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resist US demands for their land was limited. An argument explaining land sales that hangs on the corrupting effects of the payments for the land seems to me to miss the point. On the other hand, I agree that the annuity system is a topic that we have paid far too little attention to.

Ethridge begins her book with a clear statement that she has not written a history of the Creeks during this important turn-of-the-century period of transition. Her book is not a narrative of events, and it does not attempt to describe or explain change over time. Many readers will probably find this frustrating, as did I. As a historical ethnography, however, it succeeds.

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Enduring Legacies: Native American Treaties and Contemporary Controversies. Edited by Bruce E. Johansen. Westport, CT: Praeger, 2004. 365 pages. \$49.95 cloth.

In many ways *Enduring Legacies* expands on the scholarly tradition that Vine Deloria inaugurated in *Behind the Trail of Broken Treaties* (1974) and David Wilkins and Tsianina Lomawaima further developed in *Uneven Ground* (2001). More specifically, Bruce E. Johansen has assembled eleven essays by eight authors covering a range of issues and problems stemming from the unique relationship that Indian nations maintain with the US and Canadian federal governments. I say “unique” in deference to Francis Paul Prucha’s seminal work on Indian treaties, in which Prucha argues that the treaty-making process that occurred until 1871 constituted a “political anomaly” that has not been duplicated outside of North America. What makes Indian treaties anomalous, if you will, is the amount of power they preserved on behalf of otherwise “conquered” and “colonized” nations. From Prucha’s perspective, acknowledging tribal sovereignty ultimately demonstrates, as he claims in *The Great Father* (1984), that treaties were products of goodwill, especially on the part of the enlightened Euro-American diplomats who promulgated them.

From an indigenous perspective, on the other hand, which Johansen’s book takes great strides in accommodating, the treaty-making process makes plain two fundamental principles. First, treaties unequivocally recognize that Indian nations are inherently sovereign entities, despite the inequitable relationship they may have created with other nations like the United States. Second, the fact that state and federal agencies often violated the treaty-making process by either ignoring or rewriting treaty articles for their own political and economic profit only goes to show how far and how easily Americans will stray from their professed ideals when there is something to be gained, especially land and wealth. The latter suggests that unilateralism is a tried and true American tradition, which, long before the current war in Iraq, was employed against Indian nations. The consequences of this process, Prucha notwithstanding, have been severe, as indigenous nations today are in the awkward position of asserting their sovereign rights through documents

that typically distort those rights. The examples abound in *Enduring Legacies*, from Penobscots and Passamaquoddies in Maine fighting for their land claims to the Osage struggling to hold on to their oil reserves.

Building on the arguments laid out by Deloria and by Wilkins and Lomawaima, Johansen and his collaborators work quite effectively at intellectually leveling the playing field by focusing not only on how treaties have impacted the lives of indigenous peoples throughout history but also on how indigenous nations understand these documents and the historical events surrounding them. As a whole, *Enduring Legacies* is aware that while one can distinguish between indigenous and nonindigenous perspectives, this must be done without stereotyping either side. Indeed, one of the most intriguing qualities of Johansen's book is the manner in which it balances promoting an indigenous agenda, on the one hand, while demonstrating the varying, conflicting, and even hostile opinions extant throughout the Indian communities. This comes out in the book's treatment of Ray Halbritter, New York Oneida "nation representative," who is demonized for his harassment of dissenters in Johansen's essay, "The New York Oneidas: A Business Called a Nation," but whose nation is cast in a more sympathetic light in "The New Terminators," also by Johansen, when confronted by the antitreaty movement in upstate New York.

