American Indian Tribes

The Editors of Salem Press

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American Indian Tribes

Volume 1

Culture Areas

Tribes and Traditions

Abenaki—Missouri

edited by
The Editors of Salem Press

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American Indian tribes have captured the imagination of Europeans, their American descendants, and other immigrant peoples since contact between the Old and New Worlds began in the late fifteenth century. Nevertheless, few peoples have been the subject of as many cultural misconceptions and stereotypes as American Indians. The first Europeans to arrive in North America mistakenly believed they had reached Asia—which they called the “Indies”—and immediately mislabeled the people they encountered as “Indians.” Although the inaccuracy of that name was realized after it was discovered that the Americas were not connected to Asia, ethnocentrism continued to blind Europeans to the reality that the people they were meeting in the New World belonged to thousands of distinct cultures (which Europeans dubbed “tribes”) speaking hundreds of different languages. Far from being relatively undifferentiated bands of primitive “savages,” the Native peoples of the New World actually made up one of the most diverse and rich culture regions of the world.

Meanwhile, the first three centuries of contact between the Old and New Worlds were devastating to the latter. American Indians were cut down by Old World diseases, massacred by ruthless European armies with superior weapons, driven from their homelands by land-hungry whites, manipulated and betrayed by national governments, and characterized as blood-thirsty savages. At the other extreme, many Indian societies were also romanticized as “noble savages”—an equally unrealistic stereotype.

When the social movements of the 1960’s gave birth to modern Indian activism and Indian studies programs, long-overdue redefinitions of Indian history and culture began to occur. Indian voices were heard as never before, both in the political arena and in the university. Scholars in Indian studies programs fought against the Eurocentric views that had long permeated such academic disciplines as anthropology and history. Members of different Indian societies—which are typically officially known as tribes—increasingly worked together to address such issues as Indian sovereignty and historic land claims. Indians used the media to educate the non-Indian
public about the realities of Native American life in the twentieth century. Today, therefore, any work that attempts to survey American Indian culture and history must encompass ancient cultural traditions, historical Indian-white relations, and contemporary concerns. *American Indian Tribes* is part of the effort to educate non-Indians about Indian peoples. By focusing on culture regions and individual tribes and cultural traditions, these volumes serve to point up the startling diversity of Indian cultures. It might be mentioned here that while these articles emphasize indigenous traditions and early history, modern Indian societies have been anything but static.

Articles in *American Indian Tribes* are taken from Salem Press’s award-winning three-volume set, *Ready Reference: American Indians* (1995). The goal of that earlier set’s Editors was to assemble articles on a wide range of topics—including personages, tribes, organizations, historical events, cultural features and traditions, and contemporary issues—and to present them in an alphabetical format for ease of access. *American Indian Tribes* itself is modeled on one of the most popular Magill’s Choice titles, *American Indian Biographies* (1999). That one-volume book collected all the biographical essays from *Ready Reference: American Indians* and added material from other Salem reference publications, as well as some completely new material. *American Indian Tribes* collects all the *Ready Reference: American Indians* articles on culture areas, tribes, and cultural traditions, as well as the appendices. Both the appendices and individual article bibliographies are updated here.

Articles in this set are grouped under two broad headings: Culture Areas and Tribes and Traditions. The first section opens with a general introduction to the subject of culture areas, followed by ten alphabetically arranged essays on North American culture areas: Arctic, California, Great Basin, Northeast, Northwest Coast, Plains, Plateau, Southeast, Southwest, and Subarctic. Individual articles follow the ready-reference formatting of the original reference set. For example, articles on culture areas open with lists of the area’s main language groups and tribes.

The second section contains 307 alphabetically arranged articles on individual tribes and prehistoric culture traditions.

In this reference set, as in its predecessor volumes, American Indians are considered to be the original inhabitants of the areas now included within the United States and Canada. Although care was taken to include articles on as many tribal groups as possible, some very small North American tribes do not have their own articles. On the other hand, major Mesoamerican and Caribbean groups such as the Aztecs, Caribs, and Mayas, are included.

Individual articles, which range in length from 200 to 3,000 words each,
also begin with clearly marked lines of ready-reference information. For example, articles on tribes identify the culture areas and language groups to which they belong, along with their primary geographical regions.

Articles on prehistoric traditions—such as Clovis, Folsom, and Mississippian—are included in this set because these traditions are typically the historical bridges that link together the tribes within larger culture areas. Moreover, the names of some traditions—such as Anasazi, Hohokam, and Oneonta—are occasionally confused with tribal names, and covering them together should help to clear up confusion. Indeed, information given at the tops of articles on traditions identifies where the traditions developed and which other traditions and tribes each tradition affected.

All articles with 1,000 or more words contain bibliographies; bibliographies of articles 2,000 or more words include annotations. All bibliographies have been updated for *American Indian Tribes*. Appendixes provide information on subjects such as festivals and pow-wows; reservations; museums, archives, and libraries; and organizations. The back matter also includes a time line, mediagraphy, and bibliography.

A few comments must be made on certain editorial decisions. Terms ranging from “American Indian” to “Native American” to “tribe” are accepted by some and disapproved of by others. The Editors of Salem Press have incorporated the phrase “American Indians” into the titles of Ready Reference: American Indians and the two Magill’s Choice sets because it is the most widely accepted collective name for the first inhabitants of North America and their descendants. At the same time, however, the Editors have allowed authors to use either “American Indian” or “Native American” in their articles as they see fit. Similarly, while the Editors used the term “Inuit” for the title article on that Arctic people, the term “Eskimo” also appears in the set, as it has a long tradition of scientific usage and encompasses a variety of Arctic peoples to whom “Inuit” does not adequately apply.

Contributors were also allowed to use singular or plural designations for tribal names, but the tribal names themselves been standardized throughout the set. The Editors have tried to use names and spellings that are both accepted by members of the tribes themselves and widely recognized. Readers who cannot find tribal names in their expected alphabetical positions should consult the index for assistance. There, for example, they will find that the “Chippewa” people are listed under “Ojibwa.”

All articles in this set are written and signed by scholars, most of whom are academicians in fields relating to American Indian studies. A list of the their names, along with their affiliations, follows this note. Once again, we gratefully acknowledge their participation and thank them for making their
expert knowledge accessible to general readers. We would also like, once again, to thank the consulting editor of the original Ready Reference: American Indians, Harvey Markowitz, formerly of the D’Arcy McNickle Center for the History of the American Indian at Chicago’s Newberry Library.
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Culture Areas of North America
Culture Areas of North America
Introduction

No single method of assigning cultural boundaries between different groupings of Native Americans is fully adequate. Persuasive arguments exist for groupings that place primary emphasis, for example, on the most important language groupings (Algonquian, Athapaskan, Siouan, Tanoan, Muskogean, Caddoan, and Shoshonean). Because Native American groupings have undergone a series of displacements from region to region, however, their linguistic origins overlap, a situation which results in an equal amount of overlap in generalizations concerning original cultural traits.

Another mode of assigning culture areas draws on basic forms of technology—specifically on methods of producing household wares such as pottery and basketry. Here again one encounters a phenomenon of cultural overlap because of patterns of borrowing between tribal groupings.

To some degree, essential social indicators of culture can be transferred over time and space, making it difficult to draw boundaries between peoples of clearly distinct traditions. Such sociocultural factors include assignment of leadership, matriarchal versus patriarchal systems, degrees of formalization of kinship ties, and marriage patterns.

Considerations such as these make a division based on geographical/ecological factors the most manageable and, indeed, the most commonly adopted one in the general literature. Such a comparison of Indian culture areas necessarily involves discussion of material and cultural questions shared by all human societies. Among these cultural differences are food subsistence, lodging construction, common artifacts, group organization, and spiritual expression. Each of these elements of Indian life was influenced by the environmental conditions that existed in relatively distinct geographical zones.

Arctic and Subarctic. The northern continental zone running from the Arctic north to British Columbia and eastward to Hudson Bay, while not one culture area, was characterized by a common practice: Natives survived
primarily by hunting and fishing. Because the northern Arctic zone is frozen most of the year, Eskimo (Inuit) populations that specialized in sea mammal hunting (especially the Aleuts) stayed isolated in areas where access to prey was assured. Central Inuit hunters in the interior of Alaska and the MacKenzie Territory, where kayak transportation was limited to a short summer season, reached their prey (usually caribou and moose) on toboggans or snowshoes.

Both Central Inuit and Athapaskan-speaking Dene peoples inhabited the less bountiful Subarctic zone that forms the interior land mass of northern Canada. Because of the limited density of animal populations, Subarctic hunters relied extensively on trapping devices spread over a vast network, according to the season. Limited food sources limited human population patterns as well, especially deep in the interior. Frequent displacement for subsistence meant that Subarctic tribes maintained semipermanent camps rather than substantial villages.

Like their Eskimo neighbors farther north, Subarctic Indians maintained a network of customs in common that, in good times, helped celebrate nature’s bounty. One tribal meeting was the “potlatch,” when food-gathering tasks were temporarily suspended and groups from afar could share shelter, gifts, and storytelling, either with distant kin or “friendly” neighbors.

Religious traditions in these northern areas were usually based on a belief in spiritual forces coming both from the sky and the earth, including living spirits in the form of animals or one’s deceased kin.

**Northwest Coast and Plateau.** Indians in these areas lived more easily off nature’s bounty, partially because the climate was less harsh, facilitating seasonal hunting of deer and bears. Abundant sealife near the coast of Washington and Oregon and easy hunting grounds inland made Northwest Indians such as the Wakashan and Chinook relatively “wealthy,” in terms of both subsistence and displays of their “good fortune.”

The Kwakiutl of the Wakashan showed their wealth through large houses of split logs. Their clothing and bodies were decorated with copper and ornate shell jewelry. Frequent public potlatches to commemorate social advancement (such as passage rites for youths and marriages) were paid for by the wealthiest families to attain recognition.

Farther inland was the Plateau, inhabited by tribes of two main linguistic groups: the Sahaptin (including Walla Walla and Nez Perce) and the Salish (Flathead and Wenatchi). In this region, freshwater salmon fishing could be combined with hunting. Plateau river communication networks were less extensive than those of the Northwest, limiting the scope of interaction, even between clans of similar tribal origin. When horses were introduced
from the Great Basin Shoshones, some tribes moved seasonally over the mountains into Idaho to hunt buffalo. Such groups abandoned their traditional pit house structures for portable hide-covered tipis.

**California.** The Western coast and inland area farther south were more diversified in language groupings, which broke down into the main Penutian and Hokan families (the former including Klamath-Modoc, Miwok, and Central Valley Yokut and Maidu; the latter including Washoe and Yana in the north and in the central eastern zone near Nevada).

Three cultural zones corresponded primarily to ecological subregions. In the northwest corner, dense forests, rugged topography, and the absence of a coastal plain set off isolated (both linguistically and culturally) inhabitants from the fertile core of Penutian-Hokan groups around San Francisco Bay and in the much milder ecological zone of the Central Valley. In this core zone, economic patterns, based on hunting, fishing, and the gathering of available vegetal food sources (including a universal staple, acorn meal), tended to lend similarities to tribal social and cultural patterns. One similarity was the relative lack of formal institutional structures defining tribal organization and authority. Chiefs tended to be heads of the most numerous family among a multitude of generally equal family subdivisions of each clan. One of two main forms of lodging predominated: either the “house pit” scraped out of rolling knolls, or the wickiup, a bark-thatched covering stretched around portable poles. Central California tribes were highly skilled in basketweaving, some (mainly Poms and Patwins) producing wares sufficiently tightly woven to serve as water containers.

