programs, has been the engine of the tribal economy.

Community, Modernity, and The Sociological Tradition

According to the traditional Indian conception, a good life is imbedded in relationships that bind people to each other and to the natural world. Members of Indian kin groups share a conception of the good life that requires them to pursue it together. This insight requires analysis and theoretical development. A long tradition of sociological writing provides theories about communities and economic development. To illustrate, Marx contrasted the tight personal bonds that he imagined to have existed among workers in the medieval guilds with his perception of the fragmented lives of industrial workers. In Marx's analysis, the guilds and family enterprises of pre-industrial society were replaced by an industrial proletariat without ties of loyalty to organizations. He thought worker alienation was caused by labor markets that treat labor as a commodity, thus undermining the bonds between people, and the division of labor into narrow roles that deny the worker the satisfaction of experiencing a complete product.¹¹⁹

Similarly, Weber considered bureaucracy to be the characteristic form of industrial organization. He described bureaucratic organization as rational because it follows impersonal rules which are instruments for achieving explicit goals.¹²⁰ A bureaucracy, however, does not knit people together by personal relationships as in a

¹¹⁹.This view is expressed in many of his writings. See for example the first volume of Capital.

¹²⁰.See Max Weber, "Bureaucracy", From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology (1974), trans. & Ed. H.H.Girth and C.Wright Mills. Weber was presumably influenced by the Kantian tradition which holds that people should be treated as ends, not means, something which bureaucracies seldom do. See Immanuel Kant, Groundwork to the Metaphysics of Morals.

community. In Weber's analysis, bureaucracy destroys traditional relationships by exposing their mystery to the wilting light of instrumental rationality.

As a third example, Redfield contrasted the isolated tribe whose members are immersed in personal relationships, with the anonymous city whose residents live out their lives among strangers. He believed that societies could be located along a folk-urban continuum according to how closely they resemble the two polar types.¹²¹

These grand generalizations from high sociological theory share a common theme concerning the erosion of communities by modernization. The theme can be restated in ordinary language as follows. we defined an economic community as a group of people who share a conception of a good life that requires them to pursue it together. The survival of such a community survives is threatened by the break down of shared norms which articulate a conception of a good life and provide guidance towards achieving it. Communities break down according to the tradition of sociological writing mentioned above as modernization and industrialization whittle away at personal relations.

SHORTEN WHAT FOLLOWS ...correspond to events recorded in social statistics and personal experience. Economic development has caused more people to live in the city, and the urban migrants testify to their loss of personal relationships.¹²² The contrast between rural communities and urban anomie can be overdrawn because migrants to the city sometimes re-establish their old communities or found new ones.¹²³ However, few examples exist of the re-establishment of American Indian communities after migration to the city.¹²⁴

Rather than moving a whole village, Indians tend to migrate to the city as families. Without a critical mass, urban Indians are immersed in relationships with non-

¹²¹.Robert Redfield, The Primitive World and Its Transformations (1967).

¹²².According to the census, Americans living in rural areas declined from 30.1% in 1960 to 26.3% in 1980, but most of the decline occurred in the decade from 1960 to 1970, rather than the decade from 1970 to 1980. Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1982-83, Table No. 23.

¹²³.For example, see Ghans, The Urban Villagers for an account of a lower class, ethnic community. It also seems to be the case that middle class people in the city create communities which are not ethnically based. See for example, Jane Jacobs, The Death and Life of the Great American Cities.

¹²⁴.The only example I know is the Yaqui community called Barrio Libra in Tucson. The Yaquis have unusual traits relative to other Indians which may explain this anomaly. An appreciation of these traits can be gained by reading The Tall Candle, by .. .

Indians. The Indian migrant to the city may retain his identity with his village "back home", but the children who grow up in town seldom learn to speak an Indian language, identify with a clan, or participate in Indian ceremonial life. They identify themselves as Indians for purposes of the census -- after all, their race does not change except slowly through intermarriage -- but they are "generalized Indians", rather than people whose culture can be identified with a specific community, band, tribe, and nation.

Consistent with the sociological tradition, economic development has caused many Indian communities to dissolve in recent years. Indian communities are the carriers of Indian culture. It cannot reproduce itself in the city. as the isolation of rural areas ends, preserving Indian culture depends upon community development, rather than migration to urban jobs. In order to preserve Indian culture, the economic process must strengthen Indian communities, rather than undermining them.

Can You Afford To Be Poor?

Social ills such as alcoholism, drug addiction, child abuse, and crime afflict poor neighborhoods disproportionately in America. Does poverty cause social chaos in America, or does social chaos cause poverty? People who are addicted to alcohol or drugs cannot work regularly, so their chaotic lives keep them poor. On the other hand, people who cannot find useful work and lose self-esteem may turn to drink or drugs, so their poverty makes their lives chaotic.

As illustrated, causation can run either way for individuals. The deeper questions, however, concern social groups and culture. Do cultural differences cause some Americans to be poorer than others, or do wealth differences cause cultural differences? Oscar Lewis thought that poverty constitutes a culture with its own social norms.¹²⁵ Daniel Moynihan added the view that the culture of poverty has become pathological.¹²⁶ According to this views, social chaos keeps people poor by reproducing itself in families from one generation to another as part of a self-sustaining process, whereas strong families do not remain poor for long in contemporary America.

¹²⁵cite
¹²⁶cite

The process of individuation changes people and their society in ways that relate directly to productivity and economic organization. The outcome of economic competition must be determined in part by cultural differences among people. Indians, who are obviously different in culture from other people, were shaped by centuries of adaptation to the natural environment. Now their cultural distinctiveness conveys a comparative advantage in labor market competition that was identified in Part I, as well as significant disadvantages. However, social chaos is not one of the enduring cultural traits of Indians, nor is it the cause of their poverty. It is a new condition with recent causes that can be understood by appreciating the Indian approach to social control.

In the recent past, Papago communities each contained a whipping post where disruptive people might be tied and publicly humiliated. Similarly, the Cherokees severely punish anyone bringing alcohol on the "stomp grounds" where religious rites are held. Traditional law and practice among most tribes with respect to drunkenness and disorder was simple and harsh. Where such laws were in place, drunkenness and violence did not undermine community life as it does today. Every contemporary Indian reservation outlaws the possession of alcoholic beverages. The law remains simple, but punishment is sporadic and ineffective.¹²⁷

According to relational theory, Indians do not go through the individuation process that fits a person to work among strangers by internalizing ethical ideals. As a consequence, relational theory predicts that Indians will rely upon social restraint rather than self-restraint to limit dangerous pleasures like drinking.¹²⁸ The prediction is confirmed by the ubiquity of prohibition on Indian reservations. Indians apparently favor prohibition because they do not expect most people to turn down a drink without fear of punishment. However, the massive intrusion by outsiders that destroyed aboriginal wealth also disrupted the political and social mechanisms for effective enforcement of norms. Attempts to assimilate Indians by destroying their communities replaced effective mechanism of social control with ineffective state bureaucracy. Contemporary Indian communities enact laws than they cannot enforce. With little self-restraint and

¹²⁷.A persistent pattern across tribes is that fundamentalist Christians and Mormons shun alcohol, whereas non-Christians, Catholics, and Anglicans do not.

ineffective social restraint, pleasure-seekers reduce life to chaos. Social chaos is caused, not by Indian culture, but by its erosion.

Poverty versus Aboriginal Wealth

Economic theories assumed self-interested individuals, whereas Indian kin groups share a conception of the good life. The former must be modified when applying it to the latter. Cases in points are standard conceptions of wealth and poverty. A Texas politician once said, "I've been rich and I've been poor, and rich is better."¹²⁹ Most people, including Indians, agree that rich is better, or at least that poverty is bad, because it deprives people of necessities like food, shelter, and clothing. Urgent material needs are not all satisfied on Indian reservations today. Some people, especially government officials, conclude that poverty is the worst enemy of Indians. President Johnson even declared war on poverty. (He is the only American president who lost two wars.) The people who regard poverty as the major problem of Indian communities usually conclude that rapid economic development is the Indians' best hope.

Does a nation's wealth consist in its hoard of rare goods like gold and silver bullion, or in the productive capacity of its industry and farms? Modern economics began to take its modern shape when the former view was rejected and the later view was explained by Adam Smith in The Wealth of Nations (1776). Following Smith, economists now measure the wealth of a nation by the market value of its goods and services ("gross national product"). A few tribes are rich by this standard, for example, the Oklahoma Osages. They were stripped of their land by outsiders, but the thieves overlooked the sub-surface rights and when oil was found, a friendly court held that the Osages retained ownership of it. Other tribes used to be rich, or at least richer than today. To illustrate, before the Cherokees were driven from their homeland in the southeastern United States in the 1830s, some owned rich farms, including plantations with slaves. In the Cherokee view of history, they used to be rich and the whites were poor, but now the

¹²⁸.See Robert K. Thomas, "The History of North American Alcohol Use As A Community-Based Phenomenon," J. of Studies on Alcohol, Supplement 9, June 1981 (Center of Alcohol Studies, Rutgers, New Brunswick, New Jersey).

¹²⁹.Attributed to John Connelly.

opposite is true. Other tribes, like the Ojibway and the Cree, prospered as trappers for the Hudson Bay Company until the furs ran out or fashions changed.

For most tribes, however, market wealth was not so important. Plentiful game, rivers teeming with fish, edible wild plants in abundance, and rich bottom land for gardens -- this is aboriginal wealth. In a rich land, Indians could enjoy life's basics -- good food, warm clothes, comfortable shelter, a cozy fire -- without working too hard. This quotation from a member of a tribe in British Columbia illustrates the point:

"People often refer to us Nisga'as as a rich people, because we can make food of all kinds in every season. Our land is known as a very rich land for food and other resources...The anadromous salmon and oolichan carry energy gained from feeding on the marine pastures of the Pacific; the valley bottom of the Naas and its tributary streams provide productive habitat for beaver and spawning and nursery habitat for salmon and oolichan; the mountain slopes are rich in straight grained trees and a wide variety of berries and other food plants; and the upper, alpine mountain areas provide habitat for mountain goat, hoary marmot, and grizzly bear."¹³⁰

This is the Biblical "land of milk and honey", or rather its equivalent for a people who hunt and gather, rather than herding sheep like the ancient Jews.

Aboriginal wealth and market wealth require different kind of husbandry. To prevent aboriginal wealth from spoiling, a balance must be maintained. Or rather, man must not disturb the balance ordained by nature. Aboriginal wealth dissipates when people cannot restrain themselves and they press upon the land too hard, demanding too much of it. In contrast, amassing ever larger amounts of market wealth need not be destructive. To illustrate the difference concretely, a tribe who devotes too many hours to hunting may spoil the game, but a family who devotes many hours to keeping the family store open at night and well-stocked will make more money. Aboriginal wealth and market wealth thus lend themselves to different mentalities of accumulation.

¹³⁰Testimony of Rufus Watts, page 27 [get full cite]

Allotment

Most Indians perceive recent economic history as a massive destruction of aboriginal wealth and the transfer of the remaining land to outsiders. After warfare and conquest ceased in the 19th century, the transfer of land continued, especially through allotting it. Economists have repeatedly claimed that private ownership of land maximizes its productivity, whereas common ownership causes waste ("the tragedy of the commons").¹³¹ This belief provided a rationale for the allotment of Indian lands subsequent to passage of the Dawes Act in 18__.

In reality, allotting Indian lands often reduced the productivity of the land that remained in Indian hands. Allotment disrupts the politics of collective land management, which can paralyze production, rather than freeing the entrepreneurial spirit. To illustrate, the allotments of Cherokee land in Oklahoma ended the traditional practice of allowing hogs and cattle to range freely over large tracts of the best rangeland. Furthermore, Cherokees were eventually permitted to sell much of the allotted land which quickly passed out of their hands.¹³² Lands under the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Oklahoma declined from approximately 20 million acres in 1920 to approximately 1 million acres in 1979.¹³³

The irrigated gardens of the San Xavier Papagos, which once formed an oasis in the desert near Tucson, required cooperation to allocate water. The lands were legally allotted to individuals over a period of years beginning in the late 19th century, but the Papagos paid little attention to these formalities and continued their customary agricultural practices. However, after the second world war the Bureau of Indian affairs began to lease land for mines on the southern part of the reservation. To make lease

¹³¹ This claim was developed forcefully in an influential essay by Garnet Hardin entitled, "The Tragedy of the Commons." It is discussed in greater detail in chapter __.

¹³² Allotments differed from place to place. In Oklahoma, all Indian lands were allotted. Among the Five Civilized Tribes, members received 60 acres around the homestead and 60 acres of "surplus: away from the homestead. A member of the tribe who was more than 1/2 white was given title in fee simple, where the land of those who were more than 1/2 Indian was assigned to a trustee. After Oklahoma became a state, most restrictions were removed from these lands and Indian country disappeared.

¹³³ Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1974, Table No.330.

payments to allottees, the government began to sort out the heirs and determine who had legal title to which parcels of land. The ownership rights established by US law conflicted with the practical arrangements for agriculture, so Indians were often told that they were farming someone else's land. Such revelations greatly complicated the politics of irrigation, and most of the land went out of production. The attempt by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to retrieve the situation by establishing an agricultural cooperative met with limited success.¹³⁴

If the ownership rights over allotted land are unrestricted as with much Cherokee land, so that it can be bought and sold in a market, it quickly passes from Indians to non-Indians. If ownership rights are restricted as with the Papagos, so that sale is prohibited and land is divided equally among heirs, the parcels become smaller with each generation. In either case, production is disrupted by the violation of the Indian common law of property.

The formal allotment of Indian land has largely ceased,¹³⁵ but the same ends are now being accomplished by different means. An illustration was already given in this chapter, specifically the proposed 99 year lease of much of the San Xavier Papago reservation to a Los Angeles development company. As another example, consider the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, which created 13 native corporations with extensive ownership rights over land and resources.¹³⁶ Absent revision in the law, the native owners will be permitted to sell their stock in 1991. The denouement will be no different in contemporary Alaska than in old Oklahoma -- control over the land will pass to non-Indians, which is, presumably, the law's purpose.

¹³⁴crop--on a fraction of the acres which were formerly in gardens. I am relying upon oral communication with Robert K. Thomas and Bernard Fontana. A brief discussion of allotments at San Xavier is found in Henry F. Manuel, Juliann Ramon, and Bernard L. Fontana, "Dressing for the Window: Papago Indians and Economic Development," American Indian Economic Development (1978) ed. Sam Stanley, pages 552-553.

¹³⁵The process may be revived in the future. The Republican Party of Arizona adopted an official plank in its party program for 1984 calling for abolishing the state's Indian reservations and allotting their land. The Democratic Party Chairman for the state called it "idiocy". See "Abrogation of treaties 'idiocy', Navaho Times July 12, 1984, p8.

¹³⁶The corporations, plus a cash payment, were exchanged for the extinction of native claims to large areas of Alaska. See "1991 Crucial Year in Alaska for Saving Traditional Cultures", San Francisco Examiner & Chronicle, June 3, 1984, page A3.

Intensification versus Development

Population growth and economic development have transformed the landscape, destroying aboriginal wealth in the process and creating market wealth. Most official measures of wealth like gross national product, only count market wealth. In order to measure changes in true wealth, the loss of non-market wealth, whose measurement is difficult and controversial, must be subtracted from the gain in market wealth. Traditional Indians do not count economic development that destroys aboriginal wealth as progress.

The phrase "economic development" has positive connotations, so a neutral term is needed such as "economic intensification" to encompass environmentally destructive investments as well as true material progress. Policy makers submerge the distinction between progress and intensification in their rush to increase market wealth and raise living standards. Indian reservations have experienced more intensification than development.

Markets, Co-ops, and Tradition

People who take ideas more seriously than relationships have difficulty understanding the behavior of Indians. Perhaps that is why the opposing models of capitalism and socialism, which really have little to do with Indians, figure in debates among intellectuals about economic development on reservations. Socialists sometimes construe the tribe as a nascent cooperative or, perhaps, a commune without self-consciousness. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Socialism is an ideal that binds its adherents together. Traditional Indians can hardly conceive of a person for whom an abstract ideal could be so important.

The model of perfect competition, on the other hand, assumes that people have no ties to each other. Market conservatives sometimes expect Indians to act like individualists. For example, an influential essay entitled the "Tragedy of the Commons," argues that traditional groups over-exploit resources by allowing public access to them, rather like commercial fishermen who cannot stop themselves from driving species of fish towards extinction.¹³⁷ This line of thought has been directly applied to Indians. A

¹³⁷Garnett; McClelland

well-known economic essay argues that Indians in North America faced the problem of over-exploitation of common resources. To overcome the problem, Indians allegedly transformed common resources into private ownership. The transformation allegedly occurred as soon as the loss from over-exploitation of common resources grew to be as large as the cost from enforcing private property rights.¹³⁸

This theory is more clever than convincing. Traditional Indians live lives bound up with their relatives. Kinship provides ample framework for restraining people from the myopic exploitation of resources. As a consequence, property among traditional Indians bears little resemblance to a right of public access to the ocean's fisheries. For example, the Nishga in British Columbia organized into "houses" which owned the fisheries, berry patches, and hunting places. Access was not free or open to a broad public. On the other hand, ownership by houses among the Nishga was not like absolute ownership by individuals, as in English freehold or fee simple.

To understand why kinship differs from socialism or individualism, consider a contrast in the quality of human interaction among relatives and non-relatives. To run an economic enterprise, unrelated individuals usually need to form a hierarchical organization of roles. The need for hierarchy can be overcome sometimes, but not often, by commitment to a powerful ideal such as socialism. In contrast, kinsmen can cooperate without hierarchy or a shared ideology. Cooperation can be secured by commitment to each other, which provides a framework for reciprocity. Reciprocity involves one party helping the other, and then the other party returning the favor, which can be modelled as a repeated game, as suggested by the preceding economic parable.

When Indians help each other, they do not submerge their individuality in a larger cause, nor do they compute their own individual advantage narrowly or immediately. Helping is neither pure love nor pure selfishness, just as reciprocity is neither pure altruism nor pure competition. The fact that Indians are unrivalled as helpers gives them a comparative advantage in forming teams, whether as private contractors like the roofers in Denver, a cooperative organization like Tama Craft, or as part of a large factory.

¹³⁸Demsetz

Recreating A Traditional Economy

Many Indian communities are only a generation or two away from a traditional economy based upon hunting, fishing, herding, and gardening. However, the younger generation has been drawn into wage labor and is increasingly influenced by schools, television, and books that portray a way of life requiring market wealth. The resulting change in tastes, expectations, and habits is inconsistent with a traditional way of life. Can Indians extricate themselves from the market and restore a semblance of their traditional economy? Chapter 3 describes a band of Crees who left their reservation in Alberta and moved onto Crown lands in the distant mountains of northwest Canada to live in tents and resume the life of hunters. The Mackinaws camp is an inspiration and a source of spiritual renewal for Indians from all over north America. However, over-population and industrialization pressure the land so relentlessly that returning to a life of hunting and gardening is not an option for most Indians.

Since a return to hunting and gathering is infeasible, Indians try to minimize cultural disruption by expanding traditional economic practices like growing corn and making handicrafts. However, some industrial products are close substitutes for them. Indians will not supply a traditional product by labor-intensive means when there is a close substitute available at low cost. To illustrate, there are large uncultivated areas on the Hopi reservation which were once planted in corn and fruit trees. It is not hard to see why cultivation ceased. Many Hopis work for wages, often putting to use their generally high level of education. An acre in Iowa can grow more corn with less labor than many acres on the Hopi reservation. So when transportation costs fell, Hopis used their wages to buy flour from places like Iowa, instead of growing their own. Those good people on the Hopi reservation who would like to bring corn fields back into production are unlikely to succeed so long as trucks ply the roads to Iowa.

In general, when the market supplies cheap substitutes for traditional products, Indians who work for wages will stop making the traditional products. In this respect, Indians are no different from other people. All over the world, handcrafted products have been replaced by manufactured products as people are drawn into wage labor. There is a comparative disadvantage, not a comparative advantage, in producing traditional goods

for which there is a close, mass produced substitute. To survive against competition, handcrafted items must be transformed from objects of utility into objects of art, for which there are no close industrial substitutes.

The traditional economy for most Indians involved trading among the tribes through barter. Barter is the method of trade in which tangible goods with intrinsic worth are exchanged for each other, such as trading hides for flour. By contrast, money has no intrinsic worth--you cannot eat it, wear it, or plough a field with it. Unlike barter, money transactions involve exchanging something with intrinsic worth for something without it.

Barter has an advantage over money transactions where preserving a community is concerned, because it is easier psychologically to share tangible goods with relatives and friends than to share money. For example, among urban people, dinner guests often bring the host a bottle of wine or flowers for the table, but guests do not present the host with an envelope of dollar bills. Among Indians, a hunter is more likely to share meat with relatives than a wage earner is likely to share money.

In contrast, an advantage of money over barter is convenience. For example, it is easier to pay with quarters when strolling from booth to booth at the Window Rock rodeo than to lug around a sack of flour and pay by the quart. Convenience is such a strong motive in trade that Indians are unlikely to do much bartering so long as reliable money is available, especially when trade is conducted with strangers, rather than with friends and relatives. The attempt to revive barter among strangers is similar to the attempt to preserve handcrafted production among wage laborers. Neither is likely to succeed because they go into the teeth of the market.

Selfishness and the Social Self

Indian kin groups, unlike individuals, need to pursue their conception of the good life together, but it would be wrong to conclude from this fact that the behavior of traditional Indians is collective, like bees in a hive or ants in a nest. The members of an Indian community feel the tension between self-interest and the public good. Indians, like most other people, like living comfortably. However, according to relational theory, traditional Indians take their identity from social relations. An inclusive self-conception

effaces the clear boundary between self-interest and benevolence. To illustrate, a mother's generosity to her daughter expresses who she is, rather than sacrificing herself for someone else. As self-conception expands to encompass a larger kin group, the scope increases for cooperation without self-sacrifice.

The difference between a life among kin changes and a life among strangers changes not only the scope of selfishness but its nature. Individuation requires internalizing ethical ideals affecting resource distribution. An individual should not cheat by taking more than a fair share of resources. To illustrate, a church member who does not tithe forces others to bear the burden of maintaining the congregation. Similarly, a person may care about the distribution of income in society, but he does not care which stranger is poor and which stranger is rich. This is the manifestation in ethics of the fact that people are interchangeable in roles.

In contrast, a person who lives among kin without responding sufficiently to them deprives particular relatives of things they need or want. To illustrate, as Indian men enter middle age, they are expected to become socially responsible and begin assuming office. If they resist in order to persist in enjoying their private pleasures, as they frequently do (See Chapter 10), their relatives may say that they are selfish. GETTING OBSCURE The general point is that, while selfishness advances the interests of the actor at excessive cost to others, what counts as the interests of the self depends upon its definition. In a vertical world, office conveys status upon the individual who holds it, so self-interest dictates that such a person pursue office. In a kin world, office conveys social responsibility upon the person who holds it, so responsiveness to others dictates the assumption of office. For traditional Indians, however, responsiveness to others requires assuming office and accepting social responsibilities. The reluctance of Indian men to assume office is selfish because traditional Indians regard the self as interested in pleasure.

Aggregation by Addition, or Adding Utilities

Individualistic conceptions of the good life have been advanced by many social philosophers. To illustrate, the first systematic utilitarian philosopher, Jeremy Bentham, wrote:

The interest of the community then is, what?--the sum of the interests of the several members who compose it.¹³⁹

Perhaps the interests of a group of strangers standing in line at the post office is the sum of their individual interests, but this hardly seems true of, say, the people of San Xavier village. There is a difference between an aggregation of people and a community.

Economic theory formulates the distinction forcefully. Economists describe the ends of a person by his "utility function." The utility functions of strangers are independent, so the enjoyment that one person receives from the consumption of goods is unaffected by the enjoyment received by others.¹⁴⁰ The interests of an aggregation of strangers, being strictly independent, can be conceived as a sum of individual interests. For example, the utility enjoyed by people in a busy Manhattan cafeteria is the sum of the utility that each one gets from eating his own lunch.

Goods which are private when consumed by strangers acquire a public aspect when consumed by communities.¹⁴¹ For example, the utility enjoyed by San Xavier village at a community feast is more than the sum of the utility that each person gets from eating his own dinner. For the members of a community, utility functions are interdependent in the sense that one person's enjoyment of a good is affected by the enjoyment of others. When the interests of people are intertwined, as they are in a community, totalling them involves more complicated arithmetic than taking a sum. In economic jargon, non-separability of utilities complicates the aggregation of net benefits.¹⁴²

Cost Benefit Analysis

In 1936 Congress passed the Flood Control Act which states that "...the Federal Government should improve or participate in the improvement of navigable waters...if

¹³⁹Jeremy Bentham, An Introduction to The Principles of Morals and Legislation (Hafner Press, 1973), intro. Laurence Lafleur, page 3.

¹⁴⁰To be more precise, the utility functions of strangers are independent of the utility functions of other identified individuals. However, the utility functions of strangers may be interdependent in a generalized way. See footnote 10.

¹⁴¹.For the contrast between public and private goods in economics, see Richard Musgrave, The Theory of Public Finance, (1959)

¹⁴²Thus cost benefit analysis becomes far more difficult when utilities are interdependent rather than separable. Instead of a simple sum of individual interests, economists must resort to a "social welfare function," which is a very controversial idea.

the benefits to whomsoever they may accrue are in excess of the estimated costs."¹⁴³ Implementing of this bill required creating techniques for computing benefits and costs, but Congress was silent on this point. The task ultimately fell upon economists who responded by creating cost benefit analysis. These techniques have been extended to a wide range of problems, from calculating the environmental impact of an office building in Manhattan to deciding whether to build an irrigation ditch in Idaho.

Cost benefit analysis is the explicit, formalization of a way of thinking that many people use informally. The basic idea of cost benefit analysis is similar to accounting in a private business. The bookkeeper for a company keeps a ledger with debits on one side of the sheet and credits on the other. When revenues are running ahead of costs, the firm is enjoying a profit, whereas the firm is suffering losses when costs are running ahead of revenues. A business firm decides whether to undertake a proposed investment by guessing whether or not it will be profitable. Guessing is improved by drawing up a ledger in advance showing the anticipated debits and credits.

Governments cannot base investment decisions on the same ledger that private business would use, because government are expected to undertake investments which would be unprofitable for private business. Cost benefit analysis solves this problem by providing a bookkeeping technique which takes into account broader considerations than profits. For example, suppose that government proposes to drill a well and make the water available to a small community. The drilling costs are uncertain because no one knows in advance the depth at which the water lies. The benefits are in the future, such as irrigated crops and drinking water for homes. The users of the water may be charged only a nominal fee, in which case the revenues from sale of the water will be far less than its value. There may be intangible costs associated with the well, such as the harm done by reducing runoff to a nearby stream. Drawing up a ledger for this project requires computing uncertain costs, discounting future benefits, and quantifying intangible goods.

¹⁴³See Robert Dorfman, "Forty Years of Cost Benefit Analysis" (Harvard Institute of Economic Research Working Paper, 1976).

The specific techniques by which cost benefit analysis solves these problems are beyond this chapter's scope.¹⁴⁴

Drawing up a ledger for a proposed investment is a good way to think systematically about its effects. Such ledgers are, however, biased against unquantifiable values. To illustrate, the original cost benefit analyses for damming streams omitted the esthetic and recreational values now regarded as central to such decisions.

Furthmore, the total net benefits are found by summing the net benefits to affected individuals, thus applying the utilitarian principle that the well-being of the community is the sum of the material well being of the individuals in it. For example, the total value of water to home owners is found by summing the amount that each would be willing to pay for it. As explained earlier in this chapter, difficulties arise when this principle is applied to communities as opposed to aggregations of individuals. In communities, the entanglement of people with each other complicates the attribution of benefits or costs to individuals. Investment projects that implicate cultural values, as opposed to material well-being, pose the most severe form of this difficulty.¹⁴⁵ Transforming the land implicates not only Indian cultural values but cultural survival.

Decision techniques like cost benefit analysis can play a role, but not a dispositive role, in such investment decisions. Knowing that a project will yield positive net benefits to affected individuals is useful, but this fact alone is insufficient to proceed with the investment. Such investment projects must ultimately be evaluated by Indian communities as political decisions. Only legitimate decision political decision processes can distinguish economic intensification from material progress.

Conclusion The Economic Rationality of Indians

Economists assume that individuals are acquisitive, self-interested, and calculating. The interaction of such rational people in a competitive market creates an efficient economy. These assumptions about rationality must be modified in light of relational theory when applied to traditional Indians. Indians enjoy pleasure and self-indulgence, but they acquire little market wealth as they go through life. Being social

¹⁴⁴See a standard textbook, such as Mishan, Benefit Cost Analysis, or ...

¹⁴⁵cite merit goods

rather than individual, responsiveness to a wide group of kinsmen is not experienced as self-sacrifice. The kin group is highly adaptive and responsive to the environment, but deliberation and planning are not its mode of operation.

These cultural traits suggest that the comparative advantage of traditional Indians lies in those jobs requiring teamwork. Turning from work to consumption, these cultural traits suggest that an Indian kin group's conception of the good life requires them to pursue it together. Economic development and the alleviation of poverty are, consequently, bound up with reinvigorating Indian communities. For a group of kinsmen, culture is not the obstacle to economic progress but its vehicle.

Notes

Comparative Advantage, Business Strategy, and Economic Development

say something about the bingo parlors

Eric Wolfe, Legacy of Colonial Regimes Around the World

insert on difficulties of economics and utilitarianism when utilities are interdependent:

The model of desire turns out to be more useful when applied to individuals as opposed to tribal persons. A person whose identity is imbedded in kin ties will often have difficulty disentangling his own pleasures from the pleasures of loved ones. To illustrate, a parent's deepest pleasure may come from delighting his child. This situation is described in economics as interdependent utilities -- one person's utility directly depends upon another's. Interdependent utilities raise profound problems for a theory of psychological hedonism¹⁴⁶ and creates a host of problems for using the calculus of utility to explain behavior.¹⁴⁷

However, these problems do not arise so forcefully when explaining the behavior of a large, impersonal society. When individuals interact in a large, impersonal society, they have no problem separating their own pleasures from pleasures enjoyed by others who are acquaintances or strangers. The model of desire, including psychological hedonism and the calculus of utilities, can be applied in these circumstances with fewer complications. Thus the model of desire has more explanatory power when applied to impersonal spheres of contemporary life, such as business and politics, than when applied to life among kin. To illustrate, the economic model of a competitive economy depends upon the separability of utilities for the truth of some of its theorems.

Lumi:

Another recent example is described in a paper by Vine Deloria entitled, "The Lummi Indian Community: The Fishermen of the Pacific Northwest."¹⁴⁸ The Lummis drew upon their long experience as fishermen to establish a profitable aquaculture project. Dikes were constructed to make ponds in the tidal flats of Bellingham Bay where fish were raised for the market.

¹⁴⁶To illustrate, suppose a parent's greatest pleasure is delighting his child. If the parent treats his child as an instrument for achieving his own pleasure, however, much of the pleasure might be lost. So the parent is in the situation of maximizing his pleasure only if, instead of seeking to do so, he seeks to delight someone else. This is a paradox for psychological hedonism.

¹⁴⁷Some of these difficulties are catalogued in Chapter __ on economics.

¹⁴⁸Vine Deloria, Jr., "The Lummi Indian Community: The Fishermen of the Pacific Northwest," American Indian Economic Development (1978) ed. Sam Stanley, 87.

Chapter 8 Becoming Civilize -- A Narrative Of Cherokee Law By R.H.

When I was a boy in eastern Oklahoma, I used to hear the old Indians, particularly the old men, talk a lot among themselves. Sometimes I would pay attention, and other times I wouldn't. By the late '40s, by the time I was in my twenties, I began to listen with a more attentive ear, as the elders began to offer their instructions directly at me. Most of these old men were what they call Night Hawk Cherokees. This was a nickname given to them by the whites, as many of their ceremonies began at night and wouldn't finish up until morning. They were not Christians, but instead still worshipped in the old Cherokee religion. These Cherokees came to partially accept "Nighthawk" as the white name for them and their religion. Our true religious name is Keetoowah. Although many of the Cherokee Indians are strong Baptists, I didn't talk to many older Baptist Cherokees until later in my life.

The old people don't like what whites write down about the Cherokees in their history books. Some of the elders say that they are all lies; others are a little more generous in their judgment, saying that the reason why the white scholars didn't get it right was because they only read what was written by the whites during the old days. If they had talked to the Cherokees, they would have gotten the true history. I am going to tell you some of what

those old men told me, at least part of it. I can't write it all down. The story is too long.

There are other Cherokee versions of Cherokee history that I plan to mention later on in this narrative. Now what I want to tell you are the Keetoowah stories those particular old men told me about how the Cherokees became civilized. When the Cherokees were first created, we were simple and open, and were close to nature and close to God. We hadn't been given any "real rules" to go by. God had given us some things to help us: herbs, water, fire and words, but no real law. Then either before or near the time of Christ, the Cherokees began to get a little smarter, and began to develop towns. In the center of those towns they built temples on the top of great mounds. God began to get worried then, and thought that since we were getting so smart, we needed a formal law. Thus he gave us what we call the Four Mothers' Law. This law governed not only Cherokees but various other tribes in the eastern part of our great island of North America.

The Four Mothers' Law is a set of rules about how you are supposed to behave. It is similar to the Ten Commandments in the Bible, except much longer. In addition, God gave us customs and practices to go along with those commandments which make them strong. Even today the Creek Indians go by that Four Mothers' Law. We followed this law for nearly 1,000 years, and then we began to break it. A friend of mine asked me once why the

Cherokees broke the Law and began to fight with other tribes. I pondered that question for a long time. The United States was a paradise in those days. It was so full of game and had such rich soil that life was easy. The Cherokee got spoiled, and spoiled people are selfish and vain and full of false pride. We had too much pride in our own manhood and began to fight. After the warfare started we thirsted too much for revenge. We started making war against other tribes and we were finally driven south into what is now the southern mountains in east Tennessee and the Carolinas.

At that time God took pity on us again. I guess because we were a chosen people in God's eyes he decided to give us another chance. This time he laid down what we call the Seven Clan Rule. The Seven Clan Law modified the old Four Mothers' Law. The commandments of the Seven Clan Law are called the White Path of Peace, and the customs and practices that rest on that White Path of Peace are a little different from those tribes, like the Creeks, who still go by the old Four Mothers' Law. The old people say the Seven Clan Law is a stronger Law than the Four Mothers' Law to get us back on the right road.

We followed the Seven Clan Law pretty well for a while, but then we started to break that law too. We started using the medicine that God had given us to help hunt animals on each other, and we began to fight with other tribes again. We were eaten up with jealousy and

envy of our fellow man. By the time whites got here, we had become wild. You couldn't travel through the Cherokee country if you were a member of some other nationality. In those days Cherokees would kill you just because you were a stranger. In fact it was even dangerous for Cherokees to travel in another Cherokee area where they weren't known. We had just gone wild with bad medicine, with suspicion of one another, and the fighting of other tribes.

Finally, the whites came into North America. They were pressing in on us pretty hard, but the old people said that our response, jumping on them and fighting them, made things worse. Our war with the Americans began about the time the American Revolution commenced. The old people said that the Cherokees finally made peace with the Americans when two things happened. First, General Wayne defeated both the northern tribes and the Cherokees in a battle fought in what's now Ohio, and, second, the Tennessee whites burned the Cherokee war camps. I know white history books say that this happened in 1794. Although the old people did not tell me this, I calculate that war lasted almost 20 years from the beginning of the American Revolution until about 1794.

At the end of the war, we made a treaty with the Americans which was to last until the end of time. The old people said that God was the witness to that treaty.

When that war with the Americans had first started the Cherokees were getting whipped pretty bad. After a little

while most of the old chiefs wanted to give the war up, but the war captains and their young men wouldn't agree.

Instead they pulled out of the Cherokee towns in Tennessee and made some war camps west of what is now Chattanooga in the rough Cumberland Mountains. There they kept up the war with the Americans. I suppose a lot of the young men from Cherokee settlements in other areas probably sneaked over to the war camps once in a while to help the Cherokee there resist the Americans.

By the time the war was finally over, a lot of young men never lived with anything else but war. Let's say that you were 10 years old when your daddy took you to live in those war camps. If you were 30 years old when that war ended, you couldn't hardly remember a time when there wasn't war. Those war captains spent most of their young manhood living in war camps, on the warpath all the time. It is my guess that that kind of life will leave a mark on a man. The old people told me that in that time a lot of those war captains did just as they pleased. They didn't obey anybody, and they wouldn't pay any attention to what the people wanted. The only persons they would listen to were their fellow Cherokee war captains, and their white friends that had been in the white armies.

One of the things that a lot of people don't realize about guerilla warfare is that you get to know your enemies personally and can become firm friends with some of them. Those Cherokee war captains paid more attention to their

old white buddies who had been in the Tennessee militia than they would to their fellow Cherokees. In fact, once the war was over and the American government wanted to get more land for white settlers, they would send frontiersmen who had been officers in the militia down to the Cherokee Nation to negotiate yet another treaty for more Cherokee land. These white veterans would look up their old friends who had been Cherokee war captains pass around an open bottle of whiskey and get everybody telling stories and jokes about the good old days when they all were young fighting men. When those Indians were high as a Georgia pine and in a good humor their white friends would drag out the new treaty. By that time the war captains would be in such a good mood they would have signed away their parents' graves if their white friends had asked them to. A lot of them signed away much Cherokee land in this way.

The Cherokees had a national council in the early 1800s, and many of those former war captains were sitting on that council. It used to be that a Cherokee settlement would have a chief to handle things in times of peace, such as directing ceremonies and looking after the people; the war captain was supposed to step forward only in times of war. But sometimes, especially after the Cherokees made peace, war captains would "hang up their spurs" and become regular chiefs and then would sit on the National Council. The Cherokee National Council was made up mostly of the chiefs from the different Cherokee towns, or settlements as

they were called. Sometimes the settlement might not send their chief, and instead delegate some young man to sit on the council who didn't mind staying away from home.

As I said, although some of these war captains were now the regular chiefs of settlements and sat on the Council, by and large that Council was made up of wise old elders, the peace chiefs of different Cherokee settlements. Those old men knew that the Cherokees had gotten off the White Path of Peace by breaking God's Law and that we had been made to suffer for it. By the time the war with the Americans was over, we were in bad shape. Many Cherokees had been killed in warfare, a lot of people had been run off their home places and down into Georgia and Alabama. Cherokees became dirt poor and confused. There was a lot of trouble between people and a lot of drinking. The Cherokee morale was at low ebb in those days. Our elders knew that our troubles were our own doing because we had broken God's Law and had gotten off the White Path of Peace. We had just gone wild. This Council of old chiefs wanted to get the Cherokee back on the White Path of Peace. They wanted the Cherokee to get civilized again.

The Cherokees have already done away with the making of a blood sacrifice to the fire of a brave captive, which whites called burning at the stake. This sacrifice was supposed to replenish the Cherokee spiritual power in warfare. Cherokees stopped that practice near the end of

that long war with the Americans. I think it just got too hard for them to sacrifice someone known and admired.

The first task the Council took up was to do away with the law of clan revenge. There were seven clans in the Cherokee Nation, and if somebody killed a member of your clan you had to kill him to even up the score. The old people said that the revenge law didn't come from God. Instead it was one that we had made up, and they were going to change it to abolish clan revenge by making a new law. Now in those days, although Cherokee Indians couldn't write in Cherokee, they wanted the new law written down somehow, so they had it written in English to make it permanent. I have seen a copy of the first law the Cherokees wrote down. An old man, Will Martin, showed me that law in a book of Cherokee laws. The book had been put out by the Cherokee Nation, and it was so old that it was coming apart. That law has "By order of the Seven Clans" written on it in English and is dated 1808. The council also made a wampum belt, to which each one of the seven clans donated beads. This wampum belt was made of nothing but white beads partitioned off into seven sections. I've seen that very wampum belt; the Keetowah Society in Oklahoma still has it. The wampum belt symbolized a pledge from each of the seven clans that they would forego clan revenge, and instead pledged themselves to peace.

After that, the National Council organized what they called the light horse, which was actually a national

police force. This national police force patrolled around the Cherokee Nation, and if they arrested you for doing something wrong they acted as judge and jury right there on the spot. If they caught you and decided you were a thief, they would tie you to a tree and whip you. The old people say that if the Light Horse made a mistake and wrongly whipped somebody, then they were obliged to publicly whip themselves. This made them pretty careful about whom they punished. They didn't, however, handle cases of murder; at that time murder was handled by the chiefs.

When I was a boy, I knew an old Cherokee named Joe Lynch who was a judge in Adair County, Oklahoma. He used to tell a story about those olden times which showed how swift Cherokee justice used to be. One time when the Cherokee still lived back in the old country in Georgia, some Cherokees were having a stomp dance. Two men got into a fight during the dance, and one of them killed the other. The rest of the people at the dance jumped in and grabbed hold of the killer, stopped the dance, and had an immediate trial. The chief and the town council sat as a tribunal. They tried that man and found him guilty. Then they took him outside and shot him, then laid his body out in the brush alongside the body of the man he had killed. Then they went back in and started the dance again. I don't know whether this is a true story or not, but it is the story that Joe Lynch used to tell to show just how swift justice was before the Cherokees had a court system.

If you read through those first laws from the early days you will find few that concern the inheritance of property. The old men who taught me about Cherokee history never mentioned those kinds of laws to me. I don't think they considered property law very important. Generally, Cherokees aren't very interested in property. Nonetheless, I used to think a lot about those laws. Some of these laws would stipulate that if he wanted to, a man could pass on his property to his own children. Usually a man passed his property on to his brother or his sisters' children. That was the general custom in those days. I know that some Cherokee women owned lots of cattle right up to Civil War days and that some men were still passing on property to their sisters' children even after the Civil War. Property inheritance wouldn't have been too much of a problem in those days anyway, as most Cherokee men didn't own much more than a gun and a horse and saddle in the old days.

Some white historians say the Cherokees just copied whites when they made those property laws. That's pure nonsense. A people would have to be pretty stupid as well as foolish to blindly copy another nationality for no reason. Maybe mockingbirds and little kids do that sometimes, but few grown people operate like that. The Cherokee Indians may have our faults, but we are not stupid nor foolish. Other white historians have said that the Cherokee council was accommodating the rich chiefs on the council in making those laws. I also find that hard to

believe. Most of the chiefs were actually men of small to moderate means. Further, they had to report back to the common people back at their home places and explain their actions. The chiefs would have needed a valid reason for taking such an action. In addition, those laws only say that a man can pass his property to his children, it doesn't say he has to. In fact, those property laws clearly state that inheritance by the female line is to remain undisturbed by these new laws.

I think those chiefs were trying to set up a system of law to accommodate a wide range of behavior. I think most Cherokees in that time lived by the traditional customs -- the women "owned" the house and garden, and men went to live in their wife's house. Of course, free land was abundant in the Cherokee Nation and log cabins were easy to build. I guess that if there was a problem over property ownership, you could simply move and start a farmstead elsewhere, if necessary. However, some Cherokees didn't order their lives that way. Some Cherokees had businesses _____ plantations, ferries, inns, or stores. Others had dodged around from place to place during the war with the Americans, finally ending up in the deep south, in a recently settled area that might be as far as a hundred miles from where they had been born and from their kinfolks. I'd bet some of them had never even seen their sister's children; others may have seen their nieces and nephews a few times, but didn't have a close relationship

with them. Most of their wives were in an even worse fix - far away from their own lands and their mamma, with no uncles or brothers around to look out for them.

Further, these men had become rich by their own efforts. I suspect that the chiefs sitting on the council thought that a "self-made" rich man should have the right to leave his property to his wife and children if he wished to do so. It would only be right, particularly if his widow and children needed that property to survive.

I once read a United States Indian agent's report from that period that said occasionally the brother of a deceased man would show up and claim his dead brother's property, and the dead man's widow and children would be out of luck. Now you know that a real chief isn't going to allow that to happen. In fact, when the chiefs set up the Light Horse the act specifically stated that they should protect widows and orphans who had possession of a deceased husband's property.

I have never heard any stories of a man's children and his sister's children fighting over property in the old days. Maybe the old chiefs were trying to forestall that kind of conflict. I'm not sure. However, I think that their main thrust was to create a society that could accommodate many different kinds of conditions, and that they were using law to create such a society.

My grandfather told me that the chiefs stopped clan revenge because of the following incident. A well known

chief had killed a man and the members of that chief's clans didn't want to see him get killed by the offended clan -- actually nobody wanted to see him get killed. A meeting was held between the two clans. The chief's clan told the offended clan that this chief was too valuable to the Cherokees to be killed. However, they said, there was a young man in their clan who was not worth the powder to blow him up whose name was James Vann. He was always drinking and shooting off his pistol during dances or meetings, so why didn't the other clan take his life instead of the chief's? The offended clan agreed to that solution.

That weekend the Cherokees were having a big Indian dance, and both this young man, James Vann, and his uncle, who was the chief that had killed the man, were at the dance. James Vann had heard about the arrangements -- probably all the Cherokees there knew; you can't keep anything quiet among Indians. Vann saw the members of this offended clan coming toward the stomp ground with their pistols on their hips and rifles in their hands. He could see that he was going to be killed. So he pulled out his pistol and shot his uncle dead. When the members of the execution party saw that, they went back to their homes again.

This incident happened way before my grandfather's time, probably around 1800. But my grandfather said the old people told him the Cherokees were appalled that such a

law would force a young man into killing his uncle, his mother's own brother, who was supposed to be his guide, see him through life and pass on medicine to him. In addition, all religious and political offices used to pass down on the female side from uncle to nephew (sister's son). Clan membership was also passed down through the female line. John Ross, who was our greatest Principal Chief and who held office from 1827 to 1865, groomed his sister's son, Bill Ross, for the office of Principal Chief. After John Ross died the Council appointed Bill Ross as Chief. This Indian tie between the uncle and nephew in Cherokee life is a very important relationship, more important than that between father and son. Thus the Cherokees were so shocked at the incident at the dance that most decided right then and there that they had to do something about the law of clan revenge.

Even after such legal reforms as doing away with clan revenge and setting up the Light Horse, Cherokees still felt that they needed a strong rule. What they wanted was a rule so simple and clear that you could follow it automatically. Thus your actions are your own decision instead of being forced by another man to do something. This kind of rule is not harsh enough to oppress ordinary people, but is harsh enough to handle outlaws.

For example, when I was a kid, the old people used to tell me stories about spooks out in the woods. After listening to their stories I never went out in the woods at

night. You didn't have to tell me not to go out there at night, I just didn't do it. Now when some boy wouldn't pay any attention to the old folks and was willful, they would take him through a special ceremony in order to take the meanness out of him. This ceremony involved scratching him all over with garfish teeth. That scratching was supposed to let the meanness out of a mean boy; at least that was the reasoning behind it. I've never been through that particular ceremony, but I've been through a similar ceremony before a stickball game. When they run those garfish down your back, it really smarts. This was the kind of rule the Cherokee chiefs were looking for, laws that ordinary people would follow just naturally but which would also be able to control willful people.

The old chiefs were concerned about the drinking in the Cherokee Nation during that period. Whiskey caused a lot of trouble. But there was nothing much they could do about it. It was the whites who made the whiskey and sold it to the Indians, and the Cherokees couldn't stop them. Finally in 1832 after twenty-five years had passed, the Cherokee chiefs finally convinced the American government to pass an act forbidding their citizens to sell liquor to the Indians.

During this time Cherokees did something they wanted to avoid doing ever again. A committee of chiefs assassinated a fellow chief named the Doublehead who had been a very famous war captain. The Doublehead had signed

away Cherokee land for his own gain against everyone's wishes. Although it was a false treaty, the Cherokees had to abide by it. The Council made a law right after The Doublehead was killed that anyone who signed away the Cherokee land without the permission of the Cherokee people automatically became a public outlaw, subject to execution by any Cherokee citizen who decided to do so. I don't think they wanted any off-hand assassinations to happen again in the Cherokee country. However, one good thing did come out of the Doublehead's assassination, as it caused a lot of the hard-headed former war captains to take off for Arkansas. The old people said that some war captains were vain and could get very willful, and that they were hard to control. You read in white history books that these chiefs went off to Arkansas because the game was better there, or alternatively that they were hostile toward Americans, didn't like the schools which were being set up in the Cherokee Nation by them, and didn't like the missionaries being allowed to preach in the Cherokee Nation. All that may be true, but I think the main reason that they went to Arkansas is that they were hard-headed people who didn't like how the Cherokee Nation was making laws to control people from doing whatever came into their heads.

These Arkansas chiefs were rich men; they must have taken a lot of wealth with them out of the Cherokee Nation when they went off to Arkansas. And, my, they were a peculiar bunch! I should know; all of my mother's family

were either Arkansas or Texas Cherokees. Although those Arkansas and Texas chiefs would rather hunt for a living than do anything else, they had plantations and slaves as well. They liked to live the good life. They dressed their wives in the finest fashions of the day, and had their rifle stocks inlaid with silver. They always rode good horses. Horse races and card games were their passion.

The Arkansas and Texas people didn't like Americans too much, and they were suspicious of schools and Christianity. But they didn't keep up the Cherokee religion either, except for religious matters having to do with war. I never heard of them having any regular stomp dances or large ceremonies. But I do know they had a stomp ground that was used for war dances before they went to war and for making war medicine.

As a matter of fact, right after the movement to Arkansas these western Cherokees got into a war with the native tribes in that region, especially with the Osage people. I have heard a hundred stories about those wars, and in those stories they were all the Osage's fault. I don't believe it! If I was an Osage in that time I sure wouldn't appreciate it when a lot of strange, hard-nosed Indians came swarming all over my country, killing off the game.

The people in Arkansas may not have been too bad, but the Texas Cherokees were wild. These Texas Cherokees had

left Arkansas and moved on to Texas, and I have heard old Cherokees say that they were outlaws.

When the main body of the Cherokees were driven into the Indian Territory in 1839 the old Arkansas and Texas people merged in with the newcomers. I guess this new association civilized those Arkansas and Texas Indians, because our great religious leader, Redbird Smith, was the son of a war captain and was born in Arkansas. But when those old "hostile" chiefs left the Cherokee country in the South in the early 1800s I think the Cherokee Nation was well rid of them.

Now the old men in the Cherokee Nation knew that Americans had a constitution. The American authorities asked the leaders of seven tribes to come and advise them on it when it was being written. Only five out of seven delegations showed up. That is the reason the whites call the Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek and Seminole the Five Civilized Tribes, as they are the delegations that showed up to advise the Americans on their constitution. There are some things in the American constitution that look a little bit like the Indian law. For example, the old Cherokee law made it complicated to get anything done. Let's say you want to widen the road in your settlement. You would have to convince all your fellow clansmen in your area that it was a good idea. Then, the head of your clan would have to confer with the heads of their other six clans. If all the clan heads agreed, after each had

checked with their fellow clansmen, then it would be passed on to the medicine men. If they approved it, by using medicine, the chief would go to the captain and have him call out all the men in the settlement to work widening the road. That is what the Americans call checks and balances and separation of powers. One person can't do whatever he pleases, in any sphere of life.

These old chiefs knew that the whites had the Bible, and thought that it might do the Cherokees some good even though it didn't look like the Bible or the American constitution did whites much good. The old people said that whites had another rule which interfered with that constitution and Bible: their custom allowing any one person to get hold of as much as he could -- land, money, property or whatever. That rule worked against their constitution and Bible. However, it might be good if Cherokees had a document something like a constitution that would provide a clear enough rule, so that while people could just follow it, it would still be strong enough to curb the outlaws. The Cherokee chiefs appointed a committee to bring about whatever reforms were needed in the Cherokee Nation to get us back on the white path of peace and to become civilized. I guess those old men thought they had gone as far as they could go with the reforms of abolishing clan revenge, putting a damper on the war captains, setting up a Light Horse, and so forth. They wanted these young appointees to look at the constitution

that the white people had made and see if there was something useful there for the Cherokees. The Council set up a committee of twelve.

