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The Miami Indians of Indiana: A Persistent People 1654-1994. By  
Stewart Rafert

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of isolation.

The final chapter explores the consequences of these changes. After 1840 peripheralization intensified, and development of infrastructure lessened. The region fell behind the rest of the country in wealth and literacy, and did become increasingly isolated from the rest of the country. The position of landholders in Southern Appalachia strengthened, even while it waned in the rest of the country. From 1810 to 1860 the degree of inequality in the United States was relatively stable, whereas it widened considerably in Southern Appalachia. By 1860 a Southern Appalachian household was twice as likely as households elsewhere in the country to be poor.

By 1860, Southern Appalachia had only two thirds as many workers in manufacturing as the country as a whole. Most of the medium sized manufacturing and extractive firms were absentee owned. Thus, the wealth they generated was pumped out of the region. Dunaway concludes (p. 322): "In short, economic cycles in the world system, not the logic of internal development, were the driving force and the determinant of the direction and pace of regional development on the first western frontier of the antebellum United States."

While *The First American Frontier* is primarily about Euro-American resettlers, Dunaway analyzes how external, global forces shaped their lives. She examines the relations of Native peoples to Euroamerican interlopers with equal skill. This is solid sociological analysis: theoretically driven research embedded in carefully collected and analyzed data in constant dialog with, and revision of, theoretical issues. I recommend it strongly to all students of the relations between Native peoples and Euroamerican newcomers.

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**The Miami Indians of Indiana: A Persistent People 1654-1994.**  
By Stewart Rafert. Indiana Historical Society. 358 pages.

This book provides a narrative overview of the Indiana Miami from the mid-seventeenth century to the present day. It is the first major summary of Miami history since Bert Anson's 1970 book, *The Miami People*.

Stewart Rafert's narrative focuses primarily on the Indiana Miami, rather than on the Western or Oklahoma Miami who were removed in 1846. Despite the continued presence of village chiefs in Indiana, the attention of the federal government also shifted westward, tribal government was considered seated in the west. During the first twenty-five years following removal the Indiana Miami remained economically self-sufficient, with the primary population centers located in the Wabash and Mississinewa River valleys. Although only 148 Miami were legally allowed to remain, many also returned from the west. Notable social and economic differences emerged among the Indiana Miami. Along the Upper Wabash the more acculturated leaders were deeded large tracts of land which they held as private reserves while the less acculturated and poorer Miami lived along the Mississinewa.

The tragic but familiar story of descent into poverty began in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Lands were lost through allotment, sale, foreclosure, government policy, and the ever-pervasive fraudulent practices of nearby white businessmen. According to Rafert poverty first engulfed those who lived in traditional ways. The more acculturated Miami, such as the Godfroys, continued to hold large acreages and revenues from farming and the sale of timber assured their prosperity. But financial success also entailed increased generosity and the Godfroy's provided for less fortunate Miami. Around Godfroy's main house numerous small dwellings sprang up to accommodate sixty of the dispossessed who had returned from Kansas.

The financial success of these Miami leaders attracted the notice of local government officials who levied taxes on these private reserves. Despite court rulings that such taxes were illegal, these civil chiefs lacked adequate means of redress. Godfroy sought legal assistance from the federal government to secure the return of illegal tax revenues. But he turned to the BIA at a time when Indian policy had shifted dramatically. Intent on assimilation, the government had little interest in insuring treaty rights. Rather than helping the Miami to secure the return of their money, the Assistant Attorney General terminated official recognition of the Indiana Miami.

Rafert tells his readers that the most injurious of the federal policies for this non-reservation people was the government's failure to accord them tribal status. Local and state level governments continued to tax land holdings and even Indian schools now refused to admit the Miami.

At the end of the nineteenth century the Indiana Miami lost the river way lands which had long sustained the subsistence activities central to their traditional way of life. Scattered increasingly in small urban landscapes across Indiana, the Miami fought to retain their identity. During the twentieth century Miami concerns shifted from a focus on tax exempt status to general claims in treaties, as they sought access to desperately needed revenues.

Rafert also shows how the Miami continued to identify as one people despite the loss of their land. Kinship and the access to spiritual powers continued to be important factors in the selection of twentieth-century leaders. Men like Camillus Bondy effectively incorporated the Miami who lived in towns like Peru and fostered their identification with their former village communities. During the 1930s, when the Indian New Deal improved the quality of life for many reservation Indians, the Indiana Miami were denied similar benefits and consigned to legal limbo. The Miami continued to push for legal recognition, even more strenuously. Despite the loss of language and older folkways, the Miami reflected the increasing national trend to identify as Indian, this increased both their visibility and tribal membership.

This book describes a complex but often unrecognized struggle. While ethnohistorical literature has primarily focused on issues that concern Native people who lived on reservations or had official recognition, there has been less research focused on those people who have successfully maintained their distinctive identity in the midst of Euro-American society. This work fills part of this void.

Stewart Rafert's reliance on oral history breathes life into this narrative as we learn of the pervasive obstacles that the Miami have faced and continue to face. However, this is a story that requires greater detail and a more nuanced explanation. Important historical research remains to be done. Early Miami history, which constitutes the first four chapters of this ten chapter book, depends almost entirely on secondary sources. For the colonial period the author has not used one of the richest sources for Miami history, French records such as the Archives Nationales, Colonies, to attest to the power of the Miami in successfully thwarting French authority. The Miami were shrewd traders and negotiators, a characteristic that insured their continued Indiana presence when other Native people were pushed westward.

There are hints in this book that religion may have played an important role in Miami history. At one point, three of the most

important Miami leaders were all Baptist ministers, Pimyotamah, Bondy, and Richardville. The Miami Union Baptist church built in the 1850s remained part of Miami tax exempt lands until the 1940s. Rafert mentions the Baptist affiliation of these leaders and refers to the church in the narrative but we never learn what role religion or this church played in the Indiana Miami community.

In addition, the author fails to adequately address the role that women played in insuring the survival of the Miami people. The author describes Frances Slocum as a white women who was kidnapped by the Delaware in 1778, lived among the Miami, considered herself Indian, and whose descendants were important Miami leaders. But Slocum's behavior reflected the broader, more diverse strategies used by the Miami to thwart removal. This sixty-year old woman conveniently and publicly revealed her history and used her whiteness to exempt herself and all of the people in her village from removal. There were other equally active women, several were fur traders but they are not present in this book. We learn little about how women exercised power, even in the twentieth century. There is no explanation of the influence that Victoria Brady exercised among her people despite the author's telling us that she spent several winters in Washington on behalf of the Indiana Miami, conducted a one-person sit in at the BIA, and thoroughly thrashed the office of the assistant commissioner. Thus, Rafert needs to demonstrate the central role that women played in Indiana Miami survival and go beyond traditional notions of women as agriculturalists.

These criticisms should not detract from the merit of this book, which represents an important step in explaining why the Miami were a persistent people. This complex story reflects the difficulty that Indian communities face in proving their tribal identity to the federal government when survival often depended on invisibility rather than visibility.

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**The Navajos in 1705: Roque Madrid's Campaign Journal.** Edited, Annotated, and Translated by Rick Hendricks and John P. Wilson. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996. xxii + 175 pages.