South of the Central Valley, increasing aridity affected not only food-gathering conditions; basic technology (reflected in lodgings and artisanal production, including modes of dress) never attained levels that could be compared with tribes in the central region. Notable degrees of west-east interaction occurred, particularly between the Luiseños of present-day San Diego and Riverside counties (themselves of Shoshone stock) and Nevadan tribes. These contacts were reflected not only in trade of goods, but also in some shared cultural values that set the inland (less than the coastal) southern zone off from the relatively more developed Central Valley region.

**Southwest.** Beyond California was the inland culture area of the Southwest. Despite the ecological austerity of these vast expanses, nearly all Southwest Indians practiced some form of agriculture, supplemented by seasonally available wild plant foods. Most also developed technologically advanced cultures, as judged from the remains of their lodging and ceremonial sites (particularly the pueblos) and various artifacts, especially pottery and weaving.
Among the several Indian subgroupings in the Southwest are the Hopi, Navajo, and Zuni. Their life patterns, although not identical, exemplify the main lines of Southwest Indian culture. Characteristically, Indian villages in the Southwest were constructed in the compact stone and adobe pueblo form, usually located on higher ground or on mesas for purposes of defense. The limited circumstances of dry farming often meant that plantations were located some distance from the pueblo.

In addition to being a dwelling and defense unit, the pueblo was a microcosm for both political and religious life. Particularly among the Eastern Pueblos, different responsibilities, from practical work tasks to ceremonial leadership, were traditionally divided between two fully cooperative factions. Living in different sections of the village, each faction maintained a kiva, or religiously designated meeting place for its elders, and ceremonial dance (kachina) groups, or medicine men, organized in societies. When a particular “season” for representation of the pueblo’s ceremonial, political, or administrative needs was recognized, all loyalty was due to the kiva of the designated faction, while others rested from their responsibilities.

Southwest Indian religion and ceremonies were frequently tied to the concept of an “earth mother navel” shrine located in a sacred place within A modern manifestation of pantribal solidarity was the Longest Walk—a protest march that began in San Francisco in 1978 and ended in Washington, D.C., where Indian leaders lobbied the federal government to recognize its existing treaty obligations. (Library of Congress)
each pueblo. Around this ultimate source of bounty for the members of each tight-knit pueblo community were arranged the symbols of life (seeds and their products). Such symbols, plus other symbols of nature (especially rain) were incorporated into each pueblo’s ceremonial dances, according to the season.

**Great Basin.** In the area wedged between California and the Plateau to the west, and the Southwest and Great Plains to the east, Indian cultures tended to be rather dispersed. Areas of habitation remained highly dependent on the availability of water and vegetation to sustain limited village life. Although broad tribal groupings existed (including Ute, Paiute, and Shoshone), the main activities of Indian life, from food gathering through marital, social, and political alliances, tended to be conducted in smaller bands. Contacts between subtribal bands (the Ute, on both the Colorado and Utah sides of the Rockies, counted some dozen territorial bands) could be only periodic. This rather lower level of tribal cohesiveness relative to Plateau and Southwest Indians, for example, allowed quarreling families from one band to “transfer” over to a band to which they were not tied by kinship; even lines between the tribes (Ute and Paiute, for example) were not that definitely drawn.

Some shared features of cultural existence within and between Great Basin tribes countered this general trend. Although religious consciousness among Great Basin Indians never attained a high degree of ceremonial sophistication, certain symbolic rites, among them the Sun Dance, provided a common cultural symbol in most regions.

**Plains.** It was among the Plains Indians that the most dramatic subsistence struggle was played out, by tribes such as the Sioux, Cheyenne, Pawnee, and Comanche. Acquisition of the horse from the Spanish after about 1600 transformed the subsistence potential of the Plains, which became the buffalo-hunting domains of competing Indian tribes. Pursuit of the great native herds of buffalo on horseback, beginning in the 1600’s, created a situation of Indian nomadism on the Plains. Buffalo hunting affected not only food supply, but also provided raw material for the organization of Plains tribes’ movable lodgings and the production of multiple lightweight artifacts. The high degree of mobility of Plains Indians also contributed to another key cultural trait: their tendency to war with rivals over hunting access.

Among the Sioux, the Lakota were drawn into the Plains from the Eastern Prairie region after becoming expert horsemen, well before the French entered the upper Mississippi Valley. Soon their nomadic way of life on the Plains allowed them to subjugate sedentary groupings such as the Arikara and Mandan, who were forced to trade their agricultural goods
with the Lakota. The characteristic warring urge of such Plains nomads resulted in serious intertribal disputes, the best known resulting in the reduction and forced relocation of the Pawnee people after multiple encounters with representatives of the Sioux Nation.

The simplicity of the material culture of the Plains Indians was to some degree offset by the complexity of some of their social and cultural patterns. A number of honorary societies, ranging from warrior groups through “headmen” societies (elders who had distinguished themselves earlier as warriors or leaders), provided means for identifying individuals of importance emerging from each family or clan within the tribe. Recognition was also given, among the women, to highly skillful beadworkers, who defined qualification for entry into their “guild” and excluded inferior workmanship from being used in ritual ceremonies.

Another specialized subgrouping, particularly among the Dakota peoples, was the Heyoka, consisting of people who were recognized as possessing some form of supernatural or visionary power. Although not specifically connected to Plains religious beliefs (frequently associated with Sun Dance ceremonies and related celebrations of thanks for bounty, physical endurance, and interclan alliances), Heyoka status implied the ability to communicate with spirits, either good or evil. In some Siouan tribes, such as the Omaha, Heyoka societies were evenly divided into specialized branches, the most notable being one reserved specifically for individuals presumed to have the power to cure diseases.

Northeast and Southeast. In the eastern third of the continent, a higher degree of sedentariness among various tribes prevailed, although this did not necessarily mean that agriculture was more developed. Plantations for food tended to be scattered in the heavily wooded Northeast, with hunting and trapping at least as important in most tribal economies. Another product of the forest, the paperlike bark of the birch tree, served multiple purposes, ranging from tipi-building material to the famous birchbark canoes used to fish or to travel through the extensive river and stream systems of the region.

In general, social organization among the tribes of the Northeast bore two major characteristics. Groups that were known as hunters (such as the Micmacs of New Brunswick and Maine) lived as nuclear families, paramount status being reserved for the hunter-head of closely related kin. Lodgings might be limited to a single family (typically a tipi) or a grouping of families under the single roof of an extended longhouse. In most cases, ascription of chieftainship was determined by a hierarchy that also depended on hunting skills.
A second characteristic of Northeast Woodlands Indian life revolved around political confederations involving several tribes. The best known of these was the Iroquois “Five Nations,” but other groups, including the Algonquins and Hurons, formed federations for mutual security against common enemies.

Although the Southeast region of the United States can, like the Northeast, be described as heavily wooded, offering a combination of possibilities for hunting and agriculture, the Indian cultures of this area were substantially different. Some experts argue that there was less communality in cultural development in the Southeast, making distinctions, for example, between peoples who were clearly reliant on the ecology of the first “layer” of the broad coastal plain (called the “Flatwoods,” blanketed by conifers and scrub oaks); those inhabiting the so-called Piedmont (further inland, with higher elevations and differing vegetation patterns); and those living in the Appalachian woodlands, with their extensive hardwood forests.

Some experts, noting communality in traits (such as a horticultural maize economy, nucleated villages, and matrilineal clan organization) between key Southeastern tribes such as the Creek, Choctaw, Cherokee, Natchez, and the Iroquois, found farther north, assign a southeastern origin to the Iroquois. A substantial number of differences marked by cultural specialists, however, suggest closer ties between coastal and inland dwellers in the Southeast (especially in linguistic links) than between Southeast Indians as a whole and any of their Northeast neighbors. A series of lesser, but culturally significant, traits justify treating Southeast Indians as a largely homogeneous entity, including modes of processing staple nuts, especially acorns; rectangular, gabled houses with mud wattle covering; an absence of leather footwear; characteristic nested twilled baskets; and varied use of tobacco.

Even among key Southeast tribes, however, parallel traditions (such as matrilineal kinship descent) could be offset by striking differences. The Natchez tribe alone, for example, had a class system dividing tribal nobles (deemed descendants of the Sun), from whom the chief, or “Great Sun” was chosen, and commoners, who could not even enter the presence of tribal aristocrats.

Byron D. Cannon

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Sturtevant, William, gen. ed. *Handbook of North American Indians*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1978-. The Smithsonian series is a projected twenty-volume set, with a volume either published or planned for each of the culture areas. The scholarship and coverage are both first-rate. The set was initiated in 1978 with the volume on the Northeast, edited by Bruce Trigger, and nine volumes had been published by 1994.
The Arctic culture area encompasses a vast region of treeless, windswept tundra stretching across the northern coast of North America. It includes most of the Alaskan coastline from Prince William Sound in the southeast to the Arctic coast in the north, continues across the Canadian Arctic archipelago and mainland coast down into Labrador, and includes all of Greenland. While some parts of this culture area are more appropriately labeled Subarctic in terms of climate and vegetation (most specifically the Aleutian Islands, South Alaska, Southern Labrador, and South Greenland), the linguistic, cultural, and physical similarities among the native inhabitants are such that this region can be considered a highly integrated cultural unit.

Terminology. The term “Aleut” is of uncertain origin and appears to have been used first by the Russians to describe the inhabitants of the Near Islands. It was later extended to all Aleuts and even to the Pacific Eskimos (Koniag and Chugach). The result has led to some confusion, since the modern Koniag Eskimos refer to themselves as “Alutiiq” (an “Eskimoization” of Aleut in the current orthography) even though they are culturally and linguistically distinct from the Aleut. The term “Eskimo” is most often cited as originating from the Subarctic Montagnais (speakers of an Algonquian language) and has been purported to mean “eaters of raw meat.” Two major cultural-linguistic groups of Eskimos are recognized: the Yupik of southwestern and southern Alaska and the Inuit of North Alaska, Arctic Canada, and Greenland. It should be noted that the term “Eskimo” has engendered some controversy (with many Canadian Arctic natives, for example, preferring “Inuit”), but it is used here because it incorporates a large number of groups that cannot easily be united under any other term and because it has a long scientific tradition of usage.

Environment. The Arctic culture area includes a wide range of environments both above and below the Arctic Circle and the tree line. In the
northern regions of Alaska, Canada, and Greenland, treeless Arctic tundra
and a severe climate dominate. The combination of permafrost, extreme
cold, and prolonged periods of midwinter darkness result in low levels of
biological productivity, making adaptation to this region a great challenge
to both humans and animals. The climate is less severe farther south. The
coastlines of the Aleutian Islands, southern Alaska, southern Labrador, and
western Greenland have a milder climate and less pronounced seasonal
variation in temperature and photoperiod. These areas usually have access
to open water all year round, with the result that their climates are heavily
maritime influenced. In southern Alaska, for example, Koniag and Chugach
Eskimos are reported to have gone much of the year in bare feet. In the High
Arctic and interior regions of Canada and Alaska, a cold continental climate
prevails.