Some Cherokees in the early days had been to school. Either their fathers sent them to school in either Tennessee, Virginia, or South Carolina, or else their fathers hired white school teachers to live in their homes and teach the kids. This was a widespread custom throughout the South among rich men. So the old chiefs put several of these educated Cherokees on the committee of twelve. The chiefs also picked worldly men who had not been to school but who spoke English and who had traveled widely in the white people's country, and, of course, some old-timers schooled in Cherokee tradition. This committee was supposed to handle Cherokee affairs and to suggest necessary reforms, subject to the guidance of the old chiefs. Thus the committee wasn't given free rein. They were supposed to check out concerns and then confer with the real governmental body, the council.

One of the reforms this committee wanted was a court system, instead of just having the Light Horse whip you if they found you guilty or having a local chief try you. They also wanted a written law so that a judge wasn't just giving his private opinion. Legal decisions were to be the judgment of the law, not the judgment of a man. By 1827 Cherokees had established a court system and a republican form of government. The Cherokee leaders just wrote down

what they had, the people approved it, and thus the Nation adopted the constitution.

A couple of things had happened in that time that helped move the information of that republic along. First, a Cherokee writing system was revealed by God to a man by the name of Sequoyah, thus enabling us to write down all the law in the Cherokee language, and to have a newspaper by which to inform the people of important matters. It helped a lot in the formation of a modern Cherokee written law, and a constitution. That wasn't the only use for that alphabet; old people also wrote down their medicine, songs and prayers. That is one of the reasons we have our medicine today, after all the trouble we've gone through.

Second, Christian missionaries came to the Cherokee people and wanted permission to preach in the Cherokee country. The chiefs told them that they could preach on Saturdays and Sundays if they taught the Cherokee children the other five days of the week. Several Christian denominations set up schools in the Cherokee Nation; regular schools like the white people had, maybe even better. Thus, you begin to get quite a few educated Cherokees by the middle 1820s, just at the time that the Cherokee constitution was adopted.

Of course the missionaries brought the Bible with them. After Sequoyah gave the Cherokees a writing system, the missionaries wanted to translate the Bible into Cherokee. But before the Council would agree to this they

had educated Cherokees read the Bible to them in Cherokee. After hearing the Bible the chiefs thought it would do the people good to have the New Testament in their own language, so they could read it and study it. The chiefs said the Cherokees didn't need the Old Testament because they already had it in the form of the old Cherokee law. Those old men said they had suspected for a long time that the New Testament would do the Indians some good, and now they were certain of it. There was a lot of wisdom to be found in that New Testament. The only thing the chiefs could not understand was the white people didn't act better having had such a good book for 2000 years. Whites had everything they needed to act right, but they still weren't civilized. The Council felt that Jesus' message would be a benefit to the Cherokees, so they agreed to pay for the translation and the printing of the New Testament. They hoped that having the Bible would help to civilize the Cherokee Indians.

Although Cherokees were getting back on the white path of peace and becoming civilized, things didn't happen as smooth as silk. In the end the Cherokees were driven out of their old country in the South in 1838. Some educated Cherokees, most of whom weren't part of the Cherokee government at all, signed a treaty with the United States calling for removal of Cherokees to the Indian Territory. This handful of educated Cherokees signed that treaty against the wishes of the Cherokee people. They laid

themselves open to the old law that was made after the assassination of the DoubleHead which held that if you sign away the Cherokee land against the wishes of the Cherokee people, you declare yourself a public outlaw and subject to execution by any Cherokee citizen. The removal treaty was signed in 1835; quite a few of the signers were men who had been educated in mission schools. After that Cherokees never trusted schools run by whites. I think this treaty was one of the reasons why the Cherokees set up their own schools in the Indian Territory in 1840. Our schools were dismantled when Oklahoma came into the union in 1907. Even when I was a kid Cherokees still didn't trust Oklahoma schools.

We lost a third of our population during the forced march to the West. Those who died included most of the old people and the little kids. Right after the Removal most of the Cherokee leaders gathered for a secret meeting. Now that meeting was secret, they tell me, because the principal chief at that time, John Ross, would not have approved of their actions. He would have rather had the trials go ahead out in the open in the regular Cherokee court system. Nevertheless, leaders went ahead. The man who was the chairman of the meeting was Riley Keys, who was the chief justice of the Cherokee Supreme Court. All of the treaty signers were tried in absentia at that meeting, with a jury for each treaty signer being picked from his clan. For example, Major Ridge, one of the principle

signers, was a member of the Deer Clan. Seven old men of the Deer Clan were picked to sit in judgment on him. Most of the treaty signers were found guilty. Committees of executioners were then picked from each of the treaty signers' own clans. A hat with black beans and white beans in it passed around. If you got a black bean you were on the committee to be an executioner. The committees executed quite a few of the treaty signers. However, at a public meeting designed to reunify the Cherokees, the assembly made it the rule to pardon any of the treaty signers that came before them to be pardoned.

It seems to me that Cherokees were going out of their way to be lawful at that time. You hear a lot of criticism of Cherokees "assassinating" the treaty party, but Cherokees were within their legal rights to shoot down the treaty signers on sight, based on the old law that was passed in the old country after the Doublehead was killed. Further, having a trial by members of a man's own clan (even if he is absent) and then setting up of an execution squad of his own clan was a demonstration of Cherokee respect for law and procedure. I think the Cherokee leaders were trying to head off social chaos by that secret trial. I know I wouldn't have been so disciplined. If I had lost my children and parents on the "Trail of Tears", as the Cherokees call it. I would have shot down the traitors without the formality of a trial. I guess that

impulse is what the Cherokee leaders were trying to head off.

A man named Creek Beaver was on the committee that killed Major Ridge. One time someone asked him if he didn't think that killing those treaty signers was too harsh. He replied, "Well, that may be, but there were a lot of honest Indians around here after it was done!"

Now I better stop right here and say that you will find some disagreement among Cherokees about Cherokee history during this time. In fact, I'm sure you would even find disagreements among the Night Hawk Cherokee elders from whom I got this history.

Moreover, there is an area in southern Adair County, Oklahoma which is 100% Cherokee Baptist. So far as I know, there has never been a stomp ground up in that country. The Indians there came into the Indian Territory from the most old timey part of the Cherokee Nation in the east, in our old country. Those Adair County Cherokees are still old-timey people. Twenty years ago if you asked the Cherokees where the real Cherokees lived, they would have told you in southern Adair County. A real Cherokee is somebody who thinks about things completely in a Cherokee framework, whose head hasn't been messed over by any outsiders at all. That was the case with those people over there in southern Adair county. And if those Indians decide to do something, they just talk about it amongst themselves. They don't consult any powerful outsiders or

any experts, and they don't ask anybody's permission. Those Indians are as independent as a hog on ice. Until recently most of them had hardly been to school and hardly spoke any English at all. That is why they were called real Cherokee. It doesn't have anything to do with whether you are Baptist or Night Hawk. It has to do with the way you look at the world and think about things.

Indians over in that country have said to me that the Cherokees were always civilized and always Baptist, and that when the Cherokees came in from the old country after the Removal in 1839 they were civilized and Baptists. Some of them will even deny that the Cherokees ever fought the white people. They will say that we were always peaceful. Those Indians who live in North Carolina feel the same way. It may very well be that the Cherokees living way back in those rough North Carolina mountains escaped most of the war with the whites. This may be the case but it's not the major reason why the Adair Baptist Cherokees say the Cherokees have always been both civilized and Baptists. They are saying that being civilized and Baptist is the Cherokees we are the same as we have been in the memory of our old people, and as we were when we appeared in our new Homeland in 1839. It is like the old people back east before 1839 were the ancestors of the Cherokees and that those times were mythic times. This view doesn't conflict with what I've said before about Cherokee history. The men that I spoke with saw Cherokee history with more temporal

depth, and maybe even a little like a white man would define history -- an adventure over time, change, evolution, events that bring about change, forces in history, "progress." But those Adair County Baptists start Cherokee history in 1839, right when they got plunked down in Oklahoma. Of course we were pretty civilized then, and there were a lot of Cherokees who were Baptists in that time.

Now I want to talk about what the Cherokees think the law is supposed to do for you. I said before that those old chiefs wanted a strong rule that people would just naturally follow without thinking, but which was also strong enough to constrain an outlaw. There was something else, though, that the Cherokees wanted, at least those men I knew who had been born in the 1870s. I may not be sure what those chiefs in the early 1800s were thinking, but I suspect they were thinking along the same line as those old men I talked to as a young man. I once read a piece in the old Cherokee Advocate, a Cherokee newspaper written sometime in the 1840s. The article quoted a man who had been a lighthorseman in early 1800s. He said the very same thing as my elders told me, so I know those old men were telling me the truth. The elders of my youth used to say that the old Light Horse officers didn't carry any guns; they only carried switches. The reason people paid attention to them and let themselves be punished by the Light Horse was that the people respected the chiefs, and

therefore would allow themselves to be punished and disciplined by the Light Horse even though the officers were unarmed. Remember, the Light Horse companies didn't just capture you and take you to jail, they were also jury and court right there on the spot.

When I was a kid, the Cherokees were under Oklahoma law, but Cherokees never liked it. They said Oklahoma laws didn't suit the Cherokee condition at all. It was a harsh law, too harsh, they said. What they meant by too harsh was that the law didn't give anybody any dignity or any respect. They used to tell me that the sheriffs in the Cherokee Nation in the 1880s and 1890s didn't carry guns. I had a relative whose father was a sheriff in that period in the Cherokee Nation. Someone asked my relative why the Indian sheriffs didn't carry guns in those days. He said, "My daddy always said that it was bad lawmen that made men outlaws. If you are armed and you see some young Cherokees drinking, shooting off their pistols, and you go to arrest them, one of them is bound to try you out and you are going to get killed or make an outlaw right there. The old man said the best thing to do is to not go over there with a pistol, but go over and talk to them, settle them down, and get them to give those guns and the whiskey to you. If you want to let them go on home and sleep it off, that's all right, or maybe you want to take them to jail, but what you want to do is to depend on their respect for you." My uncle said, "You know the Cherokees were more civilized

back then. We didn't like to use a gun on one another in those days." I also know that a lot of Cherokee law men used the old Cherokee war medicine to protect themselves. But it shouldn't make any difference whether you use war medicine to protect yourself or not because Cherokees thought you ought to depend on respect.

There was a custom then that if you were tried for murder and convicted, the court would let you go home and get your crop laid by, make arrangements for your funeral, and then come back on the appointed day for your execution. Cherokees had a notion that law ought to allow people a little dignity and to foster respect, even people who were being punished, because that was what the law was for, to have that kind of society in which people respect each other.

They tell a funny story at home that illustrates the way that Cherokee courts operated. There was an old man named Smoker who, when he was a young man in 1898, was at a Cherokee square dance with a Choctaw friend of his. They got into a fight with some boys at the dance. I forget whether they shot or stabbed him, but the upshot was that one of the boys they were fighting got killed. Smoker's Choctaw friend fled back to Choctaw Nation, where the Cherokee authorities couldn't get a hold of him, but they arrested Smoker, brought him to trial, and convicted him. The Cherokee judge told him (I think this was in the springtime or early summer), "Smoker, go back home and get

your crop laid by, make arrangements for your funeral and for your family, and come back here on the appointed day to the courthouse to be hung." So Smoker went home and got all of his affairs arranged and made himself a beautiful coffin out of cherry wood. The day before the appointed day the Smoker and all of his relatives got in their wagons or got on horseback and went down to the District Courthouse. In those days most Cherokee courthouses were just single buildings out in the open country, much like the country courthouses you find today in some of the eastern Virginia counties. That night they had dinner on the ground and then camped around the courthouse. The next morning they all waited but didn't see any Cherokee authorities come to the courthouse. This seemed strange to them as this was the day Smoker was supposed to be hung. So they ate dinner and then waited around all that afternoon, or all evening as we say in Oklahoma, then had supper. Still nobody showed up. By the time they had supper they were running out of food, but they camped again that night. The next morning nobody had hardly anything to eat for breakfast. They were getting a little worried because they were running out of food, but they waited until mid-morning. Finally they saw a white man come by on horseback. One of the men who could speak English hailed him down and said, "Mister, do you have any idea what's happened to the Cherokee authorities? We were supposed to have a hanging here yesterday. This man and all our

kinfolk have been waiting here but Cherokee laws haven't showed up." The white man said, "Oh, federal law is here now. The Cherokee law has all been done away with." So everybody loaded up and went back home. Smoker put his cherry wood coffin in his wagon and went on back up to his house, and put his coffin in the loft. When I was a little kid in the 30s I remember seeing that beautiful cherry wood coffin up in the loft in his house. He didn't get to use it until just before the Second World War. The Smoker had gotten an extra forty years of living between the time of his aborted execution and when he finally died.

Now one thing you have to keep in mind when you think about Cherokee civil or criminal law is that those old Cherokees I knew as a boy did not really consider the Cherokee law a strictly man-made law. Cherokee law had religious backing behind it. The reason for this is that those chiefs in the early 1800s who birthed the Cherokee republic weren't simply civil chiefs but were also the religious heads of their area. I suppose they were like a bishop or a president of a Baptist convention is nowadays, except more so. In those times I think Cherokees liked to select their chiefs from a family that was known to be loved by the people, but that wasn't enough by itself; the medicine men also had to approve. The medicine men can make medicine (a ritual) that will tell them whether God approves or disapproves of the choice for chief. There is a fancier word for this process: divination. Sometimes

the medicine men would even select a chief by that method. For example, if there were several likely candidates for chief, sometimes the medicine men would be asked to pick among them. The people abided with what the medicine men decided.

At least to those old Cherokees, writing something down in the Cherokee language with the Cherokee alphabet made it true. The book of Cherokee laws and Cherokee constitution were developed by chiefs who were chosen by God in the Cherokee view of things. Lots of times I've seen older Cherokees who, when they wanted to make a point about something, reach down and get that constitution or that book of Cherokee laws and hold it up while they were talking, in the same way that you see country white ministers hold up the Bible when they are making a point. Those Cherokee laws and the Cherokee constitution written in the Cherokee language were of the same order of book as the Bible written in the Cherokee language. The old people always said that Cherokee laws were easy to understand. The ordinary person could read them and have something to go by.

When I was a kid all the old Cherokees said, not only were the Cherokee laws suited to the Cherokee condition, they were also simple and clear and not harsh, and that they were laws of which God approved. Some of the older Night Hawk Cherokees would say that the Cherokee government didn't come from God the same way the laws did. They felt

that the Cherokee republic had been a mistake -- that elections, majority rule, and representative government were proceedings without the direct guidance and counsel of medicine men who could establish contact with God.

The Baptist elders didn't think this was that much of a problem, but the old Night Hawks held it was. Of course they had been committed in the 1890s to the revival of the older Cherokee religious government, probably in response to the fact that the Cherokee mixed-bloods had captured the Cherokee government. The Cherokees they called the mixed-bloods in that time were mostly the children and grandchildren of the Cherokees who had signed, or who had been in favor of, the removal treaty in the 1830s. Over the years these families had intermarried a lot with whites and taken up white ways. Most couldn't even speak Cherokee by 1890. The mixed-bloods organized themselves into a political party, the Downing Party. The full Cherokees called it the Disappearing Party because they said that the aim of the mixed-bloods was to cause the Cherokees to disappear as a people and a culture.

Further, at that time the United States was pressuring the Cherokees to have the Cherokee land allotted out to individuals and to do away with the Cherokee Nation. There was a federal commission stationed in the Cherokee Nation trying to get the Cherokee government to agree to land allotment. A federal government survey team was surveying the Cherokee lands. Those survey instruments, called land

stealers by Cherokees, were seen in every Cherokee settlement. White settlers were drifting to the Cherokee country. It was clear that the United States wanted to do away with our national existence, dissolve our government, make up American citizens, and open our lands to white settlement. It seemed like our treaty didn't mean anything to the Americans. The Cherokees thought that if we lost our lands, had our government taken away, and were integrated with the whites, then we would fade away as a people. The 1890s were a pretty difficult time for most Cherokees. It almost seemed like the end of the world for the Cherokees.

Although the Night Hawk elders may have had a legitimate objection about the Cherokee government, it still wasn't all that republican. Usually when the Cherokees elected somebody to the Cherokee government it was a foregone conclusion that he would serve for life. The people would just keep electing him when election time came around. Further, people tried hard to achieve complete agreement on issues.

Although there were hard feelings between the full-bloods and mixed-bloods, they didn't count for much. By 1870 full-blood Cherokees didn't feel that they had to get along with the mixed-bloods. In fact, in the 1870s the Cherokee Nation was almost like two different peoples within the same governmental structure -- full-bloods in the eastern part of the Nation and the mixed-bloods in the

western half. But among themselves, full-bloods tried hard to come to a common understanding on issues, and although there were secret ballots, everybody knew how everybody else voted anyhow. You couldn't keep your vote secret from your relatives.

There was a political party system in the Cherokee Nation, unlike in most tribes nowadays. The mixed-bloods belonged to one party, the full-bloods to another. When the full-blood Cherokees had their party convention known as the National Party, the delegates (who were the community leaders) would nominate a slate of candidates who had been picked out by medicine by the older men, who were in fact the heads of the National Party. Then of course all you had to do if you were a full-blood was just go home, and at election time everybody in your settlement just went to the polls and voted for the National Party. There wasn't much of a choice. The party system did soften the trouble between people that seem part and parcel when Indians try to govern in that framework of majority rule, individual voting, secret ballot, and the rest.

Yet the Cherokee courts were not "godless." I've heard that the full-blood judges were the hardest, toughest judges before which to appear, and that they went strictly by the book. That is what you might suppose, of course. A full-blood judge thought that the Cherokee law was sacred, and he would go strictly by its letter. It would also mean

that it wasn't the judge making the judgment, but God, because those laws came from God.

The Cherokee could come down hard on you if your behavior was way out of line. The Cherokee council chose hanging as the method of execution because the Indians were terrified of dying by hanging. Most full-bloods were afraid that their soul wouldn't be able to get out of the body if they were hung. And it wasn't just full-blood judges who were tough and went by the book; Cherokee judges were also tough. However, behind all that strict morality and "going-by-the-book" outlook, Cherokees are a soft touch and tender-hearted. The day after a jury had handed down a tough guilty verdict in a criminal case, the foreman and the rest of the jury would be out and around circulating a petition asking the Principal Chief to pardon the culprit.

Cherokee judges knew too that most defendants who came before the court would hire an Indian doctor to influence either the judge or the jury or both. Most judges knew a little medicine themselves, or if they didn't they could get some help from a regular Indian doctor; the same is true of juries. One of the ways that Cherokees try to influence a person's mind is by "fixing tobacco." You take tobacco and say certain prayers over it, and then when you smoke it will make people be friendly towards you. Observers in the last century were always commenting on how smokey Cherokee courtrooms were, as if Cherokees were nicotine fiends. As a matter of fact, most people in the

courtroom were smoking to influence either the judge and jury, or the judge and jury were smoking to protect themselves from such influences.

This goes on today even in white courts. For instance, there is a judge in eastern Oklahoma who, if a Cherokee Indian comes before his court and there are Cherokees among the audience, makes all the Cherokees bring their cigarettes or pipe tobacco up to the bench so he can inspect them. If you have an unopened package of cigarettes or an unopened package of pipe tobacco, you can go ahead and smoke, but if you have an opened package of cigarettes or pipe tobacco, the judge will confiscate it temporarily. He knows how Cherokees work medicine on the court. These practices were even more prevalent in the old Cherokee Nation than they were in the Oklahoma courts. I never heard of white people having these kind of religious notions and practices imbedded in the realm of government and law. The Cherokee law and government might have looked "man-made" to an outsider but if you look closely you can see that the Cherokee never removed religion from any part of life, even law and government.

The Cherokee had come a long way down a hard road by the 1890s. The early 1800s had been very dark days. These were days when a stranger of some other nationality might get killed traveling through the country just because he was a stranger and a foreigner; when Cherokees killed one another out of a sense of revenge; and when a war captain

could do what he pleased whether the people liked it or not. Those old chiefs in that time must have been looking ahead. After the Cherokees were driven out of their homes in the South into the Indian Territory in 1839, they were dirt poor and heartbroken. But immediately, in 1843, they called all the Indian nations in that region, 36 nations in all, to a great council at the new Cherokee capital, Tahlequah. They drew up a treaty at that council which regulated relations between all those different peoples. I have read that treaty. It is a milestone in international law.

Those old chiefs had a notion that the good life was the peaceful life and the orderly life. They felt like that the right kind of law and government would create a decent society and the good life. They had a great vision.

And that is all I know about how the Cherokee became civilized.

Of course, all what I've been talking about is water over the dam now. The Cherokee Nation was done away with some ninety years ago. In 1898 the U.S. Congress passed the Curtis Act, which did away with our government, courts, law, school system, newspaper, everything! The federal government cut our land up into little pieces and forced us to accept these allotments. The white settlers flooded into our country, and we became citizens of the state of Oklahoma when it came into the union in 1907.

Lawyers say the Curtis Act "modified" our treaty with the United States. Well, that was some "modification"! It looks like to me that our treaty was modified right out of existence. If that's not the act of breaking a treaty, I don't know what would qualify.

Now the Cherokee live under the heel of the white men under a law that, in the Cherokee view, allows the rich to exploit the poor, where the powerful get one kind of justice and the powerless another kind; a law that regulates life more each year and slowly erodes freedom; a law that doesn't put much value on respect and dignity and which doesn't try very hard to make room for different kinds of people; a law that fosters chaos even as it tries to control more.

I know that is kind of hard talk, but that's the way the Cherokees viewed it when I was a kid. The Cherokee experience during those times confirmed that view. By the time I was born in the 1920s we had been robbed of most of our lands by crooked whites using a hundred legal tricks in the Oklahoma legal system. It was the crooks who rose to the top and who ran everything.

We didn't have any say then about our own lives. Who we were didn't count. We were backward old full-bloods, unwilling or unable to adjust to modern life. But even if most of us sank down to the lowest level of Oklahoma society, some of the worthy among us would pull out of this lethargy, rising up to join the mainstream. At least when

I was a kid that was the view held by most powerful whites in eastern Oklahoma. Some whites hoped we would just dribble away as a people and disappear, like a blot from the landscape, so they wouldn't have to look at us any more. I guess that's a misplaced version of the American dream. That is also pretty hard talk, a little too hard. Most of the whites then were nice people, especially the country people. It was just some who were crooks and racists, but they had a big hand in running things in eastern Oklahoma then and it was those kind of whites who had the most influence on Cherokee life. I guess the powerful never have clean hands in a frontier situation.

The Cherokee prophecies said that those years would be a time of darkness for the Cherokees, that we would live as a captive people like the Jews in Babylon.

Cherokees of my generation and older have a strong sense of betrayal. Many of the historical sites in eastern Oklahoma are symbols to us of that betrayal. In my younger days older men would point out these sites to me. They would point out the places where the men who signed the removal treaty were assassinated by the Cherokees. The old men would point out that mansion and tell you that the descendants of the family who had once owned that place now live in poverty back in the hills. The town of Tahlequah, our old capital, is full of places like that -- our old capital building which became a county courthouse, our female seminary (high school) that is now part of

Northeastern Oklahoma State University, and so on.

Everywhere we looked we saw symbols of our betrayal.

If there was one paramount "fact" that was always present when I was a child, it was that we were foreigners in our own country, a captive people who were no longer free and independent. In spite of that fact, we lived our lives as best we could, and it was a pretty good life, too.

By 1950 eastern Oklahoma was changing. It ceased to be isolated from the rest of America. Man-made lakes were everywhere, and paved roads were starting to be built in rural areas. It was then that I heard we had gotten a chief of the Cherokees. I asked an old man about this. He said, "Yes, we do. They say he's something like a white man." I was shocked and puzzled. I found out shortly thereafter that this chief had been appointed by the federal government. His name was Bill Keeler and he was president of Phillips Petroleum Company. Mr. Keeler was just a little bit Cherokee, did not speak Cherokee, and had never lived around the Cherokee Indians. But he seemed to be a decent man and wanted to help the Cherokee people.

In the early 1960s, Keeler got his chance to become a true philanthropist. By this time Chief Keeler had become an internationally known figure and a man of great influence and power. The Cherokees had been awarded a substantial sum for a land claim against the United States. Most of that money was paid out to individual Cherokees, but there was a large amount left which was controlled by

Keeler. Chief Keeler wanted to use this money, as well as his influence in American business circles, to develop the Cherokee area economically. He set up a committee of prominent people in eastern Oklahoma -- businessmen, lawyers, politicians, and so on -- to advise him and help in his program.

Most of the committee were the sons and daughters of what they used to call the mixed-blood Cherokees. By the 1890s most of the mixed-bloods were American whites in all but name only. When the settlers came into the Cherokee Nation around 1900 the mixed-bloods just blended right in with them. Most young adult mixed-bloods were married to whites in that era. In fact, they came to occupy prominent positions in the new Oklahoma society. Mr. Keeler's committee was made up of their children. Chief Keeler and his committee began to be referred to as the Cherokee tribal government. Well, it was hardly a government. There was nothing to govern. The state and the federal government were the Cherokees' government, whether we liked it or not.

That tribal government did promote some tourism in the area, as well as some small industry. Eastern Oklahoma as a whole did benefit. Whites got richer and some money did trickle down to Cherokees, but the income gap between whites and Indians got even wider, and Cherokees felt poorer.

I guess most of the people in Chief Keeler's inner circle were good enough people, but some of that line left a little to be desired. I don't know whether their parents tried too hard to be whites and that outlook got passed on to them, or whether their family passed down the old hatred of the full-blood Cherokees held by some of the old mixed-bloods, or both. In any case, a few of the inner circle were elitist and racist to the core. One of such ilk, a lawyer, was a gross redneck, and a take-off on a southern peckerwood. One time at a national Indian conference a Sioux friend of mine was talking to this man and kidding him a little. My friend said, "You always hear of the Cherokee accomplishments in the past, but what have Cherokees done recently?" This lawyer started naming all the part-Cherokee whites who had gained prominence in modern times. My friend said, "No, what have the real Cherokees, the full-blood Cherokees, accomplished in modern times?" Now lots of Cherokees worked as pickers in the white-owned strawberry fields in eastern Oklahoma in the spring of the year. This Oklahoma man replied, "Well, the Cherokees pick a good clean strawberry." I guess we clean a good toilet too, and landscape a good yard as well.

In the early 1970s federal social welfare programs for Indians began to be funnelled through this tribal government. An election for chief was held. Few of the Cherokee Indians bothered to vote. However, "Cherokees" living in other states, part-Cherokee whites who hadn't

ever lived in eastern Oklahoma, voted in this election by absentee ballot, and Keeler was elected chief by a big majority. Shortly thereafter, Chief Keeler resigned and his Vice Chief, a young man named Ross Swimmer, became chief. Swimmer promoted a new Cherokee constitution which was adopted largely by the big absentee ballot vote. This constitution calls for a council, elected at large.

Ross Swimmer was a banker by profession, a young man of considerable business and administrative skill. He, like Keeler, has very little Cherokee blood, speaks no Cherokee, and was not raised in the Cherokee country. Over the years, Chief Swimmer built a large tribal bureaucracy, based on the tribal government's function as a channel for federal Indian programs; as well he has developed several profitable tribally-owned enterprises. The tribal government thus employs quite a number of people now, even some young educated Cherokee Indians. But the whites keep getting richer relative to Cherokees.

During Swimmer's tenure, the tribal government became known as the Cherokee Nation. In the old days the term "the Cherokee Nation" meant the Cherokee lands, our institutions and law, and the Cherokee people, all together. Now the Cherokee Nation means a social welfare bureaucracy for Cherokees. My, how times change.

Swimmer resigned as Chief in the mid-1980s to become Under Secretary of the Interior in charge of Indian Affairs. His Vice Chief, a young woman named Wilma

Mankiller, became Chief. Chief Mankiller is a half Cherokee and was raised in California. She seems to be well liked by younger Cherokees. She is, after all, a half Indian. Some Cherokees are a little unsure about the propriety of having a woman chief, but I guess we'll get used to it. The "Cherokee Nation" has involved a lot of half and quarter blood Cherokees, and even some young full-blood Cherokees, in tribal affairs. So I reckon that the Cherokee tribal government is now a little "closer in" to the Cherokee Indians, at least most of the people there have some ties to the Cherokees. We will have to wait and see if all the federal budget cuts weaken the "Cherokee Nation" past the point of no return, however.

When I was a young man I thought that this time of the Cherokee captivity would finally come to an end, that our captivity was just a passing phase of our history, and that the time would come when we would be a free people again. Our prophecies imply as much. I thought that our best course of action was simply to endure and to hold on to our language, our culture, and our ideals until the time came when we were an independent people again, to hold our nose or learn to breathe under water, you might say. We tried to avoid white society so we wouldn't be corrupted. We knew that we would one day be delivered from our captivity and we could then start to work for the good life again, to firmly establish God's law again.

But many of the younger Cherokee don't see it that way. They do not share that vision with the older Cherokees. Our young people are marching to a different drummer. These youngsters seem to want the same things as the young whites -- a steady job, a good house, a new car, all kind of gadgets, and the like. This new generation is not willing to accept the notion that poverty may be the price Cherokees will have to pay to preserve our integrity as a people. They seem to think that involvement with whites, and the resulting erosion of Cherokee culture, is an acceptable price to pay for a higher standard of living. It seems that their vision is the American Dream. They appear to be concerned about white opinion of Cherokees and feel enough a part of American society that social acceptance is important to them. As a young Cherokee friend of mine says, "Most of those young Cherokees don't have a shred of national identity." I guess the schools and television have done their work well.

You know, modern American life is attractive to young people, and not only just young Indians. They see all the riches and the gadgets, the worldly pleasures, the stimulation and the excitement, the feeling of being "in," and on and on. They are too young to see what lies behind all that glitter, and its true price. They get sucked in.

There is a Cherokee prophecy that says that in these days the Cherokees will find a way out of the dark hollow we have been in since Oklahoma statehood. We will start up

a path that leads toward the sunlight. However, by that path will be a lot of things that glitter (money, car chrome, beer cans, etc.). Some Cherokees will tarry to pick up those glittering things and be left behind there in the dark hollow.

I think very few young Cherokees understand what the Cherokees were trying to do in the old Cherokee Nation days -- create a modern society that reflected the Cherokee values combined with the best of the Jeffersonian ideals. That was those old peoples' vision. It was a spiritual vision, not a material one. Oklahoma schools tell Cherokee youngsters that the Cherokee "progress" in the last century was due to mixed-blood leaders copying after whites, dragging the full-blood Cherokees along behind. It makes me want to burn down every school house in eastern Oklahoma. I guess that some of our youngsters think the older Cherokee vision created Cherokees that were almost completed Americans, and they want to complete the job.

It looks to me like the Cherokees have run out our string. Of course, Cherokees always look on the dark side. We feared that the end had come in Removal times, and again when our Nation was destroyed in 1898. Our prophecies are unclear to me. I can't tell where we are, exactly. There are several ways to interpret those prophecies. Maybe we have already hit rock bottom and are starting to bounce back up again. I keep on telling myself that it was in the Babylonian captivity of Israel that the Jews wrote down the first five books of the Bible, codified their Law, and shored up their religion. That experience in Babylon has

enable the Jews to last as a people. I hope that is same with the Cherokees. Maybe we are just entering a whole new phase of our history. Redbird Smith said that he thought that God was saving the Cherokee Indians for some higher purpose. I sure hope he was right.

chapter 8* Born Behind the Fence: Law and Government

"These young Indians, they don't know what freedom is. They was born behind the fence." ---Frank Harrison, Sac and Fox elder, 1975.

The analysis in Chapter 2* of "A Cherokee Childhood" explained a tribal Indian's understanding of the larger world as a projection of kin relations. This chapter applies that approach to government. In particular, the vision of politics and law expressed in Chapter 7, "A Nighthawk's History of the Cherokees," will be viewed as the form of government appropriate to a life among kin. Our fundamental claim is that the political norms that proceed from a life among kin are based upon tradition and consensus.

The Two Pillars of Authority

In the chapters on religion we discuss the fact that each Indian tribe has its law or Way, which is an encompassing guide to living backed by sacred sanction and tradition. In times past, most disputes were resolved, and most political choices were made, by following the prescriptions of the Way. In circumstances where the Way provided no definitive answer for traditional Indians, decisions in most tribes were reached by consensus, often assisted by divination and omens. A consensus is reached when everyone agrees sufficiently with a proposal so that no one persists in objecting publicly. According to this ideal, when a person persists in public dissent, either the proposal must be abandoned or else the dissenter must withdraw from the group.

These two pillars of authority are especially appropriate to tribal Indians who spend their lives among kin. Kin relations have an element that is prescribed by tradition. Thus a grandson is expected to act in certain ways towards his grandfather, and vice versa. These kin prescription acquire as aspect of the sacred because they are usually considered to be part of the nature of things that was laid down by god at the time of the tribe's creation. When kin relations are projected onto the larger world of government, a tribal person, accustomed as he is to kin prescriptions, naturally puts great weight on tradition, especially sacred tradition. So the first pillar of aboriginal authority expresses a fact about tribal life among kin -- that its prescriptions are traditional and sacred.

Kin relations among American Indians also put great stress upon personal autonomy. Many anthropologists have remarked upon the personal freedom and autonomy among Indians, which we saw so clearly in Chapter 2, "A Cherokee Childhood." Indians say "It's up to you" about so many things -- whether a boy should sell his pony, whom to marry, what to believe about God and the spirits, whether a young man should fight in a war in the old days when tribes could make war, and so forth. Government by consensus embodies the principle of personal autonomy in political life. According to this principle, any departure from tradition can be blocked by someone's vocal objection to it. To be effective as a means of decision making, consensus requires responsiveness to other people. Kinsmen are responsive to each other, they know each others' sticking points, and they are bound to each other, so that no one wants to leave the group. That is why government by consensus is especially effective in a small, integrated group of people, such as a group of kinsman.

The appropriateness of consensus to the aboriginal conditions of Indians can be appreciated by comparison to the rival principle of majority rule. Majority rule does not take into account the minority's strength of feeling. In the jargon of political theory, a majority vote reflects the ordering of preferences by individuals, but not their intensity.¹⁴⁹ To illustrate, consider a committee chairman who asked its three members to write their vote on a slip of paper. When he collected the paper, two committee members had written "Yes," and one had written "No, no, a thousand times no, I'd rather die than say yes." Majority rule gives no more weight to the third vote than to either of the first two. In contrast, decision making by consensus permits individuals to exercise a veto when their objections are strong enough.

Traditional Indians who live in small communities of kinsman know that the consensus principle promotes social harmony. People with close personal ties, whether Indians or nonIndians, tend to make decisions by consensus, not majority rule. By permitting dissidents to block action when objections to it are intense, the veto helps preserve the group. However, the group will not tolerate many vetoes, so they must not be exercised unless objections are strong. In large groups of heterogeneous people,

¹⁴⁹The relationship between preferences, intensities, and voting rules has been studied by political theories who adopt an economic approach. For a good summary discussion, see Robert Inman,...

however, a consensus may be impossible to reach. Giving everyone a veto would cause political paralysis. For this reason a mass society must find other principles of legitimacy other than majority rule.¹⁵⁰

Sacred tradition and consensus are the two pillars of authority in aboriginal government, but some important political decisions among Indians were not made by authorities. To illustrate, a Sioux man could decide on his own initiative to form a war party against a neighboring tribe. Each young man would then decide whether or not to join the war party by taking into account such factors as the prestige of the leader and his spiritual power. In such a war party the followers were free to return home at any time if they preferred, but those who persisted followed the leader's orders, because it was his war fought under his spiritual guidance. White observers sometimes mistook this behavior for strict military authority. The leader, in fact, had no authority to compel a following, but those who chose to follow were expected to accept his lead.¹⁵¹

Thus the aboriginal sources of power over others in an Indian tribe were personal prestige and the two pillars of authority, sacred tradition and consensus. Having discussed the sources of power, something must be said about how it was exercised. R.H. says in the narrative that Cherokees are tolerant of eccentricity and deviancy, so long as it does not threaten the harmony of the group. Disputes about property, contract, and family matters were usually resolved informally among Cherokees, whereas authoritative solutions and official punishments were apparently rare. But R.H. adds that sanctions are swift and harsh for disruptive acts such as drinking and quarreling, or acts that harm others such as assault. Furthermore, instead of distinguishing between unintended consequences and intentional acts, the Way tends to hold people strictly liable for the consequences of their acts. To illustrate, Cherokee law did not distinguish murder from accidental manslaughter until the process of abolishing clan revenge took effect in the late 18th and early 19th centuries.

¹⁵⁰Government by consensus is not, however, restricted to such groups. Japanese say that their government proceeds by consensus, and some business of the United Nations is conducted by a consensus technique under the direction of the Secretary General.

¹⁵¹These remarks are based on accounts of Sioux warfare collected by Robert K. Thomas on Pine Ridge Reservation in 1956. Also see Fredrich Gearing, Priests and Warriors (19 ; American Anthropological Association memoir).

The Cherokees passed laws for many years before adoption of their constitution. During this period, they felt no need for a bill of rights. There were clearly defined prohibitions with punishments attached to them, such as hanging murders. But there were no law creating abstract, human right for individuals such as freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, or freedom of religion. This fact may seem paradoxical in light of the premium Cherokees place upon personal autonomy. The paradox is resolved, however, by recalling some features of a life among kin. Personal autonomy among kin is not a matter of right but of propriety. The concept of a right is too mechanical and bureaucratic to have application within a cohesive group of relatives. Instead, tribal Indians cultivate a sensibility to each other that includes respect for personal autonomy. Among tribal Indians, freedom is protected as a matter of propriety, not as a matter of right.

Also conspicuous by its absence from Cherokee government were bureaucracies. The Cherokees did establish offices filled by specialists, such as the courts and the "light horse" police force, but these institutions fall far short of being bureaucracies. Cherokee government relied for its effectiveness upon the direct and immediate support of its citizens. That is another reason why freedom was better protected by a shared sense of propriety rather than by formal rights.¹⁵²

Distinguishing between law and custom has been a central concern in English-language jurisprudence, as illustrated by H.L.A. Hart's classic, The Concept of Law, which is the seminal work in the contemporary school of thought called "positivism". The way the distinction is drawn by Hart and the significance he places upon it is at odds with our understanding of sacred tradition. Hart distinguishes legal systems from other normative systems by distinguishing primary rules from secondary rules. Primary rules regulate behavior, whereas secondary rules regulate primary rules. Primary rules are created, modified, or extinguished by following procedures described in secondary rules. An

¹⁵²This section is based upon Robert Cooter's "Inventing Property: **Economic Theories of the Origins of Market Property Applied to Papua New Guinea,**" (John Olin Foundation working paper, University of Virginia, 1989.)

example of a secondary rule is the constitutional provision that a bill becomes law when passed by both houses of Congress and signed by the president.¹⁵³

A legal system, according to Hart, conjoins primary and secondary rules, whereas secondary rules are incomplete or absent in less formal normative systems. There is, according to Hart, no rule for creating, modifying, interpreting, or extinguishing a custom, so custom is not law. Custom evolves whereas laws are made. Evolution cannot be directed with particular purposes in mind because it is not under rational control. Hart concludes that custom tends to be static and inefficient,¹⁵⁴ which is especially problematic when conditions are changing rapidly. The resulting waste provides impetus for replacing custom with law.

Relational theory suggests that the diametrically opposite conclusion may be nearer the truth about the relative flexibility of custom and law. People in kin groups are highly responsive to each other, which enables them to adapt quickly to changing circumstances, as explained in the analysis of the hunting band Chapter 3* and the analysis of business strategy in Chapter 7*.

After recapitulating the explanation using game theory in Chapter 7*, it can be extended to law. Recall the game in two stages in which the first player to move decides whether or not to make an investment. If no investment is made, the game ends. If an investment is made, the second player decides whether or not to cooperate. If the second player cooperates, both players receive a modest payoff. If the second player does not cooperate, however, she appropriates the first player's investment, so she enjoys a large payoff and the first player suffers a loss. In brief, cooperation maximizes the value of the joint payoffs, but noncooperation maximizes the second player's payoff.

If the game is played only once ("one-shot"), the best move for the second player is not to cooperate. Knowing this, the best move of the first player is not to make the investment. The one shot-game, consequently, has a noncooperative solution which is unproductive. There are two different approaches by which the law can sometimes

¹⁵³Secondary rules in Hart's system also include rules by which private persons can alter the incidence of legal obligations, such as the rules for making a will. These kinds of secondary rules increase the scope of private behavior but do not concern governance. It is the secondary rules of governance that custom allegedly lacks.

¹⁵⁴Concept of Law (1961), pp.89-96.

transform a one-shot game with a noncooperative solution into a game with a cooperative solution. One approach is to change the structure of payoffs in the one-shot game so that noncooperation is unprofitable. To illustrate, the parties in the game described above might sign a contract in the first stage whereby the player who moves second promises to cooperate in the second stage. Failure to cooperate might trigger a damage payment equal to the loss of the investment's value resulting from dissolution of the relationship. Thus the contract provides the party who moves first with insurance against loss of the investment.

Suppose that, instead of changing the payoff structure, the game described above is repeated. In any round of the game in which the first player invests, the second player enjoys an immediate advantage from making the noncooperative move. An effective strategy for preventing such opportunistic behavior, called "tit-for-tat,"¹⁵⁵ is for the first player to respond in the next round by refusing to invest, and to begin investing again in a subsequent round. The experience of immediate punishment is usually sufficient to stop opportunistic behavior by the second player and restore cooperation.

The second approach to the problem of relation-specific investment is to leave the game's payoff structure unchanged, but transform it from a one-shot game to a repeated game. To illustrate, the parties in the preceding game might promise to deal exclusively with each other for a period of years. The choice between a one-shot contract and a long-run contract is, in part, dictated by whether opportunism can be controlled at lower cost by altering the game's payoffs or repeating it.

Seen in this light, tribes are substitutes for the formal law of property and contracts.¹⁵⁶ Since kin relationships are relatively stable and enduring, the kin group can be described as supplying the payoff structure of a repeated game played by its members. Payoffs differ according to the form and extent of cooperation. Cooperation might take the form of hunting and farming together, sharing responsibilities of child care, providing

¹⁵⁵Axelrod, *op.cit.*

¹⁵⁶For a proof that the optimal size of a trading club diminishes with the effectiveness of contract law, see Robert Cooter and Janet Landa, "Personal v. Impersonal Trade and the Optional Size of Clubs," — (1984). More generally, see Janet Landa, "A Theory of the Ethnically Homogeneous Group: An Institutional Alternative to Contract Law," 10 J. Leg. Stud. 349 (1981).

mutual assistance in times of hardship, or backing each other in disputes. The cooperative game is replayed on a daily basis as people call upon each other for assistance, and it is replayed on a larger scale through the cycle of the seasons that structures a life on the land. The important fact about kinship for economic analysis is that, by providing a payoff structure for repeated games, the problems of opportunism and distribution are overcome, and efficiency is achieved.

The fundamental contrast is between, not primary and secondary rules, but one-shot games and repeated games. Players in one-shot games need primary rules enforced by external authorities to modify the game's payoff structure as a way of preventing opportunism. The creation, modification, and extinction of primary rules requires a governance structure, but the governance structure, itself, creates the possibility of opportunistic behavior, which is called "rent-seeking" in the social choice literature. The design of incentive systems to control opportunistic behavior in government has enjoyed limited success.¹⁵⁷ Theory suggests that designing a democratic constitution to achieve efficiency goals comparable to markets may be impossible.¹⁵⁸

Players in one-shot transactions need primary rules to control opportunistic behavior and secondary rules to control political rent-seeking. Players in repeated games, in contrast, can respond to each other directly by modifying their behavior to reward cooperation and punish opportunism. Long run relations like kinship thus provide ways for controlling opportunism without resort to primary and secondary rules. The practices adopted in repeated games may be more like rules of thumb than rules of justice. A rule of thumb, as the term is used here, summarizes good practice for solving a coordination problem, whereas a rule of justice prescribes a fair solution to a distribution problem. In repeated games, where the distribution problem is not so severe, strategies like tit-for-tat stabilize around salient points that coordinate behavior. The parties in the resulting equilibrium implicitly recognize and adopt rules that are flexible because they are generated spontaneously by the action of the players in repeated interactions.

¹⁵⁷Hurwicz, Leonid, David Schmeidler, Hugo Sonnenschein, Social Goals and Social Organization (1985).

¹⁵⁸At the beginning of a long literature on this subject stands Duncan Black, Theory of Elections and Committees (1958), and Kenneth Arrow, Social Choice and Individual Values (1951).

In one-shot games, however, the solution of the distribution problem may require a primary rule with a fairness justification. The justification of primary rules in one account of positivist jurisprudence is provided by their derivation from secondary rules that articulate fair procedures of governance. Such a primary rule is as flexible and responsive, or as inflexible and unresponsive, as the governance structure by which it is made and justified.

The mistake implicit in Hart's remarks is reminiscent of the mistake that some socialists make in critiquing markets. Some socialists conclude that, since prices and quantities in markets are determined by competition, not by a process of deliberation and reasoning, markets must be inefficient. The socialist remedy is to replace markets with planning, which allegedly brings prices and quantities under rational control. The theory of perfect competition, however, shows that efficiency or inefficiency is to be determined, not by the presence or absence of deliberation, but by the structure of the markets. A market structure that approaches the ideal of perfect competition is proved to be efficient. Furthermore, economic theories of politics and bureaucracy suggest that, where market structure is imperfect and inefficiencies arise, planning is anything but an automatic cure, because planners seldom have the necessary information or incentives.

Similarly, tribal customs evolve as part of a game that is not controlled by deliberation. Hart supposes that, since custom is not under rational control, it must be inefficient. His remedy is to replace custom with a system of primary and secondary rules. The theory of games, however, suggests that efficiency or inefficiency is to be determined, not by the presence or absence of deliberation, but by the structure of the game. Problems of opportunism and relation-specific investment can be overcome if the game is repeated. Furthermore, economic theories of politics suggest that replacing custom with legislation can politicize resource allocation in ways that are inefficient.

This line of criticism may go beyond Hart's remarks to an essential problem with using the positivist theory of law to understand tribes. Legislation is made, and secondary rules describe the procedures for making it. To illustrate, an act of Congress is law, according to positivist jurisprudence, because it was promulgated consistently with prescribed procedures. The authority of legislation thus rests largely upon its pedigree.

Custom, in contrast, embodies community standards which evolve, but are not made. Whether a community has adopted a particular custom as law depends, for example, not upon its pedigree, but upon the respect and conformity that it generates. Respect and conformity in turn depends largely upon the game structure from which the custom evolves. The conception of law as the union of primary and secondary rules provides a better fulcrum for raising theories of legislation than custom. A theory of the evolution of customary standards in common law must have game theory at its foundation.

Perhaps the fact that tribal customs are sacred and traditional strengthens the belief that they must be static and inflexible. Traditional law among Indians, however, is not a list of rigid taboos. Rigid taboos are not the Indian's conception of sacred law. If a traditional rule proves unsuitable for changing conditions, it will be reinterpreted and revised. To illustrate, the Creek rule of clan revenge was abolished after its effects were perceived as harmful.¹⁵⁹ The change was rationalized by saying that the law of revenge, which was formerly regarded as sacred, must have been invented by men rather than being given by God. The proof that it must have been invented by men is that its effects are harmful, as illustrated in the narrative by the nephew murdering his uncle. In the Creek view, a sacred rule must be beneficial in its effects, so a harmful rule cannot be sacred. This outlook provides a readily available rationale for revising sacred tradition in response to changing conditions.

The characteristic form of the rationale is revealing. The traditional Indian understanding of history can be described as "diachronic," whereas the middle class white view is "linear." Linear history is a sequence of events arrayed in order into the past, with each event viewed as an effect caused by antecedent events. Diachronic history, in contrast, distinguishes two epochs that are uniquely significant: the near present, which includes as much of the past as people remember, and the creation. The creation is a mythical time in which everything was set in its proper order. Whatever was originally in place at the creation is sacred, traditional, and beneficial for all creatures, including humans, so the creation provides the standard for judging the present.

¹⁵⁹Thomas to provide cite.

To illustrate, the Native American Church, with its peyote ritual, began to penetrate the Navajo Reservation in the 1930s and now enjoys wide acceptance. An old Navajo who belongs to the Native American Church made a recent speech in which he said that Navajo's had the peyote religion "in the beginning" but they "lost it". By asserting that the peyote religion was given to the Navajos at the creation, the speakers are extending sacred sanction to these institutions and asserting that they are beneficial.

Cultural Fit and Majority Rule

A political decision is legitimate in the eyes of a community if the decision conforms to the community's norms about how to decide the question at hand. Indians now find themselves incorporated into a larger nation with very different political norms and traditions, so there is a lack of fit between culture and politics. To illustrate, Congress, state legislators, judicial panels, regulators like the Federal Reserve Board, corporate trustees -- all of these bodies make decisions on the basis of majority rule. Majority rule is considered by most Americans to confer legitimacy upon political decisions. The idea that majority rule elections confer legitimacy is so fundamental to most Americans that they forget its long and difficult history. In renaissance England, Parliament was divided into an elected branch (the Commons) and an hereditary branch (the Lords). Initially, the hereditary branch and the monarch were far more powerful than the elected branch, but power shifted from the monarch and hereditary peers to the elected commoners over hundreds of years. There were intellectual disputes and military battles fought in England over the issue of whether election or heredity confers authority to govern.

Before Indian society was disrupted by Europeans, the Way prescribed that hereditary chiefs should occupy most offices, perhaps selecting among several legal heirs by divination. Traditional Indians were like renaissance Englishmen in this respect: Heredity (and divination) played a more important role than voting in assigning offices.¹⁶⁰ Hereditary offices were one aspect of government by tradition. As noted above, when tradition ran out and offered no prescription, aboriginal government tended to follow the principle of consensus. The principle of consensus, however, does not

have a prominent role among Americans. The only important American legal or governmental institution that operates on the basis of consensus is the jury.¹⁶¹

These facts create monumental misunderstandings between American officials and Indian tribes, as illustrated by the narrative on urban Indians in Chapter __. To recapitulate the essential facts, a loose coalition of friends formed an organization called Associated Indians of Detroit (AID) and held a variety of activities in an inner city church. The organization consisted of a self-appointed "leader", who was the person with the most initiative, and a "council" consisting of everyone who took responsibility for a particular activity, such as teaching bead work or collecting used clothing. No votes were ever taken. There being no applicable traditions, all decisions were made by consensus. People who were enthusiastic joined in an activity and those who disapproved withdrew. The minister of the church, however, discovered that AID could receive government funding if it reorganized, and, as a first step, a lawyer drew up papers of incorporation requiring an election of officers. The prospect of a contested election broke the consensus in the group, people showed their disapproval by withdrawing, and by the time the election was held, there was no organization for the winners to lead.

Whites in American will vigorously contest an election, but when it is over, they accept the results as conferring authority upon the winners. The winners can then make decisions that are obeyed by most people, including those who voted against the elected officers. The Indians at AID, however, did not accept the principle of majority rule as conferring legitimacy upon the winner of the election. Many of the people involved in AID were relatives or old friends, although there was an undercurrent of rivalry and tension among them. When AID was compelled to stop making decisions by consensus, and start making decisions by majority rule, the losers in a vote felt that their opinions and interests were not receiving proper consideration and they got angry. The contestants in the election stopped talking to each other and the neutrals withdraw in order to keep their friendships on both sides. The members of AID saw the electoral process as the cause of discord among them. Indians are censorious of those who bring discord among them and they express their disapproval by withdrawing, which is why AID disintegrated.