As *Enduring Legacies* progresses through its eleven essays, the book moves geographically from the tribal nations in Nova Scotia and Maine to upstate New York and Ontario, Canada; then to the once hotly contested lands of Ohio, from which the narrative moves westward to the Northern Plains, ending its journey with important stops in Oklahoma and Washington State. Along the way, the reader learns about events and issues that shaped and continue to shape the political landscape of both the United States and Canada that typically are not addressed outside of, say, an American Indian Studies curriculum. This may be one of the reasons why President Bush, when asked about tribal sovereignty at a meeting of minority journalists, made the grievous error of presuming that Indian nations had been "given" their sovereignty. I make this point not because I wish to take a cheap shot at the president but rather to corroborate the implicit argument behind *Enduring Legacies*. Specifically, tribal sovereignty and its historical relation to treaties is much more than an academic problem but an issue that is irrevocably connected to the well-being of peoples' lives, such as the Mi'kmaq in Nova Scotia, who have a high unemployment rate and who pursued their right to drag for lobster for "subsistence purposes."

Whatever the cultural and technological differences between indigenous and white nations, *Enduring Legacies* makes clear that the relationship between Indians and whites was and is between mutually independent and autonomous entities. It is because of this that American federal authorities, for example, may be held in contempt for the manner in which they have historically violated the sovereign power of indigenous nations by betraying their trust and colonizing their people and resources. With respect to this, Robert W. Venables, in "The Treaty of Canandaigua (1794)," explores the historical endurance of tribal sovereignty by means of a document that was neither "a treaty of conquest, nor does it end a war" (46). The Treaty of Canandaigua was made because the

United States desperately needed the powerful Haudenosaunee to remain neutral to the American pursuit of conquest over the Indian nations north of the Ohio River valley, not to mention affirming that federal power was superior to states' rights in the process. As such, Canandaigua has been the cornerstone of ongoing Iroquois land claims, as well as economic development, be it in terms of casinos or selling gas and cigarettes free of state taxes. At the other end of the spectrum Barbara Alice Mann goes a long way toward demonstrating in "The Greenville Treaty of 1795" the greed and duplicity that were endemic to American interests, even when handled by the "venerable" George Washington, whose family had a vested interest in the lands west of the Alleghenies. "Even in the 1750s," Mann writes, "there were allegations that Washington's forays into Ohio in 1753–1754 were not for the advertised purpose of aiding the British empire during the French and Indian War, but for the private purposes of aiding the Ohio Company [which had been awarded five hundred thousand acres by King George II] in its land deals" (139).

Treaty making obviously is far from an exact science, although similar to science it is a Western institution exhibiting all of the values that may be derived from Western society and history. For someone like Prucha this means that against the cries from frontiersmen who wanted Indian people exterminated, there were those like US chief justice Marshall who argued valiantly for the Indians' right to exist, albeit as "domestic dependent nations" on the road to assimilation. From the Ponca and Lakota perspective, as Jerry Stubben and Hugh J. Reilly show in their respective essays, the reality is much different. The framers of the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty were conspicuously more motivated by winning the "war against the Indian" on the cheap—as a campaign of extermination would be too costly—than they were with the rights of either the Lakota or the Ponca. At the same time that the Americans were arbitrarily writing in their claim to the gold they coveted in the Black Hills, they were also writing away the Poncas' legitimate claim to their ancestral homeland in Nebraska. The consequences of this included the Poncas' removal to Indian Territory and the Massacre at Wounded Knee.

In the end *Enduring Legacies* is a genuinely thought-provoking collection of essays in which the reader is challenged to address some very important questions. What is "sovereignty," such that it is the most appropriate term to describe the indigenous nations' political status? Can there be sovereignty for Indian nations without the kind of "dependence" stipulated by Chief Justice Marshall? What do Indian nations want from sovereignty? Can Indian nations pursue their sovereign rights without unnecessarily inflicting injury on their non-Indian neighbors? Why should non-Indians support Indian treaty rights? And should Indian nations care if they do? Needless to say, there are no easy answers to these questions, nor do any of the authors suggest that he or she has the final word on any of the topics addressed. But given the depth of scholarship and the commitment each of the contributors displays in this book, I would aver that *Enduring Legacies* is a worthwhile place to begin thinking about the answers.

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