Language. On the basis of sound and grammar, Eskimo and Aleut are
recognized as being related. Although regarded as a unified language fam-
ily, they are mutually unintelligible. Linguists generally agree that Eskimo
and Aleut diverged at least four thousand years ago.

Within Aleut there is a high degree of uniformity. It has become a single
language with only two dialects: a western dialect and an eastern dialect.
Much greater variation exists within Eskimo, which is divided into two
main languages: Yupik and Inuit-Iñupiaq. The distance between the two is
very similar to the distance between German and English. Lexicostatistical studies suggest a divergence dating to between eight hundred and eighteen hundred years ago. The dividing line between these two languages is located around the Norton Sound region of western Alaska. Yupik displays much more variability than Inuit-İñupiaq and is composed of five fairly distinct languages. The İnuit-İñupiaq branch of Eskimo is characterized by a higher degree of uniformity, representing more a series of interconnecting dialects. The mutual intelligibility of these dialects is the result of the spread of Thule culture across Arctic Canada and Greenland.

**Population.** The Arctic culture area was not uniformly populated. At contact, the region was inhabited by about twelve thousand to fifteen thousand Aleut on the Aleutian Islands, twenty to twenty-five thousand Yupik in southern and southwestern Alaska (including St. Lawrence Island), twelve thousand İnupiat in northwestern and northern Alaska, nine to twelve thousand Canadian Inuit, and nine to twelve thousand Greenlandic Inuit divided among 140 to 200 fairly distinct societies (or tribal groupings). The most densely populated regions were those with a relative abundance of food resources, more often than not with access to a combination of marine and riverine products. Prior to contact, the greatest populations could be found on the Aleutian Islands, southern and southwestern Alaska, and the southwest coast of Greenland.

The areas with the lowest population densities included the Central Canadian Arctic (associated with the Copper and Netsilik groups), the Barren Lands west of Hudson Bay (Caribou Eskimos), and North Greenland (Polar Eskimos). These groups lived in extremely marginal areas and were therefore forced to a high degree of nomadism. Starvation was probably relatively common, and the practice of infanticide has been well documented in these areas. Many of those Aleut and Eskimo in more abundant environments were able to live much of the year in relatively permanent houses (either aboveground wood-plank houses or semi-subterranean sod houses) within sedentary villages.

**Economy and Subsistence.** The stereotype of highly nomadic, snow-house-building, dogsledding Eskimos actually applies to only a small number of Inuit groups in the Central Canadian Arctic. Many Eskimo groups, most notably in southern and southwestern Alaska, never built a snowhouse, never traveled with dogs, and never even saw a polar bear. Despite a common cultural template, hundreds of years of adaptation to markedly different environments and contacts with different neighboring groups gave rise to distinct cultural forms, expressed in material culture, housing styles, and subsistence strategies.
While the primary economic focus in this culture area was (and continues to be) a maritime one oriented toward hunting of whales, seals, walruses, narwhales, and so on, a number of groups subsisted primarily from riverine or terrestrial resources. Yupik groups in the middle Yukon-Kuskokwim River region and Inupiat groups on the Noatak and Kobuk rivers were heavily dependent upon fish resources at the expense of marine mammals. In the Barren Lands west of Hudson Bay, the Caribou Eskimo maintained a heavy reliance upon seasonally migrating caribou herds. The typing of Eskimo groups as either maritime, riverine, or terrestrially focused can, however, be misleading, since many groups maintained a seasonal round in which all of these items were exploited. Longer exploitation cycles were also maintained, since certain resources that were abundant for one generation could easily disappear a generation or two later. Since marine and terrestrial ecosystems in the Arctic are extremely fragile, population crashes of certain important animal species could and did occur.

The Aleut appear to have had the most developed maritime adaptation, a fact reinforced by their mastery of kayak (*baidarka*) construction and their reputation for long-distance ocean travel. Their skill in adapting to a high-
risk/high-yield maritime ecosystem ensured high population densities and a relatively high quality of life compared with those of most Eskimo groups. Other Arctic groups with a maritime adaptation included West Greenlandic and North Alaskan whaling communities which were oriented toward spring and fall hunting of large bowhead whales from open, skin-covered umiaks.

The seasonality of Eskimo subsistence is most vividly seen with Central Canadian Arctic groups such as the Netsilik and Copper Eskimo. Since these groups lived in an extremely marginal environment, they were forced to a high degree of nomadism. Winters were generally spent in large snow-house communities on the ocean ice, where hunters engaged in breathing-hole sealing. Summers, however, were usually spent inland dispersed in small family groups in search of fish, fowl, and caribou. Although these groups do not display the maritime skills of the Aleut or North Alaskans, they nevertheless had a clear maritime focus at certain seasons.

Material Culture and Trade. The material culture of all these groups was technologically sophisticated and highly functional. The toggle-headed harpoon, kayak, tailored clothing, semilunar woman’s knife (ulu), and soapstone lamp are typical of much of the area. Throughout the region, there was heavy reliance upon animal products such as bone, horn, antler, and skin for the manufacture of clothing, hunting tools, and household goods. In the High Arctic, wood was an extremely valuable commodity and could be obtained only through trading networks or long trips to the tree line. For this reason, among groups such as the Polar Eskimo, Copper Eskimo, and Baffin Island Eskimo, wood was heavily curated. Prior to European contact, meteoric iron found in the Cape York region of North Greenland was cold hammered into hunting implements, while the Copper Inuit were known for surface mining deposits of copper, which was used for knives, scrapers, and harpoon points.

Despite the isolated nature of the Arctic culture area, intergroup trade was quite extensive. Elaborate trade networks and regional fairs facilitated the distribution of raw materials and manufactured goods. Iron from Siberia was traded across the Bering Strait into Alaska, while high-quality soapstone lamps from Coronation Gulf in the Central Canadian Arctic were traded into Alaska, where such materials were scarce. Even before the arrival of Russian, European, and American traders, the Seshalik fair in Northwest Alaska attracted two thousand or more individuals each summer in what has been described as the largest regular trade gathering anywhere in the Arctic culture area. Formalized trading partnerships were typical throughout the region. In the absence of trading fairs, individuals would initiate their own trading expeditions for desired resources.
Political Organization and Leadership. Forms of political organization and leadership varied greatly throughout the region. Egalitarianism defined the social relations of most Central and Eastern Arctic groups. An isumataq ("one who thinks") would often assume an informal leadership position over a number of related families. The degree of authority that the isumataq held varied from region to region, being relatively low among the Copper Inuit and high among the Iglulik and Baffin Island Eskimos. As one travels into Alaska, more formalized leadership structures appear. In North Alaska, the successful whaling captain (umialik) was an influential leader over both his family and the community as a whole. Some researchers have even suggested that the North Alaskan Eskimo, far from being an egalitarian society, were actually a highly ranked society. In South Alaska and the Aleutian Islands, leadership forms were even more formalized and appear to have been heavily influenced by the ranked societies of the Northwest Coast. In all regions, leaders were expected to be generous to the point of sharing their resources with all community members. Such sharing is most dramatically seen in North Alaska with the distribution of whale meat and muktuk from the successful whaling captain to the entire community.

Post-contact. The first contacts between Eskimos and Europeans probably occurred soon after the establishment of the Norse colonies in South Greenland in 985. From the sixteenth century onward, numerous expeditions ventured into the Canadian Archipelago seeking the Northwest Passage. These expeditions resulted in contacts between Europeans and Canadian Inuit, but most of these meetings had minimal long-term impact upon the Inuit.

A more significant influence was the establishment of a mission in West Greenland by the Danish missionary Hans Egede in 1721. Although he had hoped to minister to the (by then long-extinct) Norse colonies, he ended up converting the Greenlandic Inuit to Christianity and initiated the Greenlanders into a period of intimate cultural, economic, and political involvement with Denmark that continues to the present day.

In Alaska, the arrival of Russian fur traders soon after Vitus Bering’s discovery of Alaska in 1741 had a devastating impact upon the Aleut, who were once quite numerous throughout the island chain. It is generally agreed that 80 to 90 percent of the Aleut population was wiped out from a combination of disease, warfare, and forced labor. Similar processes resulted in deaths among the Pacific Yupik, who were in the direct path of the Russian traders’ advance. A smallpox epidemic in the 1830’s wiped out a large portion of the Aleut and Yupik populations over a wide area of southern and southwestern Alaska, including many areas well outside the Russian sphere of influence.
Farther north, Inuit people were heavily impacted by the intensification of whaling in the late nineteenth century. Scottish and American whalers were active in Baffin Bay and Davis Strait from the 1830’s on, while American whalers had established themselves in North Alaska by the 1880’s and 1890’s. These contacts had a significant impact on the Eskimos. Not only did infectious diseases take a heavy toll in many areas, but also the whalers introduced the Inuit to highly desirable material goods. Population losses were profound in some areas, such as Southampton Island, the Mackenzie Delta, and North Alaska.

Many Inuit were hired by whalers either as meat and fish providers or as laborers. With the collapse of whaling at the turn of the century, most whalers left the Arctic permanently, while others turned to trading activities. This marked the period when many Eskimo groups made the transition to trapping, as furs became a highly desirable commodity on the international fashion market. The 1940’s and 1950’s continued to be a difficult time for many Inuit and Yupik, who were plagued by poverty, high infant mortality, and high rates of tuberculosis. In Canada, increased government involvement in the late 1950’s and early 1960’s brought wage employment, social assistance, schools, medical facilities, and government-subsidized housing, all of which were designed to encourage the Inuit to move from their isolated hunting camps into centralized communities. Since the 1960’s, the populations and infrastructure of these communities have grown at a rapid rate.

Richard G. Condon and Pamela R. Stern

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California

**Language Groups:** Athapaskan, Chimariko, Chumashan, Esselen, Karok, Maiduan, Palaihnihan, Pomoan, Salinan, Shastan, Uto-Aztecan, Wintun, Wiyot, Yanan, Yokutsan, Yukian, Yuman, Yurok

**Tribes:** Achumawi, Atsugewi, Cahuilla, Chemehuevi, Chumash, Costanoan, Cupeño, Diegueño, Esselen, Fernandeño, Gabriélino, Hupa, Juaneño, Kamia, Karok, Kato, Luiseño, Maidu, Mattole, Miwok, Patwin, Pomo, Quechan, Salinan, Serrano, Shasta, Tolowa, Tubatulabal, Wailaki, Wappo, Wintun, Wiyot, Yahi, Yana, Yokuts, Yuki, Yurok

The California culture area corresponds closely to the modern boundaries of that state. Approximately 300,000 people lived there when the Spaniards arrived in 1769, making it the most densely populated area within the present boundaries of the forty-eight contiguous United States.

**Material Culture.** The technology of the native people of California may have been among the least sophisticated in North America. The wheel, pottery, and metallurgy were rare or unknown. Furthermore, the people had not yet achieved any form of systematic agriculture, but relied on hunting (of almost all animal life in the area), fishing (in ocean, lake, and river), and gathering (primarily of acorns, but also of pinecones and other plants) for their basic sustenance.