¹⁶⁰.See for example, THE CHEYENNE WAY

¹⁶¹In most American jurisdictions, a single uncompromising dissenter on a jury causes a mistrial.

The story of AID can be viewed as a re-enactment of the events that transpired on many Indian reservations when majority rule was thrust upon reservations by the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. Tribal governments were established on most reservations that mirrored the federal government, with an elected council, an elected chairman, and a nominally independent judiciary. We already saw an example of such a government in the narrative on the San Xavier Papagos in Chapter 3. Another illustration was provided to us by the Bureau of Indian Affairs agent at the White Mountain Apache reservation.¹⁶² After the Indian Reorganization Act was passed, the agent called together the Apache chiefs and explained to them that Washington wanted them to hold a referendum to decide whether or not to accept the Indian Reorganization Act. Accepting the Act would be a commitment to forming a new government on democratic lines analogous to the American federal government. They replied that they were not interested. kept getting letters and wires from Washington telling him to push harder to obtain the Apache's agreement. Finally, he called the chiefs together and told them that he was getting so much pressure that they would just have to hold the referendum. Having suffered military defeat and experienced more than 60 years of rule by an Indian agent, they felt they had no choice, and so they agreed. When the referendum passed and the new constitution was drawn up, the Apache chiefs sanctioned it. While they did not interfere, none of the chiefs stood for office or encouraged Apaches to participate in elections. According to the agent, the chiefs did not think the elected government was the Apache's government. Rather, they thought that it was elected to make the Indian agent's job easier.

Tribal government was imposed by federal law upon communities that were traditionally governed by the old principles of consensus and the Way. The federal authorities did not attempt to achieve a consensus among Indians before imposing the new governmental forms. Since majority rule violates the principle of consensus, the tribal governments in many tribes were seen as illegitimate from the beginning, and, since the new governments caused dissension among the people, they were also seen as immoral.

¹⁶²cite These facts were reported to Robert K. Thomas by ____ Donner in 1947.

The view that tribal government officials are elected to accommodate whites and keep them satisfied, rather than to express the will of Indian people, persists on many Indian reservations. One expression of this fact is that the tribal chairman is often chosen from a small group whom the majority regard as highly assimilated. To illustrate, the overwhelming majority of Papagos are Catholics, but in 1985 the tribal chairman for the entire tribe was a protestant, as was the chairman of the San Xavier District council. Similarly, a small fraction of Hopis are Mormons, but in 1985 the tribal chairman of the Hopis was a Mormon. On many contemporary reservations, people who stand for office are the most assimilated Indians and voter turnout is low. These facts contrast sharply with the democratic government voluntarily adopted by the Cherokees in the 19th century, in which the traditional chiefs stood for office and were often unanimously elected by their communities.

Traditional officials in Indian communities, who held authority by sacred sanction and consensus, often show their disapproval of tribal government by refusing to stand for elected office. Other Indians show their disapproval by refusing to vote. To illustrate, the Papago tribal government formed a commission to draw up a new constitution. The constitution won a majority in a referendum of the tribe held in 1986, but government records indicate that only 37% of the people eligible to vote cast ballots in favor of the proposition.¹⁶³ The Papagos rejected the new constitution by the old standard of consensus, although a majority of those who voted favored the new Papago constitution, so it has become law. The tradition of not voting and not participating in tribal government, which appears to continue among Indians, is disastrous to democracy.

The attitude of traditional Indians to tribal government has a parallel in English history. When the English king broke tradition and appropriated excessive powers in the 13th century, Englishmen forced him to sign the magna charta in which he acknowledged that he was not above the law of the land. Not only was the king constrained by the law of the land, but, according to a prominent school of thought, the law of land is a natural law in the sense that it comes from God and is part of the natural order of the world, not the creation of men. According to this view, even Parliament cannot add to, or subtract

from, natural law, but rather Parliament can identify, codify, and interpret the law by writing it down and applying it to cases. Similarly, many Indians believe that their elected officials are not above the traditional law of the tribe or the Way. Officials who violate the traditional law of the tribe are perceived by traditional Indians as acting illegitimately.

It should be noted that there are exceptions to the generalization that tribal governments were imposed from the outside and are perceived as illegitimate by traditional Indians. A notable exception is the Navajos, who have a vigorous political life, hotly contested elections, and high participation rates. Unlike other tribes, the Navajo elders did not resist democracy. Effective political organizations, called "chapter houses," were established in every Navajo community. These facts may account for the relative vigor of Navajo political life.

Cultural Fit and Statutory Law

Having discussed the lack of cultural fit between majority rule and traditional authority among Indians, we turn from politics to law. As illustrated in the preceding narrative, the Way or the traditional law was a comprehensive guide to regulating society. The jurisdiction of contemporary tribal courts, which is not comprehensive, encompasses, roughly speaking, minor crimes, family law, property, contracts, and torts. The Way includes prescriptions for these areas of life, but the tribal courts on Indian reservations do not formally recognize or enforce traditional Indian law. Instead, the formally recognized law is the tribe's constitution and the statutes enacted by the tribal council. In a word, tribal courts formally recognize majoritarian law, not traditional law. Further, the law codes that were enacted by tribal councils to replace the Way are usually versions of the law of the state where the reservation is located. These laws, while perfectly appropriate for whites, often offend the sensibility of Indians.

There is reason to doubt, however, the extent to which formal law really controls tribal courts. The traditional law of the tribe is often applied even though it lacks formal authority, as illustrated by the story of how Mrs. Correla became a Papago tribal judge. She worked for several years as secretary in the tribal court, which consisted of three judges appointed for two year terms. Papago judges often resign before their term expires, usually in order to avoid deciding a case that would offend their relatives. One day the judge quit who was supposed to decide such a controversial case. He and some others then turned to Mrs. Correla and said, "You have been around here longer than anyone else, so you decide this case." And that is what she did. Like most Papago judges, Mrs. Correla had no formal training in law. Indeed, no Papago tribal judge in the history

¹⁶³The "Certificate of Results of Elections" of March 6 1986, signed by the Acting Deputy Assistant Secretary, Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior, indicates that 1,236 voted for, 944 against, and 3,336 were entitled to vote. So the voter turnout was $1,236+944=2,180$, and $2,180/3,336=65\%$.

of the tribe to date has had a law degree. Mrs. Correla heard the arguments on both sides -- the case involved a fight and a stabbing. She looked at the Papago code, but did not find it very helpful, so she decided the case according to her own beliefs about what is right. Mrs. Correla is imbued with Papago morality, so her concept of what is right is shaped by her knowledge of the Papago Way. Mrs. Correla was subsequently appointed formally to the court and she eventually became its chief judge. Although the Way has no formal, legal standing, in practice it is often followed in the Papago court as in other tribal courts.¹⁶⁴ This fact illustrates the familiar principle that, when traditional Indians fill nontraditional offices, form and substance diverge.

Cultural Fit and Individual Rights

We have explored the lack of fit between Indian culture and majoritarian government and statutory law. Another source of friction concerns the extent to which contemporary American government fosters individual freedom and undermines responsible communities. In American law the individual enjoys broad discretion in speech, association, and worship. If a person commits a crime or injures someone accidentally, responsibility falls upon the individual or his employer, not upon his kin group. A person who decides to marry can choose a mate without interference from others, and some terms of the marriage contract can be chosen by the parties. A person who makes a will is free to designate as heirs whomever he chooses. This cluster of legal attributes is conventionally regarded as central to freedom. In general, there is a wide zone of privacy around the individual in which the law protects him from interference by others, and the law treats the individual as the locus of power and responsibility. When individuals are the holders of fundamental liberties, powers, and liabilities, we shall describe the law a "law of free individuals."

It is possible to imagine a different kind of legal system that emphasizes communities rather than individuals. The cluster of fundamental legal attributes -- liberties, powers, liabilities -- might be assigned initially to communities by the central government, who would regulate relations between communities, and the communities would be free to decide how to treat their members. Thus a community would be free to prohibit conversion of its members to an alien religion, and a community would be free to

¹⁶⁴Here is another example: Most of the land at the San Xavier Papago reservation was allotted in conformity with federal and state statutes, but for many years the Papagos were oblivious to this fact and continued to follow tribal law in using the land. See Henry F.

prohibit speech it deems blasphemous. Turning to property, a community would be free to stipulate that the property of the deceased goes to a particular relative, say the eldest son or the youngest daughter, rather than allowing the individual to invent his own will. Or, turning to responsibilities, a community would be free to hold relatives responsible for the crimes and torts of a kinsman. These laws are not mere fancy, because they correspond to some traditional laws of some Indian tribes. Some tribes prescribed rules of inheritance rather than allowing free choice by individuals, kept missionaries out when physically possible, punished blasphemy, treated people differently according to their sex, did not allow marriage between some clans, and kin groups assumed responsibility for the torts and crimes of their members.

Indian communities are similar to many coherent communities of nonIndians in this respect. To illustrate, in a small midwestern town neighbors have views, and express them forcefully, about whom a person should marry or who his heirs should be. If a son commits a crime, the parents will probably share the blame in the town's eyes, or if the son injures someone, his relatives may feel obligated to compensate the victim. In small towns people are censored for blasphemous or obscene speech. These propositions, which are true of small towns, apply with greater force to sectarian religious communities, such as the Amish or the Hassidic Jews.

Responsibility and autonomy are aspects of kin relations in traditional Indian law that do not line up quite like individual rights. If America were a confederation of free communities, in which Indian tribes enjoyed substantial authority to regulate their own affairs, many tribes would probably rehabilitate traditional laws that offend individual rights as currently embodied in federal law. (So would many small midwestern towns.) This is true even though Indians value personal autonomy highly. In general, people who view their lives as interdependent tend to adopt laws that satisfy and express their responsibilities to each other, whereas strangers, who do not feel responsible for each other, would resent interference with their liberty. Aspects of life which strangers consider to be private have a public aspect in communities.

A law for free individuals aims to protect the individual against coercion and interference, stresses the right of each person to pursue his own interests within a framework of order, and gives the individual a full range of powers. In contrast, the members of a close community share a conception of a good life that can only be pursued together. A law for responsible communities tries to bind people together by articulating and strengthening their commitment to a common life. The norms of community life at least among Indians like the Cherokees, stress mutual respect, interdependence, and commitment to a common destiny. An individual would have to give up some freedom in order to be a member of such a community. America, however, is not a confederation of communities, and federal law stresses individual freedom, not community responsibility. Indeed, as America has become more of a mass society, individual rights advance in scope just as community responsibility retreats. Laws reflecting community traditions have been overturned by federal courts in the name of individual rights in such areas as school prayer, obscene speech, business closings on Sunday, pornography, dress codes, abortion, and different treatment by race and sex. When community norms do not line up with federally guaranteed individual rights, enforcement of the community norms is limited to informal social controls. To illustrate, a community has no formal power in America to regulate the individual's choice of a spouse beyond laws prohibiting incest, although marriages that shock social norms will cause gossip and ostracism.

Cultural Fit, Disputes, and Punishment

A fourth area of misfit concerns disputes and punishments. Disputes among people who live their lives among kin naturally implicate families. Hostility between families is a tear in the social fabric of a tribe that must be patched. An important element in the resolution of such disputes is the reconciliation of families. To illustrate, Creeks were traditionally allowed to avenge the murder of a relative by killing a member of the murder's family. The system of clan revenge was gradually reformed by a series of legislative acts beginning in the late 18th century. After these reforms were made, revenge took the form of allowing the victim's family to form the firing squad to execute a person convicted of murder in a Creek court. If the victim's family did not want to form

the firing squad, the murder was allowed to choose, and he would usually choose relatives.

Disputes among individuals who live in cities often do not implicate their families. If such tensions should arise, hostility between families is not a threat to the city's social fabric because cities are not stitched together by kin ties. When a crime is committed in an American city, the concern is not with reconciling aggrieved families, but with punishing the injurer and preventing repetitions of the crime. American criminal law, instead of emphasizing reconciliation, tends to emphasize deterrence, incapacitation, and punishment. To accomplish these ends, the American criminal justice system relies upon two types of punishment: deprivation of freedom by incarceration or probation, and money fines. These punishment are individualistic in the sense that they are effective against people who are not rooted in a social group and they make no particular use of group pressures to accomplish their ends.

Imprisonment has many defects that reduce its effectiveness. Jails are overcrowded, imprisonment is extremely expensive to the state, and the crimes that prisoners commit against each other with predictable frequency, such as homosexual rape, are deprivations of human dignity whose effects on the victim may be more severe than discredited punishments like whipping and branding. But the fatal weakness with imprisonment as a punishment for Indians is the privacy of it. Instead of inviting the public's gaze, imprisonment hides punishment from public view, so the criminal is not shamed before his relatives or friends,. Privatizing punishment has little consequences for a mass society, in which informal social pressures are ineffective, but the loss is disastrous in a community.

In times past, Americans relied upon a variety of punishments that enlisted group pressures for their effect by publicizing the crime among family and friends. A famous example from America literature is the heroine of Hawthorne's The Scarlet Letter, who was compelled to wear a red letter "A" as testimony to the world that she had committed

adultery.¹⁶⁵ Other examples were the stocks in the town square, public whippings, and brandings.

Indians on American reservations frequently complain that they are awash in a crime wave. To illustrate, the sale and consumption of alcoholic beverages is prohibited on all large reservations, but the law is widely flouted and alcoholism is endemic. Novel forms of crime, that were formerly unknown and are symptoms of social breakdown, are appearing among some Indian tribes, such as rape of nieces by uncles. Imprisonment was not in the repertory of traditional Indian punishments. At the turn of the century, there was a whipping post in each Papago village. If a Papago man would not take care of his family, he was warned three times and then whipped.¹⁶⁶ To solve the problem of crime and social chaos, tribal Indians, and other Americans who retain a viable community life, need to adopt forms of punishment that enlist shame and social pressures for their effectiveness. The whipping post may not come back, but substitutes must be found that draw upon the strengths of community life and are more congenial to Indian sensibilities about reconciling families and punishing crime.

Reforming Indian Government and Law

Four types of misfit between Indian culture and current government have been described -- majoritarian versus traditional government, statutory law versus the Way, individual rights versus responsible communities, and private punishments versus public reconciliation in disputes. Perhaps as years pass, the fact that democracy was forced upon the tribes will recede from memory and young Indians, who spend more time in public schools and become more assimilated, will forget traditional government and fully accept the legitimacy of tribal government. For the present, Indian communities continue to be badly divided because of the misfit between traditional culture and tribal government. Reform of tribal government along lines proposed in this section might ameliorate or even eliminate the misfit.

Illegitimate officials, since they are not respected, must govern by coercive force. American legal thought is preoccupied with a particular type of coercion, specifically

¹⁶⁵It is not clear, however, whether this punishment was merely imagined by Hawthorn in the 19th century or whether it was actually employed in the 17th century. cite

denying individuals their rights. The theories and policies that have grown up around individual rights represent some of the finest products of America's legal tradition. We do not think, however, that many Indians perceive tribal government as illegitimate primarily because it deprives them of their individual rights. Rather, they perceive it as illegitimate because it prevents them from doing the jobs for which they are traditionally and legitimately responsible -- the elders no longer decide disputes, the young men's societies no longer police the village, the village council does not control relations with outsiders, Indian doctors are excluded by health officials from healing the sick, young mothers do not care for their children who are in Headstart, the clan mothers cannot care for the clan because extended families are dispersed in government housing designed for nuclear families, and so forth. Instead of interfering with individual freedom, the main objection against government on Indian reservations is that it usurps official powers and responsibilities as laid down by sacred tradition and consensus.

Indians are vastly different in this respect from other minority groups in America such as blacks. The legal struggle articulated by many black leaders is against discrimination, which stings like a personal insult. Thus blacks have sought the same access as whites to public facilities such as schools and restaurants, the same voting privileges, the same treatment in the court room, and the same job opportunities. Unlike blacks, however, Indian tribes have treaties with the United States, a land base in the reservations, separate governments, and possess aboriginal rights recognized by courts. Many suits brought by Indians address uniquely Indian issues, such as enforcing treaties, recovering land, recognizing hunting rights, preserving sacred sites, extending the jurisdiction of tribal courts, or securing the power of tribal governments to tax. Authority over land and government, which belongs uniquely to Indians, cannot be established by treating Indians the same as the white majority. Indians, like blacks, suffer discrimination, but there is a dimension to the struggle of Indians against the majority of Americans that is lacking for blacks. The struggle of blacks, in brief, is for the same treatment as others, whereas the struggle of Indians is for the power to be different.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁶This assertion was made by Frank Lopez, a Papago elder, in conversation with R. Thomas.

¹⁶⁷cite This point was made eloquently by Vine Deloria in ...(religious conference piece)

Success in this struggle depends largely upon events in the larger world that Indians can influence only slightly. There are, however, significant improvements that Indians can make on their own without the existing legal framework. A suggestion about how to increase the legitimacy of tribal government comes from English history. In England a compromise was struck between tradition and democracy by separating Parliament into two houses, with the democratic principle controlling the House of Commons and the hereditary principle controlling the House of Lords. Traditional officials throughout Indian country have had their power usurped by elected officials. It would have been possible to attempt a compromise among Indians similar to England in which the tribal council would have two houses: a lower house of elected officials and an upper house of hereditary chiefs. While the hereditary principle is easily appreciated by the English, it cuts against the American grain. Instead of striving for a compromise, the United States tried to assure the complete victory of elected authorities. There was no possibility of the federal government recognizing hereditary power when tribal government was first established and that situation remains true today.

It is, however, within the power of the tribes to modify the practices of tribal government to show far more respect for traditional authority. The essential task is to make tribal government attractive to traditional Indians by incorporating their views into it. One way to proceed is through the establishment of advisory boards consisting of elders and hereditary chiefs. To illustrate, the tribal chairman and council could establish an advisory board that would act unofficially as a House of Lords. The role of such an advisory board would be giving or withholding sanction from the actions of the tribal government. In so far as the advisory board were elders with spiritual power, it would be inappropriate to involve them in routine decisions or day-to-day administration. Rather, they would be consulted about significant choices to help elected officials find the course of action that is consistent with the Way and that could build a consensus. Perhaps the advisory board could be given the means to publish their views and make them known when appropriate, so that their influence over government would rest upon their prestige and spiritual power, rather than upon formal authority. Similarly, a board of traditional Indian officials could advise the tribal judges on difficult and important case. The traditional officials and elders could serve as "friends of the court," to use the technical

term, whose legal expertise the court seeks to help it make difficult decisions. They could also provide institutional memory about how important cases are decided, since elders do not die as rapidly as tribal judges quit.

Advisory boards of traditional Indian authorities are one approach to the cultural misfit of majoritarian government. The second type of cultural misfit, statutory law, has a similar remedy. The remedy is for tribal courts to begin enforcing the Way in their courts. To appreciate how to do this, consider the role of common law in the American legal system. The common law consists of rules and principles enforceable in court that are not promulgated by any authority other than the judges themselves. The authority of common law is derived in principle from the fact that judges merely interpret and enforce norms generally recognized in society. In America, common law still governs most disputes in torts, contracts, and property, whereas statutes enacted by legislatures govern crimes and regulate business.

The common law is built up from precedent. A precedent is a prior decision by a court that embodies a legal rule or principle. To illustrate by a famous case, a California woman who was injured by an exploding coke bottle sued Coca Cola. In a landmark decision, the California Supreme Court held that Coca Cola was liable for the harm caused by the defective bottle even though the injured consumer had not proved that the company was negligent.¹⁶⁸ The case eventually came to stand for the principle that manufacturers are strictly liable for the harm that defective products cause to consumers. This principle of law was not adopted by a legislature as a statute. Rather, the principle became law because other judges read the case and decided that they ought to apply it.

Tribal judges have the power to adopt a set of precedents embodying the Way of their tribe, instead of relying upon federal and state law, so their own social norms could be worked into the fabric of tribal law. The main obstacle is conceptual -- tribal judges lack the idea of the common law process as it could operate in their own courts. To illustrate, the Papago tribal court tapes, but does not write down, its important cases. Judges find that referring back to tapes of past decisions is difficult or impossible.¹⁶⁹ Without institutional memory, the common law process cannot work. Tribal judges

¹⁶⁸Escola v. Coca Cola, cite

should begin creating a system of precedents by recording and publicizing their important decisions. The records could be kept in the mind of tribal elders who served as advisors and experts on the Way, or, even better, the important decisions would be written down, compiled in books, and circulated among tribal authorities. Adopting the common law process for institutionalizing traditional law would go far towards overcoming the cultural misfit created by statutory law.

A plural society consists of a diversity of human communities living in harmony with each other. American society is increasingly characterized by the absence of communities, not a plurality of communities. Indian communities are being disrupted, in part because the law of free individuals is being imposed upon them in many subtle ways. The best solution to this problem, in so far as Indians can solve it without changes in the larger society, is to put traditional Indians into authority who appreciate community values, rather than assimilated Indians who act as individuals.

The final area of cultural misfit concerns dispute resolution and punishment. Indian communities badly need to reassert traditional controls as a cure to the social chaos and crime that plagues them. Devising workable controls in the contemporary situation requires innovative thinking. To illustrate, one possibility that has been suggested for Papagos is to require Indians arrested for drunkenness on the reservation to submit to a medical examination by a medicine man. Papago medicine men are skilled curers who know how to use social forces for rehabilitation and deterrence. As a second example, each issue of the Hopi newspaper in the 1970s listed the names of everyone in the tribe convicted of drunkenness and similar crimes, along with the punishment. Publicity and shame were thus brought to bear upon the culprits. If tribal elders were enlisted in the resolution of disputes, they would no doubt discover many other ways to adapt traditional punishments to cure modern ills.

Conclusion

A close community is a group of people whose shared conception of the good life requires that they pursue it together. The government and law of tribal Indians was adapted to communities of kinsmen. Good relations among kin in Indian tribes depends

¹⁶⁹The Papago Court usually records cases on tape, but it does not transcribe or print them, according to Mrs. Correla.

upon adherence to kin prescriptions and a sense of propriety that affords autonomy to persons. When projected onto the world of government and law, kin prescriptions favor sacred tradition as a source of authority, and personal autonomy favors a principle of consensus for decisions that are not encompassed by tradition. The federal government circumvented traditional authorities and created a government chosen by majority rule. Traditional Indians show their disapproval by traditional means -- they do not vote, stand for office, or otherwise participate. The elected tribal governments continue to be perceived as illegitimate to the extent that they violate traditional Indian law and immoral in so far as they are socially disruptive. This problem can be overcome in part by Indians acting within the scope of their present authority to improve the cultural fit between tribal government and tribal traditions.

Chapter 9 A Whole Life

When an Indian man gets in his sixties, as I am, he begins to think a lot about his life and what it all means. I've lived a pretty full life, and I've been blessed with a pretty good memory so that I recall a lot of things that have happened to me along life's road.

Like most people, I don't recollect too much about when I was real small, a baby. I do remember I used to wear a kind of long dress, a white smock affair. That was the customary way to dress babies in that time among both rural whites and Indians in our part of the country, eastern Oklahoma. There was a little chicken outlined in black thread on the pocket of my smock, and I can recall my grandmother pointing to the black eye of that chicken, and saying in Cherokee, "Black", and I would repeat that word. I suppose that is a fairly early memory. And as I said in the narrative of the first chapter of this book, I remember riding on my grandmother's back in a sling when she worked in the garden or went to the store.

I can also vividly recall having weeping infantile eczema for almost a year of my young life. In order to keep me from scratching myself, the women in my family would pin my arms to the pillow by sticking a pin through the sleeves of my smock and pinning them to the pillow. The ladies would put toys at my feet, and I would pick up the toys with my toes and bring them up to my hands and play with them. My mother was determined not to take me to an Indian healer but to use the services of a regular white medical doctor. But my cure wasn't coming along very well. Finally, my grandmother ran out of patience and went to her sister, who made an herb salve which she applied to my eczema. I got all right then. I don't know what influence being tied down for almost a year of my life had on my personality, but I'm sure it must have had some important influence.

As I say, I wore a smock, and I don't remember wearing diapers at all. But it must be that I just don't remember. I suspect that I was toilet-trained very early. That was the custom in my family. The women in my family would, early in the morning, take a baby, and hold it up naked in front of the fire in the fireplace or kitchen stove until its genitals got warm. Then they would hold a can in front of the baby's private parts, and when the genitals got warm, of course, the little baby would urinate in the can. After they had done

that for a while, they would simply stand up the little one outside and it would urinate in the yard. So toilet training was easy on the baby, but it did take place fairly early. The feeding of solid food to a child took place very early as well. Little babies were held on people's laps at the dinner table. Adults would chew food, and put it into the baby's mouth with their fingers.

Cherokee babies spent a lot of time in hammock-like arrangements, particularly outside in the summer, under an arbor. When the women had to work at some job, like mending clothes, for instance, they would keep the hammock swinging while they worked. And I can remember seeing very young babies sitting up in horse collars placed flat on the ground, so that the baby got used to sitting up very early. But I never saw anything like a playpen or a child's harness or anything like that.

My wife purchased a playpen for our first child, our son. I guess she was trying to be "modern", like young white mothers. I didn't like it, but I didn't say anything. Our son didn't like it either. He kept twisting one of the slats until he got it loose and then he got out of that playpen! I felt like giving him a round of applause or a warrior's whoop. And that was the last of that playpen business.

Babies, by and large, were free to crawl around as soon as they had any desire to do so at all. Small babies were laid on quilts, unable to crawl, kicking and waving their arms. I suppose the main circumstances in which I saw babies when I was a child, was on people's laps, and Cherokee men especially handled babies a lot. They would hold them on their knees and bounce them, singing to them, or talking to them; and carry them around. You would even see the little chaps carried in Indian stomp dances by men. Babies were never alone for very long.

Grandparents begin to take over the care of children very early. Cherokee grandparents, and I suppose grandparents generally, are very patient with small children. I am now a grandparent, and I find myself much more patient with my grandchildren than I ever was with my children. Things which annoyed me when my children were growing up, or which I felt I had to deal with then, now seem to me trivial. Further, like most grandparents, I am just absolutely taken by my small grandchildren. It seems to me that everything they do is worth watching and they continually amaze me. And these are not

grandchildren that I just visit occasionally. I have some seven grandchildren living in my home, four who live a mile away, and another who lives some six or seven miles away. It's not as if I see them only occasionally, and that I'm therefore taken with them because I don't see them too much.

This is about all I remember about how babies were treated. As I say, I don't have too many memories myself of life as a baby, and most of these observations about babies were made when I was a little older.

I have many more distinct memories of my life after I became a little boy, four or five years old. Most of my memories are of following my relatives around, following them as they worked around our place. I had one uncle I used to stay with a lot who kept milk cows. That was unusual for a Cherokee. Most Cherokees did not like to keep stock that tied them down to a daily routine. And of course, milk cows are one such animal. Milk cows have to be milked every day, whether you like it or not. It's very hard to go off to a four-day ceremony, for example. Milk cows can't be left to fend for themselves. I would squat on my haunches, watching my uncle milk. At times he would have me open my mouth, and he would squirt a stream of milk into my mouth. Needless to say, it dribbled all over me, as much milk on me as inside of me. I can remember looking up at what appeared to me to be a huge bag on the cow, and a huge hand, holding a huge tit, and a huge stream of milk being squirted at me. I came to like milk and am still a big milk drinker. Most of my family would almost turn green watching me gulp down a glass of milk at a meal. Indians aren't partial to milk as a rule.

When my relatives worked, I would try to help them out. I'm sure that I got in the way a lot, but nobody ever discouraged me or got impatient with me. I also explored a lot with my dog by myself, going all through the woods, and around the bluffs and the creek, and so forth. I played a lot with relatives, small relatives my age, although some of them were four or five years older than me. I don't remember playing any games with them. I remember swinging on grape vines, climbing trees, throwing rocks in the creek, trying to catch a horse and ride it, and such activities. I also remember that I had an area in which I would play by myself sometimes, down under a walnut tree, among some big

rocks. I made a road system, and would take empty Bull Durham tobacco sacks, fill them full of sand, and pull them along my roads, like they were wagons.

I don't remember hardly ever being corrected or interfered with, as I said in the earlier narrative, "Cherokee Childhood." The only case of "punishment" that I can recall, I told about in that chapter; where my uncle put on a gourd mask and frightened me. And as I said, frightening children to control them was not uncommon in Cherokee life. In fact, in previous times, there were special relatives who scared Cherokee children, and not simply to control them, as in the case of my uncle. For instance, an old man, a North Carolina Cherokee, told me about some of the old-time rules among kinfolks, when women ruled the roost. You know our family line comes down through the women. He said that when he was a child in North Carolina it was the Cherokee way for aunts to tease and scare their brother's children. He said that his aunt (father's sister) was always grabbing at his genitals in public. She shamed him in public. He told me a story that must have scared the whey out of him. He said that one day he was sent down to the local store to purchase a loaf of what they call in English in the South, light bread, oven-baked flour bread, a rare treat in those days. When he was coming home, holding this loaf of store-bought light bread in his arms, he cut across by his aunt's house. She lived in a log house, and when he rounded the corner of the house, she stepped out with a long corn knife in her hand, a machete-like knife used to cut corn stalks. She said to him, "Now is when I get my family's jewels back." He froze right in his tracks. I guess he was so frightened that he squeezed that loaf of bread until it was as flat as a tortilla, and broke and ran for home after he "came to." The old man explained to me that this woman had lost a member of her clan (her brother) to his clan, his mother's clan, and that therefore, his aunt was supposed to act jealous of her brother's male children.

When I was six years old, I started to school. There was no kindergarten or pre-school in rural areas in those days. I attended the traditional one-room country school house, and my first day at school was quite an emotional experience for me. I had never been in a place where I needed to control my bladder. About a couple of hours into school, before morning recess, I had to urinate badly, so I went up to the teacher, a young, blond white woman, and said to her "I have to go take a leak." She said to me, "Sonny, you must say 'I want to go to the toilet, please'." So I repeated, "I want to go to

the toilet, please," she said, "Is it necessary?" I didn't have a clue in this world what 'necessary' meant. I thought that I talked English fairly well, but it became clear then that I didn't, because this three-syllable word completely threw me. So I went back and sat down. After a little while I became desperate, so I went up again and I said, "Miss Caroline, I want to go to the toilet, please." She said to me, "Well, sonny, we're right in the middle of class, but if it's absolutely necessary, you can go." 'Absolutely necessary' was way beyond my understanding. I think Miss Caroline was new at teaching or else she would not have used such big words to children, particularly to small Indian children. In any case, I went back and sat down. And in a few minutes I urinated all over the floor. I put my head down on the desk between my arms, and refused to talk to anybody at all, either in English or Cherokee. I can still remember the sun shining in the window, reflecting off of that yellow pool of urine under my feet. When recess bell sounded, I darted out of the door and ran all the way home. When I got home, my grandmother was working in the kitchen. She said, "You're home early from school." I said, "Yes, I am.". She said, "What did you do in school today?" I said, "I peed on the floor." My grandmother looked at my wet pants a little while. She said, "Is that what they teach you in that school, to pee on the floor?" That light-handed and sensitive Cherokee response only added to my shame, so much so that it was almost two or three weeks before I could be convinced to enter the school again.

Of course, school didn't take up all of my time, and I was not involved in supervised games, after school, as are modern youngsters. So I still spent a great deal of my life around home. There was no real change in my home life after I started to school. I simply helped out more and more as I grew older, in the garden, feeding stock, and driving up the turkeys for my uncle. My uncle not only had milk cows, but he had a big flock of turkeys. I would go out on my pony and drive them up to the roost. Turkeys are the hardest creatures in the world to drive. They won't just follow the leader (like cattle). They are always breaking out of the line so that with such practice I became a good cowboy, and my pony an accomplished cutting horse.

I also began to do a lot of hunting and fishing. Even more than before, tagging along after my older relatives. I remember my uncle was quite a fine quail hunter. I would carry his shotgun shells and pick up his birds when he went hunting. I, along with

relatives of my own age, hunted with a slingshot or a bow and arrow. In past times, Cherokees had hunted with blow guns, but that had fallen into disuse by the time I was a child. As I recounted in the narrative of Chapter One, "Cherokee Childhood," I had my own rifle by the time I was eleven or twelve years old, endlessly hunting, and contributing to the pot, so to speak.

Now, of course, we did a lot of things that were pure entertainment, although I don't think that what would be conceived of as the world of work was that much different than what one would call entertainment now-a-days. We took no naps in the afternoon. In fact, I was surprised to find out that town kids took naps in the afternoon, brushed their teeth, and wore pajamas to bed. Those were three of the great revelations about town life I discovered when I was a child. And of course, we had no TV. We went to bed early. We were tired, everyone in the family was tired; the adults perhaps from working, and even the children, if we weren't helping out, were ripping around over the hills, swinging on grape vines, throwing rocks, hunting and so forth. We turned in early. And of course, as I said, we took no naps, so that we were really tired by the time seven or eight o'clock came around at night.

I suppose that our greatest pleasure was watching card games or playing simple card games. My grandfather and other members of the family were avid card players. And I remember standing and looking over my grandfather's shoulder for hours, watching him play a game really too complicated for me to understand, but I enjoyed it nevertheless. Sometimes we children would play simple card games, with another child or even an adult. And of course, the making of string figures, what are called cat's cradles was always a lot of fun. Some of the women in my family were expert at the making of string figures. And we would laugh uproariously at mistakes or perhaps some newly-created design that one of the ladies had invented.

I don't remember playing very many pretend games, and I don't remember playing cowboys and Indians, but I do remember playing house. There was a little white girl who lived down the road from us, who would come up to visit me, and involve me in what she called playing house. I wasn't very good at the game, and she had to instruct me a lot about what to do. I felt very uneasy playing this game with her. It seemed to me as if I

was lying. Lying, by Indian standards, is very serious in Indian life. And this is even true of what modern Americans call children's creative fantasies. We were never allowed to "lie" that way when I was a child. It brought tremendous disapproval, and I think I experienced playing house as of the same mode. Cherokees teach children to recount events or happenings as accurately and as literally as possible. If a child gets carried away, and starts embellishing an event or happening, the Cherokees will frown or express some significant disapproval, and embarrass the child.

I have a nephew who "gets wound up and stretches his blanket," as we say, when he is telling a story. My niece, his mother, always says to him, "Stop all that lying!" She would say that to him when he was a kid, and she will say that to him right today; and he is over fifty years old!

We liked to hear animal stories. These stories were told to kids in the winter before the fire or perhaps in warmer weather on the front porch at night. One of the stories which I liked a lot was a story about the terrapin and the rabbit.

The old people say that in the old days, the terrapin, or the tortoise as it's called in some parts of the United States, was a great warrior; so much so that he wore his armour, his protection all the time. In the old days, southern Indians wore coats or breastplates of wooden slats when they went to war. The terrapin wears a very complete set of armour. But of course, carrying around this armour at all times, he was very slow. The rabbit, who was a perpetual troublemaker and tease, was always teasing the terrapin about being slow. The terrapin, like many warriors in those days, had become vain. One day when the rabbit was teasing him, the terrapin "flew mad" and said to the rabbit, "If you think that you're so fast, why don't you and I have a race to settle it once and for all?" Of course, the rabbit was tickled to death, and he said to the terrapin, "All right, you lay out the race course, and I will run against you, whatever kind of race that you would like." So the terrapin laid out a race course which ran over seven hills. The next morning they commenced the race, and when the rabbit got to the top of the second hill, he could see the terrapin behind him. So he loped along, taking it easy until he got to the top of the third hill. But when he looked back, he couldn't see the terrapin. When the rabbit turned back around he saw the terrapin on the crest of the fourth hill, ahead of him. He couldn't

figure out how the terrapin got ahead of him. The rabbit got a little worried, so he picked up his speed a little bit, and got to the top of the fourth hill, just in time to see the terrapin going over the fifth hill. This time he ran very fast to the top of the fifth hill, to see the terrapin going over the top of the sixth hill. He ran with all his might, faster than he had ever run in his life to the top of the sixth hill. When he got to the top of the sixth hill, he saw the terrapin standing on the crest of the seventh hill. The rabbit, with his head down, walked up to the finish line on the seventh hill, and stood there for a long time, both disheartened and amazed. Finally he said to the terrapin, "You know," he said, "we bet a lot of goods on this game, and you have them now in your hands. There's no reason why you can't tell me how in the world you won that race." The terrapin said, "Well, it was easy. To you, all terrapins look alike, so I put a different relative on each hill, and I stood here on the seventh hill until you arrived."

Now that tale illustrates a number of points. One is that if you're vain, and lose your temper, you're going to get in trouble, as the terrapin did when he challenged the rabbit to the race. However, if you have lots of relatives, your relatives will see you through the trouble. Further, if you've got a good head, a good head is worth more than a strong leg. I guess it might help if you had some strong "medicine," spiritual knowledge, too.

But I heard hundreds of animal stories and in the summer time, when we slept outside, I would hear stories about the stars as we were laying on our quilts looking up at the sky.

We heard a lot of scary tales, too; about ghosts, witches, bad spirits, and the like. We would hear adults talk about who was "conjuring" (using black magic or bad medicine) who. I guess religion filled up our lives, in this case the bad aspects of our beliefs. But most of it was good, not bad. We children took part in household ceremonies, curing rites, funerals, and the like. When our family attended an Indian ceremonial dance or a Cherokee Baptist hymn singing convention we ran around playing with new friends, and enjoying the dancing and singing as well. We weren't expected to understand everything and we weren't expected to sit like a stump at religious gatherings. We enjoyed ourselves. We took part as we sat fit. And we were absorbing ideas and

practices which would become clear to us later on in life. Even young adults weren't very religious in the formal sense of the word, although my own children started helping me out with ceremonies when they got into their late teens. However, most Indians do not become formally religious until they are in their thirties, when their children are coming to "realize something", as they say in Cherokee. But we were learning even though we weren't aware of it.

I hear educated whites talk a lot about children "modeling", or perhaps having a "role model". I have a friend, a white man, who is a social psychologist. I asked him what that all meant. He told me that modeling means like when a three or four year old will hold up a newspaper as he sees his father do and pretends he is reading; and that a role model is where you pattern your life after someone you respect and want to be like. The old Cherokees would call all that imitating or mocking; like "monkey see, monkey do".

I never saw that in Cherokee life. We learned how to be a future uncle because we had an uncle who related to us like an uncle. We learned tasks as we participated in them. We slowly "gained knowledge" about religion as we took part in life as a whole, and that knowledge surfaced in our minds and being later in life.

In the wintertime, the old men would tell sacred stories in front of the fire. Sometimes I would squat there by the fire, having brought in wood to build up the fire. Sometimes I would go to bed and hear them talking as I went to sleep. In later years, old men would sit around the kitchen table, and I would play on the floor. We finally got a linoleum covering for our kitchen floor which had a square pattern on it. I would run my little car along these squares as if they were roads, under the kitchen table. And I can remember hearing those old men talk, while they were having their coffee.

I suppose my greatest thrill was sitting with my grandmother at night when she ate apples. She would get half a dish pan full of apples, and sit in front of the fire eating them. She would cut the apples in half, cross-grained, and then with a blunt ended table knife she would scrape out the insides, until there was only the core and the peeling left. Of course she would always feed me some of this fresh "apple sauce" from the end of her knife, and talk with me at the same time.

I still, of course, played with my relatives. We would even have rubber-gun fights. We used to cut up inner tubes into strips and attach them to a wooden gun contraption with a clothes pin for a trigger and shoot these rubber bands at one another. And in the Spring, we enjoyed having clod fights in a freshly plowed field. Some of the white kids in the neighborhood liked to get in a corn crib and throw ears of corn at each other, scratching the skin. However, that was little rough for the tastes of Indian boys, and if we participated in it, we tended to get mad and begin to fight, whereas the white boys were able to control their temper more in those circumstances. I think that to these young whites, the game was a test of manhood -- standing in a small enclosure like a corn crib, while somebody hit you with an ear of hard corn. Cherokee boys had no such notions about any test of manhood, and therefore would get mad in the same circumstances.

Once a week, I would attend a movie at the county seat. I had an uncle, my grandfather's brother, "an old bachelor", who was a night guard at the bank at the county seat. He always had money. Saturday mornings he would come out on his horse, or perhaps driving a horse and two-wheeled cart, and give me a dime to go see a show when we went into town. And I remember one movie particularly had a tremendous impact on me. My mother, who was working away, came home one weekend, and told us that we should see a movie which would no doubt be coming to our area, called Chief Massacre, in which Chester Morris, a noted actor in the thirties, played the part of a young Indian. We heard that this movie, or picture show as they called it in Oklahoma English, was playing at the county seat. So that Saturday afternoon, my grandmother took me to see it. My grandmother's English was limited, but she enjoyed going to cowboy movies, particularly to see the fine horses that the actors were riding. I am not sure of the whole plot of this picture, but I do remember that Chester Morris was a race car driver. He dressed like everyone I knew, except a little better, perhaps. He was not one of those funny-looking Indians I saw in most movies that wore feathers, rode bareback on paint horses, and made a lot of racket and strange noises when the soldiers were chasing after them. I could see him as an Indian who had some connection to me. His father died, and the men of his tribe came to ask him to come home and take his father's place as chief. He came back to the reservation, and right away got into trouble with the powers that be -

- a movie company making a picture on the reservation, the government officials, white ranchers leasing the Indian land, and so forth. This young chief began to keep company with a white girl of a prominent family in the area. I don't recall how the picture ended, but the scene that sticks in my mind showed this young man in jail on some trumped-up charge, and a white mob breaking down the door to get at him. It frightened me. After the picture was over, I asked my grandmother to explain the show to me. However, she hadn't been able to follow the plot. When my grandfather came home that night, she said to him, "This boy wants to know about that picture show he saw." My grandmother explained some of it to him, and I recounted the rest of what I remembered. He pondered for a while. He looked at me with that flat Indian look, as if I was the family idiot. Finally, he simply reported, "That picture show means that the white people is against the Indians." (Cherokee pithiness is a little too much sometimes!) I said to my grandfather, "Is there a lot of white people in the world?" "Oh, yes," he said, "the Indians are just a handful compared to the whites." I must say that remark chilled me to the bone. And the next time that we went into town, I stayed very close to my relatives; and I don't suppose I have ever forgotten that the Indians are just a handful, as my grandfather told me.

When I was about ten my mother brought us a radio from the city. My grandmother liked to listen to "old-time" (country) music early in the morning. My second mother (my aunt) and I liked the kid's adventure shows that came on just before suppertime. My grandfather ignored it.

Now we didn't stay in the schoolhouse at our studies all day long. We did have a morning and afternoon recess. And we had time off for lunch. During recess the Cherokee kids usually played on one side of the playground, and white kids played on the other. At least, this was the case in the lower grades. As time went on, we tended to mix around more together. As Cherokee kids became more proficient in English, there began to be some real ties between a few Indian and white students. Nonetheless, by and large, the play groups were segregated. Even the sexes were segregated among both the Cherokees and whites on the playground. But it was clear that the little white girls weren't very satisfied with that arrangement. Some of them pestered those white boys to death. I felt sorry for some of those boys. It seemed like those little girls couldn't live without a boy's attention. And outside of school some of those girls made their older

brother's life just miserable, tagging along after them and picking a fuss all the time. If Cherokee girls wanted to act like that they didn't show it.

The main thing I remember about recess was playing marbles. Marbles was our passion. (Even Cherokee men play marbles!)

White boys fought a lot on the playground, and from the Cherokee viewpoint, white kids were considered "mean"; I suppose in modern English, aggressive. I remember observing that if a strange white boy came into a group, the leader of the bunch, who was usually the best fighter, would try him out, usually winning the fight. But if the new boy fought a good fight, then the gang leader and the new boy would become the best of friends. The new boy might even become a "sidekick" of the leader, a "pal" in the mode of the Lone Ranger and Tonto; or comical, loyal and respectful like Frog was to Gene Autry or Gabby Hayes was to Roy Rogers in the Saturday afternoon cowboy movies.

That's quite a contrast to Cherokee boys. Cherokees are grudge-holders, and revengeful. If you got into a fight with a Cherokee, and beat him up, he might resent that for years, even though showing no outward sign of resentment. He might even take revenge against you later in life. I hate to say this about my own nationality, but Cherokees are not only very vengeful, but some of them are back-shooters, and if they are angry enough they will take revenge on someone by shooting them from ambush. One of the reasons why there is little police brutality in eastern Oklahoma is because if a police officer mistreats a Cherokee, that policeman might have a hard time getting from his car to the front porch some night, or his house might mysteriously burn down when he was away from home.

Burning the enemy's house and shooting them as they ran out of the burning house was a common war tactic in some tribes in the old days. My grandfather was born and raised in that world. He used to have me tie the laces of both of my shoes together before I went to bed. Sometimes he would wake me up in the night, saying softly, "Hsst! Wake up! The enemy is here!" I was supposed to snap awake, grab my shoes, and run outside into the woods. Of course, if I grabbed one shoe I had the other, too. When I got outside in the dark I could put on my shoes. My grandfather always said,

"Many a man has been killed fumbling around for his shoes. By the time he found both shoes the fire was burning bright and he was a clear target when he ran out the door." If I didn't wake up right away he would throw a dipper of cold water on me. That training must have stood me in good stead. In World War II I always heard the Japanese hand grenade rolling toward my fox hole. A lot of men didn't.

The Cherokees are not the only people who shoot their enemies in the night. One old white settler told me, "There have been more men shot in Arkansas when they came out late at night to take a leak off the edge of the front porch than any other way!"

However, from the Cherokee viewpoint whites seemed almost inhuman in their treatment of others, especially of children. They spoke harshly to their own children and whipped them fiercely for small disobediences, or so it seemed to us. And the conflicts in some white families were frightening. Relatives would "fall out" and not speak to each other for years, especially over the inheritance of property. And fathers and teenaged sons clashed sometimes like two rams in a pasture. I had a white friend I hunted with a lot. One day I went to his house to meet up with him in order to go hunting together. As we were leaving the house his father came to the door and said, "Son, you have some work to do around here yet." My friend replied, "I'll do it when I get back." His father said, "You'll do it now!" My friend said in a loud voice, "I said I'd do it when I got back." His father yelled, "Look, boy! As long as you live under my roof and put your feet under my table you'll do like I tell you!" One word led to another and pretty soon they were slugging it out there in the front yard. Finally, my friend just walked off. He went on off to California and didn't come back for several years. I guess that explains the American frontier? In any case, I almost went into shock, seeing that fight between my friend and his father. When I went home and told my uncle he said, "Now you know why they just ran over the Indians!"

I guess that I just kind of slid into being a teenager. I don't remember any big significant change in my life when I became a teenager, except that my grandparents died along then. That left a big hole in my life. My early teenage years were just really more of the same. but with a few significant differences. Most Cherokee youngsters in my area had dropped out of school by that time. In the eighth grade I went to a Presbyterian

mission school, and after about six months, I ran away back home. If ever I had any idea of becoming a Christian, that mission school certainly managed to kill that thought. The teachers there really treated the students mean. And I think I was particularly singled out, since I was one of the few students who didn't come from a Christian family. I made bad mistakes in the "correct" understanding of Bible studies in class, and the like. Nearly all of the teachers there were from Pennsylvania. I couldn't understand their English. They sounded like Donald Duck to me. When they asked me something I would answer yes one time and no the next time, hoping the law of averages would see me through. Sometimes I didn't luck out; the teacher would become angry and stand me in the closet in the dark. I never knew why they were angry or what I did wrong. In any case, I found it all not too pleasant, and ran away back to stay with my relatives.

The next year, in the ninth grade, I attended a federal boarding school. This federal boarding school catered to many tribes, and the Cherokees, tended to bunch up together, as did most tribes. I remember several Cherokee boys who, although ninth graders, simply did not understand English well, and depended on another member of our group, the Duck, to be around to interpret in case of emergency. Sometimes we needed to know in exact detail what was being said to us, particularly by someone in authority. The first week we were there we walked around the campus. We could see in the window of a teacher's house. We saw an Indian girl take something off a dressing table in the house. Pretty soon a teacher came running out and saw us standing there. She took us to the principal's office. The principal frowned and asked us something. I didn't catch it. We said nothing. The principal put us in detention. When we were by ourselves the Duck said the principal wanted to know who stole that teacher's piece of jewelry. We didn't know the girl who took the jewelry, but we knew she wasn't kin to any of us. We didn't even think that she was a Cherokee. So we had the Duck call in the principal, described the girl to him, and then went merrily on our way when we were released.

There was a lot of pressure at that school not to speak in an Indian language, nor to practice any Indian customs. Sometimes we would sneak out at night into a nearby orchard, and sing Cherokee stomp dance songs together. I suppose we were trying to preserve our cultural integrity as Cherokees in some small way .

And you dare not talk to a girl you passed on the campus or in the hall! You would get punished. I guess they thought we were all sex maniacs.

In the tenth grade I went to public school and became quite a well-known athlete. (As I recounted in "Cherokee Childhood," one of my relatives had trained me as a runner when I was a child. That training prepared me to be a good track man and a good boxer as well.) I tried to get acquainted with some of the white girls who seemed to admire me, but several of these attempts ended with some display of racial or cultural prejudice on their part, or so it seemed to me. I was also very shy in that period, and not very good at approaching a strange girl. Of course we didn't have to worry about that in Cherokee circles. We all knew each other, and if we met a strange girl from another community at, let's say, a stomp dance or church singing, our relatives were sure to know her family. The old people kept track of us so we wouldn't be attracted to some girl that was known to be related by blood to us. Ideally, when I was a young man, neither were you supposed to have any sort of sexual contact with any girl of the same clan as yourself. There are only seven Cherokee clans, so at least 15% of the female population is off limits. And in fact some people didn't feel that you should have any sexual contact with members of your father's clan, but this was a much less common practice.

In North Carolina, Cherokees there kept to the old Cherokee law about marriage and they preferred that a man marry a member of either one of your grandfathers' clans. Both your mother's father and your father's father were members of clans who had married into other clans, your grandmothers' clans, and therefore those clans had lost members because the children belonged to the woman's clan. According to the old people in North Carolina, it was best to marry a woman of either of those two clans, therefore giving a man back to those clans that had given your grandfathers to your clan and your father's clan. They used to say, "Cherokee men are supposed to marry their grandmothers." But when I was a kid in Oklahoma, older people had heard of such a rule, but no one practiced it. Instead, there was a notion that one should not marry actual "blood" kin. This was quite a change from the old rules, which specified what kin you should marry, in the case above, members of your grandfather's clans. And the kin ties are so widespread among Cherokees, it is very difficult for most people to find someone who is neither a member of your own clan, nor who is blood kin. However, boys didn't

have to worry much about that stuff, older relatives kept an eye on us, and courting arrangements were arranged by the women and the young ladies of courting age. Cherokee males just presented ourselves, and things seemed to fall into line. For instance, you would find yourself sitting at a ceremony next to some young lady with whom there was a mutual attraction. I did not know this at the time, but usually these "chance encounters" were arranged by the women in both your family and the interested girl's family, so that everything went along without too much initiative on the part of young men.

Some time after I became a teenager, I became a young man, by Cherokee reckoning. That period in most Indian men's lives, young manhood, lasts from fourteen or fifteen to usually in the thirties. In the old days, young Indian males were going on the warpath at fourteen or fifteen years old. (The average age of Geronimo's warriors was fourteen!) So somewhere around that age, I began to be treated as a young man. Young Indian men in nearly all tribes are encouraged to take their freedom; that is, to seek new experiences and to not be confined by "responsibility" or institution. It is at this time in life that being confined in a schoolroom becomes hard to bear for most young Indian men, much more than is the case with female Indian students. And young men are encouraged to take their freedom and to have courage and heart. The upshot of this sometimes is that young men are a little bit of a pain in the rear to most of the rest of the tribe. I've heard it said that most of the men who in their later years became great chiefs among the Cherokee, were some of the worst young men; worst in the sense of being, as we say in Oklahoma, bad actors. One of the great Cherokee chiefs who died in the 1970's was always held up as an example of this process. When he was young his main sport was to get drunk and ride his horse onto the stomp ground during a stomp dance and shoot out the lanterns hanging in the arbors near the sacred fire; disrupting the ceremony, to say the least. I think most older Indians, male or female, think that there are a minimum of experiences which a human being must inculcate into his or her being in order to become wise and great in old age.

I have to admit that when I became a young Indian man I ran true to form. I lived high, wide, and handsome. I roamed around all over the United States, and in some wild country in old Mexico and in Canada. I worked at all kinds of jobs - cowboy, rodeo

rider, packer, guide, construction worker, logger, private "eye", and on and on. I drank a lot of good whiskey, went on big tears, got thrown out of lots of bars, duked it out over matters of manly honor, and woke up in a few jail cells. I saw a lot of good country, met a lot of nice people, and had enough romance with fine ladies to provide myself with many sweet memories for my old age.

In the 1950's, I worked up in South Dakota and lived for about a year and a half on the Oglala Sioux Pine Ridge Indian reservation there. If I thought that young Cherokee men were bad actors, I didn't know what bad actors were until I lived among the Sioux. Of course everybody, particularly the Indian Bureau officials decried the behavior of the young Sioux as evidence of juvenile delinquency. The young Sioux men liked to drink. They liked to drive cars at high speed. They liked to mix it up a little, have a few fist fights; and generally to live the high, sweet life. And they're encouraged to do just that by everyone around them. Among the Sioux or Cherokees, when a young man drives off the road at 100 miles an hour and survives, or gets into a fight with local police and has to be subdued by some six of the police, old people denounce such behavior, and then smile behind their hand at it. Young women are just absolutely thrilled by such behavior and bunch up and giggle when they meet such a young man on the street. Cherokees even like their young ladies to take their freedom, and are not shocked if their daughters are a little high-stepping, but it is among the Sioux that this warrior quality of the young man is the most pronounced.

Sioux young men are classic warriors in the Indian mode. They have a kind of undisciplined, come-what-may courage of the kind Sampson had when he pulled down the pillars of the temple, regardless of the consequences. And in the old days, when the Sioux used to charge, even if it was only two boys against a troop of cavalry, they would shout, in Sioux, "Let's do it!" That is the kind of courage that is admired by Indians.

You could see the very early encouragement of this kind of behavior among the Sioux. For instance, if a Sioux girl baby bit the breast, a Sioux woman would thump its head or make a raucous disapproving noise. If a Sioux male baby bit the breast, she would smile and give a soft tremolo as if she was in pain, very much like the trilling whoop that adult Sioux women give when they see an act of courage. Most little Sioux

boys are bought Stetson hats and good boots by their parents, and perhaps a good rope as well. You see six-year-olds running around in fifty-dollar boots, roping every chicken in the place, and roping every girl as well. If a six-year-old or eight-year-old Sioux boy gets tired of roping, the girls will come around, get him on his feet, and tease him until he begins to chase them with his rope once again. And little Sioux boys can get rambunctious and rowdy. One little Sioux community used to have drumming and singing practice every Wednesday night in their community hall. The little kids made so much noise playing around that the head singer had to move the practice to his home. The singers couldn't hear themselves sing. Of course, they didn't say anything to the kids. They just moved out and "left the field" to the kids.

It is as if everyone conspires to create what white officialdom think of as juvenile delinquents. My response to these white officials was that their attitude was similar to considering the Sioux warriors who defeated Custer as a symptom of juvenile delinquency.

However, I didn't really understand the whole thrust of the Sioux outlook until it was explained to me by an elderly Sioux lady. I lived with this lady for several months, boarded in her home while I was working up there. She and I became fast friends, and I used to tease her a lot. Her family had been one of those Sioux families that had followed Crazy Horse out to the Little Big Horn River in 1876 where the Sioux defeated General Crook and then General Custer at the famous battle of the Little Big Horn. Of course, in the final analysis, the army hunted down the Sioux bands and after some loss of life, herded them back onto the Pine Ridge Reservation. My friend used to talk a lot about Crazy Horse. She could remember him when she was a child. She was a very old lady. And I used to hear other Sioux tell me tales about Crazy Horse that had been passed down to them. Crazy Horse does not seem to have been a very good diplomat, or a very good politician, or even a very good military tactician. He was low-key, kind, and gentle. And he was an extremely brave and generous man in the Sioux style. Nevertheless, I would tease my friend and say things to her like, "What was the matter with you Sioux, following Crazy Horse out to the Little Big Horn, when you knew that he would get you in trouble?" One day she was in a sharper mood than usual, and when I teased her on this subject, she answered me for the first time. She said, "We followed

Crazy Horse out there because we loved him, because he gave us so much. He used to stand out in the middle of the camp circle and give us whatever he had." I said to her, "Now, weren't there Sioux chiefs richer than Crazy Horse that used to give more presents to you?" She replied, "Yes, there were, but Crazy Horse gave away everything he had to us. When he was through giving away, he was standing there with only his breech-cloth on." She said, "He would take a switch, and he would ride out to meet the enemy, and hit the enemy with the switch, and ride back, and we would jump up, all the ladies sitting on the hillside watching him, and whoop because he gave us so much." In other words, Crazy Horse gave of his courage to the people. He would stand naked before God, after giving away all his worldly goods, and by his actions say to the Sioux, "Be strong. Look at me; I have given away everything! But I will survive. Take heart! Material goods are unimportant." He would ride back from having struck the enemy, symbolically saying, "Be strong! There's no need to fear any enemy." That is the gift of courage that young Indian men give to us, and it is a valuable and cherished gift.

Now the Cherokees, we value our young men's courage, but we are not certain of their judgement. And a lot of younger Cherokees complain that older Cherokees treat them as if they had no sense at all until they are at least fifty years old. I had a friend of mine who had a college education and a large family, He was some thirty-five years old, but when he walked down the street in his home town, older Cherokees would greet him by saying "Hello, boy." One day he said to me, "I don't know when I'm ever going to grow up and be considered a man by Cherokees." I remember an equally demeaning incident happening to myself.

In 1966, a group of Cherokee elders decided to protest the opening of a reconstructed aboriginal Cherokee village south of Tahlequah, Oklahoma. This village was built by the local Cherokee Historical Society, an arm of the Talequah business class, and was highly touted as a tourist attraction. The Cherokee tribal officials, white men in the eyes of most Cherokees, had loaned or donated tribal money to help build this tourist attraction. Many Cherokees were irate that Cherokee money was being used to benefit rich whites, as they saw it.

The elders decided that all those who marched in the protest had to be at least forty years old. At that time, I was forty-one years old. When I heard the rule, I smiled and said to one of the elders who was organizing the protest, "Well, I guess I will get to march in the protest, I'm forty-one." He said to me, "Well, in your case, we might have to change that rule to forty-two, because you still have too short a fuse, and if some policeman starts shoving a lady around, you'll jump astraddle of him." I knew there was no chance of me participating in the protest, and I must say, I felt not only excluded, but like an idiot child.

Shortly thereafter, young Cherokees planned a protest against what they felt was the violation of Cherokee hunting rights. Eastern Oklahoma was "opening up" at that time, artificial lakes had been built all over the area, and even rough sections were then accessible by either paved or gravel roads. In recent years, therefore, the State of Oklahoma Fish and Wildlife officials had begun arresting Cherokees for hunting without a license, or hunting out of season. Several groups of Cherokee young men got together and decided to have a "hunt-in" much like the Indian "fish-ins" that were taking place in the state of Washington. Of course many Cherokee elders saw this plan on the part of the young men as potentially violent, and they were probably right. Any game warden who got out of his car to arrest some sixty armed young Cherokee men would no doubt have weighed sixty ounces more in a very few seconds. So elders began to sponsor community meetings and finally decided to get a lawyer to look into the Cherokee treaty rights regarding game and fish, and to take a test case to the courts. However, one young man got arrested for hunting, and was put in jail in one of the county seats in that part of Oklahoma. He sent word to his fellows that he thought they had decided to stick together on this matter of principle, and that they should come and get him out of jail. The morning of his trial, some 400 armed Cherokees gathered in this small Oklahoma town of some 1200 people. It was a very explosive situation, but in the end, Cherokee leaders got a federal judge to send a federal marshal to the county court with an injunction to take the case out of county court and place it under federal jurisdiction. Since the federal government is trusted by Cherokees, the young men uncocked their pistols, put their rifles back in their pickups and went home. However, once again, the energy and independent action of younger Cherokees was deflected by Cherokee elders. Perhaps

indeed these elders were correct, that these situations would have ended in violence and therefore come to no good end. Nevertheless, young Cherokees did feel "cut off at the pass". However, I have to say that Cherokees and a few other tribes are probably extreme in containing the actions of their young. This is not to say that Cherokees do not have the same admiration for individual displays of the courage of these same young men, as do most other North American Indian groups, with very few exceptions.

And I have to admit that Indian women -- mothers, sisters, sweethearts, wives, etc. -- spoil us rotten, especially when we are young.

When I lived up at Pine Ridge I had a date to take a beautiful Sioux girl to the rodeo. It was our first date and when I got to her house she was sitting outside, dressed up fit to kill. We were just about ready to get in the car to go to the rodeo when her brother drove up, got out, and staggered into the house. He looked like he was just coming off of a week-long binge. He yelled, "Sis, fix me something to eat." My date's face just fell. She looked so sad and disappointed, but she started into the house. I said, "Hey, let him fix his own food!" She said, "Oh, I couldn't do that. He's my brother." And that was the end of our date.

I was married for a while to a western Oklahoma girl from one of the warrior tribes out there. I bought her a car. She let her brother borrow it and then sell it off part by part for booze. I couldn't say anything to him. My wife said, "You might hurt his feelings."

Of course, at some time these glorious peacocks finally get married and have children. And it is quite a transition for them to begin to settle down, and to take over responsibilities. To some degree, this is true of young Indian women as well. In Cherokee households, the oldest girl is usually accomplished in running a house and managing social relations in the family. But with some of the younger girls this is not always the case. Further, Indian girls are very attached to their mothers and sisters. They do not like to be separated from them. And even in a marriage where a man is living with his wife's family, sometimes his wife has to learn to be a wife and mother (at one and the same time) from her mother. But this transition for young women is not near as difficult as it is for young men. Most Cherokee men used to get married several times before they

settled into one marriage, or else a man would marry late, in his early thirties. And many Cherokee girls, in those times, had a love child or two before they settled down to one man.

My grandmother told me the story of how she married my grandfather. She said when she was about fifteen or sixteen, her father had TB, and was bedfast. She was the oldest girl, so she got employment at a local store over in the Choctaw Nation some thirty miles from her home; at a trading post, if you will. This thirty-mile distance in those days made it such that she had to live with the people who ran the store in order to be the cleaning lady of the store. Thirty miles was a long distance in the 1890's. I think that she usually went home on Saturday night returning on Sunday night, making the journey on foot. She said that in that time, my grandfather, who was some thirty years old, was a federal marshall out of Fort Smith, Arkansas, working for the famous "hanging" Judge Parker of the Western Arkansas federal court, which included the Indian Territory. The courts of the Five Civilized Tribes, the Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek and Seminole Nations, had jurisdiction over their own Indian citizens; but the federal authorities had jurisdiction over whites, and over Indians where a crime was committed in which whites were involved. My grandmother worked at what was then known as McAlester's Store. It is now a city of some twenty-five or thirty thousand people. However, in that time, there was simply the store, and the home of the McAlester family, who lived next to the store. My grandmother said that my grandfather would come through that area, sometimes taking prisoners back to Fort Smith or travelling to serve some warrant on an outlaw in the Choctaw Nation, where McAlester's Store was located. (And there were lots of outlaws, both white and Indian, in the Indian Territory in those days.) She said he would usually get off his horse, purchase food for a snack and eat on the front porch. She said he never said a word to her, but she knew that he was watching her when she wasn't looking. This went on for quite a while, until one day my grandfather showed up at McAlester's Store with a pillow on the pommel of his saddle. He sat on his horse at the hitching rail for several minutes while my grandmother was sweeping the porch, until finally she looked up at him. He put the pillow behind his saddle and said, "Well, are you ready to go?" She said she threw her broom down and

went into her room, packed her clothes, came back out, and jumped up behind him on the saddle. They rode off and were married for some thirty-five years.

Most Indian tribes today have no tribal marriage ceremonies. They have either fallen into disuse, or in most cases, never existed at all. The act of marriage is simply bringing your wife either to your home, or going to live with her in her home. And in fact Indians do not depend on the ceremony, or the "institution" of marriage to make the marriage. Elderly Indians feel that a marriage comes about with time. An old Cherokee told me one time, "That kind of hot love that a young couple has is simply to keep them together long enough for them to make a marriage." Therefore, if Indian couples break up, it is not that their marriage has failed, but that their marriage never came into being.

The old people know that it is children which re-orient the couple's relationship and helps make the marriage. Most young women seem to become responsible wives very soon. Of course the responsibility of the children is on their shoulders. Most Indian men become responsible later. And I think a great many newly-married Indian women would feel bored if their husbands were too responsible. There is a couple dance among the Sioux, called the Rabbit Dance. Many of the Rabbit Dance songs are about the escapades of young married men. One of them I remember particularly:

There he goes again
Riding on his spotted horse
Stepping around on his wife again.

Despite the fact that this early lack of "responsibility" to married life and infidelity exasperates Indian women, they still like to be entertained by the flamboyance of their mates.

When I was a kid the Cherokees used to laugh about all the "hanky-panky" going on. The old-timers said, "That's what makes the corn grow." But all that is beginning to change now. Some Cherokees my age will brag about how many years they have been married and how well they get along with their husband or wife. This is especially the case with those Cherokees in North Carolina. I thought at first that this new outlook was coming about because the Baptist Church puts a big premium on stable and lasting marriages, and many Cherokee families have been Baptists for 150 years now. I thought

that the Baptist teachings were finally sinking in. That may be part of it, but I don't think that that is the main reason. Something happened to me that made me think otherwise.

I was visiting a friend of mine back in North Carolina several years ago. He is a man about my age with a large family and several of his grown children still live with him. One of his daughters lived there with her husband and several children. I had heard that this daughter had run off from her family several times. One time she ran off to Arizona. My friend had to track her down and bring her back. He had to hire a private detective to find her. My friend is just a poor country man. But it wasn't just the money. It was all the trouble and worry. I could tell that his wife was just about at the end of her rope with worry.

One morning my friend and I were sitting around the kitchen table having coffee and this daughter was sitting in the living room. All the rest of the family had gone off somewhere. My friend said to me, "I guess you know a lot of medicine." I replied, "Oh, just very little." He laughed and said, "Ha! You're a Cherokee, aren't you? You've got some gray hair, haven't you?" I didn't say anything. Finally he said, "You see that girl sitting in there. She's always running off from her family. I want you to work some medicine to keep her home. She is worrying my wife to death." I was shocked and embarrassed. That girl could hear every word we said. I motioned him to come outside. When we got outside I said, "Look, it seems to me that's your son-in-law's business to see about keeping his wife home. Besides your daughter is a beautiful, spirited woman. That kind of medicine might kill her spirit, like turning a thoroughbred mare into a plow horse. I wouldn't want to do anything like that." My friend said, "Well, she is just worrying my wife to death, and me too. It's the kids we're concerned about. My wife and I are getting old, our health isn't too good. If this girl leaves these grandkids on us, we might not live to see them grown. Then who is going to look after them?" That hit me hard! I told him the medicine to keep her home.

You know, a big Cherokee family can handle a few kids even if their parents go off. But you have too many young parents opt out on their children and you have big trouble. And I think that is the main reason those North Carolina Cherokees are concentrating on that marriage tie.

Most Indian men begin to "settle down" when their children become teenagers. It is at this point in their lives that they can see the consequences of their own behavior impact their children, and they begin to be more "responsible". I can vouch for this transition.

Although my wife died early in our marriage, leaving me with quite a number of children, that fact did not slow me down from doing pretty much what I wanted to do. It wasn't until my children got in their teens that I "settled down", stopped drinking, and stopped going where I pleased, when I pleased.

Although the circumstances in which I raised my children were much different than I was raised, my kids were still a lot like Indian children of my generation. They watched a lot of TV in the 60s, but they still liked to hear Indian stories, and would ask me lots of times to tell them stories. I would sit on the front porch, tell them animal stories or ghost stories. They seemed to enjoy that much more than they enjoyed watching TV. And it always seemed peculiar to me that they could watch the most horrible TV horror show at night and still sleep like a log; yet some of my ghost stories would frighten them to the core of their being and they would be afraid to turn off the light when they got in bed.

More, they would ask me questions about what they were being taught in school, much the same way that I used to ask my grandfather questions. I have some examples in the Cherokee Childhood Narrative. They would ask me questions about Vietnam in the middle sixties, long before there was any protest against American involvement. In their Current Events classes, they were getting a very different message from my perception of what was happening in Vietnam. They must have sensed that, because they would check out with me what they were learning about the situation in Vietnam. They did the same with historical interpretations about Indian-white relationships. One time my youngest son, who was in the first grade, had to participate in a Thanksgiving play. He asked me what Thanksgiving was really about. I told him that, as I understood it, the first white settlers in America had been helped by the Indians, given food to help them over the year, and instruction in how to plant and hunt. Therefore, when the settlers had their first successful harvest they invited the Indians to eat with them. The Indians accepted

the invitation and even brought along most of the food. My six-year-old son, already a nationalist, said, "I don't think those Indians should have helped them out."

After the death of my wife, I took my children to my own extended family even though my wife's kin weren't well pleased with that, but I had no choice. There were more women of my kin group to help than were in her family. My adopted daughter, who was considerably older than the rest of the children, took over the function of the woman of the house until the wife of her great uncle (my wife's uncle) died. She went to live with her uncle to keep house for him and take care of the children since there was no other available woman. This left most of the responsibilities for the household up to my mother, and particularly to my aunt (also my mother in Cherokee). Right away I could see those two women, especially my mother, grooming my second daughter to take over management of the family. And very soon, by the time she was fifteen, my daughter was assuming that responsibility, not only cooking and keeping house, but managing relationships in our extended family. For instance, when her older brother got married, he brought his wife to live in our household. I could see my daughter work very hard to make things socially comfortable for her brother's wife and to make sure that her sister-in-law was satisfied with her husband's behavior. My son resisted any pressure from his wife but he was always amenable to suggestions from my daughter. I could see my daughter manage to get my son to do things that his wife wanted, while making it seem as if my son was responding to a request from his wife.

My older son was very protective of this sister, and watched out for her welfare. He even screened her boyfriends. We lived in a northern city for a few years, and Indians there thought that my son and his sister were man and wife because he took her around with him so many places. At the time, he was around twenty years old, and she some seventeen. Urban Indians in that area were struck by their close relationship.

It is hard to raise Indian kids in these times. There are no rules to go by in most situations now. It is all up for grabs. And temptations are everywhere -- "booze", dope, exciting but bad company; all kinds of excitement and stimulations. A young Indian would almost have to be a saint not to get in trouble in these days. Many young Indians just churn straight ahead. They have no fear, not even of some evil person's bad

medicine. Most don't stop to think about what they do, and they don't see the consequences of their actions.

One time my daughter came home from shopping with a big smile on her face. She told me that a sales girl in a store had given her an extra twenty-dollar bill in her change. Boy, she felt lucky! I told her that the store would probably deduct that twenty dollars from the sales girl's salary. My daughter's face just fell! She hadn't thought of that, so she returned the twenty. It takes an Indian a long lifetime to learn to assess consequences and it is hard to give guidance to young Indians in the modern world.

A wise old Cherokee taught me that lesson. We were on a trip to North Carolina, driving through. We stopped and ate in a restaurant and when we came out I stopped and put a quarter into the newspaper machine. I thought I would give my friend a test. (He was a strong Baptist.) I held open the newspaper dispenser door and said, "Go ahead and take one. We'll get two for one quarter." He said, "No, I'll wait until you get through." After I had gotten my paper and closed the machine door, he put his quarter in and got a paper. I said, "You know, most young Indians would have taken a paper when I held that door open." "Sure," he said, "They are young. They don't see the full implications of things they do. It takes a few years of living to get that understanding."

I guess Indian parents just don't say much to our kids. We don't like to be bossed around, so we don't boss them around.

One summer I worked out in Colorado. I took my kids with me and hired a young woman to help me take care of them. She was part Indian, but she was raised as a white, around whites. One night I came home from work and found her playing cards with my oldest son, an eleven-year-old. After they got through with their game, I took her aside and said, "Honey, I would be careful playing cards with that little fellow. He cheats." She got the most peculiar look on her face. Later she said to me, "I never before realized how different whites and Indians are until you made that remark."

It is like a friend of mine, an elderly Cherokee Baptist minister, put it. His daughter had just had a baby, his first grandchild. A white friend of his congratulated him and asked him who the father was. My friend said, "I don't inquire into my daughter's personal business."

My wife was worse than me about not "correcting" our kids. We had to quit a tour of a mine one time. Our kids ran around looking over the edge of mine shafts until the whites on the tour were almost nervous wrecks. My wife never said a word.

We accept people, including children, as they are. And when they stop misbehaving we try to forget about their wrongdoing. A friend of mine told me a story. He said that one time he was at a dance on a reservation in Oregon. A friend came to talk to him. Pretty soon another man, a stranger, came over. The friend said, "Oh, this is my brother. He just got out of the state pen." After the brother left, my friend said, "Your brother doesn't look good." The other fellow said, "Well, he was in the pen for ten years. And he is lucky to be out at all. He raped and killed a teenage girl."

When you have a strong tradition, everybody can just go by those rules. But I am not sure what you do these days. I do know that young Indians will pay some attention to the opinions of their relatives. White-style laws, police, courts, and jails don't phase them one little bit.

I guess I'm pretty lucky. Most of my children still live with me, or live close to me. I have two of my sons who live with me, my oldest son and his wife and four children, my youngest son, and three of the children of my deceased daughter's whom I am raising. My adopted daughter lives about a mile away with her four children and one grandchild whom I consider my great-grandchild. Further, there is one other grandchild, who lives with her mother some ten miles away. I see, therefore, eleven of my sixteen grandchildren almost daily. My other grandchildren live away but visit often.

My children were almost grown by the time I was moving into middle age, into a category of what would be thought of as mature men by Cherokees, men between forty and sixty-five. It is at this point in an Indian man's life when responsibility becomes heavy, responsibility for small grandchildren, and community responsibility. It was this time in my life that I began to help manage ceremonies and began to be a sometime healer; and to provide the living for most of my family. This is true today in most Indian communities. It is the men between forty and sixty-five who are the mainstay of an Indian economy. But in some Indian tribes it is women in their thirties and forties who "bring home the bacon." Indians now work for salaries, by and large, and it's usually

middle-aged men who have a steady job and fairly stable income. In the old days, young Indian men would have been protecting the people, helping out in hunting, contributing economically. However, there is no such role for them now. Young Cherokee men in the '60s would go off in migrant work groups, but they had generally spent most of their money before they ever returned home. So that life is hard, if full. It is great in middle age to see my grandchildren emerge, and I get a reward out of contributing to Indian community and religious life, but I have a full agenda, besides a lot of responsibility.

One of the troubles is that Indians just can't operate too well in this time and place. Indians in the city usually consist of just a couple and children; no kin around or old people. It is a wonder they make it at all. Even in the country, kin groups are coming apart. In some places Indians are just wiped out. Only about one person in ten is steady at all, and the other nine are laying all over that one steady person. That's an overload, to say the least. Not only is there no way for young men to pull their weight but others in the "family" seem to be just impotent and can't get their act together as individual human beings.

I notice significant differences between my grandchildren, as they are growing up, and the way my children were when they were small. My grandchildren never ask me to tell them any stories, nor do they ask anyone else. They never ask me about any questions about what they are learning in school as opposed to my children. In fact, for most of them, MTV appears to be the tone-setter and arbitrator of their lives. Further, I see older brother-younger sister conflict in one set of my grandchildren, something I never saw in my children. And I see some jealousy between two of my grandchildren, twin boys.

I have another set of grandchildren who are of some concern to me. They appear to be very insensitive and not cued into the world around them. They are very resistant to helping their widowed mother, who has a full-time job. They do not seem to understand that she is tired after work, and needs help in house cleaning and cooking. This is quite a contrast to the way I was raised, or to my children. The mother of these children was the kindest and most helpful child I have ever seen, and was always ready to help out an older person in any circumstances. However, I do not see this in her children. I suppose

that they must love her, or so it seems. It is that they can't see her, so to speak, or her situation. It is like that they are sewed up in their own skins, or else walking around wearing a space helmet. You have to knock them on their helmets to get their attention. There was much continuity in the behavior of my children from my generation to their generation, but I see a significant break with some of my grandchildren. Not all of them, by any means, but some of them. I suppose much of the behavior which I am citing is not unusual in many families in the U.S. these days.

I don't think Indians do well when we lose touch with the natural world. We need to make our living directly from the land. We need that world to make demands on us, to provide us with some structure, with some rules that stabilize our relationships to one another. Even our rules about how to treat our kin have become too general, not specific enough. Kin groups have even shortened up to just extended families in some tribes. Even our religion is suffering because that tie to nature is dissolving. For instance, the Creek Indians, our neighbors, have a ceremony in July when corn ripens called the Busk. In the old days one of the main reasons for that ceremony was to prepare people, spiritually and physically, to eat the new corn. Well, nowadays the Creeks hardly even put in gardens. Further, a person can eat new corn all year around these days. You can get roasting ears in supermarkets almost any time you want them. So there goes one of the underpinnings of the Busk. Salaries and money are just too abstract for us. We need the seasons, the game animals, the ripening of crops, and so forth to get and hold our attention. Otherwise life for us is just like swimming in a vat of molasses.

I am beginning to get some grey hair now. I'm in my mid sixties. By Indian standards, I am passing, or I will soon pass, from being a mature man to being an elder. And I must say I'm looking forward to that stage. Soon I won't have to do all the work, or arrange and manage ceremonies, and the like. I can simply give advice and pontificate about life. I know that in a few years that I will, in fact, be the People. I will have so many grandchildren and so many great-grandchildren that most people where I live will be my descendants, and therefore in concert with other elders, I will, in fact, BE the People. I hope that I will have gained some wisdom as well that I can pass on to people, whether they want to hear it or not. I hope I will be as Indian elders before me, saturated with life, full of experience so that I can understand the kind of experiences,

rewards and mistakes that one sees among younger people. Then I will be able to give them advice to help them along in life, as I was given advice. You know, advice about just simple things in life will help young people sometimes. When I was first married my wife and I fussed a lot. We might have some harsh words at breakfast and then, I'll be damned if she wouldn't bring up the same thing after I got home from work, start it up again. An old man told me, "When a couple have a fuss the man most times finally has to leave the house for work or some reason or other. But the woman has to stay there with those bad feelings. The man gets away from those bad feelings, but a woman can't. She's stuck there with them. By the time a man comes home again that fuss is in the past for him, but it's not for a woman. The fuss didn't end for her." That simple advice helped me a lot.

Of course, when you become an Indian elder you don't have to hang up your spurs altogether. Life and living isn't over by a long shot. I've still got a lot of country to see and things to do before I die.

I hope I live a long time, until my ribs cave in. I relish living. And finally, I hope that at some point I will be so filled with life, that I will be able to die, to "go home" (as the Baptists say) and be satisfied with the life I have led. I suppose that the best a person can have after that kind of a full life is a good death. I sure don't want to die alone in a hospital, doped up and with machines keeping me alive like a vegetable. I want to die at home with my children and grandchildren around me; and quick; not lingering on. I hope God grants me such a death; a decent transition from being around my loved and alive kin, to moving away to the west to see my kinfolks who have gone on.

I wouldn't mind being buried in our "old country," in the Cherokee Holy Land, the southern mountains. Maybe I could fertilize a tree there. But it doesn't really make any difference where I am buried. I don't want any of my loved ones tending my grave, just let it grow up wild again. They'll see me again soon enough. And my life and my descendants are my true immortality anyway.

Chapter 9* Being or Becoming -- Personality Development and the Individuation Process

Chapter to be Completed

Identity is the core of personality, according to the theory developed in this book, and this chapter examines the stages in which people develop identity. An individual develops by internalizing values and pursuing goals. This process of individuation creates tension between the goals framed by reason and impulses arising from the appetites. Much of psychology and the philosophy of mind can be viewed as a meditation on the relationship between reason and desire. Some classics in tradition of thought, notably Plato and Freud, will be examined from the viewpoint of the theory of individuation. These traditions are paradigms for the way urbanized, western people monitor their own emotions and feel about themselves. In contrast to individuals, a relative develops by responding to kinsmen. This process of socialization requires honing the powers of social perception necessary to sustain personal relationships. Social identity, as opposed to individual identity, has been less studied, yet relational theory can offer some insights into the psychology of a band of kinsmen.

The chapter proceeds by contrasting identity formation among individuals and relatives. In so far as an individual's behavior is guided by personal goals and a relative's behavior is guided by responsiveness to kin, individuals have motives and traditional Indians have relatives. The more immersed in social relations and the less individuated people are, the less separation between mind (psychology) and society (sociology). The major traditions in psychology and philosophy, which were developed for individuals, must be revised in light of these facts before applying them to tribal Indians.

Models of Mind

Various traditions in philosophy and psychology will be grouped into three broad models of mind for purposes of relational theory. The defining characteristic of the first model, called "the model of reason" and exemplified by Plato, is that the faculties of mind and personality are subordinated to the executive authority of reason. The defining

characteristic of the second model, called the "model of desire" and exemplified by Freud, is that all behavior is motivated by desires. In Freud's model, reason assumes the instrumental role of balancing desires against each other and satisfying the most urgent ones. Finally, the defining characteristic of the third model, called the "model of responsiveness" and developed from relational theory, is that the person emerges by constructing a coherent identity from social perceptions.

Reason as Ruler

Plato's Republic provides an early account of the mind's structure with continuing relevance. Every personality has, according to Plato, an appetitive or impulsive element, an element of thought or reason, and an element mediating between them that he associates with being spirited (like a spirited horse).¹⁷⁰ For a person's life to be well-ordered, reason must rule over appetite through the power of spirit. In terms of the body, the head (reason) must rule over the belly and genitals (appetite) through the power of the heart (spirit). The rule of reason produces order and purpose in life that is necessary for happiness. The alternative is the tyranny of the appetites, which brings chaos and insanity.

The mind of a just person, according to Plato's Republic, corresponds to the structure of a just society. Justice in the state consists in the proper ordering of social classes with the philosopher-king ruling over the workers through the soldier-police, like reason ruling over the appetites through the power of spirit. When the faculties of a person's mind and the classes of society are properly ordered, each performs the function for which it is best suited. Matching persons to the roles for which they are best suited is social justice in Plato's state, and ordering the faculties of mind according to the activities for which they are best suited is justice in a person.

In the preceding chapters we contrasted an individual whose self-worth rests upon performance as measured against abstract standards, with a tribal Indian whose self-worth rests upon good relations with kin. Plato's portrait seems more accurate when applied to individuals than to relatives. A purposeful individual is, in general, someone who

¹⁷⁰See Plato's Republic, especially the section in the translation by Francis Cornford (Oxford, 1964) labelled Chapter XIII, "The Three Parts of the Soul".

formulates plans in light of values and pursues them systematically.¹⁷¹ Planning and deliberation, which is an activity of reason, involves the contemplation of values and the calibration of the best means towards their achievement. Proceeding according to plan requires the will-power to stifle impulses that deflect from the chosen course. Thus a purposive individual, especially a resolute intellectual, might look into himself and see Plato's just man.

However, Plato's analogy between mind and society fails completely when applied to Indians. Among traditional Indians in North America, there is not, and never was, anyone like a king who gives orders to the lower classes. Order in an Indian kin group is not maintained by an executive who disciplines subordinates. Traditional Indian society is not structured vertically. There is not and never has been anything like social classes. Furthermore, kin relations among Indians are not organized according to functional roles, so social justice cannot consist in matching people to the roles for which they are best suited.

The order in Indian society is unlike Plato's republic and, similarly, the order in the tribal Indian mind is unlike Plato's account of a just man. For Indians, internal harmony comes from getting along with kin. Getting along with kin does not depend upon resolutely following a blueprint for life. Rather, the trick to getting along with kin is being responsive to them. The essential faculty, as will be explained, is sensibility, not reason.

The individual and the state should, in Plato's view, be governed by lasting truths, and philosophical education imparts the ability to perceive reality, rather than being misled by sensuous illusions. In Plato's theory, a good person perceives the forms of goodness and justice through reason and guides behavior accordingly. Seen in this light, moral truths are an eternal reality apprehended by reason, whereas the appetites are distractions from lasting values.

¹⁷¹The phrase "rational life plan" is John Rawls's. Like Plato's *Republic*, Rawls's magisterial *A Theory of Justice* (1971) describes how rational people would organize society to be consistent with a concept of justice. Rawls, following the contractarian tradition, stresses that individuals join together to form such a state in order to further their rational life plans.

Plato's claim that reason has the role in apprehending morality and guiding behavior received a systematic, but different, development from Kant.¹⁷² When a person acts to satisfy a desire, the desire, according to Kant, is the cause of the act. Effects are under the power of their causes, according to Kant, whereas a truly moral act is free. To illustrate, a person who does the right thing to avoid guilt is just as much the slave of his sensual nature from Kant's perspective as a person who does the wrong thing to gratify his appetite. Kant's standard of morality demands that a person have the will to do good for its own sake, not to avoid punishment by external authorities or the pangs of conscience.

A person can be motivated by respect for the moral law.¹⁷³ Respect is not a desire, in Kant's theory, nor can respect be traced to the appetites. Respect for the law in Kant's theory, like knowledge of the forms of justice in Plato's theory, comes from reason. Reason motivates by formulating abstract ideals with higher priority than desires.¹⁷⁴ The view of Kant, as well as Plato, is that not only can reason motivate, but the best people are motivated only by reason.

Ideals have motivational power for people who have separated themselves from their kin sufficiently to guide their lives by abstractions. According to relational theory, tribal Indians remain immersed in social life. Abstract ideals are not stressed by traditional Indians in the moral education of their children.¹⁷⁵ Instead of learning to guide behavior by reason, Indian children learn responsiveness towards kin. For relatives, the perception of social meaning can motivate through its effect upon identity, as explained in the next section.

Socrates was falsely accused of corrupting the youth, according to Plato, and sentenced to death. When given the opportunity to escape, he refused and forced the state to proceed with his execution. For Plato and others in the classical world, his death

¹⁷²Kant. *Groundwork to the Metaphysic of Morals*. For an insightful interpretation of this most difficult book, see Rawls...

¹⁷³A person who conforms to the moral law out of respect for it is, in Kant's language, "autonomous," because she is motivated by reason alone. Acting from respect for the law does not involve desire except in an extended sense, much less the passions. In Kant's theory, people can have the desire to conform to the law or even moral passion, but, if their action is truly moral and completely free, the desire or the passion is the effect of respect for the law, not its consequence.

¹⁷⁴The ability of reason to formulate abstract ideals autonomously is developed in Kant's theory of the categorical imperative. The categorical imperative can be viewed as a substantive principle for moral legislation, meaning the imposition of moral obligations upon a person through his perception of their justification. See Onora Nell, *Acting From Principle* (19).

¹⁷⁵A distinction can be drawn in morality between abstract ideals like "honor" or "fidelity," and behavioral rules like "Don't work on Sunday." It is the former and not the latter that Indians omit in the moral education of children.

exemplified the triumph of virtue, like the Christian world's view of the death of Jesus. An educated Indian who learned the story of Socrates said, "The relatives of Socrates, who loved him and depended upon him, arranged for his escape, but he refused to go. A man who puts abstractions above kin is dangerous."¹⁷⁶ These remarks suggest that the making of modern man involved a shift in loyalty from persons to principles that will be analyzed at length.

A Rational Life Plan

Theories of the executive authority of reason have retained their vitality over the centuries. To illustrate, the most influential contemporary treatise on justice, A Theory of Justice (1971) by John Rawls, conceives of each person as having a rational life plan whose pursuit requires material resources. Justice in this theory is a fair distribution of resources so that everyone can get on with their plans.¹⁷⁷

The philosophical idea of a rational life plan has parallels in psychology. Some people define themselves through their actions, as people who do certain things and strive for certain goals. If such a person is perfectly rational, he may form a plan for life, however tentative. The life plan may seem so important that it enters into his self-conception, so that striving to achieve it expresses who he is. To illustrate, Maslow distinguished needs into a hierarchy and proposed that people proceed to a higher need as soon as the lower ones are fulfilled. The lowest needs are physiological. At the other extreme, one of the highest needs is self-actualization or becoming one's ideal.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁶Recall, however, from the example of ___ in chapter ___ that in the Cherokee nation convicted murderers, after being sentenced to death, were often permitted to return home to harvest a crop and prepare for their death. The court could rely upon them to return for their own hanging. But, of course, the Cherokees thought that their execution was required by a divinely sanctioned law, not in order to exemplify an ideal as in the case of Socrates. Furthermore, the Cherokees knew that to flee the court's sentence living in exile without their kin, which was physically tenuous and also regarded as not a life worth living.

¹⁷⁷His account of what makes a distribution "fair" is omitted here. A fair procedure for distribution is one that people would prefer if they had to choose it without knowing their future position in society. Thus the distribution principle is chosen behind a "veil of ignorance." See...

¹⁷⁸"...the self-actualization tendency is the pressure to behave and develop -- experience oneself -- consistently with one's conscious view of what one is." page 105, Maddi. Maslow's hierarchy is given on pages 114-115 of Maddi is as follows:

- physiological needs
- safety needs
- needs for belong
- esteem needs
- self-actualization
- cognitive understanding

Relational theory defines individuation as the process of pulling out of social relations and creating a separate identity. Thus an individual struggles to come into being. Forming a life plan and identifying with it is self-creation at its most rational. In contrast, immersion in kinship leaves traditional Indians little room to form a life plan or choose who they will be. Labor differentiation is minimal and career alternatives are absent in a traditional Indian economy. Aristotle was right to assert that self-fulfillment requires a city with its great variety of activities. However, people who identify with their kin are less concerned with self-fulfillment than, say, maintaining love and harmony as they pass through the seasons of a life. Philosophical theories of rational planning and psychological theories of self-actualization are not very salient to traditional Indians.

This difference at the level of the person parallels a difference at the level of the group. Chapter 7* defined an economic community as a group of people whose conception of the good life requires them to pursue it together. Some goals of a vigorous community are social rather than individual. To illustrate, a person may seek office in order for his voice to be heard in the civic forum. The public life involves participation, not separation. The just allocation of resources in such a community cannot mean only a fair allocation for the pursuit of individual goals.¹⁷⁹ Rather, justice in coherent communities refers to the allocation of opportunities for participation.

Reason as Mediator

Plato's theory recalls another tripartite division of mind whose origin is recent, specifically Freud's distinction between id, ego, and super-ego.¹⁸⁰ In Freud's theory, the

¹⁷⁹This is the dominant criticism of Rawls's Theory of Justice, cite Walzer, etc. Cambridge communitarians. In technical terms, Rawls's theory, which gives a clear guide to the allocation of resources among individuals, does not explain how to allocate resources to the production of public goods.

¹⁸⁰Freud. The Ego and the Id (1962), trans. Joan Riviere, revised and edited by James Strachey. A clear discussion of these ideas is provided by Richard Wollheim in "The Last Phase," Sigmund Freud (1971), Chapter 7. Here are some passages from Freud's book that suggest the flavor of the argument.

"The ego represents what may be called reason and common sense, in contrast to the id, which contains the passions...in its relation to the id it [the ego] is like a man on horseback, who has to hold in check the superior strength of the horse; with this difference, that the rider tries to do so with his own strength while the ego uses borrowed forces.." p15

child's initial motivation comes from the amoral impulses of the id that arise instinctively, the product of biology. The satisfaction of these impulses yields pleasure, which people seek by their animal nature. The pursuit of pleasure, which serves the individual's happiness, must be constrained for the sake of morality and culture. Constraint comes initially from fear of parental punishment, which a child internalizes as guilt. Guilt is attached to censured impulses by the faculty of mind called superego, which opposes the id and constrains the pursuit of pleasure.

Between id and superego stands the ego, which strives to construct a functioning personality from chaotic biological impulses and the frustrating demands of simplistic childhood morality. In Freud's theory, the ego, which possesses the powers of reason, mediates between conscience and appetite, whereas in Plato's theory, reason rules over appetite. Ruling over disorderly elements is quite different from mediating between contending influences, whether in psychology or government.¹⁸¹

"The super-ego's relation to the later alterations of the ego is roughly similar to that of the primary sexual phase of childhood to later sexual life after puberty. Although it is accessible to all later influences, it nevertheless preserves throughout life the character given to it by its derivation from the father-complex--namely, the capacity to stand apart from the ego and to master it...As the child was once under a compulsion to obey its parents, so the ego submits to the categorical imperative of its super-ego." p38

¹⁸¹Here are some other contrasts between Freud's theory and Plato's. Freud stresses the tension between individual happiness and the requirements of social order. This conflict is described most vividly by Freud in Civilization and Its Discontents (1962; trans. James Strachey). To illustrate, consider this quotation:

"...and this seems the most important of all, it is impossible to overlook the extent to which civilization is built upon a renunciation of instinct, how much it presupposes precisely the non-satisfaction (by suppression, repression or some other means?) of powerful instincts. This 'cultural frustration' dominates the large field of social relationships between human beings. As we already know, it is the cause of the hostility against which all civilizations have to struggle." p44

The ego's method of balancing between contradictory forces involves modulating the contents of consciousness by raising some facts into awareness and banishing others from consciousness. Banishing impulses from consciousness deprives them of direct expression and redirects them, either into channels acceptable to society and bearable for the individual, in which case repression succeeds, or into forbidden manifestations that threaten society or cripple the individual psyche. Even the most skillful ego, according to Freud's theory, banishes some thoughts from awareness that later prove vital to self-understanding. These thoughts can, fortunately, be recovered, according to Freud, through the techniques of psychoanalysis.

Model of Desire

The superego forms in a child by internalizing parental discipline, especially coercive threats by fathers, according to Freud. To illustrate, the sexual desire that a boy feels for his mother, according to Freud, must be transferred to other objects, re-emerging, say, as passion for art. Few orthodox Freudians remain these days, but, even so, many theories favored by psychologists have a similar form to Freud's model of motivation. The general form holds that biological impulses are the original, unlearned desires that propel people to action. Higher order desires are redirections of biological impulses.

Freudian theory is not so clear about how motivation gets transferred from biological impulses to higher order desires. An alternative theory, behaviorism, offers a rigorous, economical account of motivational transfer.¹⁸² Biological drives such as hunger, thirst, warmth, and sex, are the original motivation, according to behaviorists. When the reduction of these drives is paired with other objects, the motivating power of the former is transferred to the latter. To illustrate, misbehavior and spankings can be conjoined in the child's mind like food and the dinner bell are conjoined in a dog's mind.

The ego, according to Freud, strikes a compromise between the temporary happiness of individuals and the peace and security of society. According to Plato's theory, in contrast, reason controls the appetites for the benefit, not just of society, but the whole person. Plato's theory is far more optimistic about the power of reason to bring happiness to persons and justice to society. Furthermore, in Plato's theory reason provides motivation for acting that is independent of sensuous impulses. See the section of this chapter entitled "The Model of Reason."

¹⁸²A pure account of this theory is found in B.F. Skinner, The Behavior of Organisms: An Experimental Analysis (1938).

The child learns to avoid misbehavior and the dog learns to run to dinner.¹⁸³ Association is a means of transferring the motivational force of biological desires to higher order desires.¹⁸⁴ The strength of the transfer depends upon such factors as the urgency of the drive and the schedule of association. For example, learning by intermittent reinforcement extinguishes slower than learning by continuous reinforcement.

Psychological models of desire like Freudianism and behaviorism get their bite from the opposition between biological and higher-order desires, because they explain the former by the latter.¹⁸⁵ Philosophers, however, have a different angle on the model of desire. They do not focus on tracing higher order desires back to biological desires. Instead, the philosophical version of the model of desire gets its bite from the opposition between desire and reason. The philosophical proponents of the model of desire assert that nothing impels a person to act except a desire.¹⁸⁶ Reason analyzes, calculates, weighs, deliberates, imagines, etc., but, according to this model, reason desires nothing. The fact that reason desires nothing, and the axiom that only desires can motivate, imply that reason cannot motivate. The philosophical versions of the model of desire are summarized by Hume's elegant expression: Reason is the "slave of the passions."¹⁸⁷

Being motivationally sterile, reason must perform the instrumental role of calculating how to satisfy desires whose origin lies in the appetites. Utilitarianism provides an example of a specific version of the model of desire in which the instrumental calculus has been developed elaborately. The satisfaction of desire necessarily affords pleasure and its frustration causes pain, so the proposition that only desires can motivate is similar to the proposition that only pleasure and pain can motivate. Utilitarianism is the theory that everyone seeks to maximize the surplus of pleasure over pain. The most systematic hedonist was Jeremy Bentham, the founder of utilitarianism, whose most famous work begins,

¹⁸³For purposes of our simple argument, the difference between Pavlovian and operant conditioning are effaced here. In Pavlovian conditioning, a response naturally connected to one stimulus is transferred to another. To illustrate, the dog's natural tendency to salivate when presented with food can be transferred to the dinner bell. Operant conditioning, in contrast, relies upon the fact that rewarded behavior will be repeated. To illustrate, a rat who notices that food appears when a bar is pressed will press the bar in the future when hungry, even though pressing a bar has no natural connection to hunger. Cite Pavlov and Skinner.

¹⁸⁴The classical account of the principle of association is provided by Hume when he argues that our idea of cause is nothing more than constant conjunction. cite Hume. For its use by psychologists, see citations in preceding footnote.

¹⁸⁵Different traditions such as Freudianism and behaviorism agree that higher order desires or drives obtain their motivational force by transference from biological or innate desires or drives, even though they disagree about what desires are innate and how their power gets transferred to other objects.

Nature has placed mankind under the governance of two sovereign masters, *pain* and *pleasure*. It is for them alone to point out what we ought to do, as well as to determine what we shall do. On the one hand the standard of right and wrong, on the other the chain of causes and effects, are fastened to their throne. They govern us in all we do, in all we say, in all we think: every effort we can make to throw off our subjection, will serve but to demonstrate and confirm it..."¹⁸⁸

Model of Responsiveness

We have discussed two important models of mind, which were called the model of reason and the model of desire. The model of reason holds that a coherent personality vests executive authority in reason to stifle appetite and pursue ideals. The coherence of identity in the model of reason comes from an ideal self as exemplified by a perfectly rational person's life plan. The model of desire holds that only desires can motivate and assigns to reason the instrumental role of maximizing satisfaction. Both models are centrally concerned with the relationship between reason and desire, but the two theories reverse their order of motivational priority. The centrality of the relationship between reason and desire is the consequence of individuation, which tribal Indians never go through. A different model of mind is required for people who take their identity from social relations.

Is her praise ironical? Do her attentions betray attraction? Is he forthright? Was his flight cowardly? Interaction among people poses such questions continually. Answering them requires the ascription of meaning to behavior. To interpret behavior, the observer must detect the significance of interaction to the people engaged in it by identifying their intentions, goals, feelings, and understandings.

Social perception becomes important to status in a society where different manners are required of different classes, as illustrated by Jane Austen's novels.¹⁸⁹ Her female characters negotiate a treacherous world in which poverty and wealth, rank and

¹⁸⁶The phrase is due to Thomas Nagel, *The Possibility of Altruism*.

¹⁸⁷"Reason is, and ought only to be, the slave of the passions." quote in EncyPHil; ask Jeremy for cite

¹⁸⁸Jeremy Bentham. *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation* (1973; intro. Laurence J. Lafleur), p.1.

¹⁸⁹One of her novels bears the title Sense and Sensibility, an echo of which re-appeared in Austen's work on moral philosophy entitled Sense and Sensibilia (19).

respect, happiness and misery, integrity and debasement, depend upon their skills in the drawing room. Her heroines can read the meaning in a casual remark, the seating arrangement at dinner, or the slant of an eyebrow.

"Sensibility" is an old-fashioned word that describes the power of social perception. "Quickness and acuteness of apprehension of feeling," says the dictionary. The term denotes the ability to perceive meanings, especially when tinged by emotion. Perceiving social meaning involves its conceptualization in practical terms that guide action. To illustrate, the perception that someone is forthright provides reason to rely upon his disclosures. Sensibility thus contributes to effectiveness in pursuit of objectives.¹⁹⁰ In addition, sensibility conveys the subtlety demanded in delicate situations, so a person can advance towards her goal without creating disharmony in the group.

The social life of an Indian tribe is, of course, quite different from an 18th-century English drawing room. As explained in previous chapters, social classes are absent, so etiquette need not respond to rank, and behavior is not coordinated through impersonal roles, so Indians do not act out parts. Without practice at performing roles, traditional Indians cannot manipulate images. If a relative smiles, one assumes that he is pleased. (Recall the "face value" school of behavior described in Chapter 3*.) However, trickery, obfuscation, gossip, affection, passion, conflict, deception -- the universal stuff of intimate interaction flourishes in the tribe. To be an effective kinsman, Indians must cultivate the power to perceive social meaning. This is the quality of mind required for responsiveness to kin.

The gestalt tradition in psychology asserts that a perceptual object is not the sum of the elements in the visual field.¹⁹¹ Thus a horse is not perceived by adding up the nose, ears, head, neck, and so forth. Similarly, philosophers have abandoned the theory that our conception of a horse is a prediction about combinations of simple perceptions

¹⁹⁰Dictionary definitions of "sensibility" use phrases like "capacity for sensation or feeling," "responsiveness or susceptibility to sensory stimuli," or "quickness and acuteness of apprehension or feeling."

Kant defined the term as follows: "The capacity...for receiving representations through the mode in which we are affected by objects, is entitled *sensibility*." *Critique of Pure Reason* (1950, 2nd ed) Norman Kemp Smith's translation, p. 33. The pure forms of Kantian sensibility are space and time. His definition neglects the aspect of feeling inherent in social perception.

¹⁹¹cite Kohler, Hans Wallach

(texture, weight, size, color, flashes on the retina, or other "sensibilia").¹⁹² If the perception of a horse is complex, how much more so must be the perception of irony, prudence, love, conciliation, truthfulness, and so forth. Social perception does not proceed by deduction from abstractions or obey general rules. Analytical power is not central, nor is the will to stifle appetite. The model of reason does not describe a mind formed for social perception.

Meanings are conveyed by signs whose rules of combination are complex and inchoate. To intuit the meaning that others place upon their actions, all the cues in a social setting must be taken in. Social perception is wholistic in this sense. Sometimes the key is analyzing a few clues, as when the detective turns a microscope on some fibers of cloth found on the murder victim. At other times, rather than narrow concentration, the mind's purview must be opened to new possibilities, perhaps through a dream, a trance, or, in the case of Sherlock Holmes and many Indians, by puffing on a pipe. In any event, sensibility requires receptivity to the full perceptual field. Alertness is a state of the mind as a whole, not a power belonging to a single faculty like analysis belongs to reason.