Nevertheless, many artifacts of pre-contact years have survived into the modern era and provide insight into the lives of California’s original people. Archaeologists have uncovered a large number of arrow points made of chipped stone; a wide variety of hooks and other fishing implements; mortars and pestles (although in many cases the grinding was done on a fixed mortar of bedrock with a grinding stone); bowls and eating implements made of such materials as wood, bark, steatite, and shells; combs or brushes of soap plant root; wedges of deer horn; and awls of bone.

Probably the most common surviving artifacts are the many baskets now on display in museums and other collections. Curiously, native Californians
California Culture Area
seem not to have utilized the simplest and easiest method of basketmaking: a basic in-and-out weave. Instead, more complex coiling or twining techniques prevailed. The materials were as diverse as the native vegetation of the region, with tule reeds, grass stems, and various barks serving as the ingredients for the baskets. Lacking pottery and metallurgy, native Californians utilized baskets for almost every conceivable purpose. In the richness and elaborateness of their basket decorations, Californians exceeded all other native people of North America.

Art and Architecture. Aside from the decorations on baskets, most California material culture is of a practical, rather than purely decorative and artistic, nature. One of the few art forms was rock painting and carving. Petroglyphs, or peckings in rock outcroppings, have been recorded at more than one thousand sites throughout the state, and many others were destroyed by urbanization before archaeologists could record and study them. The distribution of such rock art is somewhat uneven, with heavy concentrations in some areas (north coast, southwest coast, and central Sierra) but total absence in others. Pictographs, or painted rocks, are also scattered unevenly, with the heaviest concentrations in the extreme northeast, the southwest coast, the southern Sierra, and most spectacularly in the caves of the Chumash tribe on the central coast. Although some naturalistic or animalistic representations appear in both the pecked and painted art, most of the work appears in abstract styles, possibly with religious significance.

Artistic expression also manifested itself in body painting, beads, and clothing. Because the mild climate permitted men to go naked and women to wear a simple apron, clothing was limited. In colder weather, animal skins and furs provided the raw material for woven blankets or robes and provided some opportunity for creative artistry, usually with decorative uses of feathers.

The housing of California also provided little opportunity for creative expression because of its modest form. The structures varied, from quadrangular in some instances to circular and domed in others. Building materials were usually limited to available vegetation, with bundles of tule thatching serving as the most common fabric. Most houses were only about ten feet square, intended only for sleeping quarters for a single family. When houses became uncomfortable because of dirt or pests, they were simply burned and rebuilt. Few other structures were part of native villages.

Social and Political Organization. The typical form of social organization was the tribelet or village, usually of one hundred to five hundred residents. Although people were not nomadic, neither were they completely immobile. Entire villages were occasionally burned and rebuilt at another location; trading ventures required long trips within and outside of Califor-
nia; men often embarked on extensive expeditions in search of fish and game; even excursions to gather acorns and other plants occasionally required coverage of extensive areas.

Although men thus enjoyed mobility and movement over long distances, women were more typically confined to their home villages. Their lives revolved around the laborious and tedious processes of grinding acorns, leaching out the poisonous tannic acid, baking bread, and otherwise preparing food. Women also took on the chores of rearing children (usually in a communal fashion), weaving baskets, and obtaining wood and water.

Relations among the sexes were usually governed by marriage practices and rules that did not differ markedly from those of other Native Americans. People married soon after puberty, with families choosing the partners and the groom paying a bride price. Customary incest taboos prevailed, and marriages with partners of equivalent social class were encouraged. Monogamy was the norm, but exceptions did exist, especially for people of higher social rank. Divorce was readily available to either partner, although the necessity of refunding the bride price somewhat limited the freedom of women in such matters.

Several variables, especially wealth and inherited rank, determined social status. Wealth was measured by possession of a variety of tangible objects, including shells that acted as a form of money for the facilitation of trade. Although birth was normally the determinant of status, some social mobility was possible for people who worked hard and accumulated wealth or demonstrated special skills.

At the top of the social hierarchy in nearly every village were two officials: the chief and the shaman. The position of the chief, always a male, was normally inherited and usually correlated with wealth. Since warfare played a negligible or even nonexistent role for native Californians, the responsibility of the chief involved mostly the administration of the economic functions of the tribelet. He supervised food-gathering and hunting activities, directed trade with other peoples, and generally assumed responsibility for the economic survival of his people. His position carried with it several wives, the largest and most luxurious house, and possession of the largest store of wealth goods.

**Religion.** The other post of highest status was that of shaman. Although the position was essentially a religious one, its functions mostly involved healing, both physical and psychological. The shaman’s knowledge of the healing properties of various herbs and other plants, along with sacred objects and chants, was essential to the performance of his duties.

As people close to nature, native Californians felt a part of it, and utilized animals for most of their myths. Typically, they believed that animals pre-
ceded men in occupation of the earth and were responsible for creation of both the earth and its human occupants. Natural phenomena all had explanations in mythology, although the accounts of the causes of earthquakes, thunder, phases of the moon, and similar events varied from tribe to tribe.

Religious ceremonies played a smaller part in the lives of the native people of California than for many other Native Americans, but they did exist. Puberty rites, funerals, marriages, and births were among the events that served as occasions for some type of ceremony. Because the allocation of functions between the sexes left men with more free time than women, they were able to engage in more frequent religious activity. Especially popular in much of the area was the use of the temescal, or sweat house. A fire provided the heat and smoke (not steam) that caused the men to sweat and cleanse themselves, after which they took a dip in a nearby source of water. The function of the temescal is not entirely clear; it probably served both a social and ritualistic role.

**History.** White contact began in 1769 when Spanish missionaries, led by Father Junípero Serra, arrived to begin a process of Hispanizing the Indians.
By 1823, the Spanish had established a chain of twenty-one missions, generally near the coast from San Diego to just north of San Francisco. The tribes within the Spanish area included the Chumash, Costanoan, Cupeño, Diegueño, Esselen, Fernandeño, Gabrielino, Juaneño, Luiseño, and Salinan. In 1821, Mexico became independent and sought to reduce the power of the Spanish missionaries, eventually by secularizing the missions around 1834. By that time, the population within the mission range had declined from about seventy-two thousand to approximately eighteen thousand. The causes of the decline are uncertain, but most likely disease, poor diet, psychological stress, and declining female fertility all played a part. Faced with disappearing converts, missionaries went on raids into the Central Valley to recruit Yokuts, whether by persuasion or force.

By the time of the U.S. invasion in 1846, the total native population of California had shrunk to less than 150,000, but that included people outside the coastal strip who were still living largely as they had for centuries. The discovery of gold shortly after the American conquest brought thousands of whites into the area, especially the Sierra foothills of the Miwok and Yokuts. Americans regarded the natives as “diggers,” an inferior people suitable as targets for mass destruction. By 1900, the Indian population had reached its nadir at 15,500.

In the 1870’s, the U.S. government began its policy of establishing reservations and, in at least a few instances, forcing people away from other land. Despite the harsh conditions on the reservations, the native population gradually rebounded in the twentieth century, reaching nearly twenty-two thousand on the first “Great Roll,” conducted between 1928 and 1933, more than thirty-six thousand on the second roll, taken from 1950 to 1955, and more than ninety-one thousand in the census of 1970. The last figure reflects the influx into California of Native Americans from other culture areas, a process that continued throughout the 1970’s and 1980’s. The census of 1990 recorded the presence of approximately 236,000 American Indians within California; that figure is still less than the population in pre-contact times.

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The Great Basin, an area relatively high in altitude, includes all of Nevada and Utah, most of western Colorado, and portions of Idaho, Wyoming, southern Oregon, southeastern California, northern Arizona, and New Mexico. It is a “basin” between two large mountain ranges. Much of the region is steppe or semidesert, but true desert exists in southern Nevada and western Utah. The Great Basin covers an area of some 400,000 square miles, with internal river and stream drainage created by north-south mountain ranges that vary in elevation from 6,000 to 12,000 feet. Nomadic hunting and gathering people successfully inhabited the Great Basin for at least ten thousand years, and their ways of life remained relatively unchanged until European American incursion.

**Language.** All native speakers within the Great Basin, except the Hokan-speaking Washoe, are members of one of three Numic languages (western, central, or southern Numic), a division of the Uto-Aztecan language family of northern Mexico. The term “Shoshonean” is commonly used in referring to Numic-speaking groups of the Great Basin.

**Technology and Subsistence.** Depending on elevation and time of the year, vegetation types in the Great Basin vary greatly, with many plants of economic significance (such as creosote, various sagebrush, rice grass, and wheatgrass) found at lower elevations. In the higher elevations, the major seed tree is the piñon, which provided a so-called iron ration—its nuts and seeds are nutritious and store well.

The main food-obtaining activities of these highly mobile desert culture groups were hunting, gathering, and gleaning, strategies that required a relatively simple but effective multipurpose technology. Their annual subsistence round (annual migration pattern for exploiting various food
sources) was based on obtaining the plant and animal resources that occurred at various elevations in different locations at regular times of the year. The major source of calorie intake was plants, which made up 70 to 80 percent of the diet of Basin peoples. In early spring, lettuce, spinach, wild potatoes, onions, rhubarb, and numerous rhizomes and shoots were collected. In late summer, a variety of seeds, berries, and medicines were
collected, often while deer hunting. Seeds from mustard, salt brush, rabbitbrush, sand grass, and other plants were stored for winter. After a killing frost, women gathered tules.

The men hunted deer, antelope, elk, mountain sheep, rabbits, hares, gophers, lizards, snakes, mice, sage hens, and rats. Even insects, such as crickets, locusts, ants, and grasshoppers, were collected. In some areas, larvae would accumulate in large mounds on beaches, and these were dried and stored in baskets or grass-lined pits for winter consumption.

Hunting was often done by individuals, rather than groups, using sinew-backed bows; in these instances the ability to stalk was more important than marksmanship. Rabbits and insects, however, were hunted in large collective drives that forced game into bush barriers, where they were killed. On occasion, secondary harvesting became necessary, as when seeds were taken from stores by rats or squirrels. Seeds could be collected from human feces and then roasted and ground into food.

Some areas of the Great Basin had lakes that were fished in late May and early June for large sucker and trout, using various technologies including torch-fishing, wide-mouth baskets, harpoons, and drag and dip nets. After removing the roe from some species, the fish were split and air-dried for future use.

Social Systems. In the absence of complex technology, the maintenance of a highly mobile and flexible social structure was critical as a “tool” in effectively exploiting the environment. The principal sociopolitical group in the Great Basin was the mobile and flexible extended family, or kin clique, which was self-sufficient and remained fairly isolated throughout the year. Families were nonlinear and bilateral-based. Similar in some ways to the Plateau Indians, groups were essentially egalitarian, and decisions were based on consensus of opinion. Leadership was frequently temporary, based on one’s skill, though more sedentary groupings had a headman, a “talker,” who kept his group informed of the condition and occurrence of food resources. This person encouraged cooperation and group tranquility by resolving interpersonal conflicts.

Polygyny was not common, and it was usually sororal polygyny. The levirate and sororate were recognized, usually to intensify kin unions. There was some cross-cousin marriage. A significant division of labor by gender and age increased the group’s efficiency and tended to reduce conflict.