Social animals like wolves must decipher the meaning of a curled lip, flattened ears, or an upright tail. Wolves try to discern if their companions are hungry, quarrelsome, sleepy, agitated, and so forth. Each animal in the group uses social interaction as an instrument for satisfying appetites and reducing drives, as described in the model of desire. This task is much simpler than social perception among people. People, in contrast, not only have internal drives and appetites, but also have shared conceptions of a common life. Work, warfare, marriage, dining, games -- all these activities are coordinated through shared meaning, which are not simply instruments for drive reduction or the satisfaction of appetites.

Coherence

A person, unlike an animal, has a conception of himself that he assembles from social perception. Self-conceptions give coherence to diverse traits of mind and

¹⁹²Wittgenstein attacked the additive theory of perception, which Locke articulated clearly, with devastating effect. See Hacker...

character. These are not joined willy-nilly in any combination whatsoever, but, instead, they tend to be consistent and unified. To illustrate, "I am a good person" and "I am a child-beater" are inconsistent. Similarly, a set of consistent statements is logically unified if they can be deduced from core propositions, as for example, "I am good to my children" can be deduced from "I am a good person" and "I have children."

Coherence in personality, however, requires more than logical consistency and unity. To illustrate by analogy, churches in the rococo style are lavishly ornate, whereas churches in the Bauhaus style are rigorously spare. Mixing these two styles in the same building is the architectural equivalent of stitching Frankenstein together from the remnants of different corpses. Like esthetic traditions, cultures have their own internal principles of harmony and proportion for personality which are real but elusive. To illustrate, in Sonora where Mexicans and Indians coexist, manliness for Spanish speakers involves honor and its defense, whereas their Papago neighbors care little about honor and do not especially connect it with manliness.¹⁹³

The coherence of identity cannot be explained by the axiom that people act only to satisfy desire, or, what comes to much the same thing, to obtain pleasure and avoid pain. To see why, consider the contrast between inconsistency and interference. Having one pleasure may interfere with another, like eating mustard and ice cream. A pure hedonist, who only seeks pleasure, strives to avoid interference among pleasures.

The perception that one's beliefs are inconsistent causes unpleasantness, which psychologists call cognitive dissonance. People try to remove the unpleasantness, according to psychologists, by eliminating the inconsistency.¹⁹⁴ Why is the perception of inconsistency unpleasant? According to the model of desire, consistency is a higher order need, so motivational force must be transferred from biological desires to the principles of consistency. This line of reasoning suggests that logicians are people who were spanked as children for contradicting themselves.

¹⁹³The point can be illustrated by an observation by Bob Thomas. The Mexican husband of a San Xavier Papago hired a relative to help clean the mission church. When the relative proved unreliable, he was fired by the Mexican who explained that any other course of action would dishonor him. The Papagos found this explanation opaque.

¹⁹⁴Cite Festinger on inconsistent beliefs; George Kelly on construing experience so it is understandable; David McClelland on removing large inconsistencies. For the extension of these principles to economics, see Akerlof...

The attempt to reduce inconsistency to interference seems silly because psychology has no part in logical proofs or justifications.¹⁹⁵ The form of justification drives a thick wedge between logic and psychology. Rival systems of logic are not compared by their power to maximize pleasure, nor does the enjoyment of a mathematical proof make it true. Consistency has its own worth apart from its contribution to pleasure. It seems fantastic to imagine that the need for a coherent identity acquires its motivational force by displacement of biological energies from their original objects. This criticism of Freud and behaviorism extends more broadly to all psychological theories based upon the model of desire.¹⁹⁶

Relational theory distinguishes two polar opposite ways to construct identity, relational and individual, corresponding to tribal and middle class personalities. A relational identity is the sum of the perceptions of a person by his kin. Social meanings are its core. In contrast, an ideal self, which the person chooses from alternative lines of activity such as careers, is the core of individual identity. These two types of identity correspond to two different models of mind which we developed above, the model of reason and the model of responsiveness.

The difference between the models of reason and sensibility expresses itself in approaches to self-monitoring...[say: "Plato and Freud, who command few followers these days, embody tendencies of current theories in clear and familiar form. A more modern language concerns the monitoring...]

INSERT MATERIAL ON SELF-MONITORING

¹⁹⁵Strictly speaking, this proposition contains two distinct claims. The first claim is that inconsistency cannot be defined as interference. Causal relations are facts about the world. In contrast, definitions are facts about language. Explaining a fact is different from defining a concept. Effects are explained by causes, not defined by them. The definition and the word being defined have a logically necessary relationship. For example, "husbands" can be defined as "married men." A logically necessary relationship is distinct from a causal relationship. Consequently, the theory of cognitive dissonance, by asserting that inconsistency causes unpleasantness, denies that inconsistency can be defined as unpleasantness.

The second claim, which is discussed directly in the text, is that the unpleasantness of inconsistency cannot be explained completely by the transference of biological energies to the principles of logic.

¹⁹⁶Maddi distinguishes three broad categories of personality theory. The first type, like Freud's, explains the emergence of personality as a consequence of conflicting desires. The second type, like Maslow's, explains the emergence of personality as a progress towards self-realization, an unfolding of potential. The third explains personality as developing in response to the need for coherence. Each strand of theory explains some phenomena better than others. Consequently, each strand of theory stands as testimony to the limitations of the others. See Maddi, op cit. Also see Derek Parfit, Reasons and Persons. For more general critiques of utilitarianism, in Theory of Justice, Rawls says that utilitarianism "does not take differences among people seriously." This phrase is echoed in the title to Dworkin's influential book on jurisprudence, Taking Rights Seriously. These books expose paradoxes in a utilitarian theory of justice and jurisprudence, respectively.

Stages in Development of Mind and Personality

Now we turn from the arrangement of the faculties of mind to the stages in which a person acquires them. Some major traditions of thought among psychologists are reviewed and restated in order to contrast the individuation process that produces an individual and the socialization process that produces a relative.

Child

Freud's theory, which is more clear than convincing, again provides a useful benchmark. The baby begins life, according to Freud, as biological impulse or pure id. The id directs behavior towards the pursuit of pleasure whose dominant form at successive stages of life can be arranged according to bodily location, specifically the oral, anal, and phallic stages. Personality develops through the passage from one stage to another, according to Freud, which involves stress or, in extreme cases, trauma.

In the oral stage the baby feels connected to its mother through her breast, which is the source of complete pleasure. When the child is weaned, however, its cries do not invariably bring a breast of milk. Thus the infant, according to Freud, gets its first inkling of an external world not directly susceptible to, or controlled by, its wishes and desires. Weaning, from Freud's viewpoint, requires the infant to differentiate itself from its mother, which is the first beginning of the power to discern external reality.

Upon being weaned, the infant, according to Freud, passes out of the oral stage and into the anal stage, whose central concern is toilet training. The child's natural inclination towards toilet anarchy offends the household and engages impulse in its first conflict with norm. By socializing the movement of its bowels, the child, according to Freud's theory, first experiences self-mastery.

A general claim of the psychological model of desire, which underlies Freud's account of the Oedipal situation, is that personality develops from stress created when adults discipline the child's impulses. Weaning and toilet training may be the central forms of discipline for small children, as orthodox Freudians believe, or peripheral forms as many contemporary psychologists believe. In any case, Indian adults are so

thoroughly permissive with children, especially before puberty, that stress from adult discipline is attenuated or entirely absent.

To illustrate, the weaning of babies in many traditional Indian tribes is delayed until another baby is born, or, more likely, the child is encouraged to give up nursing and does so voluntarily by degrees.¹⁹⁷ Similarly, it is difficult to imagine Indian parents agonizing over toilet training or inducing an "anal retentive" personality from extreme fastidiousness over stool.¹⁹⁸ Indian families make so little over these changes that no emotion is attached to them, so the passage from one practice to another does not appear as a landmark or a new stage in life. There is, consequently, room to doubt whether Indian children undergo personality development before puberty as conceived by Freud and others.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁷Bob: Have I got this fact right?

¹⁹⁸Erik Erikson, after a brief study of the Yuroks, concluded that their personalities are anal retentive.

In Yurok childhood, there seems to be no specific emphasis on feces or on the anal zone, but there is a general avoidance of all contaminations caused by the contact of antagonistic fluids and contents...Such lifelong and systematic avoidance calls for special safeguards built into personality and identity; and, indeed, the official behavior of the Yurok shows all the traits which psychoanalysis, following Freud and Abraham, has found to be of typical significance in patients with "anal fixations": compulsive ritualization; pedantic bickering; suspicious miserliness; retentive hoarding, etc.
--Childhood and Society (2nd ed, 1963) p178.

He also noted, however, that these alleged traits of the Yurok do not come from toilet training, which is permissive. Either Erikson has not described the Yurok accurately, which seems likely, or else he has described a fact which the psychoanalytic tradition cannot explain.

¹⁹⁹Erik Erikson, in his study of Sioux child rearing, made the following observation:

"The Indians, on the other hand, being permissive toward smaller children and only verbally cruel toward older ones, considered the white man's active approach to matters of child care a destructive and most deliberate attempt to discourage children. Whites, they thought, want to estrange their children from

Adolescent

Of greater interest for this book, however, is Freud's account of the phallic stage. Before adolescence, thoughts of phallic sexuality are banned from the consciousness of children, according to Freud. At the onset of adolescence, a boy awakens from this "latency period" and his original impulse of phallic sexuality is directed towards his mother, according to Freud. At this stage the boy allegedly perceives his father as a jealous and powerful rival. In extreme cases, rivalry is embodied in the boy's fantasy that he will kill his father and marry his mother, so Freud named this situation after the figure in Greek tragedy who did just that, Oedipus.

The father suppresses the boy's attraction to his mother in Freud's account by issuing orders backed by threats ("Don't do that or I'll do this"), including castration in extreme cases. (In psychological terms, the father is the first law-giver, where law is understood according to the imperative theory discussed in Chapter 8*.)²⁰⁰ To avoid tragedy, the boy's desire for his mother must finally yield to fear of his father. The origin of conscience in boys, according to Freud's account in The Ego and the Id, is the boy's determination to obey his father and repress his own sexuality. In Freud's account, internalization occurs when the boy suppresses his memory that moral rules were originally imposed upon him by external force and, instead, takes them to be self-imposed. By this process fear becomes guilt, morality is internalized, and the superego emerges.²⁰¹ (Freud's parallel account of stages in the mental development of girls is pallid.²⁰²)

Among Indians, as among all people, there are strong prohibitions against incest. Indeed, the norms in some tribes traditionally prescribe, not just the clans that should not inter-marry, but the clans that should inter-marry. For instance, the 19th century

this world so as to make them pass through to the next with the utmost dispatch. 'They teach their children to cry!' was the indignant remark of an Indian woman...Erik Erikson, *Childhood and Society* (2nd ed, 1963) p.127.

²⁰⁰Law, according to one tradition in legal theory, is orders backed by threats. This is the definition offered by J. Austin in The Province of Jurisprudence Reconsidered (1954; first ed. 18__), ed. H.L.A. Hart, which stands at the beginning of the utilitarian tradition in jurisprudence. So the Oedipal father becomes the first law-giver to the child.

²⁰¹The ego and superego differentiate themselves and grow out of the id, literally on top of it, according to a diagram Freud drew. The diagram is found in The Ego and the Id, op.cit., p.14.

Cherokee rule commended that young men marry someone whom his biological grandfather called "sister." A man called any woman "sister" who was a member of his clan. Clan membership was determined by matrilineal descent. In Cherokee terminology, a man was to marry one of his "grandmothers." The Cherokees thought such a rule preserved reciprocity among clans, so that a clan that lost a member in marriage subsequently gained one in return. Similarly, the traditional Ojibway rule commended that a man marry someone whom his father called sister or his mother called brother. People who are "cousins" in European geneology are called "brother" or "sister" by traditional Ojibway. The function was to tie patri-local bands to each other.

The specifics of Freud's account of the link between sexuality and personality development seem utterly at odds with the reality of the Indian family. Discussions of sexuality among Indians lack delicacy or fastidiousness of the kind presupposed by latency. We know of no Indian tales like Snow White or Little Red Riding Hood. While puberty brings new dangers, Indians do not idealize chastity before marriage or show concern over the bride's virginity. Tribes like the Papagos who are devout -- some would say fanatical -- Catholics continue to reject the sacrament of marriage because it creates an indissoluble union in principle. The sexuality of Indian children and youths gets channelled into socially acceptable forms without coercion, authority, repression, or shame on the scale described by Freud. Indian adults keep a watchful eye over youths and arrange their romantic encounters to avoid proscribed clans. The level of stress over sexuality among Indians seems inadequate to yield a faculty of mind like the superego. The process of constructing the superego that Freud described is attenuated or entirely absent in Indian homes.

Not only the specifics of Freud's theory of morality, but its general form seems inapplicable to Indians. When children are raised to compete as individuals in a vertical world, adults must discipline them to establish the executive authority of reason. Middle-class parents use disciplinary techniques that cause children to internalize ethical ideals. When internalization occurs, the motivating power of lower order desires transfers to higher order desires. After dropping Freud's emphasis on sexuality and the Oedipal

²⁰² cite Freudians on female's development.

situation, his theory reduces to the simple conclusion that morality's motivating power is the psychological residue of fear of punishment. This mechanism and the type of morality produced by it seems peripheral for Indians. Among traditional Indians, who lack social structure, adults do not discipline children's appetites. Recall that traditional Indians parents are reluctant to punish children at all. Indians adults prefer to steer children away from dangerous or disruptive activities by scaring them with spooks. Good behavior is represented to children as a practical necessity due to the influence of supernatural beings, rather than a demand of parental authority. By such devices parental authority is diminished and effaced so the traditional Indian child does not feel coerced.

Any theory tracing personality development to the disciplining of appetites will be more salient for middle-class Americans than for traditional Indians. Perhaps middle-class children internalize a morality of duty by identifying with a figure of authority, such as a stern father. It appears from our observations of Indian families, however, that no one plays such a role in a boy's life. Indian families just do not have the tone of hierarchical authority sometimes created by European fathers.²⁰³ Insofar as there is such a thing as discipline in Indian families, the biological father is an unlikely source of it. Indian fathers seldom, if ever, issue commands or enforce prohibitions against their children. Indeed, the biological father in many tribes has a smaller role in the rearing of his children than the biological mother's sisters, brothers, or parents. To illustrate, in "A Cherokee Childhood," it was the maternal uncle (biological mother's biological brother) who disciplined R.H. the one time that his mischievousness exceeded acceptable bounds.²⁰⁴

Instead of producing a morality of duty by transforming fear into guilt, a different mechanism produces a different kind of morality as the Indian child matures. Traditional Indians do not think of their minds as a quarrel between conscience and appetite mediated by reason. They inhabit a world filled with beings of various kinds -- people, animals, and spirits -- each with its own powers and predispositions. A child matures into morality by becoming more responsive to the beings around him. Behavior that sustains

²⁰³John Demos's book, A Little Commonwealth (19), argues that a Puritan ideal commended families structured like a commonwealth with the father as king.

²⁰⁴Malinowski observed that Trobriand Island children relate to their maternal uncle much like a European child relates to his father. [cite famous article by Malinowski].

harmony among beings forms the core of Indian morality, whose content is sensibility, not duty.

Conversely, behavior that creates disharmony among kinsmen, animals, or spirits causes sickness or accidents. Conforming to the requirements of morality and religion is, consequently, a practical necessity. In a sacred world view, internalization of morality is unnecessary because fear of moral punishment is a continuing reality, not just a psychological residue. By aligning prudence with morality, belief in certain punishment provides reason enough to be good without convincing yourself that you want to be good for its own sake.

Without a faculty like the superego, dynamic tension dissipates in the psychological model of desire and it goes flat. Given these doubts about the superego, many contemporary psychologists subscribe to a diffuse account of adolescence among white, middle-class Americans that draws more upon the individuation process. A child raised to leave home and make a life from instrumental interactions with strangers must become increasingly autonomous. To illustrate, Levinson describes the transformation of child into adult as a transition from dependency to independence and responsibility.²⁰⁵ The child thus becomes an adult by separating himself from his family while retaining moral stability.

Independence and responsibility are perfected when a middle-class youth forms a life plan. The resulting shift in identity from family to roles often causes disharmony between youths and adults, especially children and parents. Why don't you make something of yourself? How will you get into a good college with these grades? Do you plan to sell fast food all your life? Fear that his son will fail, not displace him in his wife's bed, haunts the middle-class father, and confusion over identity perplexes the boy. Freudian theory, which focuses on such issues as sexual rivalry, concerns disturbances in primary relationships. Individuation, however, presupposes sufficient order in these relationships to withstand the stress placed upon them by self-creation.

²⁰⁵"The overall shape of the first twenty years emerges plainly: an incomplete, highly dependent child grows in complex biological, psychological and _____ ways to become, in greater or lesser degree, an independent, responsible adult." Daniel J. Levinson, *The Seasons of a Man's Life* (1978), page 3.

Success in a role demands creativity and drive, and these things, according to Freud, are deflections of sexual appetite. If this theory were correct, we might expect that sexuality would be a sphere of life in which executives are deprived. The eagles of Wall Street, however, do not bristle with sexual frustration. Rather, they seem driven by ambition that shades into existential anxiety. Many executives apparently need to achieve in order to feel good about themselves. (This motive was dubbed "need-achievement" or "n-ach" by an earlier generation of psychologists.²⁰⁶) Middle class parents foster this characteristic in their children to make them strive for success. Thus Freud's account of the conflict between father and son misrepresents the goad to achievement, which is anxiety over identity, not displaced sexuality.

A person who defines himself by his acts creates part of himself by each choice that he makes. The ideals of, say, a doctor and a lawyer are quite different, so the very ideals for evaluating the choices affecting identity are themselves chosen. Psychological health of a such a person requires modulating the distance between actual and ideal selves. Moderate distance energizes the individual to self-creation, whereas excessive distance cripples with despair. The adolescent youth may vacillate between these conditions as he tries out roles and tries on persona. Hence psychologists like Erik Erikson, who studied identity formation, found that an identity crisis is common in the early stages of its formation during adolescence.²⁰⁷

If someone identifies with work, failing on the job implies failing as a person. To illustrate, the unemployed sometimes lose self-esteem. In general, the tension between ideal and actual selves, which goads an effective personality to achievement, cripples when it becomes too severe. Neuroses with this origin are so frequent that Rogers taught therapists to show "unconditional positive regard" for patients, which is similar to admiring a person for who he is, not what he does. A

²⁰⁶See McClelland, Need Achievement (cite; approximate title); cite some of literature on n-ach. While McClelland's theory seems an accurate modernization of Weberian psychology, we reject his more extravagant claims, such as his ability to read n-ach into the designs on Greek pottery.

²⁰⁷Personality development and identity have been linked by psychologists such as Erik Erickson who have departed far from the Freudian legacy. Erikson asserts that a crisis of identity typically occurs in late adolescence when a young adult separates from family, fixes upon a certain set of ideals, and makes career choices. Principal works are Childhood and Society (1950) and Identity, Youth and Crisis (1968). For a specific delineation of personality development into stages, see pages 11-12 of the former book. Also see Chapter 3 in the latter book, entitled "The Life Cycle: Epigenesis of Identity," especially the chart on page 94, which distinguishes 6 stages. For a perspective on Erikson's contribution, see Jerome Bruner, "The Artist as Analyst," New York Review of Books, 3 December 1987 pp. 8-13.

therapist can apparently cure by treating patients like kin, or rather like traditional Indians say they are supposed to treat kin.

Instead of separating from family, traditional Indians continue living in kin groups encompassing several generations. Rather than individuating, the Indian child grows towards full competency in the kin group. Individuals, who are free to choose among alternative selves, stabilize their identity by internalizing ideals, whereas Indians, whose selves are fixed in relationships, stabilize their identity by responding to external necessity. Adolescence for traditional Indians lacks the discontinuity and stress of individuation. The key words for describing the change are responsiveness and competence, not independence and responsibility.

Adult

Discrete events mark discontinuities in the adult life of most people, such as leaving home, joining the army, going to college, getting a job, marrying, bearing children, re-entering the labor market, experiencing menopause, sending children away to college or employment, burying one's parents, becoming a boss, and retiring. Only recently have these events been studied systematically in an effort to demarcate the phases of an adult life.²⁰⁸ An influential study by Levinson and associates, entitled The Seasons of a Man's Life (1978), reported results from intensive interviews of 10 men in each of four occupations, from worker to executive on the socio-economic scale, in the age group 35 to 45. Change is analyzed on three dimensions: biological, sequencing of generations, and evolution of careers and enterprises. Using these dimensions, the researchers distinguish adulthood into three phases -- early, middle, and late -- which we will describe.

In "early adulthood," a man comes into his full biological powers, marries and has children, and begins a career. This is a time of stress during which a man forms a "preliminary adult identity."²⁰⁹ In "middle adulthood," gradual physical decline and

²⁰⁸For a report on such a study, see Daniel J. Levinson, The Seasons of a Man's Life (1978). An even larger, more detailed study is currently under way. Dr. Gilbert Brim is heading the "Network for Successful Midlife Development," which is a long, costly research project financed by the MacArthur Foundation. See "Is Midlife a Crisis of Just a Phase? A Study Begins," New York Times, 18 Dec. 1989 page B1.

²⁰⁹

flattening hormones diminish stress and permit a more tempered, judicious approach to social life. The age cohort of which he is a part now has a generation of young adults behind it, so he feels seniority as well as distance. He may examine his accomplishments relative to his youthful dreams and reappraise life's goals, which can trigger a "mid-life crisis." Finally, in the late phase, the adult adjusts to the decline of his physical powers and the erosion of career position by adopting a more contemplative and less engaged attitude towards life's bustle.

Unfortunately, we know of no longitudinal studies of the phases in Indians' lives, so we will have to rely upon impressions and intuitions. Biological rhythms described by Levinson are much the same for all people, but not the sequencing of generations and the evolution of careers and enterprises. As the narrative in Chapter 9 illustrates, Indian males in most traditional tribes are treated similarly from adolescence until their late thirties or early forties. In this youthful period of life, they are expected to be brave and wild ("to give the people courage"), not responsible and sober. Traditional offices, that are filled by heredity and divination, are seldom bestowed on them. In the late 30's or 40's, males are expected to stop acting like boys and start acting more responsibly. At this age, marriages stick, traditional offices are assumed, and fathers and grandfathers curb their enjoyments for the sake of children and grandchildren.²¹⁰ Later in life, after

During his twenties, a young man ordinarily forms a preliminary adult identity. He makes the first major choices, such as marriage, occupation, residence and style of living, that define his place in the adult world. Early adulthood is the time to pay his dues and make his essential contribution..."Page 22.

The chronological demarcation of stages is as follows: Childhood, which begins around the age of 3, ends around 17, after which there is a transition into adulthood from around age 17 to 22. Early adulthood lasts until around age 40, when a transition into midlife begins. Middle adulthood then lasts from around age 45 to 60, which is followed by another transition and then late adulthood. The stages are summarized in the table on page 20 of Daniel J. Levinson, The Seasons of a Man's Life (1978).

²¹⁰For an interesting discussion of this point, see Wahrhaftig's account of when marriages stick among the Cherokees. Cite.

spiritual power deepens, the old men make medicine and heal. Awe and fear mix with affection for the elderly.

Levinson regards work as central to his subjects' personalities:

A man's work is the primary base for his life in society. Through it he is 'plugged into' an occupational structure and a culture, class, and social matrix. Work is also of great psychological importance; it is a vehicle for the fulfillment or negation of central aspects of the self."²¹¹

Unlike individuals, traditional Indians are not "plugged into an occupational structure," nor is their culture based upon class, nor is work the vehicle for self-fulfillment. Indians sometimes become committed to an enterprise and stick stubbornly to it, such as the Cherokee genius, Sequoyah, who persisted in developing a written Cherokee language over many years despite being discouraged by kin.²¹² More often, however, traditional Indians just do the jobs required to sustain the clan, some of which are a deep pleasure like hunting, some are drudgery like hauling wood, but none are psychological necessities. Traditional Indians are absorbed by the relationships through which work is accomplished, not the tasks as such.

Women, Children, and Savages

Do women, children, and savages have something in common that men lack? This old idea, which lives on in new forms, warrants scrutiny in light of the stages in a life.

Fear of punishment, according to Freudian theory, must be learned at a younger age than respect for moral law. To formalize the stages in learning morality, the psychologist Kohlberg constructed a scale of moral judgment with fear of punishment at one end (Stage 1) and universal ethical principles at the other end (Stage 6).²¹³ The scale

²¹¹The Seasons of a Man's Life (1978), page 9.

²¹²Cite

²¹³Here is Kohlberg's summary of the stages:

We know that individuals pass through the moral stages one step at a time as they progress from the bottom (Stage 1) toward the

was operationalized by asking people to make moral judgments and scoring their answers according to the reasons that they gave, with fear receiving the lowest score and respect for moral rules receiving the highest score. The closer moral reasoning approximates universal imperatives, the more highly developed it is according to this scale. Kohlberg apparently viewed his theory as building upon Kant's ethics, which stresses the centrality of universal principles to morality, and Piaget's psychology, which views cognitive development as the increase in the powers of abstraction.²¹⁴

top (Stage 6). There are also other stages that individuals must go through, perhaps the most basic of which are the stages of logical reasoning or intelligence studied by Piaget (1967). After the child learns to speak, there are three major developmental stages of reasoning: the intuitive, the concrete operational, and the formal operational. At around age 7, the child enters the stage of concrete logical thought; he can then make logical inferences, classify things, and handle quantitative relations about concrete things. In adolescence, many but not all individuals enter the stage of formal operations,...

--Kohlberg, Lawrence. "Moral Stages and Moralization: The Cognitive-Developmental Approach," Moral Development and Behavior: Theory, Research, and Social Issues (1976), ed. Thomas Lickona, p. 31.

Kohlberg describes these stages in a variety of publications. See, for example, "Moral Stages and Moralization: The Cognitive developmental Approach," in T. Lickona, ed., Moral Development and Behavior (1976), pp. 31-53; "Stage and Sequence: The Cognitive-Development Approach to Socialization," in D.A. Goslin, ed. Handbook of Socialization Theory and Research (1969); The Philosophy of Moral Development (1981); "Appendix. The Six Stages of Moral Judgment," The Philosophy of Moral Development: Essays on Moral Development, Volume I (1981), 409-412.

"...Piaget's cognitive categories derive from Kant's analysis of the categories of pure reason, and for Kant there is an analogous set of categories of pure practical reason or of action under the mode of freedom. Kant's categories of moral judgment are not as useful

The Kohlberg scale strengthens Piaget's earlier finding that Swiss children begin to internalize ethical principles at a certain age and their morality becomes more abstract. No doubt such socialization is necessary in Switzerland in order to carry out the roles required of an adult, but in say, the Mackinaws'camp, being an adult involves being more socially sensitive and more defined by relationships. Moral maturity among tribal Indians consists in becoming more responsive to kin, not more attentive to abstract principles. We would expect, then, that Kohlberg's scale of moral judgment would not capture moral maturation among Indians. Some empirical evidence supports this prediction. When the Kohlberg test was given to children on Walpole Island, the experimenter found that Indian youths regressed on Kohlberg's scale in their high school years, rather than progressing. As these children matured, they explained and justified their behavior by pointing more to particular features of social situations and less to abstract reasons.²¹⁵

This developmental pattern among tribal Indians causes no end of problems and misunderstandings at school. Indians must learn a new conception of morality at school which sometimes seems like immorality. To illustrate, helping your relatives on homework or exams is cheating for whites and mere decency for Indians. Indian children who enter white schools must learn a new way to learn that is individual, analytical, and abstract, rather than social, holistic, and experiential. To illustrate, finding game and solving equations, or interpreting a dream and parsing a sentence, are not learned in the same way.

[What is the following sentence doing here?]A familiar stereotype among non-Indians holds that fathers are stern and mothers are sympathetic. A stern father lays down general rules and enforces them against his children, whereas a sympathetic mother tries to be responsive to her family. ("Respect your father and love your mother.") In Kohlberg's scale, "universal ethical principles" are at Stage 6, and "mutual interpersonal

for my purposes as is Dewey's..."
 "Moral Stages and Moralization: The Cognitive-
 Developmental Approach," Moral Development and
 Behavior: Theory, Research, and Social Issues
 (1976), ed. Thomas Lickona, p. 136.

expectations, relationships, and conformity" are at Stage 3. A stern father would, consequently, score higher than a sympathetic mother on Kohlberg's scale of moral development.

By whose standards is a life lived for relatives less moral than a life lived for abstract ideals? Kohlberg's bias has not been lost upon some feminists who assert that a morality of sympathy is not inferior to a morality of duty.²¹⁶ One feminist, Carol Gilligan, argues that modern women are less individuated than modern men.

"For boys and men, separation and individuation are critically tied to gender identity since separation from the mother is essential for the development of masculinity. For girls and women, issues of femininity or feminine identity do not depend on the achievement of separation from the mother or on the progress of individuation. Since masculinity is defined through separation while femininity is defined through attachment, male gender identity is threatened by intimacy while female gender identity is threatened by separation. Thus males tend to have difficulty with relationships, while females tend to have problems with individuation...

...Women's moral weakness, manifest in an apparent diffusion and confusion of judgment, is thus inseparable from women's moral strength, an overriding concern with relationships and responsibilities."²¹⁷

²¹⁵ citation

²¹⁶ See the criticism of Kohlberg by Carol Gilligan in In A Different Voice: The Psychological Theory of Women's Development (1982).

²¹⁷ In A Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development (1982), pages 8 and 16-17, respectively. Similarly, Robin West writes

To the considerable degree that our potentiality for motherhood defines ourselves, women's lives are relational, not autonomous. As mothers we nurture the weak and we depend upon the strong. More than do men, we live in an interdependent and hierarchical natural web with others of varying degrees of strength."

--Robin West, "The Difference in Women's Hedonic Lives: A Phenomenological Critique of Feminist Legal Theory," 3 Wis.

This line of thought suggests that European woman and children, and tribal Indians, being less individuated, have something in common that distinguishes them from European men. While any type of person has something in common with any other type, further consideration may vitiate the analogy. Gilligan does not distinguish between personal relations that are chosen and kin relations that are given. Her stress on the superior ability of women to form relationships and assume responsibility suggests that she has friendship and romance in mind. Most modern American women do not live with kin, except perhaps their children and husband, and only then after working hours. Responsiveness to kin is different from the capacity to form intimate relationships with non-kin.

The psychoanalytical tradition, notably C.G. Jung, found an analogy between children and savages. Tribal Indians obviously did not develop scientific technology or mathematics at a level comparable to Europeans. Why not? Science and mathematics, according to Jung, require "directed thought,"²¹⁸ in which logical rules that are imbedded in language control the succession of ideas.²¹⁹ Directed thought, according to Jung, requires mental effort and discipline. As soon as we relax, our minds slip into another mode of operation in which thoughts "float, sink, or rise according to their specific gravity."²²⁰ The succession of images in associational thought are not, however, random. Rather, as "image piles on image, feeling on feeling ... there is an ever-increasing tendency to shuffle things about and arrange them not as they are in reality, but as we would like them to be."²²¹ Thus our dreams and fantasies project own desires, which may be inaccessible otherwise to our analytical faculties.

Women's L.J. 81 (1987); quoted in Angela P. Harris, "Race and Essentialism in Feminist Legal Theory," 42 Stanford Law Rev 581-616 (1990) at p.602. Harris argues against the view that some experiences are essential to women, and in favor of the view that black women's experiences are not represented in the writings of white feminists.

²¹⁸See C.G. Jung, The Symbols of Transformation: The Collected Works of C.G. Jung, volume 5 (2nd ed., Princeton U.P., 1967), trans. R.F.C. Hull, circa pages 16 to 30.

²¹⁹Jung wrote, "Directed thinking or, as we might also call it, *thinking in words*...", op.cit. page 16. He did not, however, make any detailed attempt to explain why directed thinking has the character he attributes to it. The phrase about grammar and logic is my own. A good summary of Jung's theory is in paragraph 37 through 40 on pages 28-30.

²²⁰Jung, op cit page 17.

²²¹Jung, op cit page 18.

The dominant mode of thought according to Jung is associational, rather than directed, in primitive people, children, schizophrenics, and the dreams and fantasies of modern adults.

"We are speaking of the ontogenetic recapitulation of phylogenetic psychology in children, and we saw that archaic thinking is a peculiarity of children and primitives. We now know that this same thinking also occupies a large place in modern man and appears as soon as directed thinking ceases. [page 23]...

Jung's distinctive contribution to the psychoanalytic tradition was concluding that these projected wishes fall into patterns, called archetypes. The unconscious and partially conscious mind, as he describes it, is like an archaeological site littered with the detritus of cultural history. The bits and pieces get picked up by a mind that is responsive rather than linear. The contents of associational thinking are, thus, the cultural history of the race: "What, with us, crops up only in dreams and fantasies was once either a conscious custom or a general belief."²²² So it seems that knowledge among Indians tends to be stored in archetypes rather than generalizations. Directed thinking, while it leads towards truth about the external world, takes us away from psychological truths, whereas associational thinking, according to Jung, brings us back into contact with our own nature and culture.

Jung and Kohlberg's theories concur that tribal people think like children, either because they both project subjective wishes, or because they both think concretely rather than abstractly. Relational theory reaches different conclusions. There is, according to the theory of the individuation process, a different psychology for kinsmen and individuals. Individuation requires taking yourself as an object and treating others instrumentally, so events are explained by impersonal causes. A life among kin, in contrast, requires responsiveness to others, so events are explained as acts. Explanation by impersonal causes requires reason, whereas social perception requires sensibility.

You cannot predict what other people will do by projecting your wishes onto them. Kin can teach a sharp lesson to someone who supposes that, because he wants

²²²Jung, op cit page 27.

something for himself, others must want it for him as well. There is, consequently, no special connection between a life among kin and wish fulfillment. On the contrary, predicting what another person will do involves an imaginative act of taking their wishes into yourself. In the natural world as well as the social world, sensibility and responsiveness are the opposite of projection. When Eskimos find game in a trance or northern Athabascans dream the hunt, can anyone really believe that these people, who have lived for centuries on the knife-edge of survival, are fulfilling their subjective wishes? Their environment, which is among the most hostile on earth, harshly punishes anyone who cannot distinguish truths from wishes. Assuredly the pressure to survive compelled them to use all the ingenuity of which people are capable for finding animals.

While it is true that tribal Indians often look to their dreams for guidance, learning to distinguish subjective wishes from insights into the world as expressed in dreams is part of growing up and becoming a mature Indian. Indians who are skilled at interpreting dreams easily distinguish those that project the dreamer's wishes, and thus tell something about the dreamer, from those that contain an insight into the external world, possibly conceived as a message from other beings. When the internal life is close to the public life, as among tribal Indians, self-delusion and self-scrutiny are equally unusual, which may make the interpretation of dreams easier. One psychological anthropologist found that interpreting American Indian dreams is relatively easy because their meaning lies close to the surface, instead of being overlaid with obfuscating symbols.²²³

The comparison between tribal Indians and schizophrenics is even less apt. Schizophrenics are often absorbed in a private world of their own, unable to respond to others. We could stand the psychoanalytic tradition on its head and say that schizophrenics are like modern man because schizophrenics and individuals create their own world, rather than living among their kin. Such grand analogies, however, have little to commend them.

As for children, it is true, of course, that small children are not individuated. Even middle-class children are, in this respect, like tribal Indians. But children respond to others in childish ways, often projecting their own wishes and fantasies. Learning to

²²³Personal communication of Merrill Jackson to Robert Thomas.

be responsive to others is just as difficult a task, and just as much the product of a mature mind, as learning to explain events by impersonal causes.

Tribal Indians work out general theories by stripping adventitious facts from concrete examples. Thus a story gets honed into a parable for teaching a lesson. It seems true that knowledge among traditional Indians tends to be stored in archetypes rather than generalizations. This form of knowledge has largely dropped out of science,²²⁴ but something similar persists in other fields, notably law. Rather than studying abstract principles, students in the first year of American law school are taught to make legal judgments by arguing concrete cases ("the case method"), which develops social perception as much as analytical reasoning. Above all, students learn not to overlook social facts upon which the outcome of cases may depend.²²⁵ This training imparts a conception of law as something different from categorical imperatives as in Kohlberg and Kant, or orders backed by threats as in the Freudian superego and the imperative theory of law.

Conclusion Being and Becoming

An individual who defines himself by his acts is always becoming something. He is a process. One begins such a life in dependency and moves towards autonomy with the aim of becoming one's ideal (self-actualization). The stages of life demarcated by psychologists are apparently the periods in which individuation accelerates, such as puberty or leaving home. Individuation creates stress. Psychological stability of individuals apparently requires sound primary relationships, especially early in life, in order to keep the strain of self-creation within manageable limits.

The paradigm for self-creation is choice of a career, although identities can be constructed from other materials. In any case, the multiplicity of alternatives raises the question, "What shall I become?" The answer must flow from internalized ideals that provide the ethical basis for careers and enterprises. A perfectly rational person

²²⁴Economists often work with models in which facts are stylized. These models are sometimes called parables, although Weber's term, "ideal types," is usually more appropriate.

²²⁵A profound account of the role of social facts in common law judgments is offered by Melvin A. Eisenberg in A Theory of Adjudication (Harvard University Press, forthcoming). [check title; he changed it.] The English poet Shelley defended his craft on the grounds that imaginative projection into the situation of others, which can be cultivated through poetry, is essential to morality. See Percy Shelley, "The Defense of Poetry," [full cite needed]. Poetry, like cases, deals in particulars.

constructs a life-plan in light of these ideals. Pursuit of a life-plan requires controlling distractions and deflections.

In a tribe, one is born a kinsman and one dies a kinsman. You are an uncle to your nephew as long as both of you live. Kinship is a mode of being, not becoming. The relationship's core is fixed and its development proceeds within given boundaries. The self constituted by such relationships is fixed and given. A tribal Indian starts out a kinsman and, as he lives his life and becomes more responsive, he becomes a better kinsman.

The best hope for such relationships is love, and the bare minimum is overt harmony. These objectives seem compelling and enduring features of the relationship, not moral choices. Biological rhythms offer some salient points in the unfolding of such a life. The sense of movement through the seasons of a life is cyclical like the seasons of a year, not progressive.

Notes

...not Freud's "ghost in the nursery."²²⁶

An aspect of the model of desire, as noted above, is the motivational sterility of reason.²²⁷ According to the model of desire, reason lacks the autonomous power to motivate because it desires nothing. This account of reason's sterility contrasts starkly to the one offered by Plato.

Kant observes that people are morally free as a matter of fact, so they must be capable of acting differently from the model of desire.²²⁸

The model of desire cannot account for the coherence of identity, which comes from its consistency and unity.

²²⁶This phrase is used by Alistaire McIntyre in the selection "Freud" in the *Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (19).

²²⁷The classical formulation of this thesis is in Hume, where he asserts that reason is the slave of the passions.

²²⁸Sidwick pointed out that there are really two concepts of freedom in Kant's theory. One sense is the freedom to choose between good and evil. A person is, in this sense, equally free, whichever he chooses. The second sense of freedom is acting from respect for the moral law, not from sensuous desire. A person is free in the second sense only if he chooses to do what is right rather than doing what is wrong. See Sidgwick...

Chapter 10 The White Path of Peace and the Indian Ecumene

This chapter contains two narratives on Indian religion. The first is an account of Cherokee religions as told by R.H., the same person who supplied the narrative entitled "A Cherokee Childhood." The second is Bob Thomas's account of the Indian ecumenical movement.

The White Path of Peace: A Narrative on the Cherokee Religion

When I was a little chap in eastern Oklahoma, our community was too small to maintain any kind of formal religious institution like a Cherokee ceremonial ground, or a Cherokee Baptist church. However we did have a lot of religious rituals at our homes. Most Cherokee Indians had such family rituals. Lots of times my family would get up early in the morning before the sun was up and go down to a nearby creek, and, as the Cherokees say, "go to the water." Everybody stood on the west side of the creek looking east and whoever led the ritual stood behind us and read a long holy poem in a very low voice, a holy poem that was calculated to purify your soul and raise it to the seventh level of heaven. After the holy poem was over we washed our faces and our hands seven times, the crown of our head seven times, and around our hearts seven times. The old people always said that if you got up early every morning and "went to the water", that you would be healthy and live a long time. They, also, said that if you got up early and went through that ceremony you would be protected that day from any kind of conjuring or bad medicine. This was just one of the many ceremonies that we had at our home. Sometimes we would have to purify our house, or say some words to make a storm turn. My grandmother knew the rituals that the ladies performed when the corn was about shoulder high in order to help the garden grow.

These were the kinds of religious worship that most Cherokee families could do on their own. Sometimes we needed outside help. For instance, there is a certain kind of herb concoction Cherokees are supposed to take before we eat roasting ears (corn-on-the-cob), and we had to go to a nearby community to get an Indian doctor to make that kind of medicine for us. There were a lot of things that we could do ourselves, but sometimes

we needed the help of a professional, an Indian doctor, a man with spiritual power; or as the Cherokees say "a man who knows something."

We didn't have any Indian doctors in our little community. My grandmother had come originally from a community about seven miles away. Her sister still lived there when I was growing up. This great aunt of mine, my grandmother's sister, cured people by the use of herbs, but she was not, in Cherokee thought, a regular Indian doctor, because did not do any spiritual healing. Nor was there any of my kin that I had ever heard about who was an Indian doctor. My grandfather had been a lawman in the old Cherokee Nation days and later on when the Cherokees lived under the state of Oklahoma law, and he did use war medicine to help himself in his job. I think he used the kind of war medicine that would protect a person in times of danger. I don't think he made war medicine to hurt anybody.

By and large we handled religion and medicine by ourselves without any help, doing the sort of thing that most Cherokee families do around their homes to help themselves. If someone was sick, however, we had to call on an Indian doctor from some other community.

There was a Cherokee Indian Baptist church a few miles from our settlement. Sometimes my mother attended that church when she was in her teens, before she was married, I think mainly because she liked the hymn singing. But I never saw my grandparents go to church. I never heard them speak ill of the Baptist church. Church just seemed to be outside of their universe. In past years there had been a Cherokee ceremonial ground about twelve miles to the east of us in another Cherokee community, but that "Fire went out" a few years before I was born. When that Fire was going, my folks attended services there at that stomp ground, as the white people called it, but when I was small we rarely went to a stomp ground. The nearest one was almost thirty miles away, which was a long distance in those days. The roads were mighty rough then and we traveled primarily by wagon and on horseback. Thirty miles was almost a two day trip. Sometimes we would go to a Cherokee stomp ground in another area during the year, but such occasions were few and far between.

My grandfather wasn't an irreligious man, but he did not seem very concerned about attending Cherokee ceremonies. Further, I noticed that sometimes when we held certain rituals around the house he would take a walk. I always felt like he did that because of his war medicine. It was almost as though he belonged to a splinter denomination of the old Cherokee religion, or that he didn't like to take a chance of ruining normal medicine because he was trained in the use of war medicine. Although I'm not certain why he sometimes hung back in religious services, I do know that for a long time now it has been the Cherokee custom not to bring anything to do with war or violence around a Cherokee ceremonial ground. For instance, our neighbors, the Creek Indians, still play something like stick ball just to the west of us. In the fall one local Creek ceremonial ground will play against another ceremonial ground. Just before this stick ball game, as we call it, the two Creek grounds involved in a match will each have a dance at their own ceremonial grounds which involves the making of something like war medicine. In fact, the dancers themselves perform dances designed to make themselves strong to help them in the coming game. Cherokees never do this. In the old days, if the Cherokees played men's stick ball, they used to lay out a special ground out in the woods where they danced and made medicine before a match. However, Cherokees never made war medicine, at least in the memories of old people who taught me, at the stomp ground. Maybe we did a long time ago before the white people came, but the Cherokees renounced war in the early 1800s, and from that time on there was no war medicine made at the stomp grounds, even the kind of medicine that was used for ball games.

When I was a kid, each Cherokee stomp ground would have a dance about once a month. A particular stomp ground might choose, for example, the second Saturday of the month to have a dance. In the old days such dances were held at the new moon, but by the time I was growing up they were held on some Saturday night during the month. The Fire keeper of a stomp ground, a religious officer, would make fire just before dawn and make a blood sacrifice of some kind to the fire. Then there would be an all night stomp dance that night. The priestly organization of a Cherokee stomp ground is complicated. There is usually a chief, an assistant chief, a fire keeper and an assistant fire keeper, seven medicine men (each one chosen from one of the seven Cherokee clans), and seven elders or counselors (each one chosen by his clan to represent that clan on this elders'

council). It is a pretty complicated affair, and you had to have a fair number of people around who belong to a Fire in order to fill out the officers of a stomp ground. For example, you can have a Baptist church for a community of two or three hundred people, but to really have a going stomp ground with enough people in each clan to select officers, you have to have around 600 people or more. So a Cherokee stomp ground usually represents two or three small Cherokee communities, or parts of several communities.

When I was growing up there were probably nine or so Fires or stomp grounds in the Cherokee country, in the area that had been the old Cherokee Nation. In that time there were probably about 40 little Cherokee settlements averaging about 200-300 people. The majority of those little settlements had a Baptist church, but there were also about nine ceremonial fires scattered around the country. Cherokees might go to a Baptist church in their home community, and if there was a stomp ground nearby many would also usually attend the dances there.

Further, there were some larger religious ceremonies held during the year. There were Night Hawk ceremonies, as the whites used to call the people that followed the old religion, and Cherokee Baptist ceremonies as well. Once a year at a head Cherokee Fire on July 19 there was a big dance that was open to Cherokees and whites alike. Usually this celebration went on some four days. It had grown out of a celebration of the birthday of Redbird Smith, one of the great leaders of the Cherokees; the man who was responsible for reviving the Cherokee stomp grounds and bringing the old Cherokee religion out in the open around 1900. Everyone is welcome at this ceremony, all nationalities - members of other Indian tribes, whites, blacks; everybody! In September the Night Hawk people, the Keetoowah people, would have a convention for seven days. This convention was quite an affair, but it was restricted to Cherokee Indians. The Baptists used to have many singing conventions during the year Cherokee Baptists in one region would get together at a church and sing hymns all day. Once a year in September there was a Cherokee Baptist convention which lasted for some seven days. It was held in early September at the same time that the ancient Cherokees used to put on the Green Corn Dance, the major Cherokee ceremony. The Cherokee National Council convened then, as well, in those olden times.

Sometimes, when I was a kid, a very famous Cherokee Indian doctor used to come and visit us. This doctor was also a prominent Cherokee Baptist preacher. He and my grandfather would sit up at night and talk for hours. My grandmother did not like this visiting friend. She said "That preacher just comes here to try to find out what your grandfather knows, but he never gives anything back in return. He comes to pump your grandfather about what he knows, but he never tells your grandfather any of his medicine." I don't know whether that was true or not, but I suspect it was. My grandfather was never stingy with what he knew, as the Cherokees say, but most Cherokees will expect a little return at least when they tell another man what they know about medicine.

The Cherokee medicine is mostly words; "words to say," as we put it in Cherokee; something like incantations which have been written down in the Cherokee language. There are incantations for everything that you can imagine. There are incantations to cure every known sickness. There are incantations to help you find something. There are incantations to give you protection from bad medicine. There are incantations to make people friendly towards you, and so forth. Whatever you can name there are incantations for. I would guess that one quarter to a third of these incantations have to do with man-woman affairs. That must say something about the Cherokee Indians!

Indian doctors have hundreds of these incantations, but most middle-aged Cherokees know a few incantations for purification or for protection. As I mentioned before, my family used to "go to the water" some days just before dawn. My uncle wasn't an Indian doctor but he knew the ritual for that ceremony.

Of course, doctors used herbs in their curing, too. There were particular herbs to go along with the necessary incantation for each sickness. Our woods were full of herbs and we had names in Cherokee for most of them. The white people couldn't name too many herbs. I guess whites hadn't been over here on this Island long enough to know the countryside. Some herbs we had to get from further east in Arkansas, where the Ozark woods are more lush than in Oklahoma. A few very valuable and rare herbs, that doctors used, grew only back in our "old country" - the southern mountains of North Carolina,

Tennessee, and Georgia. Once in a great while some of the Cherokees who still lived back in North Carolina would visit Oklahoma, or the other way around. That's when we got hold of those rare herbs.

There is even one valuable herb that we have to get in eastern North Carolina, way down in the swamps, several hundred miles east of our old country. They call it "lucky root" in Cherokee. A good Indian doctor can "fix" this root, with the right incantations, and make you lucky in gambling, raising horses, with ladies - anything. I had this root one time and carried it in my shirt pocket. One day, my son jumped up into my lap, hit the root hard with his hand, and knocked all the power out of it. I haven't had a bit of luck since.

They tell me that in the Smoky Mountains in North Carolina there are almost every kind of herb you can imagine and more. When you climb the Smokies it is like traveling from Atlanta to Hudson Bay. I have heard a hundred old stories about that mountain country; stories about places where holy events took place. That southern mountain country is our holy land. In the Cherokee language we call it "Rotten Cherokee". My grandfather told me that it is called that because the top soil there is composed of the rotted flesh of the Cherokees buried there, thousands upon thousands, I reckon. He said that you can't walk around there anywhere stepping on a Cherokee grave. And God must have loved the Cherokees to put us in that beautiful country full of game and plants. The soil is good there, too. I reckon we must be a chosen people.

I am not knocking on eastern Oklahoma. It is our homeland now. We have buried lots of our loved ones in that soil. Many important things have happened to us there. If you go around through the Cherokee Ozarks with an old Cherokee man he can tell you stories all the time about important events in Cherokee history that happened at places you see when you travel around. And it is beautiful country to our eyes - clear cold streams with sycamores in the bottoms and hickory trees on the hillside. It seems like perfect country to us. I feel incomplete when I am away from there. I get more than just homesick. We were born and raised there, and our relatives will bury us in that soil when we die. We love that beautiful hill country. It has become our home. We are used to it now. The Ozarks are something like our old country, anyway.

But I don't want to make too big a thing out of the place of herbs in Cherokee curing. The incantations are what is most important.

Most Cherokee doctors have a large note book in which these ancient words have been written down. There are so many of them that nobody could possibly memorize all of them. An old man told me one time that there must be at least 1,000 of these holy poems. These aren't short either. Most of them, written down in the Cherokee alphabet, will take up two or three pages of a notebook. You are supposed to say the words exactly right. These aren't just off-hand incantations. You have to repeat that incantation exactly as it is supposed to be or it won't work. Nobody could memorize 1,000 long incantations. I guess in the old days, probably one doctor knew a few and another doctor knew another few. There were specialists. In fact there are Cherokee specialists now. There are men who seem to be able to cure one special class of diseases. There will be somebody else who is good at seeing into the future, or someone who is good at purifying you, or giving you protection, etc. I even suppose there are men who are good at bad medicine, conjuring we call it; although they would not admit it.

Some Cherokee doctors are more skeptical than others. I knew one of the best Cherokee doctors who ever lived, George Cardinal. When I was a youngster I used to live with him. He told me one time that some Indian doctors had to trick their patients: if some of them made an herb poultice to be put on a part of the body, this kind of doctor would put a little gravel in the poultice so that when the patient would take off the poultice he'd see that little gravel in there, and think that the poultice had pulled it out of his body. Some doctors who try to suck out disease with their mouths or with little horn contraptions, will put something in their mouths before they start to suck. When they get through sucking such doctors will take out of their mouth whatever is in there, show it to their patients, and tell them that that object is the disease, that they sucked it out of the patient. George thought doctors who did that were frauds.

In later years I knew a pretty good Cherokee doctor who cured a lot by sucking. We were walking down by the creek one day and he saw a pretty little rock there. He stopped and picked up. When he held it up for me to see, he said, "The next patient I have, I'll suck this rock out of him," and put the rock in his pocket. So I told him what

George Cardinal had said, that doctors who did that were trying to trick their patients. He said "No, that's not it! I'll put that rock in my mouth sure enough before I go to suck, but when I'm through sucking, that rock is the disease." I guess George Cardinal was what in some circles is called a skeptic.

George Cardinal may have had a hard nose, but he had a great sense of humor. One time he and I went into town on Saturday. While we were there we were approached by the local banker who said, "George, I have a bad ulcer. I've been to the Mayo clinic and several other places to get it cured, but they haven't been able to cure me. Do you think that you could help me? I'd give anything in this world to get this ulcer cleared up. Anything!" So George said, "Well, I think I know some medicine that will help you."

The next time we came into town we went down to the bank and went to our friend's office and gave him this herb medicine. Later on in the fall we were in town one day and we saw this banker walking toward us on the other side of the street. He saw us, crossed the street, came up, and shook hands with us. He said to George, "George, I've been laying off to come up to visit you." George asked him, "Blair, how is your stomach?" He said, "Oh my God George, my stomach is completely cured up. I can eat anything I want to now, it's the first time in a long time I really feel like I was alive." He opened up his wallet and gave George five dollars. George looked at that five dollars for a long time. I guess was thinking about how this banker had said he would pay anything in the world to get cured. Then George put it in his pocket and we went on back up to his house. He never said anything.

The next spring we were sitting out on the porch and this same banker drove up in his car, got down, and came up to the gate. George invited him in. Our visitor came up and put one foot on the steps--he didn't come right up on the porch--and he said, "George, do you know any medicine for bald headedness? I'm getting pretty bald. I'd like to get some medicine to cure it." George said, "Yes, I know some medicine for that. You can do it yourself. What you do is you wait a few more weeks. The little birds will be coming out of their nests, hopping on the ground, trying to learn to fly. You chase a little bird down, cut open its stomach and gut it, pry it open a little bit, and right away put that little bird on top of your head so that the inside is right next to the skin on your head.

That will make hair grow." This white man really looked pleased and said, "Well by golly, George, I'll try that." He left, and drove off. I didn't say anything. I sat there a long time. I didn't quite know how to say what I wanted to say. Finally I said, "By golly George, I never heard of any cure for baldness." He said, "There is no cure for baldness. I just want to think about that white man jumping around after those little birds." That is the way those old Cherokees were. They weren't mean, but they enjoyed seeing somebody get their comeuppance, particularly if it was funny.

The spiritual power of the Cherokee Indians as a people must be strong, in order for the spiritual power, the medicine, of an Indian doctor to be strong; you really can't have one without the other. An individual doctors' power can't be strong unless the people are strong too. Further, a doctor's power increases as his knowledge increases. It is not only that he might learn more ritual and incantations from another doctor, but he must begin to understand more about the cause of things, and the relationships between things.

Most Cherokees know the stories that the old men tell, about events at the beginning of the world. I heard lots of these stories when I was a kid. I used to hear the old men tell them on winter nights around the fireplace. In the summertime we used to sleep outside at night and I would hear all the stories about the stars. There is one sacred story in particular, "The Hunter and Corn Woman," that is the core of Cherokee thought about medicine, men and women, rain, fertility, and so on. You could think on this story for a lifetime and not ferret out all the implications.

As you grow older you begin to see the relationships between those stories and discover the cause of some disease or the cure for some disease; see what causes what and the relationship between things in the world.

There used to be an old Indian who lived over in Adair county, Oklahoma who had power over rattlesnakes. If a road crew over in southern Adair county plowed through a rattlesnake den, they would go get this old man, and he would move those snakes out of the way for them. He would start talking to the snakes and walking toward them with his walking stick. When he'd get to a snake he would stroke it a little bit on the head and back with that walking stick, and then pick it up and carry it off to the side.

One time I said to an old man, "I wonder where Bunch gets the power to do that." The old man said, "He gets that power from the Thunder." When I was that age, I couldn't figure out how that old man knew that. I know that when I was little and a rattlesnake started to come into the yard, one of the old people would go out on the porch and talk to it. They would say, "Grandfather, don't come in here. You are liable to get stepped on and one of us will get bit. You'd better go off somewhere to a safer place." That snake always moved on then.

As I got older I realized that those stories say that the rattlesnake is the Thunder's bracelet. If you look on the rattlesnake's back, there are markings there, which to whites represents a diamond pattern. It represent the lightning to the Cherokees. That was the reason that old man knew that. It took me a long time to understand about the relation between the Thunder and the rattlesnake. That old man had already figured it out, so he knew where Bunch got his power to move those rattlesnakes, that the Thunder must have come to Bunch and given him that power. Only the Thunder could give a person power over the rattlesnakes. That's some of the kind of knowledge that a doctor accumulates as he grows older.

I knew one old Indian doctor. He was 96 years old and he had a loose-leaf notebook full of incantations. He said to me, "It took me all my life to collect all of these prayers. There are over 900 in my book. There is something for almost everything in life. It took me all this time to understand that when you really get to know something, you only need one." That old man knew that form and substance are not the same thing and that knowledge and understanding is spiritual power. I know that most doctors are bone tired when they get through doctoring. They use up their own self. I think that the old man meant that when you understand how to really focus that spiritual energy that the incantation becomes only a vehicle to direct all of your spiritual energy.

It is hard to become a Cherokee doctor. You have to talk somebody into training you, usually a relative. You have to live under a lot of restrictions. You have to try to gain knowledge as you go along, come to a better understanding, and trade rituals and prayers with other doctors. It takes a long time.

This way is a little different from some other tribes where a healer has a spirit helper or a spirit guardian. I lived up in Canada for several years when I was younger. I got to know the Cree Indians up there pretty well. The Cree doctors don't use anything like Cherokee style incantations at all. If a young Cree man wants some type of spiritual power, he has to fast and receive a visit from a spirit. A young man will ask an older, experienced Cree to supervise his vision quest. A spirit might give the supplicant a song or some ritual that can be used to call up the spirit helper. Most of the northern tribes cure by that method.

Cherokees don't rule that out altogether. Sometimes you can have a dream that might tell you a little song or some words that might be good for some disease or some spirit might come to you in a dream and talk to you and tell you something. In fact the old Cherokees say that if you are up in the mountain in a wild place and you hear something behind you, don't turn around. Look straight ahead and maybe some spirit will tell you something to help you. So Cherokees don't rule out spirit helpers, but mainly our medicine comes from those incantations and herbs.

The old people told me that fighting men, soldiers, had spirit helpers back in the olden times. I don't know whether a spirit came to a warrior during his sleep in a dream or whether he had to fast and seek a vision like the Cree.

Tom Starr was a famous Cherokee outlaw in the 1840s. He was some relation to me. His father, James Starr, was one of the signers of the false treaty of 1835 which called for the removal of the Cherokees from the South to the Indian Territory. A fourth of the Cherokees died in that removal and people were pretty mad at those treaty signers. James Starr was killed by an assassination committee of twenty men, set up for the express purpose of killing Starr. Tom Starr and his brothers hunted down and killed every one of those twenty Cherokees. The Cherokee government finally had to make a treaty of peace with Tom Starr and his brothers. Tom Starr's helper was the chickadee. The chickadees would chirp and warn him when enemies were near.

Zeke Proctor was a great Cherokee hero. Proctor was a captain in the old Keetoowah Society, a Cherokee patriotic and religious organization, in the 1870s. He fought the U.S. marshals who worked out of the federal court in Fort Smith, Arkansas.

Proctor had killed a man, but the Cherokee courts cleared him. Then the U.S. marshals tried to arrest him. The Cherokees saw this as an infringement on Cherokee rights. The Keetoowah Society provided him 25 guards who went everywhere with him. Proctor held the marshals at bay, fighting them and dodging around, for years. Finally the U.S. President himself ruled that Proctor was in the right and called off the marshals. The old people said that Proctor's helper was some kind of spirit. Nobody knows exactly what. Others say that Proctor was something like a witch and could turn himself into different kinds of animals.

I know my grandfather told me that Stand Watie, the Cherokee general of the Confederate Indian troops in the Civil War, had the power to appear to be in one place when he was somewhere else. Watie, like James Starr, was one of the signers of the treaty of New Echota in 1835 that allowed the United States to remove the Cherokees to the Indian Territory, now Oklahoma. The full-blood Cherokees hated him. They tried to kill him for years. In the Civil War, Watie always rode a white horse and led all the cavalry charges. All the full Cherokees, the Union Cherokees, drew a bead right on him. He must have had a hundred men shooting at him in a hundred skirmishes. Watie never got a scratch. My grandfather said all the Union Cherokees were really shooting at a spot several feet from where Watie actually was.

That war medicine looks to me like it is a perversion of our medicine, at least most of it. God gave us that kind of medicine to help us in our hunting and to cure the sick; not to harm our enemies.

There is a story about how disease came into the Cherokee world. They say that in the ancient days Cherokees got hold of bows and arrows some way and began to kill off lots of animals, too many. The animals had a big meeting to consider how to handle this problem. They talked over several courses of action and finally decided to inflict sickness on the Cherokees, to thin us out a little bit and to keep us under control. The plants had a big meeting as soon as they heard what the animals had decided. Even though Cherokees ate a lot of plants, the plants still like us. The plants decided that for every disease that the animals inflicted on us, they would give us an herb that could cure that disease.

They say that if a doctor doesn't know any way to help a sick person, all he has to do is pray for help, go out into the woods, and the right herb to cure the patient will be revealed to him. Maybe the woods will be still, with no wind blowing, and he will see a plant swaying and nodding. Our Grandmother the Sun will make it happen that way.

God's creation is surely wondrous. I met a pure white albino bear on a trail one time. I saw a bunch of black squirrels once in a park right in the middle of a big city! There is a ball of light that dances along a road on the Oklahoma-Missouri border every night of the year. Being in those woods in western North Carolina makes a person feel like they are in god's cathedral. You don't need a church building when you've got God's creation to worship in. And you never stop learning from looking at the plants and the animals. Our library is all of the outdoors. All we got to do is just look around. For instance, older Cherokee Baptists say the eagle tail was our Bible in the old days; that the white quill that runs through the black on the feathers represents the White Path, the road the Cherokees are supposed to follow; and that the twelve feathers in the tail represent Jesus' twelve disciples and predicts the coming of Christianity to the Cherokees.

The animals were able to talk in the ancient days and they still can, but we aren't close enough to them any more that they'll talk to us very much. Sometimes when you meet an animal out in the woods it will look at you like it wants to say something; like it would talk if you could understand its speech. Animals will talk today on rare occasions, but only to certain people in urgent circumstances. I know a few people that animals talk to, and animal spirits will still talk to many Indians in our dreams. You can't do animals any way you want to or they'll make you sick. You have to be respectful, and you should go through the proper ritual before and after the hunt.

I knew a young Cherokee several years ago who was a great deer hunter. He kept his whole settlement and all his kin supplied with venison. One day this young hunter sold some venison to a local white storekeeper and spent the money on whiskey. The next time that he went out hunting he saw a small white deer, the spirit king of deer. My friend went on back to his house then. He told his daddy about the incident. His daddy said, "You have lost your power to hunt. The king of the deer has taken it from you." The young man hunted all that fall, but he never saw a deer. He gave it up. After seven

years our young hunter started hunting again and was just as successful as he had been before. His luck returned, after his punishment.

Animals and plants aren't the only alive beings out there in the woods. The woods are full of different kinds of spirit beings -- fairies, powerful spirits, loose spooks, and so on. You have to be careful that you don't make these beings angry at you or you will get sick. Even arguments in the home will bring sickness. Most of our curing prayers are addressed to spirits that I have never even heard of. Even some big rocks have souls. The old people say that the flint is a powerful spirit, and there are very few rocks that won't give off some kind of spark when two pieces are hit together.

Cherokees used to be awfully afraid of witches. They would sit up with a dead body all night so a witch couldn't steal its liver (what was left of its life force.) Cherokees believe that witches steal the life force from others to prolong their own lives. When a man gets real old, the Cherokees may look at him sideways, suspect him of being a witch, and try not to let him get too close to their kids. However, there are words and tobacco that have been "fixed" by words to keep witches away.

I wish that I could put down one of our incantations here in this account so our readers could get a better idea of what I am talking about. But I can't. I don't want to give away the Cherokee secrets. That would be like throwing away our power. And I don't want to be the cause of someone hurting others or themselves by using a holy curing incantation the wrong way. Besides, the Cherokees wouldn't like it. I might get conjured.

I can tell you that those incantations are beautiful poetry. I know one boy that got hold of his father's medicine book after his father's death. That boy would read those words to the girl that he was courting like they were love poems. I would be afraid to do something like that. But I have to admit that those incantations are beautiful.

In the old days, when the Cherokees hunted for a living, most sickness was caused by animal spirits. Nowadays most of it is caused by conjuring. Cherokees are getting too filled up with jealousy. They use medicine against others too much. But there are words to take care of that kind of sickness. On the other hand, Cherokees are too quick to

accuse others of conjuring. And that is a terrible accusation to lay on someone! A person ought to think twice before saying something like that about someone else.

There are different stories about where this medicine came from. Some people say that they were given to the Cherokees in the beginning. Other people say that God gave them to the Cherokees several hundred years before whites came. God asked seven holy men to come up on a mountain in the Smokey Mountains in Tennessee to receive a second Law, what was called the Seven Clan Law. God was giving the Cherokees a second chance because they had broken the first law, the Four Mothers' Law. Along with this Seven Clan Law came all of the incantations and ritual. That is the second explanation.

The third story is that there was in the old days, a great being that lived on a mountain peak somewhere in the southern mountain country--I don't know whether he was some kind of spook or if he was a powerful doctor that had become a hermit or what--but he used to bother the Cherokees. Finally the Cherokees captured him, and as they were burning him, he recited all these incantations to the Cherokees. They say that God had directed him to do that, to give the Cherokees that medicine while he was dying.

I heard another story last year from an old Cherokee in North Carolina. In that story, two orphans, a brother and a sister, tried to help their fellow Cherokees in every way they could. But they just made everyone jealous. The Cherokees finally killed them, but as they were dying they gave us that medicine. Some of the Cherokee's favorite church hymns sing about that kind of situation.

Anyhow, we have that medicine now and it is of use to us in every part of our life. Almost every adult Cherokee knows one or two of them, maybe simple ones. But they are a little dangerous, those words, so you have to be a little careful. They have power in and of themselves. You have to be careful who you give them to. You can't give them to immature or irresponsible people. Some of the prayers you can use to harm people.

There are a whole class of incantations that can be used both for bad purposes or good purposes. For instance, there are incantations to help separate a man or a woman. It might be that a married man is sporting around with some other woman and leaves his family. His wife might go to a doctor and ask him to bring that man home by the use of

medicine. You could use certain incantations for that. You could break up what was going on between that man and his new woman in order to bring him back home to his family. There would be nothing wrong with that. But you could also use that same medicine to break up a married couple if you wanted somebody's spouse. There are Indian doctors who will work that kind of medicine that bad way for you if you pay them enough. So the old people were careful with that kind of knowledge.

There is some knowledge that is really bad, like how to take life. Usually if you are a pupil of an older doctor, that is the very last kind of medicine he will teach you. He'll wait until you get enough years on you that you are a little responsible and have some understanding before he lets you have that kind of medicine. I know a little medicine myself. I'm not what you would call an Indian doctor by any matter of means, but I know enough to have an understanding about how those things work.

I guess young women reading this account are wondering how women fit into all of this. Well, women usually don't have much to do with medicine until they are past child-bearing age. Then they might become an herb doctor or a fortune teller. I had an aunt like that. Others might become mid-wives. However, Cherokees think that women in their child-bearing time have a powerful, mysterious spiritual power about them then. This is the reason that they can bear life into the world. At times - when Cherokee women are close to bearing life or in the menses - that power is intense and uncontrollable; I guess like an electric generator gone wild. Cherokee women are supposed to keep to themselves in these times. They are not supposed to go around where a doctor is curing or to a dance at a stomp ground. They are too powerful at these times. They might "short circuit" everything. So Cherokee women tend to keep away from medicine when they are able to bear life. It is just as well. God knows, Cherokee women have too much to do as it is - keeping up a home and managing Cherokee men. I feel sorry for my daughters.

Our medicine--those words that come down from the old days that were given to help the Cherokee Indians--won't work very well if the Cherokee Indians are weak or torn up. The spiritual power of the Cherokee Indians as a people has to be strong before those prayers that Cherokee doctors know can work to their fullest. To keep that power

strong, the Cherokee Indians have to love one another, that's what the old people said; have good feelings among one another and not be conjuring each other, or fighting, or raising a fuss, and that sort of thing.

Cherokees used to be bad about conjuring one another, when I was a young man. I liked to go to hymn singings in those days. Different Cherokee churches would take turns playing host to the churches in their area about every three months. At these meetings you would have hymn singing by quartets from different churches. Usually the host church would cook a big feast for everybody--they fed good in those days too. But if you went to one of those singings and it came time to eat, only about half the people would eat at the feast. The rest of them, particularly people from other churches, would go and sit in their cars to eat. They would bring a little lunch with them and they would eat by themselves, just their own family. They were afraid that somebody might conjure them by putting something in the food. That's pretty bad when it gets to that point.

We had a great teacher and leader, Redbird Smith, who said, "Don't pay any attention to that bad medicine. If you are walking on the White Path, then you are doing right and living according to the Law. If somebody 'strikes you in the back', tries to conjure you, don't turn around to strike him back, or else you'll fall off of that White Path into the black. You will hurt yourself. Just keeping walking the White Path and you will be protected. You don't need medicine to strike back. You might need medicine to protect yourself, but you won't need to strike back at him. If you are walking that White Path, you have all the help you need right there"

I guess all the Cherokee Indians believe in the Law; we all believe in walking the White Path. I don't care if you are a Night Hawk or a Baptist, everybody believes that. Most of you have seen the Bible and know that it is not written right across the page. There are two columns of writing and there is a gap in the middle. I've seen older Baptist preachers pick up the Bible, and point to that white strip in the middle, and talk about the White Path that the Cherokees have to travel. We all know that we need medicine to help us. We all know we need to be spiritually strong, so as a people we have to follow the law. The base of our Law is a moral code called the White Path of Peace. This code

focuses on our relationships with others -- the need for harmony and love. The White Path is central in our Law and unalterable. It is permanent.

But we have a disagreement. That disagreement doesn't have to do with the basis of the law--we all agree on that. The disagreement is on how you best travel the White Path. For instance, people who are what they call Night Hawks and go to stomp grounds, think we can best travel the White Path by following what the Cherokee wampum belts say. Those seven wampum belts are made out of shell beads, woven so they have different designs on them, depicting the Cherokee law. They have been handed down to us from way before the whites came. Some belts depict the White Path of Peace. Others depict the Fire, or the Pipe, or peace between all peoples, and so on. That is why the Nighthawks worship at the stomp ground--gathering together and dancing around the fire in order to honor it, so that the smoke carries our prayers to the heavens.

In the Cherokee mind, that is an instrument, that is a secondary part of the Law. In fact, what I call secondary law some Cherokees wouldn't even consider Law at all. But even if those ways are Law they are only instrumental in helping us travel the White Path. The primary part of the Law calls for us to love one another. The secondary part of the Law is the customs and practices that help us to travel the White Path, the things that make you strong enough to love one another, like going to the stomp ground and so forth. I think most of my kin would say that we've got all we need to do right -- the wampum belts, and the Fire and the stomp ground. In fact, the word for stomp ground in the Cherokee language literally means "an agent to help you."

The Baptist Cherokees don't agree with us. Most of those Baptist Cherokees are old time Indians. There's one part of southern Adair county, Oklahoma that, so far as I know, never had a stomp ground up there and those people never attended any stomp grounds elsewhere, at least in my lifetime. Some of the best doctors in the Cherokee tribe come from up in that country. In fact, the Cherokees there are what we used to call the "real" Cherokees. What we mean is that real Cherokees just look at the world with a Cherokee head, an undiluted Cherokee head. (Most of those Adair county Cherokees didn't understand much English and hadn't much schooling until recent days). Also, if real Cherokees want to do something, they don't have to go ask anybody outside their

own community, they just try and do it themselves. That's what the Cherokees mean by a real Cherokee. Those southern Adair county people are strong Cherokees, but so far as I know they never had a stomp ground up there.

I remember I was at a singing convention not too many years ago and there was a white quartet there. After the singing was over, a man got up who was a representative of one of the churches from up there in the real Cherokee country. He said in Cherokee, "We want to invite you up to our church for a singing next month; but you understand that we are full-blood Cherokees up there, and we don't sing in English." He was reminding those Cherokees that his church congregation were the real Cherokees. He was calling down those Cherokees who had invited a white quartet to the singing, and putting it to the Cherokee quartets that had song some songs in English. He was using his muscle as somebody from the "real" Cherokee country.

Many Cherokee Baptists think that Jesus came for all the nationalities, and when his message came to the Cherokees, then the Cherokees didn't need the part of the Law anymore that has to do with stomp grounds, worshipping the fire and making blood sacrifices and dances. Some of the Cherokee Baptists say that Jesus was the ultimate blood sacrifice, and that we don't have to make any more blood sacrifices now. A few Baptists will even say that modern Night Hawk worship is a perversion of something that once was good. Those Cherokees say that those practices are not needed now anyway, that they've got something stronger. The Baptist Church will make your faith stronger than going to stomp grounds. In fact, a lot of those Baptist Cherokees in Adair county say that Cherokees have always been Baptists, that the Cherokees that came in from the east, when we were driven in to the Indian Territory in 1839, were Baptists then. Some of them say that these fires and stomp grounds really came from the Creeks, that they don't belong to the Cherokees at all.

That view is a different understanding of our history. It is true that when the Cherokees got out to the Indian Territory in 1839 we didn't lay down any Fires, stomp grounds. By 1870 we had even left off having stomp dances at people's homes. The old people just met in secret to practice the Cherokee religion. In the 1890s Redbird Smith was appointed by the Keetoowah leaders to "get back what the Cherokees had lost."

Redbird Smith got out our wampum belts and took them around to get them fully interpreted. He consulted the Shawnees. He studied under the Natchez Indians, who were wise in those matters and who lived among the Cherokees. The Redbird visited the Creeks a lot in those times, as well. When he started up the Fires again, 22 in all, the Cherokees went by a bare-bones rule at first. However, over the years the Keetoowah people finally resurrected our old Seven Clan Law at the stomp grounds. A few of the Baptists, especially those in southern Adair county, would not participate in Redbird Smith's reforms and kept on like they were doing. They said that the true Cherokee way is the Cherokee Baptist church.

In fact, some of the older Baptists think that to say Cherokee Baptist is like saying the same thing twice -- Cherokee is Baptist. When I was a boy all the Christian Cherokees were Baptists. One time just after the Second World War Cherokees near Hulbert, Oklahoma organized a Cherokee Methodist church. An old lady asked me, "Can you be a Methodist and a Cherokee too?"

Whatever might be the argument over origins, those Baptists feel that that Baptist church is a better instrument for helping maintain the main part of the law, which is to love one another; and that the Cherokee medicine will be stronger through the Cherokee Baptist Church. Most of the deacons in a Cherokee Baptist Church are the elders of a Cherokee community. They are the tradition keepers and they are either Indian doctors or else they know a lot of medicine. They are supposed to look after the people of that community the same way that the medicine council of a stomp ground is supposed to look after the spiritual welfare of the people.

The way a stomp ground is set up is that what the people want is supposed to come from the elders' council. Then the medicine men are supposed to pass on it, and then the chief is supposed to carry it out. But those medicine men are supposed to pass on whether that is a good idea or not; whether it will be harmful or a benefit. This is true in the Cherokee Baptist church. Those deacons are supposed to pass on something new. When you go to Cherokee churches in the summertime, those old men sit outside under the shade trees. They don't even go into the church house at all. They just talk about what's happening in their community and so forth. In fact, Cherokee church isn't well

attended. Sunday School is well attended because that is where people learn to read and write in Cherokee, but church isn't well attended. There are a lot of people around about. But most of the men are outside during the regular church service, especially in the summertime. Those old men might go up into the church house before the service starts, but that is to see if there is any bad medicine under the steps or anything like that. One of the ways mean Cherokees will try to get back at people is to put bad medicine under the steps leading up to the door of the church. Usually those deacons will all go up those steps together. They protect as well as guide the congregation.

I do know one chief of a stomp ground and one Baptist preacher who think that the Cherokee Indians needs both, the fire and the Baptist church, that they compliment each other. The church and the stomp ground are like the Old and the New Testaments, as this Cherokee Baptist minister said. Of course, there are many Cherokees, deacons and otherwise, that already attend both. Further, the Cherokee elders are one social body, and I think that dialogue about such matters is very important to Cherokee elders. In fact, I know very few Night Hawk elders who do not read and ponder the New Testament in the Cherokee language. Further, I think it is very important for Cherokees as a whole, even for the ones who aren't Night Hawks, that there be some Night Hawks some place.

This Baptist preacher I mentioned who says that we need both, comes to the stomp dances and he's a good dance leader. He says that everybody has it backwards. He says that when Jesus came to the people overseas, it was because they needed him over there. He said that that wasn't the case over here in that time. When Jesus came and taught and went back to heaven, they wrote down his words in the New Testament, and they joined the New Testament with the Old Testament. Therefore, the Bible has two books, the Old Testament and the New Testament: what went before Jesus, the old law, and then Jesus. For the Indians, their old testament was the fire and the stomp ground, and for the Cherokee Indians to be asked to throw away the fire and the stomp ground is like asking those old whites overseas to throw away the Old Testament. The fire and the stomp ground is like the Old Testament and Jesus is like the New and they should be joined in the way that the New and Old Testaments are joined in the Bible.

Everybody doesn't agree with that position. I guess, in fact, this is the minority opinion, but Cherokee elders vary considerably how they view those matters. The views I have posed to you before are probably the extremes of Cherokee opinion: that is, that Cherokees ought to just go by the fire and the stomp ground, that that's enough; or that Jesus' teachings allow Cherokees to replace the fire and the stomp ground with the Baptist church. You can't replace the basis of the law, and you can't replace the Cherokee medicine, but according to some of the Baptist elders, you should replace the fire and the stomp ground as instruments.

Most of the Night Hawks, my relatives included, feel that they are better Cherokees than the Baptists, that they are more pure Cherokees, and that they are the people who really keep up the true Cherokee religion, the way of the Keetoowah people, Keetoowah meaning the Cherokee religion. That is the way we refer to ourselves when speaking about the Cherokee tribe as a traditional religious body. We say Ani Geetoowahgee in Cherokee. In English that comes out Keetoowah. Night Hawks are apt to refer to themselves as Keetoowah people as opposed to the Baptists. The older Baptists don't like it. Many of the older Baptists consider themselves to be Keetoowah people just as much as the Night Hawks do.

I do know that in the old days in the 1890s when Red Bird Smith revived all these fires and stomp grounds, they first had the fire and stomp ground right next to the church, and Cherokees would dance all night Saturday night and then go to church on Sunday. Men who were stomp dance leaders would take over the preaching the next day. For some reason, though, that way of doing kind of pulled apart. I think some of the Night Hawk leaders didn't feel that they needed the Baptist church at that point, and that worship around the fire was enough even though they had no real objection to an individual Night Hawk also going to the Baptist church.

The dialogue among Cherokees elders continues all the time wherever there are three or more older Cherokee men gathered. There is not simply one dialogue either. It is true that the major dialogue is between Night Hawk and Baptist, as when my grandfather's friend, the minister, visited him; whether the Cherokee wampums are really

the source of the Cherokee law, or whether the Cherokee New Testament is the source of the Cherokee law. But all kinds of other important dialogues go on all the time.

In fact, I saw something just a few years ago that struck me. If you stand back a ways and look at Cherokee religious life, the Cherokee stomp ground and the Cherokee Baptist church, aren't that far apart, at least if you consider the elements they focus on in their worship. For instance, both of them have a source for their religious practice which they rely upon; for the Cherokee Baptist, the New Testament in the Cherokee language, and for the Cherokee Night Hawks, the wampum belts. If you go to a Cherokee stomp ground, people are invited to get up and talk, particularly elders. These elders will talk about something on those wampum belts and then give a sermon on that subject. After the sermon you have an all-night stomp dance, mostly young people. The old people, particularly the medicine men of that stomp ground, will be sitting together and discussing. If you go to a Cherokee Baptist church, first they read from the New Testament, then they have a sermon on a point of Cherokee Law, in this case from the New Testament in the Cherokee language. Then the deacons pray usually, along with much hymn singing by the rest of the people. So these ceremonies, in very broad outline, resemble one another, both in terms of the functions of elders and the other people who attend, and in the emphasis on the source of the Cherokee law, be it the New Testament in Cherokee or the wampum belts, and in the content of the speeches at the stomp grounds and sermons in the church.

In fact, if you listen to the sermon of an older Baptist preacher and compare it with a speech of a Cherokee elder at a stomp ground, I think you would be hard put to say where these talks were given, whether in the church or in the stomp ground. Even the Baptist hymns are like the old time Cherokee music, and Cherokees are still composing their own hymns. Further, going to the water at the side of a swift flowing creek is one of the most important Cherokee ceremonies. It is no surprise, therefore, that Cherokee Christians don't like to be baptized except in running stream.

I guess that the point I want to make is that there is more similarity between Night Hawk and Baptist worship than meets the eye. But, after all, we are all Cherokee Indians.

More important, the disagreements between Night Hawks and Baptists take place within the same religious framework, a framework of Cherokee religious thought.

I don't want you to think that I am saying that the Cherokee Baptists are not good Christians, nothing would be farther from the truth. Those Cherokee Baptist ladies talk about Jesus like he was both savior and friend. It must be nice to have someone on your side, always willing to forgive and intercede for you up in heaven. I always choke up when I hear that hymn, "Amazing Grace." You know the old Cherokee religion is hard. It doesn't give you an inch. If you do something wrong you just wait for the hammer to fall, some misfortune to overtake you, then you have to see an Indian doctor. Salvation and life after death is important to those Baptist Cherokee too; maybe not as important as it is to white Baptists, but more important that it is to the Nighthawks. We don't pay much attention to life after death. And the Baptists sure know how to pray from the heart. They could teach us Nighthawks a thing or two there. They are good Christians by anyone's standards.

Of course, since I am kind of a back slid Night Hawk, I take the Night Hawk side in this dialogue. If I ever get to be a real elder, I'll probably be one of those that takes the position that we've got all we need to go by the fire and the stomp ground. Some Night Hawks will say, when we're among each other, that the Baptist religion is a white man's religion, with the implication that the Cherokee Baptists are just turning into white people. But I think that is a long way from the case. Just the fact that there are so many good Indian doctors who are strong Cherokee Baptists will tell you that that is not so. It is also true that there are a lot of differences between the white Baptists and the Cherokee Baptists in the way that they look at things, their understanding of the Christian religion and practices in Cherokee churches. Cherokee Baptists like Jesus's Sermon on the Mount and like to quote, "God is love." They are not very interested in belief, in and of itself. Cherokee Baptists are, by and large, more interested in acting right toward their fellows.

I remember one time a fundamentalist Protestant missionary to the Cherokees was asking me about the Night Hawk religion. He asked me what, according to Night Hawk belief, happened to the soul after death? I told him that elders would have different opinions on exactly what happened to the soul then. That everyone would agree that

there was a life after death, but there are different versions about where the soul goes to and what conditions are like where the souls end up. This missionary was shocked. He said, "Well, how can you have a religion if you can't even agree on what you believe in?" I told him that in the first place most Night Hawks weren't very interested in life after death. We are more interested in how a person lives here in this world. More, I told him every Night Hawk doesn't have to agree on questions of belief. Our medicine and our worshipping together is what's important. That missionary still didn't look like he was very convinced by my argument.

I don't think Cherokee Baptists are that interested in doctrine either. They wouldn't throw a person out of church over a disagreement on doctrine, just because he or she didn't agree with some part of the doctrine. In fact, it looks to me like joining the church for Cherokee Baptists is more of a commitment to being a responsible adult than it is anything else.

There is a story that I can tell to make this point. It's a funny story, and I'm not telling it to make fun of Cherokee Baptists. In fact this story was being told all around the Cherokee country by the Cherokee Baptists themselves after it happened, so just because it's funny doesn't mean that I'm trying to make out Cherokee Baptists to be a foolish people. But it is a good story, it is funny, and it illustrates the point I want to make.

One time in the 1960s over in Adair county there was a young Indian who was a preacher at the church in his home community of Peachtree. He had had some education at a Baptist seminary. He may have completed seminary so far as I know. In that time most of the Cherokee Baptist ministers had just been "called" to preach and most preachers hadn't been to seminary at all. But this young man had been to seminary, and he was always trying to get his congregation, his kinfolds, to take on what he thought of as standard Baptist, or "better" Baptist, practice. Most older Cherokees don't see it that way. They think white Baptists are one way and Cherokee Baptists are another way. But this young man thought there was something called "Baptist" regardless of nationality or culture, and he wanted his congregation to practice some of these ways.

One of the things that he was always trying to get the Cherokees to do was to testify. Testifying as I understand it--at least as I've seen it in rural white Baptist churches--is when a person stands up and says how much good Jesus has done him since Jesus has come into his life. A person might say something like, "There was always strain between my husband and I, but since Jesus has come into our life both of us live a better Christian life and get along better." Cherokees weren't very responsive to that practice. Cherokees don't like to get up and say something in public and have everybody look at them. Most Cherokees are pretty bashful and don't like to stand out in a crowd. I think by Cherokee standard it is a little flamboyant to stand up in church and tell how things are better for you now that you had been saved. Further, I don't think that Cherokees in this congregation, or very many Cherokees at all for that matter, understood the line between confessing your specific sins publicly and on the other hand simply picking out an arena of life in which you could say that you were generally helped.

Well, anyhow, this young minister kept on calling for people to testify and nobody responded, and it didn't look like he was going to carry off his plan. One time he went to central Oklahoma for a week long convention of all the Indian Baptists in the state. The Cherokees aren't the only Indians that have their own Baptist convention. The Choctaws and the Creeks have their own separate conventions, and some other small tribes, like Wichita and Caddos together, have their own conventions. All of these Indian conventions were going to meet together in central Oklahoma. Our young friend attended this meeting.

While he was gone, one of the deacons got up at church and told everybody that they ought to practice testifying so that when John got back they'd be all ready to go. When the deacon asked for people to testify, nobody said a word, nobody moved a muscle. So it comes Wednesday night, this deacon brings it up again. He says, "You know, John really wants us to learn to testify. He's our relative and our preacher, and we love him. We ought to try and do this testifying for him. That would please him." Nobody said a word. Friday night comes, the deacon calls on the people to testify again, nobody says a word. Finally Sunday came and when the call to testify comes again one woman gets up. She said, "Yes, Jesus has helped me in my life. I'm a sinner. I have been a bad woman in the past. This little baby here--is not my husband's, it's John

Fishing Eagle's." By this time John Fishing Eagle is trying to get out the window next to where he is seated. So one by one, everybody gets up--that is everybody besides the ones running out of the church--testifying and telling on one another. The people who weren't testifying were looking at the floor, sweating while this was going on. And the minute church was over, everybody just walked fast out the door and ran for home.

That afternoon this young preacher came home from the big Indian Baptist gathering. His uncles were sitting on the porch--they were the deacons of the church. He came up to the house, went in and came out again and says "Where's my wife? His uncle says, "Well, John, we're going to have to tell you something. You know we tried this testifying, but we don't think it's a good custom for the Cherokee Indians. What happened was that people told all their sins, and some lady there said that you and her had been carrying on. So your wife packed up her clothes and moved back with her mother. Might be a good idea--there's a church over at Rocky Mountain, Oklahoma, a Cherokee settlement, that needs a preacher--might be a good idea if you go over there and preach for a little while; kind of let things quieten down here in Peachtree." In the meantime, they tell me, people in other churches were just terrified. They were almost scared to go to church for fear this custom would spread around to their church and that the Cherokee tribe would be in a social shambles because of this new custom. Fortunately testifying was contained in Peachtree, Oklahoma.

They tell me that Cherokee Baptists nowadays testify in church. But I'll have to see it to believe it!

I hope that this story points up the fact that Cherokee and white Baptists are different. I am a little worried about some of these young preachers, like the one in my story. Some of them want to do everything the white man's way -- English in the church service, standard white Baptist practices, and so on. I hope that they don't become vipers at the Cherokee breast. I even heard on of them say that worshipping the Fire was idolatry. I pointed out to him that his deacons used the Fire when they made medicine. Another said stomp dancing was sinful, that Christianity teaches against dancing. That's silly! White Baptists holler on square dancing and couple dancing, because of the sexual nature of that kind of dancing. They aren't talking about Indian religious dancing. But

that is just an example of a lack of understanding on the part of these young Indian preachers. And they can get their heads turned easy by education or by associating with white ministers.

In the last few years I understand that many Cherokee churches have become English speaking. I feel sorry for all those older Cherokees whose can't understand what's taking place in their own church! That's what I mean about vipers at the Cherokee breast.

I guess when you really get right down to it, I'm pretty much of a Night Hawk. I like the Baptists and I understand their position. I like to go to hymn singings. (Church does bore me a little.) I know that they have good Indian doctors in some of those Baptist communities, and in some communities their doctors never have even seen a stomp ground. Still, when you get right down to it, I think that our main job is to try to keep our old Law going as it was given to us. The old people say that if the Cherokees ever quit keeping up our religion then God will cause the world to end. So we have to go to the stomp ground, not only for our own sake, but for all the nationalities on this earth. Now, if after that a person wants to go to church, that's fine with me. They might become a better person therefore. But I don't think we should neglect part of our old law and exchange it for the Cherokee Baptist church. If a person wants to do both, that's fine with me, or if they only go to the stomp ground, which is what I do, that's fine with me too.

However, I must admit that I am not a very good Night Hawk. I live away from the Cherokee area now and I get back home about once a year and go to a few stomp dances. More than that I have some basic disagreements with the way that many Night Hawks interpret the Cherokee religion.

For example, there was a period in Cherokee history after we were removed west from the southern mountain country in Carolina, Tennessee and Georgia in 1839 to around 1900 when we had no stomp grounds at all. I think too many of those old people died in the march when they drove us into Indian Territory. Cherokees were down and discouraged then too. The Cherokees didn't put any fires down in the West. They didn't have any stomp grounds. If somebody wanted to have a dance, they just made fire in their front yard and had an Indian dance. After a while they even let go of dancing, too.

Cherokees would meet, particularly the older people, in secret to practice the Cherokee religion, but the general public wasn't allowed in on these meetings. Then in the 1890s, Redbird Smith taught that the Cherokee religion should be brought out in the open for all the people. He revived 22 stomp grounds along with all the priestly officials you are supposed to have at a Fire, and all night stomp dancing. These officials practiced medicine around this holy fire to help the people. Further, in that time Cherokee Indians knew what clan they belonged to, but they wouldn't tell you. They were afraid that somebody might work bad medicine on them if everybody knew what clan they were. When someone uses conjuring, they have to know the person's name and to what clan the person belongs to make it effective. So people wouldn't tell their clan, they just kept it to themselves. Redbird Smith made everybody come out in the open and tell what their clans were and then finally he organized the stomp ground around these clans. There's seven arbors around the Cherokee stomp ground where you're supposed to sit, according to your clan. The Keetoowah council made the rule that there would be seven medicine men for every fire--one from each one of the seven Cherokee clans--and a council where the councilmen would be elected or chosen according to clan. Redbird Smith worked from 1895 until the time he died in 1917 to get back what the Keetoowah people had lost. By the time he died, people generally said that the rule was complete, that is, all the law that we had lost out on we had finally recovered.

If that's true, and the Cherokees are getting along together even fairly well, then Cherokees should be in good shape. If we really have all of the Law back that we had lost, our spiritual power should be strong. We ought to be a free and independent people, living a good life. Well, we're not a free and independent people. We have to live under the white man's rule, under his law and supervision. Further, we should be fairly prosperous too, enjoying ourselves. We should have lots of game in our country and come and go as we please, but that is not the case. We're poor, game is scarce, and we're hemmed in by all these white people and fences and highways and white towns. So, there must be something that is not right.

Most people say that all this is explained by a prophecy. About 1906 or thereabouts it looked like the Cherokee situation was getting worse even after all of Redbird Smith's work to "get back what the Keetoowahs had lost." The old men in the

Keetoowah Society picked out seven men to fast in order to get some answer from God about what to do now. The upshot was that the message from God said that the Cherokee pail had to become all the way empty before it could ever become full again. So people say, "Well, that is the reason we are in such bad shape. We have to wait until our pail becomes empty, and then we can think of some ways to better our condition. The Law is complete, but it can't work because God says that we have to wait until we hit rock bottom before we can come up again as a people."

Well, wait a minute now. I don't think you can have it both ways. You can't say on the one hand that God gave us the Law in the beginning, and that if we go by that law, then life will be good for us, and then on the other hand wheel in a prophecy that says we've got to wait!! I think that prophecy might be a misinterpretation of God's message.

I think that the rule isn't really complete. There were a lot of ceremonies that Cherokees used to perform back in our old country that got left behind there. I'm not sure why they got left out when Redbird Smith revived those fires and stomp grounds. I suspect that those old men had been meeting so long in secret that they didn't put much stock in public ceremonies. Maybe they didn't feel that those public ceremonies were strong medicine, that those songs and dances were more like hymns than they were like medicine. Well, I don't think so. I think that those songs and dances are strong medicine and that they are an essential part of the Law. For instance, back in North Carolina up to World War II, those Cherokees there were doing lots of those ceremonies. They didn't have the fire and the stomp ground, but they used to have those ceremonies at people's houses. They would lay out a special grounds on which to perform the Green Corn Dance, the major ceremony where people forgave each other of their sins, and where the world was wound up again like a clock by the end of the dance. We don't do any of those big ceremonies in Oklahoma.

As I say, I don't know why they weren't revived. It may have been that such knowledge was too far in the past. It is true that we didn't have any fires from 1839 to almost 1900, and that knowledge might have been lost in that time. I don't think so though. I think that when the fires were revived that nobody took pains to revive those dances. I suspect there were men in Oklahoma living in 1900 who had seen those

ceremonies as youngsters. Probably some of them could remember the proper songs. It would have taken a lot of work to patch our ceremonies back together, but I think they could have done it. I don't think the Cherokee leaders were too interested in public ceremonies, however. I think the elders then thought that the ceremonies weren't that important. What was important to them was the fire and the medicine men. The dancing was only to help make the people feel good and to honor the fire and such. I think that their attitude may have done us in.

So what I think is, if we're not an independent and free people now and dirt poor as well, it's because we don't have all the Law; not because God decided off-handedly that we would have to wait on our deliverance. I don't think very many Night Hawks would agree with me on that point, but that's what I think right now in my life. I trust most prophecies, I'm not just against prophecy, but these prophecies that prophecy about a condition of life that's not connected with how well you observe the law, I don't believe it. My opinion on these matters doesn't carry too much weight among the Cherokee Indians, but I'm putting this in here so you can get an idea of how Cherokee Indians think about issues in our religious thought.

I think that our old religion is going to come out strong soon, that many fires will start up again. Cherokees are getting uneasy these days. Lots of Cherokee children are growing up not speaking the Cherokee language nowadays. Cherokees are getting scared just like they were in the 1890s, and when Cherokees get scared they look to the old religion. I hope it won't be our last gasp before the end. I don't want to see the Cherokees go out with a bang, or a whimper either, for that matter. But maybe our songs and prayers will be heard on the seventh level of heaven this time, and that God will turn his face towards us once again.

The Indian Ecumene

In the 1960s I worked for Sol Tax, of the University of Chicago, as associate director of the Carnegie Cross-cultural Education Project. The Carnegie project, as it came to be called, did research in the area of learning, literacy, language, and bi-lingualism among American Indians generally and the Cherokees of eastern Oklahoma in particular. I lived at Tahlequah, Oklahoma during the "life-time" of the project.

Our general research methodology was based on the principles of action anthropology as formulated by Sol Tax. I found this methodology rewarding intellectually and I learned much in "action" research. As Sol Tax recommended I tried to put myself at the disposal of the community as much as I could, tried to further many of their aspirations, provide alternatives and choices where I could, and set up situations where Indians had new experiences, gained new perspectives and developed new competences. My efforts were learning experiences both for community and myself. I learned a lot, thus, about the social and cultural dynamics of Cherokee society. I formulated and refined ideas about both tribal and urban life.

Some aspects of the research were not so rewarding, however. The Cherokee country in Oklahoma borders on northwestern Arkansas. It is Ozark country; in many ways, the mountain South. It was a very poor area and the "motor" of the economy was the tax structure, especially federal monies. Jobs were a matter of political patronage, by and large. Therefore, politics permeated most of life. Our project was operating on tax-free foundation funds and, of course, we could not become involved in politics directly. We had to walk a fine line and could not respond to Cherokees in many arenas of life. Further, as time went on Cherokees became interested in such issues as hunting rights and began to be generally rebellious about what they felt was their exploitation and a powerless position in eastern Oklahoma society. Many of our Cherokee staff members had to become involved in the new Cherokee mood formally outside of their project duties.

More, federal monies coming into eastern Oklahoma were of no small consequence. A right wing clique, part of the loosely structured Oklahoma establishment, had staked out Cherokee affairs as their "turf." These people possessed a

very small degree of Cherokee blood, and were whites in all important respects - socially, culturally, linguistically and racially. But they were recognized as Cherokees legally and sanctioned as the Cherokee leadership by federal authorities; the result of the peculiar legal status of Indians in eastern Oklahoma. This clique was a little paranoid, to say the least. Sol Tax was quite prominent in the national Indian affairs and these Cherokee tribal "leaders" considered him to be the epitome of the Communist menace on the Indian scene, a classic University of Chicago subversive professor. They seem to have seen me as his dupe, sent to Oklahoma to be an "outside agitator." One member of this group, a local lawyer, devoted much of his waking hours to making life miserable for me - reporting me yearly to the I.R.S., spreading unpleasant rumors about me and my family, harassing the Cherokee staff members of the project, urging Cherokees to stay clear of the Communists, and so on.

Thus, I was in a very unpleasant, emasculating, and frustrating political and social situation. As well, as an action anthropologist I had to stand partially apart from Cherokee society in order to be at Cherokee disposal, offer alternatives, and the like. Therefore, I could not function as a Cherokee and assume any leadership role. I thus, alienated myself from my own people. I took an oath to myself that I would never again get into such a horrendous political and psychological bind.

During the time I was running the Carnegie project I was also beginning to change my general analysis about the Indian situation. The sixties was a time of great turmoil in America, but it was also a time of great optimism in some quarters. Many Americans saw the possibility for great reform in American society and one even heard much talk about the "revolution" on the part of some young Americans. The accomplishments of Martin Luther King in civil rights certainly contributed to the optimism regarding the possibility for basic change. And although King's accomplishments were of tremendous import in the civil rights field it seemed to me that concessions in civil rights were consistent with the general evolution of American society, an emphasis on the individual at the expense of family and community. Asking the power holders to give up political and economic power to the poor or to local communities was quite another matter, however. In fact, it was my experience in dealing with a local establishment and the federal government that institutional power was

becoming more concentrated and centralized, and that the general system was becoming more resistance to basic change and very protective of power. I did not see any elements among the powerful, liberal or conservative, who were willing to carry out basic reforms, rhetoric to the contrary.

Many people involved in Indian affairs in the sixties, both Indians and whites, felt that Indians could come to some accommodation to American society, perhaps even mutual accommodation between whites and Indians, and remain culturally distinct and socially cohesive peoples; that Indians as whole social groups could find a place in American society. Given the above nature of American society, as I was beginning to see it, I had grave doubts about such an accommodation. (Later, some intellectuals began to see American society, as a huge homogenization machine, public lip service to the value of cultural pluralism notwithstanding.)

Great harm had been done to Indian people by military conquest and the theft of Indian resources, but I felt that greater harm have been done by the over control and over administration of Indian life. Of course, being very poor in a land of affluence and being a low ranked racial minority is no "piece of cake", so to speak. But I felt that these factors were secondary compared to the role of the federal government in Indian life. This over control and over administration of reservation Indians by the federal government and by local white establishments in places like Oklahoma was the cause of what we have called institutional pre-emption in a previous chapter. Most Indian institutions had decayed and disappeared as their function had been taken over by outsiders. This has left tribal people with few traditional guides by which to regulate their lives. Further, such a condition meant that not only did most Indians not gain experience in understanding the dynamics of their own community life, but they certainly could not learn about a new and demanding social environment, American society. Confusion, thus, reigned in Indian groups, leadership was problematic, and political life was factionalized and filled with constant bickering. Since this situation was typical of the way European and North American nation-states related to overseas colonies as well as to recently conquered peoples in their midst I had called this social and political arrangement "Colonialism" in a scholarly article

Further,, the federal government had, for a long period, undertaken forced acculturation programs on Indian reservations - boarding schools; American style tribal governments, but with little real power; economic betterment programs a la "ugly American"; and a general pressure for cultural change toward American norms.

Needless to day, such a complete and all-pervasive "colonial" situation plus forced acculturation programs had caused severe social breakdown in many Indian groups and some Indian communities had high rates of alcoholism, juvenile crime, family trouble, and the like.

In the late 1960s one could place American Indian communities on an continuum reflecting social trouble. One one end of the continuum would be those tribes who had been the most intensively and for the longest time involved in the reservation system. I suppose a prime example of such tribes would be the Pine Ridge Sioux in South Dakota. I lived on the Pine Ridge reservation in the mid-1950's. I came to love and admire the Sioux. I found them the sweetest and most courageous people I had ever encountered. They have a greatness and a nobility about them. But the quality of life they had to lead almost broke my heard. Non-reservation tribes like the Yaqui of Arizona or the Oklahoma Cherokee would be near the other end of the continuum. These groups have had many institutions pre-empted by local white society, but they have not been socially "shredded" nor immobilized by the reservation system. They have cohesive communities and can still act in their own behalf. Groups somewhere along the continuum, perhaps in the center, would be those tribes like the North Carolina Cherokees which have become reservation Indians only in fairly recent times. The North Carolina Cherokees were still in fairly good social shape when I lived there in 1957-58, but the traditional Cherokees in North Carolina had had much of their self confidence eroded and were very subdued; and they found it hard to act together except in protest. I have to admit that I was shocked to see part of my own people so beat down and living with their heads bowed. In spite of all, however, I found life in Indian communities personally preferable to life in an impersonal American city.

My sense of problem then was that Indians should stop wasting our energy trying to do the impossible, some adaptation to white society, but to attend to our internal community life, to "shore up" our languages and cultures, and to heal our social wounds.

Tribal governments in the 1960s were an arm of the federal authorities internal in Indian tribes, to some large degree. Tribal "leaders" performed valued service for Indians, however. They wrangled benefits for Indians from the Bureau of Indian Affairs, lobbied against moves to do away with federal protection, and stalled and diverted federal programs which disturbed internal relations in Indian communities. However, the maturation of tribal government had little legitimacy on most Indian reservations and was looked at askance by local Indians. More, tribal politicians did not have much "clout" in those days with Indians. The only native institution which had survived this pre-emption and maelstrom of social chaos in most Indian communities were religious institutions. Indian religious life was still in some whole condition, particularly the native religions; and Indian religious leaders were yet prestigious and influential elders. And, indeed Indian religious leaders had been both social and political leaders in most Indian groups in the past. I thought, perhaps, that Indian religious leaders could once again be prevailed upon to attend to social and cultural problems in their communities. It was at that time I became involved in what was called the Traditional Movement.

The Traditional Movement had started in the late 1950's as an outgrowth of the Tuscarora Indian protest against a dam that was being built by the state of New York on the Niagara river near Buffalo, New York. The water which was to gather behind this dam was destined to flood out quite a large portion of the small Tuscarora Indian Reservation. The Tuscarora protested and publicly demonstrated against this move on the part of New York State.