Belief Systems. Not as complex as those of most other culture areas, Great Basin religion was basically individualistic, though at certain times of the year the people were concerned with collective rituals to ensure world renewal, availability and redistribution of resources, and sociopolitical tranquility. The dominant religious practitioner was the shaman, either male or
female, who had acquired a tutelary spirit and power for curing, hunting, gambling, and other concerns through dreaming or the vision quest. Curing shamans were concerned primarily with treating illness, which was considered the result of taboo violation, a ghost, or spirit or object intrusion by a sorcerer. Shamans were skilled in ventriloquism and legerdemain, possessed songs, and had an impressive array of sacred items. Usually people did not seek power, as power was feared; its possession was considered dangerous, since it could impose considerable strain on the individual and could bring on accusations of sorcery.

A primary individual religious concern was the avoidance and placation of ghosts and theriomorphic forms that inhabited an area if a person’s burial was hastened or improperly conducted, or if any other number of moral transgressions were committed by the living. The afterlife was considered an enjoyable place, one of bountiful resources, dancing, games, and gambling.

John Alan Ross

Bibliography
The northern boundary of the area known as the Northeast culture area is the southeastern margin of the boreal forest that stretches across Canada. The area includes the Great Lakes region and reaches (generally speaking) from the Atlantic Ocean in the east to the Mississippi River in the west. The boundary between the Northeast and Southeast culture areas is somewhat arbitrary, but the Northeast culture area is generally considered to extend to the Tidewater region of Virginia and inland through northern Tennessee. From prehistory, tribes and bands migrated throughout both Northeast and Southeast regions, and cultural influences of various groups upon one another were extensive.

The societies of the Southeast tended to have a greater dependence on agriculture and a denser population, and they were socially and politically more complex. The one natural feature that was common to the entire Northeast area was the forest. The region was blanketed by extensive coniferous and deciduous forests, and trees provided the materials for tools, shelter, and modes of transportation, such as the well-known birchbark canoe.

Often commented upon by anthropologists are the marked Mesoamerican influences on Northeast cultures, some of which seem to date back to antiquity and all of which apparently were filtered through Southeast cultures. The Northeast culture area seems to have evolved about three thousand years ago as a functionally integrated system interrelated with the
natural environment. Its tribes gleaning much from other cultures without being overrun by them until the arrival of the European invaders in the sixteenth century.

At the time of the arrival of the Europeans, the coastal regions of the Northeast were occupied by Algonquian-speaking people, and the inland waterways were occupied by Iroquoian-speaking people. The entire area was crisscrossed by the trails of a vast trading network. The Hurons, who occupied the region between Lake Ontario and Georgian Bay and were in contact with the people of the Subarctic, were the preeminent traders of the region. Huron was the language of trade. Storable foods were traded for furs, nuts, obsidian, shells, flints, and other items.

Three Northeast Subregions. Many scholars consider the Northeast culture area to consist of three major subregions: the coastal region, the St. Lawrence lowlands region, and the Great Lakes-riverine region. The coastal region included the area from the Atlantic Provinces of Canada to as far south as North Carolina. It was inhabited primarily by Eastern Algonquian speakers in a continuum along the coast, with a few Iroquoian-speaking bands in what is now coastal Virginia and North Carolina. Among coastal
groups, the population grew denser, agriculture more important, and political organizations more complex as one went southward. These coastal Indians were the first to encounter the Europeans and the first to be decimated by the ravages of the diseases carried by whites. For the most part they had been wiped out or had been sent into forced migration by 1850, with the largest number surviving in Maine and the Maritime Provinces. Little of their culture was preserved or recorded by the religious refugees from England. In the years from 1615 to 1619, even before the Pilgrims arrived, disease carried by French and English adventurers and traders had killed an estimated two-thirds of the population of New England.

The St. Lawrence lowlands section included the St. Lawrence river area, southern Ontario, New York State, and the Susquehanna Valley. These were the homelands of Iroquoian-speaking peoples. (“Iroquoian” refers to speakers of the language group, whereas “Iroquois” refers to members of the League of the Iroquois—the Iroquois Confederacy—in most reference guides.) These tribes had similar patterns of horticulture, fishing, fortified villages, prisoner sacrifice, and spiritual rituals, and they had a highly codified matrilineal property system. Of the groups inhabiting the Eastern Woodlands (both Algonquian- and Iroquoian-speaking), those who were most agrarian were matrilineal, and those to the far north who subsisted as hunting bands were usually patrilineal.

The Great Lakes-riverine region was populated by Algonquian and Siouan-speaking groups who had limited contacts with whites until the late seventeenth century. Their politics were determined by pressure from the Iroquois League, whose warriors overran the lower Michigan peninsula in the 1600’s and who established a hegemony over much of the region that lasted until after the American Revolution.

**Cultural Similarities.** There were many similarities between Iroquoian and Algonquian groups. Both were hunters and farmers, and both employed sachems to lead regional economic networks. Sachems came from elite families that collected and then distributed tribute in annual ceremonies of thanksgiving. The practice of living in seasonal camps took advantage of ripening food stocks in the north. Where a 160-day growing season existed, villages were stationary, and people grew corn as their staple. Where villages were stationary, more complex political systems evolved.

Most of the Indians south of the St. Lawrence River were village-dwelling people. Communal hunting of moose, deer, bear, and game birds supplemented agriculture based on corn, beans, and squash. Communal hunting techniques used fire, surrounds, and impounding techniques. Fish were also a significant food item; they were caught with traps, nets, hooks, spears, and poison. They could be taken through the ice in winter and, in
the case of Atlantic salmon, caught on spawning runs. Wild plant foods, particularly berries, were so important that they were ceremonially gathered, as was maple sap. In the northern lake regions, wild rice was a staple.

The Algonquian tribes usually built oval-shaped or dome-shaped wigwams covered by mats or bark. Iroquoians, and Algonquians who had contact with the Iroquoians, lived in longhouses, usually about 20 feet wide and 50 to 100 feet long. As family units grew, the longhouses were extended.

Clothing consisted of animal skins, as did many parfleches, or carrying bags. Other containers were made from woven fiber or from clay. Necklaces, wristlets, earrings, and other items of ornamentation were made from hair, bone, native copper, shells, stones, and feathers.

Birchbark canoes were the primary mode of transportation of trade items. Wampum belts of shells and later beads described symbolically almost all dealings politically and ritually among and within tribes. The ritualized smoking of tobacco in ornately carved stone or clay pipes was common to all the tribes of the region.

Social organizations evolved from environmental necessity. Exploiting the environment in the north required small, autonomous, totemic, patrilineal bands. The other extreme was represented by the Iroquois tribes, who lived in fortified, stockaded villages, were matrilineal, and banded together into confederacies with very strong political and religious systems in which
ultimate power was vested in the hands of the oldest “sensible” women of each clan. Some of the coastal Algonquians also organized into matrilineal clans.

Children were seldom physically punished. Iroquois men paid little attention to their own offspring; children were reared exclusively by women. At puberty, boys entered manhood through an initiation rite involving exile and fasting. Premarital and extramarital affairs were relatively common and carried no stigma. Marriages were arranged completely by clan mothers, and once marriage was consummated, divorce was very uncommon, because it would reflect poor judgment by the clan mothers. Murder within a clan was so uncommon that there were no rules governing its punishment.

Warfare between tribes was commonplace, but such activity resembled feuds more than organized wars. There was constant strife, even within language groups, until the fur trade and the economics of white society changed that forever. The Iroquois Confederacy, which may have been formed as a direct result of the fur trade, created the opportunity for the Five Nations of the Iroquois to establish a combined military force. In the mid-1600’s, the Iroquois assembled an “army” of more than a thousand men and effectively eliminated the Huron, Erie, Petun (Tobacco), and Illinois from being factors in the overall scheme of the politics of the Northeast.

European Contact. Following European contact, life in the Northeast became very complicated. The existing fur trade intensified with the arrival of the French. The river systems that facilitated the fur trade created the basis of the relationship between whites and Indians. A growing European demand for furs transformed Indian political organizations. Most Northeast cultures were radically changed by the fur trade—in many cases even before any members of a tribe had even met a white person.

Geographical dislocations were common to every tribe and band. Tribal groups had three options: They could compromise with the invaders; they could adopt most of the outsiders’ ways, including their religion; or they could violently reject the new cultures. As European encroachment advanced, some pantribal movements, such as those led by Tecumseh and Pontiac, evolved in an attempt to stop the whites. In other cases, refugees—for example, the Lenni Lenape—recombined to form new groups (in the case of the Lenni Lenape, the Delaware) and tried to make a stand while being pushed westward. Generally speaking, they were no match for the well-organized, commercially oriented, land-hungry Europeans.

Glenn J. Schiffman
American Indian Tribes

Northwest

Bibliography

The Northwest Coast culture area extends from the modern regions of Yakutat Bay in southern Alaska south to Cape Mendocino in northern California. The temperate-zone rain-forest ecology and abundant resources contributed much to the diverse cultures which developed in the area.

Natural History. Until about thirteen thousand years ago, much of the Northwest Coast area was covered with the ice of the Pleistocene Ice Age. When the ice began to melt, new vistas opened for the spread of plant, animal, and human populations. The once-white land was covered with a blanket of verdure so lush that one can hardly imagine it in the twenty-first century.

There has been considerable debate regarding when humans first entered the area. Estimates range from about twelve thousand years ago to about fifty-five hundred years ago. Probably most arrived overland on foot, but quite possibly some came by boat as well. By the time of the first contact with Europeans there were more than 100,000 people populating the Northwest Coast area.

After the glaciers retreated but before human populations filled the environmental niches, the lushness of the land increased. Vegetation spread, and the animals followed; then came humans. Probably they came from Siberia over the so-called Bering Strait land bridge.

Cultural Geography. The diversity of physical types, languages, and cultures suggests multiple maritime origins. The coastal inhabitants appear unrelated to the Athapaskan stock said to have migrated overland from Eurasia, for example, and peoples north of the Columbia River are markedly different from those to the south. There is no consensus regarding the

**Language Groups:** Athapaskan, Chinook, Penutian, Salish
**Tribes:** Alsea, Bella Bella, Bella Coola, Chehalis, Chinook, Coast Salish, Coos, Eyak, Gitksan, Haida, Klamath, Klikitat, Kwakiutl, Nootka (Nuu-Chah-Nulth), Quileute, Quinault, Siuslaw, Takelma, Tillamook, Tlingit, Tsimshian, Umpqua

The Northwest Coast culture area extends from the modern regions of Yakutat Bay in southern Alaska south to Cape Mendocino in northern California. The temperate-zone rain-forest ecology and abundant resources contributed much to the diverse cultures which developed in the area.
Northwest Coast Culture Area
character of human penetration into the coastal ecosystem. Migratory groups appear to have settled gradually into their chosen coastal environments and developed into the cultures of the Northwest Coast culture area undisturbed over a period ranging from roughly twelve thousand to fifty-five hundred years ago.

Coastal cultures were originally river or river-mouth cultures, later beach cultures, and only finally (and only in part) seagoing cultures. They are said to have remained centered on the riverine and estuarine environments. Only some peoples took to sea. Among those who did not become maritime, such as the tribes south of the Columbia River, skills in canoe building were never as highly elaborated, nor was ceremonial life as complex, as among more northern groups.