The Tuscarora are members of the Iroquois League, the Six Nations. The other five nations are the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca. These people live in New York and Ontario. Many of the Six Nations people, the Iroquois, became involved in the Tuscarora protest, particularly those called the Longhouse people. These later worshiped in the old Iroquois pattern; a religion that had been reformed by the Seneca prophet Handsome Lake in the early eighteen hundreds. The Tuscaroras lost their

fight. The dam was built and their lands were flooded. However, somehow in this process an alliance emerged between the Longhouse Iroquois people in New York, the Third Mesa Hopis of Arizona who referred to themselves as the traditional Hopis, and the traditional leadership of the Miccosukkee-speaking Seminole in Florida. This movement received quite a bit of press. I particularly remember seeing newspaper articles which reported the activities of leaders of this new Traditional Movement. For example, Wallace Mad Bear Anderson, a prominent figure in the Tuscarora protest, was reported to have traveled to Cuba to confer with Castro.

It appears that the Miccosukees soon withdrew from this alliance for reasons which are unclear to me. By the mid-1960's the alliance included only the Longhouse Iroquois and the Third Mesa Hopis, plus individual leaders in the Great Lakes area. In 1966 there was a Traditional conference held in western New York. A friend of mine from the Creek tribe in Oklahoma, Clifton Hill, was invited to attend this conference. The Traditional leaders had heard about Clifton Hill, primarily I think through the "Indian grape vine."

In the early 1960's Clifton Hill had been a prime mover in forming what was called the Creek Centralization Committee. This committee represented most of the full blood Creeks, the tribal Creeks. It was made up of local Creek leaders who wished to have more influence in their own tribal government. The Creek tribe, like the other four of the Five Civilized Tribes (Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Seminole), had a large number of people on their tribal rolls who were legally Creeks, but who were socially and culturally members of white society. Most such people had a small degree of Creek ancestry. It was these "Creeks" who controlled the Creek tribal government. The tribal Creeks hoped to be able to have some effect upon tribal affairs by way of the Creek Centralization Committee.

A young Ponca Indian, Clyde Warrior, was working for me on the Carnegie Project then; editing the first national Indian newsletter, "Indian Voices." He had organized the National Indian Youth Council in the early 1960's and was prominent in Indian protest actions in the period. Warrior was the organizational and intellectual "father" of the Indian militant movement. He attended some of the meetings of the Creek

Centralization Committee. Warrior was impressed with Clifton Hill, but felt that Hill was a little politically naive. Warrior said, "He thinks that the federal government and the Creek tribal government are going to give ground just because the Creeks are organized now and are presenting themselves and their grievances." I suppose that Clyde was right. We were all more than a little politically naive in those days. I came to know Clifton Hill well in the ensuing years. I found him a charming, capable, energetic, dedicated, and charismatic man; a spell-binding speaker. He is now (1990) an old and valued friend. I still admire him considerably.

Hill was the son of a prominent and influential "medicine maker" for one of the most traditional Creek ceremonial grounds. In later years Clifton's father became a Baptist missionary partly because of the influence of Clifton's mother, and spent some years in Florida among the Muskogee speaking Seminole there in the 1950's. The Florida Seminoles have virtually the same aboriginal religion and culture as do the Creeks in Oklahoma. Further, one segment of this tribe speaks the same language as do the majority of the Creeks, Muskogee. Mr. Hill's traditional religious credentials, plus his fluency in Muskogee made him an ideal person to send as a missionary to the Seminoles.

His brother-in-law had been the first missionary appointed and maintained by the Creek and Seminole (Oklahoma) Baptist Association among the Muskogee speaking Seminole in Florida. In the late 40's this brother-in-law, Stanley Smith, had virtually converted all of the Muskogee-speaking Seminoles in Florida to the Baptist religion. Clifton Hill's father was sent to Florida by the Creek Baptist Association to replace Stanley Smith.

Clifton was a Baptist preacher himself. Some Creek Indians participate only in services at their aboriginal ceremonial grounds. Others are committed Christians, but Creek Christianity has long ago been "nativized". It is very much of a Creek institution and reflects much continuity with older Creek religious thought. Although there is tension between Creek Christians and what are called the "stomp dance people", some Creeks attend both a ceremonial ground and a Creek Baptist church. Clifton Hill was one of the later. In many ways Hill was a very traditional Creek and was as committed to

aboriginal Creek worship as he was to the Creek Baptist church. More, he began to function as spokesman for the traditional Creeks

In any case, Clifton was impressed by the Traditional meeting in New York and most impressed by the Iroquois Longhouse people. Part of Longhouse worship involves long incantations of thanksgiving in which the one giving the incantation systematically thanks all the forces of nature, the plant world, the animal world, spirits, deities, and so on. Creek Indians are by and large not a people who compose incantations "on the spot." In aboriginal Creek religious worship formal, ritual incantations are used and are recited for specific purposes. In the Creek Baptist religion, prayers tend to follow the southern Baptist style. These prayers of the Longhouse Iroquois seemed to Clifton to be a much more appropriate style of spontaneous praying; a style which systematically gives thanks to all the living beings of the universe. Further, he was very taken with the emphasis on religious worship as thanksgiving. As I look back and reflect, I now believe that my friend Clifton became a "convert" there in New York, and that he fervently wanted to introduce this style of worship to the Creeks and to other tribes as well.

Clifton Hill returned from this meeting in New York and decided to hold a Traditional meeting in Henryetta, Oklahoma, in a public park five miles south of the town. He approached me, as well as others of the Creek and Cherokee tribes, for help in putting on such a meeting. This first meeting in 1967 was well attended. The largest delegations were the Longhouse Iroquois, the Third Mesa Hopi and the Creeks. Many Creek leaders there were officials in aboriginal Creek religious groups, but individuals from many other tribes attended as well. There was a substantial delegation of Cherokees at the meeting.

This meeting received considerable publicity and was attended by quite a few Indians like Rolling Thunder, Semu Haute, and the like, men who were becoming quite famous in white circles as spiritual healers. I particularly remember Semu Haute appearing at the convention sessions wearing a different resplendent Indian costume two or three times a day. In fact, there were so many of these kinds of Indians attending the conference that they, along with the Iroquois and Hopi delegations, almost monopolized the conference. The Creeks, Cherokees, Seminoles, Yuchis, Utes and others attending

the conference simply sat, and listened, and watched. The Hopis especially took center stage - recounting prophecies and making new prophecies. One Hopi elder told us that an Indian messiah had just been born in Oklahoma among the Creeks or Cherokees who would usher in the Indian millennium when he reached adulthood.

The second conference held in Oklahoma the next year was a much smaller conference, with fewer people attending whom one might call Indian media personalities. But the people who did attend were solid "grass roots" Indian religious leaders.

The third conference in 1969 was quite well attended particularly by members of the Five Civilized Tribes (Cherokee, Choctaw, Creek, Seminole, and Chickasaw), the Iroquois, and the Hopis. As well there were individual Indian leaders from the Great Lakes area, Utah, the Dakotas, and other parts of the United States.

However, it was at this third conference that a difficulty arose. Many of the Iroquois and a few of the Hopi delegates were zealots in regard to their own religious practices and were to some degree, missionaries.

Several Hopi delegates informed us that the Hopi country was the spiritual center of the world, that the Hopi had received the true Indian religion, that other Indian religions were not as "pure" as these very first instructions from the Creator to these very first Indians on the earth. They suggested that we visit the Hopi country and be spiritually enlightened. One Seneca from New York told us that he had always felt that the Iroquois Longhouse religion, as reformed by the revelation of their prophet, Handsome Lake, was meant for all Indians by the Creator, and suggested that we come to New York to learn Handsome Lake's message. This display of religious imperialism did not enliven the soul of many of us present. Clifton Hill was only too aware of the effects of such zeal and stated several times, "We don't have to all be exactly the same. We already have plenty in common. We need to embrace one another, not eat each other up. We have to respect each other. That's the only way we can support and help one another." But the damage had already been done.

On the whole, the Iroquois and Hopi visitors, also, tended to be anti-Christian. Many of the delegates from the Five Tribes were from communities that had a native Christianity. In many Choctaw communities the deacons of the local Choctaw churches

are the elders of the community, the keepers of Choctaw tradition. Some times these elders are also medicine men. The same is true in many Cherokee communities. In some Creek communities, the members of the community open their stomp ground, their ceremonial ground, from April through October; then close their ceremonial ground and open their local Baptist church from October until April. Many of the deacons and functionaries of such independent Creek Baptist Churches become religious officials of the ceremonial ground the other six months of the year. Further, in many other Indian communities in the U.S. and Canada, Indians attend both Christian churches and aboriginal ceremonies. Therefore when the Iroquois and Hopi delegates began to take a hard line toward Christianity in their speeches, they put many of the other Indian delegates in a very difficult place. In fact, I could see that many of the older men of other tribes were quite annoyed by the tenor of these speeches. It became clear to me that such men would not attend another Traditional meeting.

There were even significant differences between people of different tribes whose only affiliation was with their aboriginal tribal religions. The following incident illustrates clearly this cross-cultural difference. In 1968, a Mohawk Indian came to visit Clifton Hill from the St. Regis in New York, a reservation which straddles the Canadian - U.S. international border. He was both a chief of the Iroquois League and prominent in the Longhouse religion. One night Clifton, the Mohawk chief, and an older Creek religious officer of a ceremonial ground, were having coffee around the kitchen table and discussing various religious issues. Finally the Creek man excused himself saying that he had to go to help make medicine for the coming ceremony. He said that the officials of the ceremonial ground had to make medicine to, as he put it, "draw the people" to the ceremony. The Mohawk chief looked shocked and said to him, "Well, don't you think that that's up to every individual, whether they should attend that ceremony or not." The older Creek man was a little taken aback by that reaction. He could see that this action was being disapproved of, so he tried to smooth things over by saying, "Well, we do more than just make medicine to draw the people. We, also, make medicine to make sure that there will be no fighting or fussing during the dance." It was clear that the difficulty was being compounded in the mind of this Mohawk chief, and he said, "Well, don't you think that people should behave themselves because they want to behave themselves at

the ceremony?" At this point the older Creek simply excused himself without further comment. After this older man left, the Mohawk chief was explicit. He considered this kind of medicine making on the part of the Creek officials as akin to witchcraft.

Clifton told me of his conversation the next day. I was flabbergasted! It was hard for me to consider this Mohawk chief to be a religious Indian. Individual choice and conscience are not core religious concepts in most Indian religious thought, to the say the least. I began to understand better the basis of the missionary-like zeal of some of his fellow Iroquois religionists. If he was typical of other Iroquois religionists, then the modern Iroquois religion had more in common with white Protestantism than it did with Creek religion or other Indian religions.

After this experience, it was even clearer in my mind that some of the more zealous members of the Iroquois delegation at Traditional conferences were not going to allow other delegates a place to stand; and that the purpose of the Traditional Movement -- the creation of a solid coalition among all traditional Indians -- was probably not feasible, given the wide differences in what were called traditional Indians in various tribes. This was particularly the case I felt, if the more zealous members of the Iroquois Longhouse people and the Third Mesa Hopis were pivotal in such a conference.

In the late 1960's, I had moved from Oklahoma to the Detroit area and in the process became involved with the Nishnabe Institute of Roshdale College in Toronto. Roshdale college was a free university experiment and the Nishnabe Institute had been organized by some of the educated Indians in the Toronto area as a research institute; an institute which was heavily involved in cross-cultural education, such as putting on special workshops in Indian-white relations for parole officers, church officials and the like. It was seen as a place where educated Indians could pursue whatever they wanted -- writing, lecturing, what have you. Two of the men most prominent in this institute were Fr. "Ian" McKenzie, a white Anglican priest very involved in Indian affairs, and Wilfred Pelltier the president of the Institute, a prominent Ottawa Indian originally from Manitoulin Island in Ontario. Fr. McKenzie was the Anglican church's Indian expert. Of the Christian denominations in Canada, the Catholic and Anglicans have the most Indians as members by far. Mr. Pelltier was for years very prominent on the Canadian Indian

political scene. He had been president of Indian political organizations and had done a great deal of writing on Indian issues. At this time in his career he was very disillusioned about the Indian political scene, and was quite heavily involved in the hippie movement in North America. Pelletier was fast becoming a "guru" for a great many young urban Indians as well as whites. Many of his articles, written from the viewpoint of his new stance, were having considerable impact. Both of these men became good friends of mine in the late 1960's.

I approached Fr. McKenzie with the idea of calling some Indian elders together to try to organize a conference which would have a broader base than the Traditional Movement; a conference which would explicitly include not only traditional leaders, but also native Christian religious leaders from "grass roots" Indian churches. I thought that such a conference might ease the difficulty of religious fragmentation and religious factionalism in Indian communities. By the time I became involved in the Traditional Movement by way of Clifton Hill, I had already decided that it was only Indian elders, particularly those with some kind of religious influence and prestige in their communities, who could really influence the direction of American Indian life. But I had not expected religious discord to be so prevalent in the Traditional Movement. I was hoping that this new endeavor, by explicitly bringing all kinds of such elders together, would not only help insure Indian survival, but would also heal religious strife and fragmentation.

In the fall of 1969, a group met in Winnipeg to discuss the possibility of such a conference. The delegates from the United States were Clifton Hill, a young Apache medicine man from New Mexico, and myself.

From Canada we asked Rev. Andrew Ahenakew to attend. Ahenakew was a Anglican minister in his home community. He was a member of an Anglican Cree Indian band in Saskatchewan, and his family had been prominent in Cree affairs for several generations. He was at that time, not only an Anglican minister, but was in Anglican terminology, an archdeacon. Ahenakew had become an informal advisor on Indian matters to the Anglican bishop of the Saskatchewan area. Others were Ernest Tootoosis, a spokesman for the traditional Crees in west central Saskatchewan; Joe Mackinaw, the

leader of a group of Alberta Crees who had left their reserve several years before and had established a camp in the Rocky Mountains. (They were fleeing from all the social chaos in their home area in order to live off the land and, as Joe Mackinaw put it, to "worship in a clean place.") Lastly, a gentleman came from the west coast, from Vancouver Island, a Cowichan Indian elder, who was an official in the Shaker church. The Shakers are an Indian religious denomination which sprang up at the end of the last century among Indians in the northwestern Washington and southwestern B.C., and which combined both features of Christianity and the local native religions.

After discussions for a day or so, this group decided indeed that a conference such as McKenzie and I were suggesting should be held, that it was a right idea for the right times. There were three "observers" at the meeting, Fr. McKenzie, Wilfred Pelltier, and a young Kwaikiutl Indian minister from British Columbia, a protege of Fr. McKenzie. The "delegates" formed themselves into a steering committee and asked McKenzie, Pelltier, and Rev. Willie, the young Indian Anglican minister, to join us as members of the steering committee. At a later meeting of the committee in the spring of 1970, Wilfred Pelltier was chosen as the chairman of the committee, since the Nishnabe Institute was holding our funds and handling the financial costs of the conference.

At the second meeting in the late winter of 1970 in St. Louis, we added another member to our steering committee. He was brought to the meeting by Joe Mackinaw and was a very prominent medicine man, a Cree from central Alberta, Albert Lightning. Earlier in his life, Lightning had been involved in the formation of Indian political organizations. As well, Lightning was a sophisticated and worldly person. Over the years we increased the membership of the steering committee until there were 20 all told. Fifteen of them were prestigious elders from most of the major tribes of North America, representing many aboriginal religious patterns and native Indian Christian bodies. It was a very impressive group of people.

Clifton Hill brought a renowned Creek medicine man, Wiley Butler, along with him to the meeting. Wiley came to "make medicine" for MacKenzie and me, to help us in our fund raising efforts. Wiley's medicine must have been strong for we were indeed, over the next few years, able to raise the necessary funds to underwrite the costs of the

Indian Ecumenical Conference, as we came to call it. Our major contributor, largely by way of MacKenzie's influence, was the Anglican Church of Canada. Over a ten year period, the Anglicans underwrote the Conference to the tune of nearly a million dollars. Their motives seem to have been both idealistic and practical. No doubt Christian charity entered into their decision, but it is also true that churches in general were in trouble in Canada in those days. Church membership was falling off drastically in Indian communities and many young Indians were voicing decidedly anti-church sentiments. In the end, I think that the Anglican "investment" in the Indian Ecumenical Conference was well worth it to them. This action on their part did take some of the "heat" off their institution.

It was at this second meeting in St. Louis in the late winter of 1970 that we decided to definitely sponsor a conference that summer. We called it the Indian Ecumenical Conference and our committee, the steering committee. The chairman of the Crow tribe in Montana had heard of our efforts and invited the conference to the Crow reservation. He suggested that we schedule the conference at the same time as the Crow Fair, one of the most famous pow wows and Indian gatherings in North America. The plan was for the conference delegates to meet during the day and to attend the Crow Fair at night. The Crow tribal government was to provide housing and food for the conference. From late winter until June, the members of the steering committee invited those prominent elders with whom they had contact to the conference. The Nishnabe Institute had obtained a small grant to help provide travel for the delegates, gas money and meals on the road. Without this stipend most of these older men would not have been able to attend such a conference.

The Crow Indians held an election just before our conference. The incumbent tribal chairman, the person who had invited us to hold the conference on the Crow reservation, was badly defeated in the election. He simply folded up and made no arrangements for the conference. When I arrived in Montana no arrangements had been made to either house or feed the delegates. The new tribal chairman had not heard about the former chairman's commitment to us. Further, he was busy with the Crow Fair and in no mood to honor his predecessor's commitment. The education building of the tribal government was closed down because of the Crow Fair. We made arrangements to use

this building to house our delegates. some of us went to the nearby town of Billings and rented mattresses, a few cots, and covers in order to bed down our delegates in the halls and offices of the education building. Fortunately, the building also had kitchen facilities. We bought food and prevailed on some of the Creek ladies from Oklahoma, just arrived for the conference, to prepare meals for us. We scheduled our conference sessions underneath some large cottonwood trees nearby. And our first Indian Ecumenical Conference was underway!

In spite of distance and other difficulties, some 100 to 150 Indian elders from many tribes assembled in the Crow country. We had no religious zealots at this conference in the Crow country. There was a Hopi delegate, a former pillar of the Traditional Movement who sat rather quietly throughout most of the conference, perhaps because of the rather august nature of the assembly. He was very taken with some of the Cree prophecies recounted by Joe Mackinaw in his conference speeches and talked with Joe at length between sessions.

Further, there was a very large Navaho contingent there; Navahos who belonged to the Native American Church, people who worshiped by using the peyote cactus as a sacrament in their services. The peyote church, like the Shaker church mentioned before, is a fairly new denomination stemming from the late 1800's. It has spread to many American Indian tribes in the central part of the continent. In recent years it has become the majority religion among the very large and prominent Navaho tribe.

Most of the significant things at the conference did not happen in the formal sessions or in the speeches by the delegates, but in small groups of people talking together. Tribal elders found that other communities had the same difficulties as did their community, and they received moral support from their association with men like themselves who faced similar situations. Most of the speeches however, were models of Indian oratory, and almost oral treatises on some aspect of Indian religious life.

The president of the committee, Wilfred Pelltier, read an article he had written. His article was primarily concerned with Indian white relationships and with discrimination against Indians. Pelltier's article was well-written and entertaining, a "spoof" of Indian-white relations using a dumb Indian stance. Rev. Willie read a poem

he had written, the theme of which was his desire that his people once again become a great people by acquiring education and some rank in the general society. However, these concerns, as expressed by Pelltier and Willie, were not well understood by the rest of the conference, elders concerned with community issues and problems. Most of the elders were simply a little confused by Pelltier's and Willie's presentations, but some of them reacted negatively. One delegate from Montana said, "Those guys don't want to help the Indians. They just want to make money writing about us." I was reminded once again of the wide cultural gap between country Indians and Indian professionals, and of the hostility most country Indians, at least in the U.S., had toward Indian professionals.

From the very beginning of the conference the delegates seemed determined to avoid any Christian vs non-Christian discord. Almost all the speakers emphasized their common concerns and outlook. Clifton Hill said, "The old Creek religion is my birthright. I am a part of that religion. I have no choice about receiving that birthright. I am born with it. If I do not go to my ceremonial ground I am denying that birthright, throwing it away. I cannot as a Creek and a religious man, do that. However, Christianity is my choice and I have chosen to be a Christian. I cannot turn my back on that choice I have made either"! Ernest Tootooses, a non-Christian Cree said, "The Indian religions are earthly religions, concerned almost altogether with how to live on this earth here and now. Christianity is more concerned with salvation and life after death. I didn't see how an earthly religion and one concerned with life after death could come into conflict with one another."

A few of the delegates, particularly the Navajos, were old hands at attending conferences and initiated resolutions for the conference to approve. These resolutions span a spectrum of interests and illustrate many of the conferees concerns-

Resolution 1 presented by some delegates from the Northwest Territory of Canada opposed "all interference in the natural and sacred relation between the Indian people and the animals and birds which the Creator placed on this island for our physical and spiritual sustenance" - interference meaning legal requirements for permits to hunt eagles, disregarding Indian hunting rights in Oklahoma, the encouragement of commercial and sports hunting, etc.

Resolution 2 submitted by a Navajo delegate condemned the failure of southwestern states to recognize the Native American Church as a legal religious body.

Resolution 3 condemned the "perversion of Indian sacred dances for commercial purposes by unauthorized groups, the taking of the Peyote sacrament by non-Indians in a secular context," and other indignities.

Resolution 4 petitioned Christian authorities to permit the "use of native languages, traditions, dances, legends, and their own ancient religions as instruments of expression of the Christian life."

Resolution 5 , presented by Andrew Ahenekew, requested Christian denominations "not to encourage excessive competition among sects in Indian communities which results in confusion and heightens social disintegration, psychological turmoil, and religious strife." Further Ahenekew suggests that missionaries behave themselves better in Indian communities.

Resolution 6 points out to the governments of the United States and Canada that our treaties with them are not "secular documents to us, but sacred covenants, ordained and sanctioned by God, which guarantee our existence as peoples and which establish a sacred reciprocity among the Indian, God, the natural world and our recent European brothers," and that disregard of "our treaties is, in fact, a violation of our religion and Judeo-Christian ethics as well."

Resolution 7 encouraged the teaching of Indian languages and culture in schools and recommends that school authorities consult with Indians about such programs, and to use native experts in the programs.

Resolution 8, presented by Stanley Smith, the famous Creek missionary now an Indian "doctor", urged hospitals to work closely with local Indian doctors.

Resolution calls on Christian denominations to recognize the legitimacy of the Native American Church.

Resolution 10 encourages Indian efforts for local self-determination.

Resolution 11, presented by the Steering Committee, opposed the desecration of Indian religious monuments, burial grounds, pictographs, etc. The resolution

recommended prior consultation with Indian religious bodies before outsiders excavate, preserve or build roads through these sites. Further, the resolution recommended that Indian sacred objects acquired illegitimately by museums be returned to tribes, that other legitimately acquired sacred objects be available for loan to tribes, and that museums have qualified Indians to care for the sacred objects in their possession.

Randy Jacobs, an Oklahoma Choctaw, presented the Conference with a petition calling for the repeal of the Choctaw Termination Act.

The Conference passed several motions. One called for delegates to arrange regional meetings. (Some regional meetings did take place over the years.) Another motion proposed by Andrew Dreadfulwater, a Cherokee chief, called for the appointment of a conference spiritual leader, a person who could be "contacted by any community in trouble to call for a day of fasting, prayer, or medicine making on its behalf." This spiritual leader would notify all the delegates to help in this regard. Indian medicine men at the conference were asked to pick out this leader by spiritual means. (This motion was never implemented).

Such was the range of concerns at the conference.

An ex-United church minister and the chief of the Stoney Indians near Calgary, John Snow, invited us to meet at his reservation the following year. The Stoney Indians have a beautiful park on their reserve, and have quite a number of teepees erected on a bench above a beautiful river, with the Rocky Mountains forming a background. Further, given the Indian population spread in North America, the Stoney reserve at Morley, Alberta is close to the center of Indian North America.

The second conference in 1971 was a little better attended. I would estimate that there must have been about 200 delegates present. At this conference people began to evidence a desire to worship together by celebrating some of the most general kinds of North American Indian rituals. The Cherokee and Creek delegations laid a holy fire before dawn on the second morning of the conference. The Navaho delegation held a ceremony to bless the ground to make it holy. And the Crees put on pipe ceremonies at different times during the day. Every morning at dawn people would assemble, line up, each with a bit of tobacco in their hands and offer it as a sacrifice to the fire, usually

along with a prayer of their own. In subsequent years, we held a pow wow most nights of the conference which was attended by the Stoney people and others from nearby Indian communities.

Part of my job as manager of the conference was to see that different tribes were comfortable in this common religious worship, that nothing violated their own religious standards. For instance, in tribes like the Cherokee, pipes can be passed indiscriminately to those who want to smoke. However, the majority of the elderly males do not like women to smoke their pipes. They prefer that women have a special pipe of their own. They are not adverse to women holding a man's pipe while they pray, but not to smoke it. Therefore I had to be certain that those elders who had such reservations did not have their pipes smoked by a woman. In later years, some of the delegates would put on sweat baths at different parts of the day and, once again, it was my job to see that this ritual did not violate the norms of another tribe.

On one occasion, I had to go into a nearby town on business, and when I returned I found that the Mackinaw family and many other Crees were packing up to go home. I asked them the reason for their leaving and they told me that a Colorado Ute man was holding sweat baths that mixed men and women simultaneously. Crees always segregate the sexes into different sweat baths and this mixing of the sexes in the same sweat bath frightened them. I immediately went to this gentleman and told him of the Cree reaction to his sweat bath rituals. He was a pleasant and flexible man and agreed to separate the sexes in future sweat bath rituals, so as not to offend the Crees. I returned to the Cree camps and assured them that such "heresy" would occur no more, and they decided to stay. But the conference had almost ended right there!

At another time a Hidasta gentleman from North Dakota came to the conference. This man's great-grandfather had been a noted Hidasta warrior and he wanted to set up a special teepee, open his great-grandfather's medicine bundle, lay it out on a card table, and display it for the conference members. He had no sooner opened the bundle and laid it out when a terrible storm hit the camp -- high winds, thunder and lightning, and driving rain. The whole camp was about to panic and bolt. I rushed down to his teepee and

asked him to cover the objects from the bundle. No sooner had he done so than the storm abated.

These are just two of many incidents that threatened the conference.

I had to orchestrate the ceremonies, and I had to opt for the strictest observance of a religious ceremony in order not to violate any elder participating in a ceremony. This worshipping together became an important feature of the conference. We would also have Christian ceremonies some days at the conference - an Anglican mass, fundamentalist hymn singing, a Catholic baptism, etc.

Further, not only did non-Christians participate in these Christian services but Christian Indian ministers achieved a level of ecumenism usually not seen in other contexts - southern Baptists preachers, Anglican priests, fundamentalist Protestant ministers, Catholic clergy worshipped together as fellow Indians and as Christians. These ceremonies did much to create a feeling of commonalty among tribes, and unity between different religious denominations among Indians. A second theme in the early days of the conference was specific problems that many elders were concerned with in their home communities, particularly problems which were related to religion - hunting and fishing rights, the

disturbance of Indian graves by archaeologists, and the like. I encouraged and helped many of the delegates to present resolutions to the conference.

The resolutions of the 1971 expressed many similar concerns as those of the 1970 conference, except these new resolutions pinpointed specific burial ground desecrations for instance, and called for legal action in many cases. Further, there were more resolutions concerned with the education of Indian youth, and the role of Indian elders in that education. The delegates from the Northwest Territory in Canada even resolved that Indian elders "celebrate and honor not only traditional accomplishments (killing of the first large game animal, coming of age) of their children but also modern accomplishments as well (high school graduation, etc.)." The problem of juvenile use of dope shows up in the resolutions. Concern with industrial pollution and the legal recognition of native religions by tax bureaus, draft boards, and the like also is reflected in resolutions. And the steering committee was lauded for its attempt to "establish an

annual Indian Day of prayer..." The steering committee later designated June 21, the summer solstice as the annual Indian Day of Prayer. One resolution condemned the mistreatment of Indian youth in some federal boarding schools. And this concern evolved into a broader concern at later conferences, a reaction against the situation of many Indian children who had been taken over by "white" courts and parcelled out for adoption into white foster families.

Some issues were more strongly reflected in the speeches at the conference than in the resolutions. Almost every speaker condemned excessive drinking and saw it as the cause of violence and family breakdown among Indians. Most expressed concern as well with language loss, the secularization of young Indians, and the loss of Indian doctors in some tribes. And even Christian Indian speakers warned about the erosion of Indian religions. A few speakers even mentioned the unmentionable, the use of "bad medicine and condemned the prevalence in some tribes."

I had hoped, along with most of the members on the Steering Committee, that the Nishnabe Institute would take it upon itself to publish these resolutions and send them to appropriate agencies and to the membership of the conference. We, also, hoped that the Nishnabe Institute would publish and send the proceedings of the conference to the conference members, so that they could read the speeches made at the conference at their leisure. As well, it was my hope that we could put out a monthly newsletter which would keep people in contact with one another during the rest of the year. Perhaps sometime in the future I also hoped that we might have a small office with a few year round employees to attend to the business of the conference. We might even organize conferences on the regional level. However, our president and a few other vocal members of the steering committee felt that all this would be a bureaucratization of the Indian Ecumenical Conference, something which they felt we had to avoid at all costs.

By 1972 we once again increased the membership of elders -- a great many Dene (Athabaskan-speaking) Indians from the Northwest Territory of Canada attended the conference along with my Ute friends from Utah; as well as Pomo Indians from California, Nishga Indians from northern B.C., Micmacks from Nova Scotia, Seminoles of Florida, Pueblos from New Mexico, Papagos from Arizona, Iroquois from Ontario,

Luchieux from the Arctic, Chippewas from Michigan, and many other new delegations. However, this same year we began to have a larger number of white visitors than ever before, and young Indians, particularly those from urban centers.

The large number of white visitors at the '72 conference became a bit of a sticky issue. Many of them appeared to be young white hippies on a spiritual quest. They wandered around everywhere, intruding into private religious observances. Few Indians objected to white ministers or scholars visiting the conference, but the younger whites seemed a little too much like cultural cannibals for most Indians' tastes. And the Indian delegates from the United States generally took a "hard line" against so many loose white visitors.

At the conference in 1972 it became clear the both Christian and native religionists shared together many core religious conceptions. Nearly all saw the universe as balanced, ordered, and reciprocal. They felt that individuals and peoples were rewarded or punished for behavior in this life. They saw themselves as having a special, sacred relationship to the land, as caretakers of the land, and were appalled at what was happening to North America. They felt Indians had distinct, separate for all time, peoplehoods. And that Indians were God's chosen peoples on this great island of North America. All were convinced of the efficacy of Indian medicine and felt that individuals and people had either strong or weak spiritual power, according to their behavior here and now.

Of course, different tribes had different senses of problem relative to their particular religious condition -

Dan Pine, the blood chief of the Sault Ste. Marie Ojibwa, wanted to revive hymn singing in the Ojibwa languages during Anglican services, thus making Christianity more of an Ojibwa affair. He also was involved in the revival of native ceremonies on his reserve.

Huron Miller, an Iroquois Longhouse leader, simply wanted to see some easing of the bitter, destructive religious factionalism between Longhouse people and Iroquois Christians.

The Plains Cree delegates were trying to strengthen their native religion, but still have the option to be Christian to the degree they wished.

Fr. John Hascall, an Ojibwa and the Catholic priest of an Ojibwa parish, worked diligently to incorporate Ojibwa ritual into the Catholic sacraments.

The Pueblos wished to continue their folk Catholicism and to get church pressure off the practice of their ancient religion.

Andrew Dreadfulwater, a Cherokee ceremonial ground chief and an official in the nativized Cherokee Baptist church, felt that both the ceremonial grounds and a truly Cherokee church was necessary to strengthen the Cherokee spiritual power.

The Nishga of British Columbia were trying to develop a native Christianity.

And so on and so on, around the tribes in North America.

In 1973 the conference was almost swamped by visitors. Some 10,000 people attended the conference in 1973, the majority of whom were young urban Indians from Chicago, Winnipeg, Vancouver, California, etc. I am afraid that these young Indians, most of whom were unsocialized in Indian ways, were a problem. They could not "gear into" what was going on and literally stumbled around like bulls in a china shop during Indian ceremonies. I remember that at one ceremony a huge mass of people was standing around the fire during a ritual. The singers were facing east during the ceremony. I had arranged for an empty space, a "lane" through the crowd, from the fire out toward the east so that the singers could look out to the east during their singing. Finally some late arriving young Indians came to the ceremony and sat down directly in the long empty space. The singers stopped singing and stood there. After a time the youngsters looked around and realized that they had disrupted the ceremony. They got to their feet embarrassedly, and left; after which the ceremony continued. These kinds of incidents happened only too frequently.

For the first time elders at the conference did not speak to their peers in their speeches, but began to speak to the large number of young Indians at the conference.

Many of these Indian youths were conditioned to standard classroom learning and were impatient with the Indian style of "lecturing" - holistic, subtle, no encouragement of

questions, and the like. Further, many wanted to hear what they thought was relevant to their situation and pressured elders to address their personal religious or identity concerns. One Ute Indian elder, Jensen Jack, was sought out by many city raised youngsters. Jensen was very Indian looking, spoke English haltingly, and wore braids. He reflected the classic image of an Indian elder to urban young people. His advice to them was always the same "Go home and talk to your older relatives. After you learn something, then you can come back here and learn from us." But his advice was not very satisfactory to these desperate and urgent identity seekers.

Many of these young urban Indians objected to the religious restrictions and prohibitions regarding the Fire and the Holy Ground, especially rules which excluded menstruating and pregnant women. And, of course, since I appeared to be the "manager" of the conference I had to take the "heat" and hear the complaints; as if I had personally created such rules!

By 1974, the conference was becoming more and more of a week long workshop on simple and generalized Indian religious ideas for young city Indians taught by Indian elders. Further in 1974, some of the tensions in the steering committee came to a head. Rev. McKenzie and Mr. Pelltier had had some sharp disagreements about the operation of the Nishnabe Institute. As well, Mr. Pelltier was working very diligently to try to keep the conference loose and unstructured. To a large degree, Pelltier was simply reflecting a general attitude prevalent in some circles in that decade. Many young people and some intellectuals of that era had become so anti-bureaucratic as to be against any kind of formal organization. Further, Pelltier was an old hand in the Indian "business". He had seen much of his hard work go down the drain because of bureaucratization. His fears were not to be taken lightly. Further, I think that he thought that all college professors, me included, were agents of the establishment and prone to try to bureaucratize the world.

The previous year, in 1973, the conference had directed the steering committee to try to set up some kind of year round center, a "think-tank"; where elders could "flow in and out" in order to talk to one another all throughout the year. In 1974, the steering committee set up a special sub-committee to see about making this idea more concrete.

However, Mr. Pelltier and several of the committee members felt that this was just the sort of thing that they were trying to avoid, the routinization, structuring, and institutionalization of the conference. Mr. Pelltier and I, "locked horns" over this issue. I resigned from the committee along with Mr. Pelltier. At this point, Chief John Snow took over the job of chairman.

I had hoped that, by 1974, the Stoney people would have become the "host" tribe and taken over the management of the conference, the welcoming of delegates and so forth. However, such never became the case. Further, John Snow did not seem to be in favor of such a move. In those years, the Stoneys saw the conference as a group of outsiders whom they allowed to use their beautiful park.

To some degree the conference was coming to be defined as if the conference members were not representing their tribes as religious bodies or as Christian Indian congregations, but were only individuals come to worship together. Our conference was no longer a meeting of Indian peoples, a week long "think tank" for Indian elders. We were simply individuals of a racial and cultural minority called Indians come together for a spiritual renewal and to instruct young city Indians in basic Indian spiritual notions. Some critics referred to the conference as a hippie Indian camp meeting.

Andrew Ahenekeew's solution to this problem was to form a lodge composed of responsible elders inside of the conference itself, an organization of selected people with its own agenda. He even suggested local chapters of this lodge. Unfortunately, his plan never came to fruition. Ahenekeew died in 1978. One of the "sparkplugs" of the Indian Ecumenical movement was missing after his death.

Roland Nadjewon, a young Potawatomie friend, had another solution. Nadjewon was from Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario. He knew Indians well and had managed the 1973 conference. Nadjewon's proscription laid in what he considered important regional differences in North America. By and large, Indians in southern United States are more consciously traditional than elsewhere and possess, as well, more formalized religious institutions. Hereditary chiefs, priesthoods, religious societies and the like are important in southern tribes. Further, these tribes are very large in population terms. Moreover, most of the genuine native Christianities are found in the region. By and large, formal

religious officials are rare in tribes further north. Individual shamans in the northern tribes speak only for themselves and are not held accountable by their people, and few Indian ministers there represent a truly native Christianity. Nadjiwon felt that the conferences were therefore over-balanced, by so many individual qua individual Indians and that this created a socially irresponsible climate. He thought that we should start anew, building the base of the conference on the southern tribes and slowing including the more northern peoples.

By '75 and '76, it became apparent that in the minds of a number of the participants, particularly among most of the more acculturated members of the steering committee, that (1) the conference should remain loose and unstructured; (2) it should function as a workshop on "Indian religion" for young Indians; and (3) that the Indian Ecumenical movement was in fact the birth of a new Indian religion. Such a notion was in the air in those times particularly among young urban Indians who were desperately seeking something called The Indian Religion. In the middle 1970's, the use of the sweat bath, the sacred fire, and the pipe began to be utilized by urban Indians at quasi-religious meetings. How much the Ecumenical Conference had to do with this new renaissance, I'm not prepared to say. Perhaps we were simply responding to the times, and gave sanction to what was going on generally rather than originating this trend.

The Indian Ecumenical Conference did indeed impact the general Indian scene and start some trends. It did "kick off" a spiritual awakening and a spiritual renewal. Heavy drinking now meets strong disapproval in many Indian communities. Revivals of native religions has been a common feature of Indian life in the late 1970s and the 1980s. Many Indian Christians have begun to develop a more satisfying and nativized Indian Christianity. Christian vs. non-Christian strife has eased in some Indian areas, particularly among the Iroquois in recent years.

Further, the Indian Ecumenical Conference was a training ground for people who went on to become prominent in Indian religious circles. Ian MacKenzie became a parish priest for the Nishga of northern British Columbia in the late 1970s. He helped the Nishga further nativize their Christianity. MacKenzie is now involved in a training program for Indian ministers and encourages Indian ministers to draw on their native

religions in the understanding and practice of Christianity. John Hascall is the prime mover of the Kateri Tekawitha movement, named after a hopefully soon-to-be sainted Mohawk Catholic woman. Hascall has done much to Indianize Catholicism for modern Indian Catholics. In 1989 a group assembled in Phoenix to form a religious center on the model recommended by the Conference in 1973 and 74. Most of the people who gathered at Phoenix were either former steering committee members or else "old hands" at the conference - Steward Etsitty, a Navaho Peyote elder; Roland Nadjowin, a Potowatomie from Canada who co-ordinated the conference in 1973; Lawrence Mackinaw, a Cree medicine man and Sun dance leader, son of Joe Mackinaw; Clifton Hill, my old friend; Ben Bearskin, a Winnebago from Nebraska and Peyote Road Man (leader of a local chapter of the Native American Church); Arthur Elliott, young Ojibwa and former American Indian Movement militant; Ian MacKenzie, our revered token white man and indispensable "our man in the establishment"; and myself. I missed some old stalwarts like Ahenewew and Dreadfulwater, but new people at our gathering partially at least filled the gap. I guess that the conference affected all our lives profoundly.

The Indian Ecumenical movement also did have some direct impact on local rural Indian communities as well. For example, there began to be strong disapproval of heavy drinking in the Northwest Territories by influential Dene who had attended the Ecumenical Conference, and heavy drinking slowed down quite a bit among the Dene then. The Indian Ecumenical Conference did give considerable sanction to the notion that some control of excessive drinking was needed in all Indian areas. Further, religious factionalism eased among the Plains tribes of Canada, at least temporarily.

Participation in the Indian Ecumenical Conference did get some people "off the hook," so to speak. Christian Indians who were ambivalent about their native religion began to feel at ease at native ceremonies. Rev. Andrew Ahenekew had avoided contact with his native Cree religion all of his life. After participating intensively in the Conference for several years he received a vision at the age of 72. The spirit chief of the bears came to him and gave Andrew a potent herb medicine. Andrew became a famous healer almost overnight. His cures were miraculous and he became one of the most sought after medicine men in his area. It was almost impossible for me to visit him.

Either he was away from home curing or else someone came to his home when I was there, taking him away to cure a sick relative.

About 1976, the conference began to take a new turn. One began to hear anti-Christian comments in the speeches of a small number of people. A few were members of the steering committee. And religious factionalism in the Canadian plains area erupted again in a more unpleasant fashion than ever before.

For years the Cree religion was almost an underground, secret movement. During the time of Ecumenical Conference it surfaced and began to strengthen publicly. Some church authorities reacted negatively to the new resurgence and many Crees became hostile to everything Christian therefore.

In 1976, I discontinued my association with the Indian Ecumenical Conference for a number of reasons. By 1974, the conference was going in a direction in which I was not interested. The instructing of urban Indian young people in simple Indian religious notions was not a priority with me. Further, by 1976, the number of elders attending the conference had dropped off considerably. More and more speeches at the conference began to be made by what could be seen as "unqualified" people, rather than knowledgeable elders. In fact, some of the American Indian Movement, (the major Indian youth protest group) spiritual leaders began to come to the conference; men who were called "hippie Indian medicine men" by grass roots Indian spiritual leaders. These American Indian Movement. spiritual leaders gave stock militant speeches which were boring to many elders, but which were "eaten up" by many young urban Indians at the conference.

As well, the institutionalization of the conference never materialized. Further, it seemed to me that with the new anti-Christian mood fostered by Indian young people at the conference had become socially and spiritually destructive.

Needless to say, I was moved to despair by the behavior of many young urban Indians in the early 1970s. I found many of them to be insensitive to social situations, unable to "psych out" situations holistically, grossly categorical in their perceptions, attending only to images, taking ideological stances like anti-Christianity simply to bolster their own Indian identity, self centered in their demands on Indian elders, and the

like. I had almost given up on the whole generation of city raised Indians. I was dead wrong in my evaluation. Some fifteen years later I see that many of these same young people are now solid personalities, married and raising children, and working tirelessly for their people back in their home communities; people with a good head on their shoulders, pillars of Indian life. Gone is the anxiety about identify as well as their other not so admirable characteristics. Its plain to me now that in the 1970's they were products of the general loss of identify in modern urban life and suffered from the dehumanization of the school system. However, after years of personal human contact with their Indian relatives they have turned into fine human beings. And perhaps their participation in the Indian Ecumenical Conference, however painful it was the rest of us, was a necessary learning phase in their maturing,. If that is true, then all the trouble that they caused the rest of us is more than worth it.

The Indian Ecumenical Conference continued until 1983, but in a very attenuated fashion. Finally, with the death of the Indian religion fad among Indian young people, the Indian Ecumenical Conference simply passed out of existence in 1983. I was left with a feeling that a great opportunity had been passed by. However, some very good things did happen as a result of the Indian Ecumenical Conference.

The Stoney tribe always graciously donated a buffalo to our yearly summer conference, but there was no conference in '84, '85, or '86. Sometime in late '86 or early '87, lightning struck the Stoney buffalo herd, killing three buffalo. The Stoney elders said that God was taking his three buffalos, one for each year that the conference was not held. John Snow called another conference in July of '87. I wish him luck, I was not able to attend, but I may attend some of these years. Perhaps God is giving us another chance.

Chapter 10* Experiencing or Believing

Indian Religion Versus Modernity

“Superstition brings bad luck.”

At contact in 1650 each of the Indian tribes of North America was a small national group with a distinct language and its own culture. If a language is defined as mutually unintelligible speech, there were over 250 different languages. Indians on the Great Plains lived in skin tepees, hunted buffalo, and were consummate warriors. Pueblo Indians lived in permanent adobe style villages, farmed along the Rio Grande valley, and were inclined to be peaceful. The Natchez Indians developed a priesthood that carried on complex religious ceremonies in temples and on top of great mounds in the Mississippi valley. Indians on the British Columbian coast resided in large plank houses and lived off the bounty of the sea.

Religion for each of these small national groups was specific to them. Indians are very responsive to the natural environment as explained in Chapters 3 and 3*. One can see a direct linkage between environment and religion. To illustrate, among Cherokees women gardened and men hunted, so corn was a female deity associated with women and thunder was a male deity associated with hunting. In the more northern tribes in North America where men hunted and women gathered wild plants rather than gardening, the earth mother was an all-encompassing symbol to both sexes. Each group usually regarded where they lived as their homeland with its genesis story and their holy land with its resident spirits. The Papagos of southern Arizona are an example. The sacred sites mentioned in their long creation account, which are inhabited by powerful spirits, are visible from their front doors. Some tribes like the Sioux who came to the Great Plains in the 1700s have taken their new area as a homeland and holy land. The Cherokees, who were evicted by force from the eastern states in the 19th century, have come to regard their new residence in eastern Oklahoma as their homeland, but their holy land remains in the southern Appalachians where they formerly lived.

In spite of many differences, life among Indian tribes had common features that contrast with the dominant society today. To illustrate, we have already discussed the fact that life among Indian tribes was sacred, traditional, closed, bounded, and spent among kin. It is not surprising that similarities in the way of life include similarities in religion. One can talk about Indian religious thought as an abstract, philosophical system common to nearly all groups, in spite of the variety of religions in North America.

It is the similarities in religion that are the subject of this chapter, especially the contrast with modern Christianity or Judaism. We begin this chapter by describing elements of aboriginal Indian religion, then discuss responses of the tribes to Christianity, and finally turn to the contrast between Indian religion and modernity in terms of relational theory.

Elements of Indian Religion

We undertake the task of identifying general features of Indian religious thought with some trepidation. The data about tribes in 1650 is too incomplete to give more than a hint about this subject. Instead, we will have to rely upon information from those contemporary Indian groups who follow the ways of their ancestors as faithfully as possible, especially as exemplified in the preceding narratives.

A Sacred World

For Indians, man is not the only intelligent being in the world. Instead the whole world is filled with alive, particular beings who are thought of as kinsmen. Trees, animals, rocks, birds, clouds, spirits, stars, the sun, and mountains all have spirits who are relatives of each other and man. This sacred world is alive not only with supernatural beings, but with supernatural guidance. Most tribals are perpetually looking around them in order to "read a sign" in nature which might tell them what to do at any particular moment, such as starting a journey or abandoning it, where to look for game, or whether another person means well by them. So Indians live in a sacred world in which religion permeates life. Tribal Indians hear a beaver talking to them, see the Head Deer while hunting, learn a song from the Thunder's messenger, go down in a trance to learn where to find seals from the Keeper of the Sea, or their spirit-helper teaches them in a dream to cure a particular illness. Their understanding of spirits is derived from experience with them, as opposed to being a belief in things unseen based upon faith. It would be odd to say that you "believe in" this book that you are reading when in fact you see it. So it is with tribal Indians and the spirit world. They do not believe in unseen spirits based upon faith; instead they interact with spirits.

Indian children participate in religious activity with their relatives from the time that they are babies. They are taught to conceptualize their experience in religious terms from the beginning, so their world appears to be sacred even as they are first becoming conscious

of it. For this reason, the religious outlook is deep and emotive. But it is also empirical in the sense of being based upon experience and pragmatic in the sense of producing results. Tribal Indians do not strain to hold onto a religious practice that has no functional value, nor do they cling to a belief contradicted by their experience. To illustrate, the sun Xavier Papagos practiced elaborate rituals to insure a good harvest, but they abandoned them once they stopped planting crops.²²⁹ In general, a spirit whose powers no longer affects Indians, or who fails to use those powers in response to appropriate rituals, will cease to be an object of their concern.

Causation

As explained in chapters 3* and 6*, functional specialization in an Indian tribe is not based upon distinct roles supported by social structure and organization. Instead, functional specialization is limited in scope and tentative in assignment, being based upon the personal element of kinship. These generalizations also apply to religion. There is no word in most Indian languages for religion as such. The extent to which religious activities are separated from other activities and conducted by specialists is limited.

This sacred universe is integrated in the sense that the categories into which it is divided are not water tight. For instance, many Indians feel that the world of animals is somewhat different than the world of men. However, the difference is not great and what happens in the world of animals can affect the world of men, and vice versa. For example, how human beings treat one another can affect whether the game is plentiful. Cause can originate in any part of this integrated system and spread through other categories of existence.

Just as animals and men are seen as part of an integrated system, so are thoughts and actions. Effects can be caused directly by thoughts. To illustrate, thinking and feelings

²²⁹ . See Chapter 4.

are so intimately conjoined in Cherokee thought that the Cherokee language has a verb for both, which could be translated into English as "think-feel".²³⁰ The word for "think-feel" is similar to the word for "cause" in the Cherokee language.²³¹ Feelings dispose a person to act in particular ways, and actions cause their effects. Thus for Cherokees thinking, feeling, acting, and causing are aspects of a single process. This can be seen more clearly by considering the connection between law and feelings in the next section.

The Law

Although cause can originate anywhere within this integrated, sacred universe, there is a special primacy of cause in man which arises from his unique relationship to law. The universe is stable and predictable because it operates according to laws. The non-human part of the universe acts lawfully by its nature. Thus animals act lawfully instinctively. However, this is not the case with human beings (the People). Human nature is neutral in the sense that there is no instinct to obey or disobey the Law. Human beings must, consequently, have Law or the Way or Tradition, which imposes rules upon them. Most tribes conceive of their Way as coming from the beginning and as part of the creation itself. Any deviation from that is an aberration. If a people lose their law, then hard times will fall on them, and to get right with the world, a people must begin to observe the law again and try to approach their condition at the time of the creation. Some tribes conceive of themselves as having passed through historical epoches in which the Law was widely disregarded, which brought chaos and suffering. Having experienced the flaunting of the Law, these tribes tend to view the Law moralistically. Obeying the Law is praised as virtuous and disobeying it is condemned as evil. For example,... [RT: give example]. Other tribes who lack this historical experience see breaking the law as something to be feared, so that obedience is more a matter of prudence than morality. For example,...[RT: Is this right? Give example?]

²³⁰give Cherokee word.

²³¹give Cherokee word

The Law is expressed in ritual, customs, practice, the admonitions of old people, in the emotive energy and good feeling which underpins ritual. It can be very detailed and provide extensive guidance for living. Kinship proscriptions, joking with certain types of relatives, for example, can be thought of as the Way. When to plant the corn may be thought of as a part of the Way. So if an older lady says that the time to put in a garden is when the oak leaves are as big as squirrels' ears, this is not a secular admonition, but is usually thought of as part of the Law given in the beginning.

Since the Law is sacred and laid down at the creation, it cannot be changed. In North American tribes there is very little authority in offices. The Law is the ultimate authority and it is the Law to which elders point when they want to instruct their kinsmen. Most tribal Indians think that the Law is even binding upon the god who created everything in the beginning, including the Law. It would, however, be a mistake to conclude from these facts that Indians apply the Law mechanically or follow it slavishly. Rather, the interpretation of the Law in many of its aspects is very flexible. If part of Law ceases to be functional -- say, new vegetables are developed that should be planted when the oak leaves are smaller than a squirrel's ear -- the Law will be reinterpreted accordingly.

Perhaps the elders will distinguish one case from another and thus clarify the rule's scope. If the contradiction is deeper and the rule needs to be extinguished, perhaps the elders will say that the rule must not really be part of the Law; instead of being given at the creation, it must have been invented by people, so it is not binding. Such distinctions or reinterpretations are easy to make because everyone agrees that the Law only contains rules that are beneficial to man. The contains rules but many of them cannot be applied by rote.