Fishing and sea-mammal hunting were the most profitable activities. Harvesting maritime resources required tools that would allow hunters to use the available natural resources to the fullest extent, and most of the peoples of the coast developed such tools. Their lives moved with the rhythms of nature’s cycles. Their needs were supplied by the forest and the sea. The materials needed for the construction of most of their material culture was readily available and at hand, yet they still engaged in widespread trade with other groups.

They used the moderate climate and wealth of resources well, creating bone fishhooks, harpoons, nets, and other hunting and gathering tools. They developed elaborate communities with ceremonial practices and intricate arts of a highly symbolic and abstract nature centuries before European peoples had laid the foundations of Western civilization. Their material culture was remarkable in its beauty, quality, and diversity.

Population density was influenced directly by the forest and the sea. Moreover, in richly provided areas, efficient food gathering and preservation created a large surplus of time that shaped community life and influenced the development of art and ceremonialism. The terrain was rough, a fact which discouraged farming and animal domestication. The fact that local stone was hard to work prevented the development of more advanced tools, and the absence of significant agricultural surpluses influenced trade patterns.

**Village Life, Travel, and Trade.** The Northwest Coast cultures lived peaceably for the most part, except for occasional slave raids or skirmishes over territorial boundaries. This condition led to the development of cultures with roomy, solid houses, seaworthy boats and canoes, elaborate art, intricate rituals and ceremonies, and a generally affluent and highly complex society. People lived in kinship groups, or clan units that were small and autonomous while being highly integrated into the overall cultural
pattern of their area. Thus the village and the community it contained were of great significance in the social structure.

Peoples to the north were seagoing peoples and had an abundant surplus of resources. Peoples south of the Columbia River depended on the bays and the rivers for most of their livelihood; they had no need to look further. The sophistication of coastal peoples suggests that they had reached dynamic equilibrium with their environment and learned to maintain it long before Europeans came.

People of the Northwest Coast area probably arrived with their maritime adaptations intact and fully developed. Migration routes were coastal as well as interior. The Athapaskan-speaking peoples from Asia represent a later intrusion into a previously established cultural environment. There most likely were a number of basal cultures, or stable cultural traditions, in place by ten thousand years ago, and each culture was characterized by
slightly different sets of tools and slightly different ways of life. Early
cultural traditions gradually became more consistent throughout the area
because of the increasing similarity of the postglacial environment.

**Adaptation to Nature.** Natural events such as glacial retreat, opening of
new land and migration routes, changes in sea levels, stabilization of the
climate, the consistent spread of plants and animals into available niches,
and ongoing episodic volcanism throughout the inland ranges of the Cas-
cades (from Northern California northward into Canada) had a profound
influence on the evolving cultural systems along the coast. When sea levels
changed, for example, there was a corresponding change in the technology
of coastal cultures that gave rise to cultures more easily recognizable as the
ancestors of those later subjected to ethnographic study. These cultures’
status systems were based on wealth and craft. The diffusion of technologi-
cal innovations and new ideas, which led to even greater wealth among
members of Northwest Coast culture area communities, was hastened by
rapidly developing lines of trade; they were extensive and widespread,
connecting distant groups.

Few generalizations regarding human origins are definitive. The North-
wes t Coast area has been habitable for more than forty to fifty thousand
years and has probably been occupied continuously for the last seven
thousand years at least. Stable cultural patterns probably have existed for
more than five thousand years. The sources and processes of development
of early culture on the coast are shrouded in mystery and myth. It is known
that they had ceremonies, mythologies, rock art, and tooth pendants. Sha-
manic animism and the beliefs and practices associated with the power of
guardian spirit entities were widespread. They smoked cultivated tobacco
and used plants for healing rituals, in ceremonials associated with fertility,
and in burials.

**Status and Wealth.** Wealth and status were interrelated in Northwest
Coast cultures. Leaders had to be wealthy, a situation which led to ostenta-
tious displays of rank and even to the ritualized destruction of wealth in the
grand potlatches of the northern groups. Gift giving was a highly developed
social practice. Some tribes, mostly to the south, appear to have practiced a
less destructive form of potlatch in which wealth was displayed, then given
away. In such cases the ceremony acted as a means of redistribution of
wealth and an affirmation of status. Lineage granted hereditary family
privileges and rights to those associated with certain family symbols, crests,
or signs. The leadership system, then, was both a means of concentrating
surpluses and of redistributing wealth among the general population.

Although the Northwest Coast is often regarded as a single culture area,
this may or may not be the case. The great consistency among the material
remains of early cultures in the forms of canoes, houses, clothing, basketry and weaving, carving in wood and stone, crafts, and technologies suggests a single areal culture. Yet it is clear that in spite of certain cultural consistencies (that may be attributed to the environment) coastal cultures were remarkably different from one another in important ways.

Some scholars therefore question the validity of the contention that this vast area is host to a single culture complex. The Salish-speaking peoples north of the Columbia River and the Penutian-speaking peoples to the south are not so alike as they might at first appear to be, and the ways of life of estuarine and riverine peoples are very different from those of seagoing maritime peoples.

Modern History. In the mid-1700’s the Eurasian and European immigrants arrived: the Russians in 1741, the Spaniards in 1774, and the English in 1778. With these intrusions the prehistoric period came to an end and modern history began.

The fur trade emerged as a dominant influence, quickly drawing the indigenous communities into a growing world economy and giving them rapid access to luxury goods and metal-based technology. Yet social disintegration (as sources and concentrations of wealth changed), erosion of community identities in the face of decimating diseases, forced relocation to reservations, cultural decline because of the transformation of belief systems brought about by missionary activity, and loss of languages were widespread.

Colonization resulted in the loss of indigenous control over the environment and the eventual extinction of many smaller communities. Until European contact, Northwest Coast cultures were supported by a subsistence base distributed throughout a uniform, temperate, rain-forest environment. They were hunter-gatherers of the most advanced sort. In an environment of great abundance, diverse cultures developed that were highly civilized and comparable with civilizations elsewhere based upon agriculture and animal domestication. Their self-sufficient technologies were remarkably advanced.

This culture area contains the oldest and most variable evidence for flaked stone technological traditions in North America. It also contains the largest number of Native American languages and language families. Evidence suggests that many populations have lived at their present locations for long periods of time. Technological and linguistic diversity diffused rapidly as the historical period began, however, making it difficult to determine exactly how long cultures have been in residence.

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The Plains culture area extended from southern Canada to southern Texas and from the foothills of the Rocky Mountains to the Mississippi River. It included short-grass plains in the west, tall-grass prairie in the east, and mixed tall and short grasses in between. Many tribes from different regions and cultures moved into the area, but all adopted the basic Plains culture based on hunting buffalo. Aspects of the parent cultures were apparent in Plains Indian culture, but they were modified by the Plains environment and by cultural exchange with other tribes to produce the unique Plains culture.

Regional Prehistory. According to the most popular theory, the earliest Indians in the Plains area were descendants of Asiatic peoples who traveled from Siberia to Alaska over the Bering Strait land bridge some twelve thousand years ago. At the time, glaciers covered much of Eurasia and North America. The water in the great ice sheets was taken from the oceans, lowering sea level and exposing a 1,000-mile-wide land connection between parts of Siberia and Alaska that were not glaciated.

As the glaciers melted, a corridor of unglaciated land was opened to more southerly parts of North America. The prehistoric Indians (or Paleo-Indians) moved through that corridor, eventually reaching the tip of South America. The first North Americans hunted mammoths and other large mammals, but the populations that occupied the Plains area went through several cultural and economic transitions before the historic Indian tribes entered the Plains. The relationship between the Plains tribes occupying the

Language groups: Algonquian, Athapaskan, Caddoan, Kiowa-Tanoan, Siouan, Uto-Aztecan

Tribe: Apache of Oklahoma, Arapaho, Arikara, Assiniboine, Atsina, Blackfoot (Blood, Piegan, Siksika), Caddo, Cheyenne, Comanche, Crow, Hidatsa, Iowa, Kansa (Kaw), Kiowa, Mandan, Missouri, Omaha, Osage, Oto, Pawnee, Ponca, Quapaw, Sarsi, Sioux (Santee, Teton, Yankton), Tonkawa, Waco, Wichita
area at the time of European contact and the prehistoric Indians is obscure. Most versions of the origins of modern tribes suggest that they moved into the grasslands from the Eastern Woodlands (the Sioux, Cheyenne, and Arapaho from the Northeast culture area and the Pawnee and Wichita from the Southeast) and the Southwest (Comanche and Kiowa). Subdivisions of tribes from other culture areas also used the Plains, and their cultures were molded to some extent by the Plains. The Ute and Shoshone of the Great Basin, Nez Perce of the plateau, and Cree from the Subarctic are examples.

Before Horses. Whatever their origins, the Plains Indians became nomadic buffalo hunters when they moved into the grasslands. Buffalo meat supplied food, some of which was smoked and dried for sustenance between hunts. Buffalo hides supplied robes, rawhide, and leather for other items of clothing and the cover for tipis. The Indians also hunted deer, pronghorn antelope, and other big game and used the meat and hides in similar ways. They gathered fruit, seeds, roots, and other vegetable foods as well. All these resources were important, but the buffalo was central to Plains Indian survival and culture.

The buffalo culture was firmly established before the Plains tribes obtained horses. Four main techniques were used to kill the buffalo: They were surrounded and killed with arrows and lances, driven over cliffs, driven
into enclosures and killed there, and nearly surrounded by fire and killed as they fled the flames through the opening. These techniques were sometimes combined—for example, fire could be used to drive buffalo over a cliff.

The Indians followed the herds on foot using dogs, often pulling travois, to carry their possessions. The tipi, easily erected and taken down, lent itself to regular movement. The men hunted and waged war. The women cooked, preserved, sewed, collected plant foods, and put up and took down the tipi. Some tribes (Omaha and Ponca, for example) used tipis only during the buffalo hunts in early summer and in autumn. They lived in earthen lodges near the Missouri River during the rest of the year. There they planted gardens of corn, beans, and squash. The Pawnee, who lived south of the Platte River, practiced a similar schedule. The western Plains tribes (Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Teton Sioux) lived in tipis year round, came together in large groups for the hunting season and for ceremonies, and scattered in extended family groups to the protected valleys of the foothills of the Rocky Mountains for winter. In winter they continued to hunt but depended on food preserved from the summer buffalo hunts for much of their sustenance.

Religion, Status, and Art. The spiritual life of Plains Indians was closely integrated with secular life. They held elaborate ceremonies, such as the Sun Dance, when the tribe was together for the buffalo hunt. Most tribes had a sacred symbol, often a medicine pipe. The term “medicine” in this context is probably better translated “power,” as the Indians believed the pipe to be a symbol of the power which assured their success in hunting, warfare, and other endeavors. Several such symbols were kept in a medicine bundle. The circle (wheel) was of great importance to the Plains Indians as a symbol of the unity and continuity of all aspects of nature.

Many individuals also kept a personal medicine bundle. The symbolic contents of these bundles were often obtained during a vision quest, in which a young man (occasionally a young woman) fasted alone in a wilderness area hoping to receive a vision from which he obtained his medicine (power), indicating his particular abilities and often giving direction to his life. His medicine bundle would then be made up, using symbols of his medicine.