Another source of flexibility is the behavior of particular spirits. To interact with spirits and read signs in nature, a person must cultivate a sensibility and be alert to all the subtleties in a situation, rather like responding to a relative. Thus the perception of the

sacred world can be described as wholistic. In this respect, responding to the spirit world is not mechanical like rote application of a rule.

From the viewpoint of a social scientist, one could say that much of the Law is the accumulated social experience of a people as they have lived in an environment. Such law accumulates as a tribal group becomes more proficient in the environment, and rituals would become better adapted for survival and prosperity. To illustrate, if a Cherokee Indian takes a sweat bath before hunting deer, refrains from eating salt and sexual activity for four days, puts on new clothes after the sweat bath, and smokes no tobacco until the hunt is over, then there will be no human smell on the hunter to scare the deer away. Cherokees will tell you that this law is a sacred prescription for deer hunters, not merely a way to hunt more efficiently. Similarly, recall that the eskimo find sea mammals by entering a trance and relying upon a spirit helper. This method, however it works, must be efficient or it could not have persisted. The harsh environment of arctic, where adaptability is a necessity, does not allow a people to indulge in inefficient superstitions when finding game.

Obedying the law is more than following rules and participating in ritual. Ritual is important, form is important, but it is useless without the right attitude. Underpinning the law is the notion of a right attitude, of good feelings between kin. For instance, a Navajo elder remarked that you should not throw cigarettes or trash in a holy fire, but it is more important that you have a good heart when you look at it. This is another way that thought affects the world. The attitude and emotional state of human beings are important causes of the effects seen about us. As stated above, human feelings are basic causes in the universe, and feelings underlie the practice of the law. As noted, right attitudes are not instinctual in people. It is the frailty of man, the neutrality of his instincts and his susceptibility to corruption, that create the need for ritual. By the observation of ritual people can be strong and thus have the right attitude which makes the form of the law operative.

Power

The universe is not only lawful, but it is also filled with spiritual power. The world is full of spiritual power because it is filled with a myriad of individual spirits who have a powerful effect upon events. They can be influenced to use their power as a person wishes provided that they are approached with the correct attitude and behavior. The power most often sought from spirits is healing sickness. The link is so strong that most Indians translate "spiritual power" as "medicine." To illustrate, it is clear from our narrative that curing is a focus of Cherokee religion, but Cherokee curing ritual is rarely public. Conversely, the Navajos have developed elaborate, public curing ceremonies which take many days to perform and in which long poems, songs, and stories are sung. A strong distinction is made between using medicine to heal, benefit, or protect people, and using it to harm others. Harming others by spiritual power, which is called "bad medicine" or "witchcraft," is uniformly condemned, yet when harm comes to someone suspicions abound.

Help can be sought from spirits for activities other than curing, such as warfare, hunting, predicting the future, or enticing a lover. The northern hunting bands in North America are primarily concerned with crisis rites -- births, puberty, death -- and with first fruit (or game or fish) feasts. But as one travels south to those Indian groups who possess priesthoods, one encounters more elaborate ceremonies, many linked to the agricultural cycle or to the movement of the sun, moon, and stars. For example, the Hopis and Pueblo dance societies wear masks symbolizing powerful spirit beings and dance in their plazas in a quest for the good life. They not only impersonate spirit beings, but the power of the masks transform the human dancers so that they become, in fact, these spirits. Further, many of these tribes act out in ceremony some of their most important creation stories. The Yaqui Easter ceremony described in an earlier narrative illustrates the impersonation of spirits, as well as acting out the mythic drama of the death and resurrection of Jesus. Whether it is a solitary Sioux holding his pipe to the sky or the

Yaqui masked dancer marching with his society in the elaborate Easter ceremony, ritual and ceremony is the substance of Indian religion and worship.

In the more Northern tribes, power usually resides in particular spirit forces and the possession of spiritual power comes to a particular person, usually from a spirit during a vision. An old Sac and Fox Indian told Thomas that when he was a teenager he was taken out into the woods by an old man to fast and to receive a spirit helper. This old man told him to humble himself before the powers, that if he humbled himself and was pitiful, perhaps some powerful spirit would see him and be touched by his plight and help. He shared with Thomas that he fasted for four days, and that by the fourth day he was miserable. He had been instructed to cry before the spirit world. He never understood what crying really was until he cried on that fourth day. He said he cried like he had lost most of his relatives, and indeed, when he was that humbled, a spirit did "notice" him, take pity on him, appear to him and offer its aid. The spirit gave him a song and taught rituals to summon the spirit to his aid.

In this example an Indian tapped into supernatural power by approaching the spirit world with supplications. Among the Eskimo, however, a spirit may seize a person, pull apart his body and recreate him, and take him on a journey to the sky or the bottom of the sea. Many such shamans among the Eskimo and other northern peoples will go into deep or partial trance when they summon their spirit helper.

The Sioux influence spirits by taking vows. For example, a Sioux might vow to participate in the Sun Dance with the help of his sponsors, which is an ordeal, provided that his spirit-helper, say, heals his child. [RT: Is this example right? Can you provide an example of a better vow?]. The Sun Dance is a public ceremony, but from the viewpoint of spiritual power, it is a collection of individual people supplicating the spirit world. In some tribes, not only are there particular spirits, but there is a force like a current of electricity that runs through all particular manifestations of life. In some of the southern tribes, this power running through all things can become a material substance. To

illustrate, when Papagos begin to acquire power, they are said by other Papagos to be growing crystals inside of them, and that is the source of their power. Forty years ago Papago Indians would say, "You ought to go to a young medicine man who has not used up his power in healing." For the Papagos, spiritual power was inside the person in the form of crystals and outside in spirits.

Most southern tribes have a formal priesthood, and the passing on of priestly knowledge is important. The Cherokee tribe as our narrative illustrates, has a body of sacred knowledge, ritual, formula-like prayers, which have come down from the beginning as the property of the whole Cherokee people, but they are transmitted from person to person. To tribes like the Cherokees, a person who increases his knowledge as he grows older also increases his spiritual power.

To illustrate, there was an old Cherokee in eastern Oklahoma some 20 years ago who was able to approach rattlesnakes and handle them without getting bitten. When the road department ran upon a rattlesnake den, they would ask him to remove the rattlesnakes. He would walk toward one with his cane, touch it, almost stroking it with the tip of his cane, then pick up the rattlesnake and carry it away. One old man said to Thomas, "the Thunder must have given him that power." On reflection many years later, Thomas realized why this elder had been able to determine the source of this spiritual power. The Thunder is a powerful spiritual being with connections to the animal world. The eagle is his messenger, the turtle is his seat, the wolf is his hunting dog, the rainbow is his sash, and the rattlesnake is his bracelet. Therefore, in the Cherokee logic of things, it would have to be the Thunder who could give someone power over rattlesnakes.

Seeing linkages in the spirit world is part of the process of gaining knowledge and increasing spiritual power. As a person's knowledge and spiritual power increases in these southern tribes, form becomes less important. A ninety-five year old Cherokee medicine man said in our narrative on Cherokee religion, "I spent all my life trading around to get every prayer I could, and I have about 900 written down in this book in the

Cherokee language, but in the end I realized that if a man really knows how to cure, he only needs one prayer."

In the southern parts of North America it is much more explicit that a whole people can have spiritual power, not just a particular person who has established an effective relationship with the spirit world. The spiritual power of a people depends on how faithfully they keep the law, observe ceremonies and practices, and how well they fulfill kin obligations and generally treat their fellows. If Creek Indians keep their hearts pure, have the right attitude, approach their fellows with love, especially at a ceremony, have the proper attitude towards deities when participating in ceremonies, then the power of the whole Creek people will increase and they will be spiritually strong.

Time

An Indian tribe's concept of history must be consistent with its understanding of creation and law. For Indian tribes, two points in time are far more important than any others, specifically the creation and the present. The creation provides the guide and standard against which the present is judged and measured. The rest of history is not so important. There is no need to strain to arrange events in a linear time sequence. Thus, for Indians, the sense of history is binary in its most salient aspect.

For North American tribes, creation begins when they came to be as they are. For instance, the Sioux Indians in western South Dakota say that they have always lived on the Great Plains, and that the Black Hills have always been the center of their world. In another context they will say that their ancestors lived in Minnesota in the woods and started to move west onto the Great Plains at some unspecified time. These two statements are only an apparent contradiction. For the Sioux, the Indians who lived in Minnesota were ancestors who were not yet formed as Sioux. The Sioux came into being on the Great Plains when they received the pipe from the Buffalo Camp Woman and were given the Way. This giving of the Way was in the beginning of the world, and it

was when the Sioux people, as they are, appeared. White historians put this event sometime in the middle 1700s and record that this was when the Sioux received horses and began to develop a lifestyle based on the hunting of buffalo, living in tepee villages, and warfare. To the Sioux, of course, the horse has been with them forever as part of the creation.

Similarly, some Cherokee elders really see Cherokee history beginning in 1839 when the Cherokee tribe was driven out of the southern Appalachians into the Indian territory, now Oklahoma, and cannot conceive of a time when the Cherokees were not Baptist. Most such elders are not really aware of what happened in the old Cherokee country before 1839, and if they are, these Cherokees are like the Sioux in the Minnesota woods--ancestors of the Cherokees from mythic times.

In Indian mythology, the creation and sacred history is most spelled out through extensive stories. The Papagos, for instance, have an elaborate sacred tale of the creation and the long Papago migration on which they received the Papago Way. Four consecutive winter nights are needed to narrate in song, tale, and sermon this impressive oral document which explains in detail the whole Papago Way -- customs, practices, beliefs, prohibitions, and ceremonies. While genesis stories are the fountainhead of the Law in most southern North America, there seems to be less fit between mythology and the Way in more northern peoples. Perhaps they are less concerned with conceptualization because their shamans receive power from particular spirits and do not participate in an institutionalized priesthood that is responsible for thinking about the Law and destiny. Just as each tribe thinks that it came into being at the creation, so its extermination must be the ending. It is impossible for most tribes to see their existence ending without the universe ending as well. Binary history does not admit other possibilities.

Indian religions are very much alive today. Prophets in the Great Lakes and Arctic areas still instruct their people in the song, dance, and message given them by the spirit world. Young Sioux men yet dream for spiritual power and sacrifice themselves in the Sun

dance. Iroquois members of the False Face society in New York appear at homes of the sick and ritually affect a cure. Cherokee stomp dance songs are heard in the Oklahoma forests. Yaquis in Tucson ensure that the world will endure by performing their annual Easter ceremony. Eskimo shamans go into trance, travel to confer with the keeper of the game, and guide the hunters to a good kill. And Pomos on the outskirts of San Francisco yet celebrate in ceremony the ripening of the strawberry.

Responses to Christianity

When Europeans came to the new world they brought with them not only a powerful technology and a new social order, but a new religion which they felt obligated to spread to all of the world. Indians were enticed or forced into contact with Christianity according to their particular historical circumstances. The variety of Indian responses will be canvassed.

At first contact, many Indian groups were impressed by western civilization, the men and women who were the bearers of it, and Christianity. Yaqui Indians in northern Mexico in the early 1600s defeated two successive Spanish armies sent against them, which was one of the few defeats of Spanish arms by Indians. Shortly after repulsing the Spanish, however, Yaqui leaders appeared in the Spanish settlements to the south and requested that Jesuit missionaries be sent to instruct them in the Catholic faith. When the first French missionaries travelled throughout the Great Lakes, thousands of Chippewas, Ottawas, and Potawatamies came down to the beach to be blessed and baptized. No one knows exactly what was in their minds, but they certainly knew that the missionary was a religious figure and that they were participating in a religious ceremony. Further, they must have very much desired to participate in this ceremony. When Catholic missionaries entered the Pima-speaking country of northern Mexico and southern Arizona, Indians met missionaries with crosses in their hands requesting to be baptized. In the 1800s Flathead Indians travelled from western Montana to St. Louis to see the very

famous Governor George Rogers Clark and to request that missionaries be sent to their country. In the last half of the 19th century, Nishga Indians requested that Anglican missionaries be sent to them.

Such a response to Christianity, while not the norm, is not unusual in North America.

Why was Christianity so appealing to peoples who knew almost nothing about it? Let us suggest a hypothesis here. In Indian eyes, a people's religion is not a separate category in life, but causal in all aspects of life. Many Indian tribes see a direct connection between a people's spiritual power and their technological development or material prosperity.

European technology and prosperity was very impressive to North American Indians. Guns, steel knives, copper pots, wool cloth, distilled liquor, ploughs, horses and glass enriched the lives of many Indians, as well as creating many new problems. If a people are rich and technologically powerful, this must be a part of their spiritual power. These technologically superior people were apparently willing to show Indians the source of their spiritual power, the same spiritual power which was responsible in Indian eye's for steel knives, wheat, and horses.

There is no doubt that Spanish technology and prosperity was what attracted the Yaquis. After defeating the Spanish armies, the Yaqui chiefs, one from each of forty villages, went to the Spanish settlements to negotiate a peace at the Spanish request. While there they were given a tour of Jesuit mission settlements among the native Cahia-speaking Indians in that area. They were visibly impressed by the prosperity of those villages.

Yaquis returned soon after the peace to the Spanish settlement to request Jesuit missionaries. Moreover, the Yaquis allowed Jesuits in the first few years of their conversion to completely restructure Yaqui life. Yaquis lived in some 40 rancherias in the Yaqui valley, but they allowed the Jesuits to cluster them in some eight villages, each with a church. The magnitude of moving from a village of 300 people into one of six thousand must have meant a revolutionary kind of life for the average Yaqui. Further, the Yaquis reorganized themselves as villages around the mission churches. Yaquis were

transformed under the Jesuit tutelage, although the impact of the Jesuits was probably more social than religious or philosophical.

There are, of course, instances where Indians resisted Christian conversion. The Pueblos of New Mexico and some of the Central Algonkin peoples, the Mesquakie and the Kickapoo, are such examples. The Pueblos rose up against Spanish domination in 1680, expelling the Spanish military settlers, and Catholic clergy for some 14 years. Pueblo leaders, native priests, appear most hostile to the clergy. At contact, the Pueblos were an advanced culture, prosperous by most standards, and were not impressed either by Spanish technology nor Catholicism. In the first phases of Spanish domination, the early 1600s, the Pueblos were passive Catholics at best and held fast to their ancient religious worship. Catholic clergy, backed by the military of the Spanish, undertook repressive actions against Pueblo religion. The Pueblo revolt stems as much from the action of clerics as from other causes. After the Spanish re-occupied New Mexico, the Pueblos were not pressured again in the religious realm. They did, over the years, develop a native Catholicism, but kept this native worship secret and separate from their Catholicism. The Kickapoo and Mesquakie, after significant struggle with American settlers, received serious missionary attention in the 1800s. Protestant missionaries of that era presented Christianity to these tribes as a way for them to become "civilized" and "Americanized." Their response was less than positive.

Many of the descendants of the Chippewa Indians who crowded on the beaches of Great Lakes to be blessed and baptized by French missionaries, now live in Northern Ontario. These Chippewas still see whites as people of great power and see a direct connection between religion and technological prowess, so much so that older Chippewas in this area will take a damaged outboard motor to the local priest for repairs, since he is a holy man of the civilization whose spiritual power produced outboard motors. If a new priest in the area fails to respond to such a request, most Chippewas some 30 years ago would think that he was being unfriendly, not that he did not know how to fix it. Further, there

is no doubt that the stores and mills established in the Nishga country by Protestant missionaries enhanced Christianity in the Nishga eyes.

In the 1800s when Indian groups came into more intimate contact with Christianity, some features of Christian dogma had positive appeal to Indian groups. For instance, if one breaks the aboriginal Law, then one suffers in this life, and there are no exceptions. In this respect, the old Indian religious philosophy is some degree unyielding and harsh. In contrast, Christianity promises Jesus' love and forgiveness. For many Indians Christianity seemed to offer a powerful friend in the spirit world to intercede for you under almost any circumstances. The idea of forgiveness was a positive feature of Christianity for many Indians in the last century. And, of course, Jesus' morality bolstered the old tribal aspiration for harmony and love among the people.

Most Indian religions as such are not very interested in the afterlife, which remains a vague concept. As one modern Cree spokesman said, the Indian religion is an earthly religion concerned with actions during a person's lifetime and the history of a people. However, by the 1800s life in many Indian groups was not as rewarding as it once had been. To feel that one could get a reward in an afterlife as promised by Christianity must have seemed hopeful to people who were experiencing genocide or something close to it in the 1800s. Further, Christianity ties people into a wider world than simply their tribe. Indians in this period were beginning to see themselves not only as members of a local national group, but as North American Indians and also as part of a general humanity, as part of the family of man. After all, Sioux Indians were in this time in the 1880s travelling with Buffalo Bill's circus all over the United States and Europe in connection with other Indians. Further, many young Sioux Indians were spending most of their childhood in federal Indian boarding schools with other Indians and their white teachers of various religious and national background.

Current Conditions

The current situation with respect to religion among Indian groups is complicated. In some North American Indian tribes most people still practice their ancient religion to the exclusion of any other, and in almost every tribe some people keep up the aboriginal religion. Tribes such as the Mesquakie in Iowa, the Kickapoo in Oklahoma and Mexico, and the Hopi in Arizona have few or no Christians among them. Some tribes have become influenced by Christianity only in very recent times. The Muskogee-speaking Seminoles in Florida were converted by Creek Indian Baptist missionaries in the late 1940s. Most of the Apache tribes, as well as the Navajos, had few Christians among them 40 years ago.

There are a few tribes in North America who have developed a native Christianity. We use this phrase to refer to an unorthodox Christianity whose development is controlled by a particular Indian tribe and whose content reflects their culture. Native Christianity has its own special meaning system that evolves under the control of a particular tribe.

Examples are found in such tribes as the Yaquis and Papagos of the southwest, the Choctaw of Oklahoma and Mississippi, and the Nishga of Northern British Columbia. Our narratives on the sun Xavier Papago, the Barrio Libre Yaqui, and Cherokee religion illustrate native Christianities. From these examples it is apparent that most tribes who develop a native Christianity did so before they were placed under the reservation system, or they were never placed on a reservation.

Some Indians look at Christianity with the eyes of their forefathers and re-interpret it to fit their aboriginal religious view of the world. This is not a native Christianity, however, unless they institutionalize their vision. To illustrate, Christian missionaries came to the Sioux country after the Sioux had been conquered by the United States, their economy destroyed, and placed on reservations under the tight control of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. In fact, the federal government during the period from 1880 to World War I parceled out different Indian reservations to different Christian groups. Catholics and Episcopalians were "given" the Sioux country for their proselytizing. Thus, missionaries

came to the Sioux country as part of the colonial establishment. The Sioux have never been able to make Christianity their own or take from Christianity those features which most appeal to the Sioux and speak to the Sioux condition of life. The rituals and functions of the church are firmly in the hands of an outside hierarchy that follows orthodox practices. Sioux religious life is as over-controlled, perhaps inadvertently, as is the rest of Sioux life by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Members of some tribes go both to a Christian church and participate in native ceremonies as well. Sometimes their Christian participation is in native Christianity, as with the Cherokee Baptists or the Papago Catholics. In other tribes people will attend churches which are duplicates of American white churches and attend their own aboriginal ceremonies as well. The Sioux Indians in western South Dakota exemplify parallel participation.

Parallel participation can, but does not necessarily, involve tensions and cross-pressures. The controlling factor is whether the aboriginal religion and Christianity regard each other as incompatible. Some modern tribes in North America do not conceptualize their Way as a religion that competes with Christianity. Native Christianities may even facilitate parallel practice. When neither side perceives an incompatibility, there is no tension in parallel practice. It is possible in these circumstances to keep up the Indian Way and also belong to a Christian denomination. Orthodox Christian denominations, however, have been monopolistic about religion, although their historical hostility to "pagan practices" has softened somewhat in recent years. Furthermore, some contemporary tribes conceptualize the Way as a religion in a sense equatable with European religions and cannot allow parallel participation any more than orthodox Christians can. The perception of incompatibility on both sides has produced severe tensions between Christians and the aboriginal religion in some Hopi villages and some Iroquois settlements. To be specific, the Mohawk in Quebec are severely polarized between Catholic and Longhouse (aboriginal) religious factions. A dispiriting sight

witnessed by Thomas was Reverend Grassrope raving into the microphone on a sound truck in order to disturb the dancers at the Pine Ridge Sioux sun dance in 1961. Cooter witnessed the same kind of event when Reverend Adams mounted his sound truck during Hopi ceremonies at First Mesa.

On many Indian reservations there are congregations of the native American church, the followers of the Peyote road, a recent (1890) denomination which combines elements of both Christian and aboriginal ritual. Indeed, the native American church is by far the majority denomination among the largest of North American Indian tribes, the Navajo who number over 200,000 people. In adopting elements of Christianity, some tribes have given up little of their aboriginal religion and some tribes have given up a lot. For example, in the great Yaquis Easter pageants, evil spirits occupy the village for several days preceding Easter Sunday. These spirits are rather like trolls -- dumb but very strong and dangerous. In 1983 we observed that one of these evil spirits had bushy eyebrows, red hair, and wore a green derby hat. He was a thinly disguised image of the Irish priest whom the Yaquis finally had gotten to leave their parish. This priest had been unsympathetic to the Yaquis folk Catholicism. Apparently the Yaquis are able to take what they want from Catholicism and discard the rest, in spite of the power of the church bureaucracy. The Nishga, on the other hand, have paid a high price for their Anglicanism and fundamentalist Christianity -- they no longer have practicing Indian doctors or talk to god.

On some reservations religious life is fragmented among various Protestant sects, Catholicism, aboriginal religion, and the Native American Church. To illustrate, Christian sects who went to proselytize among tribes like the Navajos and the Apaches were not very successful until very recently. Up until World War II, the Bureau of Indian Affairs controlled in one way or another the number of Christian sects proselytizing on a reservation and therefore there was no competition for Indian souls among an array of Christian sects. However, after World War II the situation changed and large tribes of

non-Christians became deluged with competing sects. Many people among the Navajos and Apaches simply float between different denominations.

When there is a multiplicity of religious groups competing for people's attention, each one with a different story, there is no consistent sacred tradition. Fragmentation causes contradictions and inconsistencies in presenting morality and sanctioning immorality. Some Apache and Navajo communities show the results of everyone's religion getting called into question by everyone else's. In such a milieu, young people will believe no one, so their pleasure-seeking is unbridled. The absence of restraint causes social ills such as violence in the family.

A Contrast Using Relational Theory

According to the theory that we have developed in this book, identity and social relations are the core of a person. Stated baldly, a tribal Indian identifies with his kinsmen and strives to acquire a sensibility towards them, while an urban person's identity includes the purposes that he pursues through work and through instrumental relations with others. A salient dimension for contrasting urban Americans and tribal Indians is, consequently, individuation and sociability, and we have drawn a detailed theory out of this contrast. We have also described the religious philosophy of tribal Indians at a sufficiently high level of generalization to identify some unifying features. These features are a sacred world view, the Law the Way, good feeling underlying the Law, spiritual power or medicine, and a binary concept of history. According to our theory, these unifying features of Indian religious philosophy should be congruent with a tribal Indian's identity and social relations. In this section we relate each of the features of Indian religious philosophy to our account of personal identity and social relations.

Secular and Sacred Spirits

In a sacred world view, nature is alive with spiritual beings whose supernatural power explains some natural events. In a secular world view, in contrast, nature is not populated by spiritual beings and natural events are explained by mechanical causes or chance.

Although urban people do not see spirits at work in nature, they do detect something like spirits in social life. For urban people, society is alive with abstract purposes and institutions that serve them. To illustrate, democracy, liberty, capitalism, the university, art, Catholicism, and the Republican Party are so real that they are said to cause significant events. Thus someone might say, "War broke out because of the tension between communism and capitalism," or "The university affected his whole outlook."

When these abstractions refer to social forces, they may even be called spirits, as in Max Weber's most famous book, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism. Abstract social forces can be called the secular spirits of the urban world. In spite of obvious differences, there is a parallel between abstract social forces in a secular world view and spiritual beings in a sacred world view. Both figure in the explanation of events.

Furthermore, both types of explanation are congruent with the identities and social relations of the people who use them. According to our theory, urban people individuate by adopting purposes and pursuing them through instrumental relations. As we will demonstrate, the abstract forces by which urban people explain social events are institutional embodiments of such purposes. In contrast, tribal Indians acquire a sensibility through personal relations with their kin. The individual spirits by which tribal Indians explain some natural events are like distant, powerful kinsmen. So the two types of explanation can be viewed as projections of two types of personal identity and their corresponding human relations.

Mystery or Superstition?

Is the contrast between explanations using abstractions like democracy and explanations using spiritual beings like the Thunder a contrast between science and superstition? This is a question about the epistemological status of secular forces and sacred spirits.

Explanations in terms of social forces in urban life are as unconvincing and unintelligible to tribal Indians as explanations of natural events in terms of spiritual beings are to urban Americans. An example will make the point. According to Plato, Socrates was sentenced to death for allegedly corrupting the youth of Athens by teaching them philosophy.²³² Furthermore, the Athenian authorities gave Socrates a chance to escape, which he refused, so they reluctantly carried out the death sentence. We know an American Indian who, when he read this story, concluded that the authority's were probably right to sentence Socrates to death. Our friend reasoned that it was unnatural for a person to abandon his family and kinsman to die for an abstraction like Philosophy or the Truth, especially after they had gone to so much trouble to arrange an escape for him. Such behavior is so unnatural that the influence of such a person on the young would be corrupting.

The story of Socrates is usually held up to illustrate that some ideals are so important that good people will live and die for them. Abstractions such as democracy, capitalism, the university, or utilitarianism acquire their ability to influence events through their embodiment of appealing ideals and through their organization of material interests. The normative power of ideals can make abstractions into social forces. For our Indian friend, however, ideals are unimportant relative to personal relationships. The abstractions that urban people use to explain events do not appeal to him. In so far as our Indian friend thinks that other people are like himself, he must think that abstractions like democracy

²³² . The Crito.

cannot provide satisfactory explanations of history, rather like secular people think the Head Deer cannot provide satisfactory explanations of hunting.

"Reification" is the process of imbuing an abstraction with greater force than it actually possesses and falsely attributing an autonomous life to it. For tribal Indians, the secular spirits that urban people use to explain social life are reifications. Similarly, falsely attributing spiritual power to a natural object is called "deification." For urban people, the sacred spirits that tribal people use to explain the natural world are deifications.

Reification and deification are both forms of misplaced specificity.

It is not easy to detect the boundary between explanation and reification. To illustrate, suppose that a bomb explodes in the trunk of a car parked on a shopping street. Everyone agrees about certain simple facts -- revolutionaries phoned a warning to a TV station, the bomb exploded before the authorities could locate it, the car was torn to pieces, a mother and child were killed by shrapnel, and so forth. These facts describe the event whose occurrence needs to be explained. The explanation must employ abstractions, but at what level are the abstractions to be chosen? Here are four possibilities: i) The bombers have an adolescent desire for publicity; ii) radicals want to destabilize the ruling coalition; iii) unemployment among college graduates is spawning revolutionary politics; iv) the working class is rebelling against the ruling class. These explanations connect the bombing to other things -- psychological motives, immediate political aims, economic conditions, or class conflict -- but people will disagree about which connection has the most explanatory power. Many people will consider some of these explanations as arid abstractions.

A parallel situation exists with respect to the tribal Indian's explanation of natural events. To illustrate, suppose that a Cherokee quarrels with his uncle and neglects to pray to the deer before going hunting on a rainy day. When he returns from the hunt, he breaks out in a fever. A Cherokee might explain his sickness as caused by i) the chilling rain, ii) the resentment of his uncle, or iii) the Head Deer who made him sick because he did not

show respect before hunting. These explanations connect the illness to exposure to the weather, disharmony in a human relationship, or an act by a spirit. There is scope for Cherokees to disagree about the best explanation of the event.

Social scientists often believe that the casual connections attributed to religious ritual are simple mistakes. A clear argument for this view is provided by B.F. Skinner's explanation of Hopi rain dances. An early discovery of psychological behaviorism is that random reinforcement can induce a subject to persist in manipulations that do not really increase the frequency of reward. To illustrate, suppose that a caged pigeon receives food pellets at random intervals. A pellet might appear by chance when it is preening its right wing. It will, perhaps, repeat its preening behavior and by chance receive another pellet. Now the pigeon may behave as if preening its right wing causes an increase in the probability of its receiving a food pellet. The refutation of such a hypothesis requires an understanding of probability theory and empirical methods beyond the capacity of the pigeon's minute brain. Skinner concludes that Hopi rain dances are based on a similar mistake. Rainfall in the arid southwest is like random reinforcement. Perhaps the Hopis, like the pigeon, noticed a chance connection between rainfall and a particular ritual, and then lacked the intellectual tools to disconfirm this false hypothesis. Since they lived the edge of survival, the Hopis were reluctant to take the chance of suspending their dancing just to see whether rainfall declined as a consequence. So they are compelled by belief in a false causal hypothesis to persist in dancing.

Another psychological theory developed by Freud and his heirs holds that religion is a projection of frustrated desires and their symbolic satisfaction. To illustrate, the sacrament of the last supper plays out the desire of ordinary people to acquire a great man's power through ritualized cannibalism. Similarly, the belief that goodness will be rewarded, either on earth as in Indian religions or in heaven as in Christianity, projects the child's relationship with its parents onto the universe as a whole. The implication of this theory is that religion is essentially expressive of psychological states.

There is a third hypothesis that is also suggested by social science. Indian people like the Hopis, who inhabit marginal land, traditionally lived on the knife-edge of survival. There is not much scope for cultural mistakes or expressive play. The Hopis draw rain by dancing. The Indians in the Yukon dream the hunt and then find the animals in a re-enactment of the dream, and the Eskimos locate seals in a trance. If these practices were not functional, these highly adaptable people would abandon them. A people who held on to disfunctional institutions would probably have been eliminated in such harsh environments. Thus there is a contradiction between the psychological explanations and a functional explanation.

An analysis of the function of these practices, however, is not necessarily so narrow as proposed by Skinner. Indians often view rituals as having diffuse purposes, more like saying mass than watering the lawn. Hopi rain dances are cultural events with significance beyond increasing the probability of rainfall. Hopis think these dances promote social harmony as well as bringing rain. As for the northern tribes finding game by dreams or trances, these special mental states may facilitate responsiveness to nature and synthesis of its subtle cues. In any case, no one seriously disputes that these people excel at finding game and they apparently do it by these extraordinary means. A hunter who cannot distinguish objective signs about the location of animals from subjective desires is not going to eat meat.

The difference between psychological critiques of ritual and a functional defence of it must be settled in part by analyzing what counts as an explanation of an event. An explanation is a way of connecting observations by appeal to something that is not itself a simple observation.²³³ No one observed "capitalism" at the site of the hypothetical car bomb described above, and no one observed the Head Deer at the hunt. Some uses of "capitalism" are valid and others are invalid reifications; similarly, it is our view that

²³³This simple idea was elevated to the level of a general philosophy by the logical positivists. Our terse statement falls far short of an endorsement of that philosophy.

some uses of "Head Deer" are valid and others are invalid deifications. We would like to indicate in a preliminary way how to distinguish between legitimate and illegitimate uses. This is a difficult task because the problems of reification and deification are deep, especially in a cross cultural context. We can, however, give some suggestive hints. A 19th century Sioux walking through the business district of St. Louis could see buildings and people, but not capitalism. The Sioux knew little or nothing about forces like democracy, or about institutions like parliament or universities. Suppose that the Sioux Indians overran St. Louis in the 19th century, rather like Mongolian horsemen overran much of Europe in the 12th century. Since they could not conceive of the city as controlled by such forces, tribals would destroy many urban institutions through clumsiness and ignorance, as well as through greed and malice, just as the Mongols destroyed much of Europe.

Although the Sioux did not overrun St. Louis, the Americans militarily defeated and conquered the Sioux. Indians stored a great deal of knowledge about the natural environment in their system of religious practices and beliefs, knowledge that was acquired through thousands of years of experience. The conquering Americans, however, did not think that nature is populated by spiritual beings or that natural events can be influenced by human feelings without mechanical levers. Christianity as understood by the conquering Americans is devoid of detailed norms concerning treatment of the environment. The Bible is almost wholly silent about ecology. To illustrate, Moses and Jesus never placed prayer feathers by a spring, or asked the forgiveness of an animal before killing and eating it, or required their followers to worship in what Indians call a "clean place" -- a place where the environment retains its undisturbed beauty.²³⁴

²³⁴Christianity and Judaism have little normative content that is relevant to contemporary ecological problems. To illustrate, the philosopher John Passmore has argued (correctly in our opinion) that the Christian religious tradition and the English legal tradition have norms that condemn pollution and similar acts so long as those acts result in concrete harm people. There is little normative control over acts that destroy the environment without doing immediate harm to human health. See *Man's Responsibility for Nature* by John Passmore.

There are some notable attempts to provide a Christian defense of the environment. To illustrate, Bishop John Taylor, *Enough Is Enough* (SCM Press, 1975) wrote, "The quality of man's dominion over nature is intended to reflect the quality of God's dominion -- loving, cherishing and essentially self-giving" biblical principles for the wise use and protection of God's creation." This

Americans dismissed as superstition the systems of thought by which Indians had come to understand nature's balance. Little wonder that Americans destroyed the ecology that was the basis of the aboriginal economy and produced various environmental disasters. It is not, however, the destruction of the natural world that is our present concern so much as the beliefs and values that make it possible. In contemporary religious thought, a distinction is drawn between mystery and superstition. To illustrate, the doctrine of the Trinity holds that God has three forms -- father, son, and holy ghost -- and yet God is one. It is mathematical nonsense to say "one plus one plus one equals one," but the Trinity is regarded as a mystery, not as nonsense.

In contrast, belief that the Head Deer causes disrespectful hunters to become sick would be regarded by most Americans as superstition. Our institutions reflect the difference in status between the Trinity and the Head Deer. For example, a public school teacher who told children that the Trinity is nonsense would grossly overstep the legal boundary between church and state, but a teacher might well tell Cherokee children that it is superstitious to believe that the Head Deer makes disrespectful hunters sick.

What is the difference between mystery and superstition? One difference is the way religion affects the natural world. For tribals, behavior towards spiritual beings has an immediate affect upon daily life; specifically, proper behavior towards spirits averts disasters that would result from disrespect, such as sickness, warfare, earthquakes, or crop failures. And improper behavior invites these disasters. For tribal Indians, the spirit world directly affects events in the natural world.

In contrast, the God of urban people does not directly impinge upon specific events in the natural world. God may be the ground of all being, or God may transcend natural objects, or God may have laid down the course of history through the creation, or God may answer prayers in mysterious ways, but God does not figure in the causal chains by

is a Christian interpretation of the Biblical idea that man is God's steward over the natural world. A Biblical statement on the link between social injustice and environmental degradation is in Isaiah 24:1,3-5,10,12.

which urban people explain events. The urban God does not interfere continually in recent history, or at least His presence does not take a form that must be incorporated into explanations. Furthermore, few urban people believe that God visits sickness or earthquakes or crop failures on those who disrespect Him. God's wrath is felt at some distant time, after death or at the millennium. Asking God for assistance with earthly matters in the expectation that there will be a demonstrable result is sometimes described as demeaning. Indeed, the philosopher Nietzsche castigated people for "god-wheedling" -- approaching God as if He were a despot who would dispense favors to boot-lickers.²³⁵ One difference between superstition and religious mystery, from an urban viewpoint, is whether spiritual beings are thought to intervene in the chain of natural events. The belief in the separation of the natural world and the spirit world has many consequences, some of which we will investigate. Indeed, the separation of matter and spirit is one of the fundamental dualities that is decisive in western thought.

Faith versus Experience

Indians do not entirely agree about the particulars concerning spirits and how to influence them. However, all tribal Indians agree that the natural world is alive with particular beings with whom people can form relationships. If spirits influence the natural world, there is scope for observing them and experiencing their effects. Indian religion is founded upon these observations and experiences as explained above. Observation and experience, which provides the evidence for science and for much of common sense, is also the evidence for Indian religious beliefs.

In contrast, when the spirit world is sealed off in peoples' mind and not allowed to influence the natural world, the foundation of religion is altered. If spirits do not influence the natural world, then there is little scope for observing them or experiencing their effects. If spirits are not observed and their affects are not experienced, there is no

²³⁵Cite Nietzsche.

evidence for their existence. The remaining basis for belief in spirits is faith unsupported by evidence, which is a modern understanding of the biblical phrase "belief in things unseen."

Different aspects of religion seem problematic for tribal Indians and whites. When people have no experience with God and other spirits, belief is based upon faith. Faith may be firm, but it is not easily defended. What defense can be offered by someone who acknowledges that the belief is unsupported by evidence?

Epistemology is the branch of philosophy that deals with the grounds for knowing. Without religious experience, the perplexing problem of religion is epistemological. Not so for tribal Indians because they can point to religious experience as the grounds for their knowledge of spirits. A different problem seems more pressing to tribal Indians when they interact with other tribes. Cree and the Cherokees describe encounters with quite different spirits in the woods. Is that because the spirits are different or because each tribe conceptualizes its religious experience differently? How can one tell that what appears to be another being is real rather than illusory? Thus a perplexing problem for Indians is why the particulars of their religions are so different, or why different tribes apparently interact with different spirit worlds. Ontology is the branch of philosophy that deals with the nature of being. For Indians, the problem of religion is not so much the epistemological question of the grounds of faith, but rather the ontological question of the types of spirit beings with whom people interact.

The Indian in the narrative on the ecumenical movement commented, "Beavers never talk to white people." Why do tribal Indians have religious experiences that are closed to urban people? Are they merely delusions or projections? Could it be that Indians have a sensibility that whites lack? A theatrical metaphor suggests the possibilities. Suppose that three friends with very different outlooks attend a performance of Shakespeare's Julius Caesar. One of the three, a naive person of little experience, cannot distinguish the actor from the character being portrayed. When Brutus and the other conspirators stab

Caesar, the naive believer thinks he has witnessed a murder. In contrast, another of the three -- a man of extremely skeptical temperament -- sees only ketchup and knives with retractable blades when Caesar is killed. Unlike his two friends, the third person in the group is a sophisticated critic who sees tragedy and betrayal in the performance of the assassination. When the three friends leave the theater, the sophisticated critic comments that Brutus was credible whereas Caesar was unconvincing. His two friends are surprised because the one found the whole performance unconvincing and the other thought it was literal.

The attitudes of the three friends towards the play parallels possible attitudes towards aboriginal Indian religion. Indian elders today often meet urban Indians and whites who are like the naive believer in the theatrical metaphor in that they are eager to believe fantastic nonsense about the spirit world. In contemporary America there is a group of fake medicine men and make-believe shaman who reap a tidy profit by peddling hocus-pocus to naive believers.²³⁶ At the other extreme, there are many skeptics who think that aboriginal Indian religion is all hocus-pocus and fraud. Indian elders believe that both positions are false. In order to experience tragedy and betrayal in Julius Caesar, the playgoer needs the proper attitude. Tribal Indians believe the same is true about spirits populating the natural world. Dreams, visions, and experiences with spirits are part of the body of sacred knowledge that Indians have accumulated from the natural environment over many centuries. These religious experiences convey valuable knowledge about nature and society. Religious experience, however, must occur in the proper context where it is controlled by tradition, or else it can be corrupted and abused. Naive believers open themselves to delusion and exploitation. And extreme skeptics close

²³⁶Here are some simple criteria to determine whether a medicine man is genuine or a phony:

- i) Does he speak an Indian language well?
- ii) Does he live in an Indian community?
- iii) Do his own relatives come to him for healing?
- iv) Does he refuse money for healing?
- v) Is he reluctant to heal and does he avoid publicizing that he has the power to heal?

If these five questions are all answered "No," he is a phony. If these five questions are all answered "Yes," he is genuine. If some questions are answered "Yes" and some are answered "No," the case is not clear-cut.

their minds to religious experience just as the skeptical theater-goer closed his mind to esthetic experience.²³⁷

Secular and Sacred Law

It is not hard to see that the distinction between mystery and superstition, and the distinction between faith and evidence, are two pillars of the separation of church and state. If God's influence upon the world is regarded as a mystery, and if believing that God rewards the pious and punishes the impious on earth is regarded as superstition, then religious practice does not directly affect the fate of a nation. It is easier for people who practice different religions to agree to keep religion out of politics when they believe that doing so will not affect a people's fate. In such a situation, people may be able to agree that the state should enforce the minimum set of moral precepts that most religions endorse for regulating intercourse among them. The law resulting from such an agreement will be secular in character.

On the other hand, if spiritual beings are believed to influence natural events continually, rewarding a pious people and punishing a disrespectful people, then religious observance directly affects the well-being of the state. If religious observance is essential to the state's well-being, then keeping religion out of politics is potentially disastrous. Religious Indians tend to think that religion must be blended with politics in order to guarantee the well-being of a people. Religion cannot be hermetically sealed off from practical affairs. The law resulting from such beliefs, or the Way, will be sacred in character.

Similarly, if religion is a matter of faith, then knowledge of the world can be complete without understanding religion, consequently, the young can be taught about the world without learning religion. In contrast, if spiritual beings are observed and the effects of

²³⁷An important American philosopher also believed that the basis of religious belief is religious experience, and he defended these experiences against criticism by scientists. See William James, The Varieties of Religious Experience.

There are striking parallels between some kinds of esthetic and religious experiences. To illustrate, Dewey and Beardsley argue that the essential feature of esthetic experience is the perception of unity in diversity, or meaning in chaos, which is also an essential feature of the experience of a transcendent god. See John Dewey, *Art as Experience*, and Monroe Beardsley, *Aesthetics*.

their acts are experienced, then an education without religious content could only impart a partial knowledge of the world. A full knowledge of the world, in this view, must encompass the spirits who populate it. When religion is so much a part of daily life as it is for Indians, secular politics and secular education must seem to be deeply flawed.

The character of the law or the Way reflects these facts. As explained in the narrative, departures from the Law can have disastrous effects; indeed, R.H. even explains the defeat of the Cherokees by white Americans as the consequence of Cherokees not observing the Law sufficiently. The law of the Cherokees provides a comprehensive guide to living that must be followed to keep individual Cherokees and the nation of Cherokees healthy and harmonious.

Separation of church and state is an important aspect of religious toleration in America. Tribal Indians are very tolerant of each other, as demonstrated in the narratives, but their toleration has a different basis from separation of church and state. Indians do not care about religions belief so much as religious behavior. Furthermore, tribal Indians are very tolerant of each others' behavior so long as it is not socially disruptive. Aboriginal religion stresses the central importance of good feeling and harmony within the tribe, which cannot be achieved by coercing religious participation. Furthermore, the fact that individuals communicate with spirits means that eccentricity is often interpreted as idiosyncratic inspiration.

Urban people are familiar with the idea that governments make laws to accomplish specific purposes. Just as the individual chooses among purposes to live for, and constructs himself out of that pursuit, so the state can choose among policies and construct its institutions from the pursuit of them. By confining human relations to instrumental purposes, it is possible to design relations or the institution in which they are imbedded to achieve their purposes efficiently. Legislation to achieve policy objectives is, perhaps, the consummate example of the social creativity of individuals. In contrast, tribal Indians are immersed in kin-relations whose purposes are so subtle and diverse that

they can be described as ends, rather than as means to further purposes. It is difficult or impossible for people to redesign kin relations by a conscious, legislative act in order to serve a narrow purpose. To illustrate, Congress has not attempted to redefine what it means to be a grandfather in order for families to pursue their purpose more efficiently. So tribal Indians tend to think of social forms as given by the nature of things and not subject to redesign for a narrow purpose. For tribal Indians, social forms are given; we are not free to reconstruct them at will, but, instead, they must remain as constituted by social practice.

It is natural, then, that tribals should think of law as given by the nature of things, rather than shaped to a purpose chosen by people. For this reason, religious law is not interpreted according to policies underlying it. Rather, the law is inexorable. This is one reason why R.H. found the Christian message of forgiveness appealing -- it provided escape from the inexorable consequences of breaking the law. So, R.H. observed that in the Cherokee Republic, Cherokee judges who were Christians tended to be more flexible in interpreting the law and more lenient with criminals than judges who followed the aboriginal religion to the exclusion of Christianity. Although no policy underlies the law, something else lies beneath it. According to R.H., law provides social form for love and good feeling among kin. In this respect, as in some others,²³⁸ there is a convergence of aboriginal Indian religion and Christian thought.

Belief versus Behavior

We have contrasted an urban religion of faith and a tribal religion of experience. This contrast in the foundation of religion relates to several other salient differences.

Christianity, being a religion based upon faith, places great emphasis upon correct

²³⁸ Many stories in the Bible are useful for tribal Indians to clarify their own position. To illustrate, Moses can be understood as taking a broken people, who had become a lower caste in an alien society, and reconstituting them as a tribe in the desert. Or, Jesus taught that the first problem of the Jews was not their Roman masters, but the way they treated each other. Being "saved" in fundamentalist Christianity can be understood as forgiving sins in an intimate community and reintegrating the wrong-doer into the society. Thus Levy-Bruhl in *The Savage Mind* says that if a savage reads the Bible, he is a Christian, because he doesn't hold himself separate from ideas and he does not weigh them to decide whether to take them into himself.

beliefs. Missionaries interpret the Great Commission of Jesus -- "...preach the Gospel to every living creature" -- to mean that everyone should be convinced to adopt the Christian system of belief. The tendency to stress belief rather than behavior is, perhaps, not so strong among Catholics as Protestants, since Catholics emphasize participation in the sacraments, yet all Christian groups emphasize belief more than aboriginal Indian religions.

In contrast, aboriginal Indian religions stress behavior, not belief. We encountered this fact in our very first narrative, "A Cherokee Childhood," in which a respected healer and the religious head of a stomp grounds professed to be an atheist. In the second narrative, "The White Dove of the Desert," we saw that the Papagos regard Catholicism as an addition to their aboriginal religion. They could practice both, although orthodox Catholics insist that they could not believe in both. Similarly, R.H. is not concerned with Cherokee Baptists eroding the nighthawks' belief, but he is concerned with preserving the nighthawks' practices.

One illustration of the difference between a religion of belief and a religion of behavior concerns religious healing. Fundamentalist ministers who heal by faith represent one strand in the long Christian tradition of spiritual healing. These ministers tend to stress that a necessary condition for being healed is that the sick person believe that God will in fact work a cure. Indeed, the main role of the minister is inducing such faith. In contrast, Indian medicine men do not emphasize the sick person's faith. The cure works in several ways -- with the aid of the medicine man's spiritual helper or simply by saying the correct words -- but no special belief is required of the sick person.

Another aspect of the difference between a religion of belief and a religion of behavior concerns the after-life. According to our theory, urban Americans strive to become individuals and tribal Indians strive to acquire a sensibility to kin. A person who is rooted thoroughly in kin relations can take satisfaction in the future life of his tribe after his own death. In contrast, this source of consolation is not open to an individual who builds his

identity into abstract purposes that he pursues. One source of consolation for the individual at the thought of his own death is the belief that others will continue to pursue the purposes he cherishes. Another consolation that is important to many people is the belief that his individual existence will continue after death. For Christians salvation becomes extremely important -- the life after death will be glorious for the good who will reside in mansions and live in the presence of God. For the aboriginal religions, however, the fate of a person after death tends to be somewhat obscure and uncertain -- perhaps, as with the Cherokees, the souls of the dead go out west somewhere to a life similar to the one they lived on earth.

Still another illustration of the difference between emphasizing beliefs and emphasizing behavior concerns sacred history. Urban people conceptualize history as linear -- each event can be placed upon a time line, so every pair of events on the line relate according to whether one proceeds the other or they occurred contemporaneously. As explained in the narrative, tribal Indians tend to have a binary conception of sacred history. Salient events either belong to the distant past, perhaps even the "beginning" or the "creation," or else they belong to the present that encompasses living memory. Imposing linear order on events is not so important to a tribal's understanding of history.

This difference in perspective affects the tensions that arise between history, science, and religion. Some fundamentalist Christians, for example, insist that the Bible is literally true, so the whole universe was created about four thousand years ago. Indeed, creationism often becomes a test of whether a person accepts the fundamentalist system of belief. In contrast, tribal Indians usually believe that their tribes were created at the beginning of the world. Tribal Indians, however, are not particularly troubled about scientific claims about the origins of the universe. For tribal Indians, the most salient events in history do not line up linearly, so science and religion do not contradict each other. Nor does belief in the origins of the tribe become a test of authentic religious faith. Some urban Indians, however, have internalized the idea of linear history and become

troubled by the apparent conflict between the origin stories of their tribes and the scientific theories about a land bridge from Asia.

The distinction between a religion of belief and a religion of behavior leads to an insight into acculturation. As noted, aboriginal religion and participation in the Christian church are usually compatible in terms of the activities they require, but not in terms of beliefs.

Aboriginal Indian religions are robust in the sense that they can add Christian superstructure without greatly disturbing the original content. From an aboriginal perspective, a Christian is a person who does Christian things, like going to mass or reading the Bible, regardless of what he believes.²³⁹ Orthodox Christianity, as interpreted by missionaries, however, requires Indians to renounce their aboriginal beliefs. The transformation from aboriginal religion to orthodox Christianity is a change from a religion of behavior to a religion of belief.

This standard of change explains some counter-intuitive facts in the narrative. A religion of behavior is aboriginal in character, regardless of its particular content, whereas a religion of belief is modern in character, even if its content includes aboriginal spirits. Thus it seems possible that some Christian Indians are more aboriginal in their religion than other Indians who profess to follow the old, nonChristian ways. For example, R.H. expressed such an opinion when he said that some Cherokee Baptists who view Christianity as a religion of behavior are regarded as closer to the old ways -- "real Cherokees" -- than the "nighthawks" who follow the aboriginal religion exclusively. As another example, in his observations on the Indian ecumenical movement, Bob Thomas noted that some revivals of aboriginal religion, such as the Long House Religion that Handsome Lake brought to the Iroquois, put as much stress upon belief as the Christian missionaries.

²³⁹Bob : Do you want to elaborate on this point & document with a few references to AIM leaders. Or perhaps we should drop this paragraph.

The contrast between belief and behavior in religion also explains some similarities and tensions between the Indian ecumenical movement and the red power movement. Many Indian leaders of the red power movement in the 1960's and 1970's regarded the aboriginal religion as an important aspect of their personal identity. They wanted older Indians to bless their activities. A blessing would convey sacred sanction upon a political rebellion and give it legitimacy in the eyes of tribal Indians, as well as shore up the personal identity of the red power leaders. So the young Indian radicals attempted to ally with old Indian religious leaders. Tensions that troubled this alliance can be traced to differences in conceptions of religion. The urban conception of religion is a belief-system, rather than a guide for behavior. Furthermore, aboriginal religious systems are not directed at solving problems of personal identity, which are consequence of individuation and separation from kin.

Conclusion

Tribal Indians conceive of natural objects as distant kinsmen. Interactions with them are the old Indian religion. In contrast, modern urban people construct part of their identity by choosing ideals and pursuing them through instrumental relations. Abstract purposes are the secular spirits of the modern world. Modern man is alone in the world in the sense that only people are perceived as active beings. Modern religion either reduces to ethics by focusing on ideals, or takes on faith a world beyond experience.

Thus religion is congruent with personal identity and social relations. Indians may borrow Christian forms, but the meaning will be aboriginal so long as they continue living their lives among kin. On the other hand, if personal identity and social relations assimilate, religion will lose its original character even if aboriginal forms are retained.

Ritual as property protection: cures, patent, taxes ...