Games, hunting, warfare, and choice of leaders were spiritual endeavors in Plains Indian culture. Games such as shinny (something like field hockey) were parts of certain religious ceremonies. Supernatural signs were sought to determine whether a raid or hunt should proceed. Daring deeds such as touching a live enemy (“counting coup”) ranked above killing an enemy in determining the respect due a warrior. Leadership positions were obtained by performing such deeds, demonstrating skill in hunting, and practicing
generosity. Advancement through the male societies (lodges), which played important roles in tribal organization, depended on a man’s bravery and his ability to provide for—and willingness to share with—the tribe. Most Plains tribes chose their chiefs based on these characteristics. Some tribes had hereditary chiefs, but to maintain a following the chief had to demonstrate these qualities.

Some Plains Indian art forms were spiritually symbolic and some were not. Pictographic art, usually produced by men, often depicted feats performed in hunting and warfare. The patterns used in much of the decorative art were based on straight lines, triangles, and diamonds, and their meaning was known only to the artist. Porcupine quills and later beads were extensively used for decoration. Any of these may have been produced simply for their beauty and symmetry, but it is likely that many such works also held spiritual meaning for their creator. Circles used in artworks probably were symbolic of the unity of nature.

Impact of Horses. The horse, introduced in historic times by the Spanish, fit beautifully into Plains Indian life. Buffalo hunting became easier and often involved a new technique in which individual buffalo were chased and brought down with bows and arrows. The travois was enlarged and fitted to the horse, so moves could be made more rapidly. Warfare could be carried out over greater distances, with greater speed and daring. Even when armed only with bows and arrows, Indians on horseback were skilled and fearless fighters, as the United States Army learned in the Plains Indian
wars. Rifles, obtained from European Americans to the east, made them even more formidable. Their conquerors ranked them among the greatest mounted warriors in history.

The wars were primarily fought as a result of repeated encroachment by European Americans on Indian land, and they came to a close so quickly primarily because of diseases (especially smallpox) and the near extinction of buffalo, not because of superior skill and strategy on the part of the invading armies. The most intense phase of the Plains wars began with the Sand Creek Massacre of Cheyenne and Arapaho (1864). This period included the Fetterman fight and Bozeman Trail war with the Sioux; the Red River war with the Comanches, Kiowa, and Cheyenne; and the battle with the Sioux and Cheyenne on the Little Bighorn River. It finally ended with the massacre of Sioux at Wounded Knee Creek in South Dakota (1890). The greater numbers and advanced technology of the whites left little doubt as to the outcome. Against these odds, the Plains Indians left an indelible mark on American history and the history of warfare.

Most elements of Plains Indian culture were not unique to those Indians but were shared with surrounding culture areas, especially the Woodland Indians to the east. The specific combination of characteristics, however, was found in no other group. With few exceptions, and with abundant variation, this combination was shared by all the tribes in the Plains. Symbolic of independent life lived in harmony with nature, Plains culture is the American Indian culture most familiar to the rest of the world.

Carl W. Hoagstrom

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Plateau

Language groups: Penutian, Sahaptin, Salishan

Tribes: Coeur d’Alene, Colville, Flathead, Kalispel, Kutenai, Lake, Lilooet, Methow, Mical, Modoc, Molala, Nez Perce, Okanagan, Palouse, Sanpoil, Shuswap, Spokane, Tenino, Thompson, Tyigh, Umatilla, Walla Walla, Wanapam, Wauyukma, Wenatchi, Yakima

The intermontane, semi-arid Plateau culture area consists of the low-elevation Columbia River basin of generally low, local relief, bounded on the west by the Cascade Mountains, on the east by the Rocky Mountains, to the north by the Fraser River, and somewhat to the south by the Blue Mountains. The most unique internal feature of the Plateau area is the numerous flood-scoured Scabland channels that are characterized by basalt cliffs, buttes, rock shelters, and thousands of small basins containing small lakes and seasonal wetlands. The Plateau was once viewed by anthropologists as a “transitional area” because of cultural influences from the Plains and the Northwest Coast. Archaeological evidence establishes an early and successful continuous inhabitation of eleven thousand years. The greatest influences on the Plateau cultures during the protohistorical period (1700-1805) were the adoption of the horse and prophetic religious revival.

The major shared cultural features of the Plateau were relatively simple political organization with leadership through consensus of opinion, riverine settlement patterns, reliance upon aquatic foods, a complex fishing technology, mutual cross-utilization of subsistence resources, extension of kin ties through systematic intermarriage, institutionalized trade, vision quest of a tutelary spirit, and an emphasis on democratic and peaceful relations. The introduction of the horse had a complex effect upon peoples of the eastern Plateau, particularly the Flathead and Nez Perce, who adopted many Plains traits in sociopolitical organization. The most devastating effects were created by numerous European American epidemics that greatly reduced aboriginal population.
**Language.** There were two major language families: In the southernmost Plateau was Sahaptin (Dalles, Klikitat, Nez Perce, Palouse, Umatilla, Walla Walla, Wanapam, and Warm Springs), and to the north was Salishan (Columbia, Kalispel, Lillooet, Okanagan-Colville, Thompson, and Shuswap). Other dialects were Wasco-Wishram, Carrier, Chilcotin, and Kutenai. Chinook (Kiksht) was a lingua franca (trade language) along the Columbia and Spokane rivers. There was no sign language except what was learned from
the Plains. Many dialects were mutually intelligible, and most people were multilingual because of trade, intermarriage between different ethnic groups, and sustained polyadic relationships necessitated by differential resources.

**Technology and Subsistence.** Implements of hunting were often the same ones used for warfare, and men made their own implements and tools for hunting and fishing. Though various woods and cordate were gathered locally, lithic (stone) material for knives and projectile points often was traded. Men made mortars, pestles, pipes, beads, fishing weights, axes, and cutting tools. A woman’s most important tools were a fire-hardened digging stick and those implements associated with tanning and sewing deer and elk hides. During the year women collected and stored great quantities of thinly split lengths of spruce, cedar, pine roots, and willow that were carefully stored for making baskets.

Though house types within the Plateau varied, the principal winter structure was, in the late prehistoric period, a tule mat-covered double apsidal pole-constructed lodge that housed one or more extended families who shared a cooking fire. The floor was covered with old tule mats, skins, bear grass, or white sage. Tules were important multipurpose plants for making mats, bundle boats, hats, and rain capes. Firewood and kindling were stored in an outside mat-roofed shed. Spring, summer, and fall structures were usually temporary and were built primarily for privacy and inclement weather.

As foragers, Plateau people lived for three to four months in permanent riverine winter villages in areas of low elevation, sometimes supplementing their stored animal and plant foods with occasional forays for land mammals and ice fishing. Winter villages had permanent semisubterranean storage pits, earth ovens, sweat houses, and family menstrual huts. Winter was a time of leisure when people repaired and manufactured predation technology, visited, and listened to elders telling often long accounts of creation and individual exploits. Acclaimed storytellers enjoyed high status. It was not unusual for shamans to conduct power duels in the winter.

Subsistence orientation was hunting, gathering, and fishing, regulated by season and a well-defined annual subsistence round. The southern Plateau diet consisted of approximately 40 percent plant food, 50 percent salmon, and 10 percent land mammals. The percentages varied according to a group’s location, particularly in the northern Plateau. These activities commenced in early spring when groups would dismantle their winter houses and move to higher elevations to establish temporary camps to exploit traditional resource sites. Men would gather in great numbers in the spring to exploit fish stations mutually, using weirs, traps, harpoons, and spears, sometimes fishing until fall to harvest salmon and other fish. Food
was preserved by drying and then cached in tree platforms and storage pits. Women would visit traditional root fields in late spring to dig bitterroot, camus, numerous species of *Lomatium*, and other roots, which were dried and transported in great number to winter storage areas. In July and August, people would gather and pick numerous berry crops, particularly huckleberries. In late summer and early fall, groups would gain elevation—men to hunt deer and elk and women to gather medicines, hemp, and punk wood. After a killing frost the women cut and gathered tules.

**Social Systems.** The main feature of Plateau sociopolitical organization was village autonomy. There existed what may be called chiefs, however, men who influenced decisions of consensual opinion through judgment, knowledge, and example and who retained office through generosity, skillful decisions, oratory skills, and the possession of religious power. A chief’s main responsibility was to maintain tranquillity by resolving differences of opinion and making final arbitration. This office, sometimes hereditary, was never based on the assumption of accrued wealth or material possessions. A composite band could have two or three petty chiefs. Salmon chiefs, shamans, and war leaders, all of whom had special religious powers, were apparent during specific occasions.

There was gender equality, and a bilateral kinship system existed. Marriage was commonly monogamous, but polygamy, particularly polygyny,
occurred. A primary concern was to extend one’s kinship ties through marriage. Social control was maintained by threats of sorcery, gossip, a high division of labor, myth, public opinion, public whipping, and resident rules.

Pregnant women observed strict dietary and behavioral taboos and were expected to work industriously during their confinement; violations were explanations for congenital defects or later aberrant behavior in the child. Women were delivered, if possible, in isolated delivery huts by their mothers, who would ritually dispose of the placentas and make the required prophylactic devices to protect the new child. A berdache or shaman could assist in a difficult delivery. Infanticide and abortions were considered moral transgressions. Naming usually occurred at birth, and an infant was often named for a deceased kinsperson.

Adolescent children were indulged by kinspeople, but prior to puberty rites children embarked upon rigorous physical training in preparation for adulthood. Grandparents spent inordinate time with grandchildren, and a child’s first exposure to adult activities was frequently supervised by a concerned grandparent who also made prototype toys of adult activities. The most dramatic change in the individual’s life was the puberty ceremony; for a girl it was her first confinement to the menstrual hut, and for a boy, his vision quest for a tutelary spirit.

Marriage, after a period of courtship, was usually arranged by both families with a feast. Though a man could later take a second wife, usually a widow who demonstrated certain skills, particularly hide processing, the cowives did not share the same dwelling. Divorce was with mutual consent, usually for reasons of laziness or adultery.

Upon death the individual was immediately removed from the structure, washed, and buried, usually with grave goods. Special rituals and taboos were followed to ensure the incorporation of the soul in an afterlife and to prevent the occurrence of lingering ghosts. The surviving widow or widower observed strict taboos for one year, at which time a feast was held to give away certain possessions of the deceased. A newborn was never named after a deceased sibling for fear of recurrence of death.

Belief Systems. Though there were group differences in the complex Plateau animistic mythical charter, the main concern was one’s daily intimate relationship with the supernatural, which if violated could cause personal failure, illness, and even death. Complex notions of how order was brought from chaos during the origins of humankind were based essentially on the supernatural world, theriomorphic forces, and natural forces which controlled humans and animals. Shamans were religious practitioners (male or female) who had acquired their power in a variety of ways,
particularly through dreaming, a vision quest, recurring events, special signs, and unique experiences.

Plateau peoples had various elaborate rites of intensification, usually during midwinter, when sacred communal efforts were strictly followed to ensure world renewal, personal well-being, return of migratory animals, and a renewal of one’s power. Shamans were effective as curers, employing medicaments, legerdemain, ventriloquism, massage, sucking, and acupresure. They sought to rid a patient of sorcery-induced spirit or object illness or soul loss; they also heard confessions of moral transgressions. All of these, it was believed, could eventually kill a patient if not attended to. Shamans were capable of transformation, and they publicly demonstrated their power’s flight from their body by enduring painful proofs of ordeal.

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Southeast

**Language groups:** Algonquian, Atakapa, Caddoan, Chitimacha, Iroquoian, Muskogean, Natchez, Siouan, Timucuan, Tunica, Yuchi

**Tribes:** Ais, Alabama, Anadarko (Hasinai Confederacy), Apalachee, Apalachicola, Atakapa, Bayogoula, Biloxi, Calusa, Cape Fear, Catawba, Cheraw, Cherokee, Chiaha, Chickasaw, Chitimacha, Choctaw, Coushatta, Creek, Guale, Guasco (Hasinai Confederacy), Hitchiti, Houma, Jeaga, Manahoac (Mahock), Mobile, Nadeche (Hasinai Confederacy), Natchez, Ocaneechi, Ofo, Pamlico, Pawokti, Powhatan Confederacy, Seminole, Texas (Hasinai Confederacy), Timucua, Tiou, Tohome, Tunica, Tuscarora, Tuskegee, Tutelo, Waccamaw, Yamasee, Yazoo, Yuchi

The Southeast culture area is located in the southeastern United States and is one of ten Native American culture areas found in the United States and Canada. The various Southeast Indian groups generally shared the following culture traits: a material culture that included dugout canoes, rafts, blowguns, shields, pipes, feather cloaks, basketry, mats, houses made of pole, thatch, or bark, and stockaded towns, and a nonmaterial culture based on hunting, gathering, and agriculture, dual leadership, socially powerful women, clans, social stratification with a sharply defined class system, sun symbolism, the Green Corn Ceremony, elaborate mortuary rituals, warfare, and war captive torture-sacrifice.

**Culture Areas.** The culture area concept was developed by Otis T. Mason (1838-1908), Clark Wissler (1870-1947), and Alfred L. Kroeber (1876-1960), among others. These scholars grouped North American aboriginal cultures into geographic regions, defined by cultures in each area which shared numerous similarities. These shared culture traits are considered to have regional significance, representing either common adaptations to the environment or diffusion among the aboriginal groups in the region. Culture areas provide synthetic overviews of human achievements within the dif-
different regions of North America. The areal typology organizes the cultural
data into regional units which can then be further studied and analyzed.
Culture areas allow anthropologists and geographers to move beyond the
minutiae of local events to search for broad regional trends and to develop
theories of culture contact, diffusion, and change. Taken to the extreme,
however, the culture area concept can neglect the influences and histories
of tribes and individuals within regions, since it emphasizes broad regional
events rather than local occurrences. While the culture area typology was
an important theoretical concern to early- to mid-twentieth-century an-
thropologists—and is still generally employed as a useful organizing prin-
ciple for discussing Native American groups—anthropological theory has
moved beyond the issues of innovation and diffusion that were so impor-
tant in the early 1900’s.

Southeast Geography. The Southeast culture area covers the southeast-
ern United States and generally includes Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama,
Florida, Georgia, southwestern South Carolina, western North Carolina, Tennessee, and southern Arkansas. The boundaries fluctuated, sometimes expanding to include portions of eastern Texas, eastern Arkansas, the Carolinas, Virginia, West Virginia, and Kentucky.

Generally, the Southeast climate is characterized by year-round warm temperatures and seasonally abundant precipitation, with local variation depending on the latitude or altitude. Physically, the Southeast consists of coastal plains and lowlands, interior fertile river valleys, including the lower reaches of the Mississippi River, and interior low plateaus, with occasional higher peaks, such as the Blue Ridge Mountains, the Appalachians, the Ozarks, and the Ouachita Mountains. The majority of the region is low-lying (elevations of less than 500 feet above sea level), and prehistoric and historic human settlement was concentrated in the coastal and riverine ecozones.

**Language, Social Organization, and Subsistence.** The Southeast was home to a large number of different Indian groups speaking diverse languages but sharing cultural traits. Speakers of the Muskogean languages dominated in terms of numbers, but there were also speakers of Algonquian, Caddoan, Iroquoian, and Siouan languages, as well as of Atakapa, Chitimacha, Natchez, Timucua, Tunica, and Yuchi.

Beginning in the late prehistoric or early historic period, some southeastern peoples also used a pidgin language for trading purposes, called Mobilian Jargon (also termed Mobilian Trade Jargon, or the Chickasaw-Choctaw Trade Language). The lexical sources are mostly from Muskogean languages, Chickasaw and Choctaw in particular.

Among the Indians of the Southeast, social complexity ranged from loosely structured small hunting and gathering groups to more complexly organized sedentary towns. Generally the settled agricultural peoples are emphasized in regional synthesizes, since these groups, with their larger populations, had a greater impact on historical events in the Southeast. In addition, these cultures were featured in colonial documents and histories, since Europeans were better able to understand the lifeways of settled farming peoples than those of the less settled hunting and gathering groups.

Generally, regardless of the degree of social complexity, there was separation by gender in the daily activities of southeastern communities. Women often gathered or cultivated the plants, prepared the food, manufactured the pottery, made baskets, prepared animal skins, made clothing, and manufactured tools for these activities. Male tasks often included hunting, making tools, constructing buildings, clearing land, and waging warfare. The men’s lives often revolved around the winter hunting season, whereas the women participated most actively in the planting cycle and
household routines. The sexes were often physically separated in ceremonies, in the case of the women during menstruation or birth, and in the case of the men during raiding events.

Occasionally, men or women did not wish to participate in these culturally sanctioned gender roles. In these cases, among many of these groups, it was permissible for a male to behave as a woman or for a female to behave as a man. Transvestism might include a sexual relationship, although not necessarily, and generally such behavior was not censored. This gender-role switching was typically accepted in many North American Indian cultures.

Subsistence-related activities were aided by the manufacture of various tools. Fish were caught using the hook and line, spears, nets, traps, and weirs. Hunters used the bow and arrow and the blowgun, killing deer, turkeys, and buffalo, and often utilized fires or decoys to aid in capturing the animals.

Localized resources, such as salt or flint, were often traded among different groups. The Southeast was noted for the extensive trails and trading arrangements which connected communities to a vast regional system. With European contact, the newcomers contributed their goods and political power to this existing network, which resulted in further changes to a dynamic regional economy. For example, upon the adoption of European arms and trading strategies, aboriginal hunting was often conducted to obtain deer skins for trade rather than only for deer meat and hides for local use.

Farming groups grew domesticated corn, beans, and squash, plus many plants native to the Southeast, such as bottle gourds, sunflowers, sumpweed, chenopodium, pigweed, and knotweed. With the arrival of the Europeans, foreign crops and animals were rapidly adopted: figs, peaches, and watermelon, and chickens, pigs, horses, and cows. Corn served as the subsistence staple and appeared (either boiled, baked, or fried) at almost every meal. Food was preserved through drying, either over the fire or on the ground under the sun. Harvested crops were stored in the houses or sometimes in special granaries.

Farming groups generally lived in large established towns with a central plaza and meeting house. Villages in warmer locations often consisted of wall-less shelters. Some communities built summer and winter houses to cope with varying climatic conditions. Similar climatic adaptations determined the type of clothing, which ranged from minimalist skirts and breechcloths in summer to warmer garments in winter. People often tattooed their faces and bodies and wore various decorative adornments, such as armbands, bracelets, and other items made from copper, shell, or other raw materials.
Southeastern social organization was typically based upon matrilineal kinship—kin relationships traced through the female line of descent. Women could own land, houses, and other possessions and were often honored members of the community, as signified by the Creek and Cherokee “Beloved Women” titles.

Matrilineal kinship ties created a strong bond between the mother’s brother and her children, since they were members of the same kinship unit. There was a different sort of bond between the father and his offspring, since they were members of different kinship groups. This fundamental difference in social relationships was not understood by the European colonists who were more accustomed to the father-son relationship typical of a patrilineal society (descent traced through the male ancestors). Europeans were accustomed to dealing with male power and authority, and they often insisted on conducting transactions with men. With colonialism, the traditional authority of women in some cultures was gradually eroded. In addition, colonial economics altered the marriage arrangements among many Southeast groups. The growth of the deerskin trade increased the value of women’s work (hide preparation), for individual men could hunt vastly more animals than they could process. It seems likely that the economic incentives to increase deerskin production resulted in increased numbers of polygynous unions, since one man with several wives was a more viable economic unit.

Many of the groups in the Southeast had stratified social classes, often with some sort of dual organization. Many had two leaders, the peace chief and the war chief. In other cases, the villages might be divided into two types; among some Creek, for example, certain communities promoted peace and other communities were devoted to warfare.

Beliefs and Ceremonies. Many of the peoples of the Southeast had similar beliefs concerning the origins of the world and its structure. Often it was envisaged as possessing many levels, each with its own creatures, and special significance was generally attached to the four cardinal directions. For example, many cultures associated the west with the realm of the dead.

There were strong beliefs concerning purity and pollution. For many people, bathing in a stream was an appropriate way to begin the day, providing a sense of purity. Southeastern peoples consumed a ritual beverage, known as the Black Drink, prepared from the leaves of a species of holly (Ilex vomitoria), which served to purge their bodies both physically and spiritually.

Various individual rites of passage marked the significant steps from birth through puberty, marriage, and death. The mortuary ceremonies were much commented upon by the European colonists, since they were often
spectacular, shocking, and public, in contrast to other more private rituals. For this reason, there is much information available concerning funerals and post-death treatment of the body. For example, the 1715 funeral of Tattooed Serpent, a Natchez war chief, is well documented. His death initiated a months-long chain of events which included public viewing of the body, the provision of food, human sacrifices, the burning of his house, and special treatment of the corpse. Such complex mortuary arrangements were typical for the southeastern elite.

Another ceremony which had importance among the southeastern farming groups was the Green Corn or Busk Ceremony. It was scheduled after the harvest, and therefore its exact occurrence varied from year to year and from south to north, ranging from May to September. This was an event celebrating the bounty of nature and often fertility in general. It typically involved fasting, sexual abstinence, and other forms of purification. The climax of the multiday ritual was the kindling of a new fire and the consumption of the new corn, accompanied by dancing, drumming, playing of the ball game, and other events.

Southeast History. European history of the Southeast commenced with the sixteenth century explorers. By midcentury, Spanish missions were established in Florida and Georgia, and by 1607, the English had founded Jamestown, Virginia. By the late seventeenth century, the English were heavily involved in Indian slavery and deer-hide trading in South Carolina, while the French were exploiting the Mississippi River territories. Southeast Native American life was forever altered by the impact of Europeans in the area, but it nevertheless continued.

Over the centuries, various wars, treaties, and legal maneuvers resulted in native peoples losing much territory; probably the most infamous of these events began with the 1830 Indian Removal Act signed by President Andrew Jackson. This act was designed to allow European settlers to establish farms on lands previously occupied by farming Native Americans. Ironically, it penalized those Indians who had assimilated most successfully into European American society, namely the “Five Civilized Tribes”: the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, and Seminole. From 1830-1839, these peoples were systematically marched from their southeastern homes to land in present-day Oklahoma. The routes they took became known as the “Trail of Tears,” and they were marked by innumerable shallow graves and abandoned possessions. Despite these ordeals, once in Oklahoma, these refugee groups organized themselves as nations. In 1980, the Five Civilized Tribes in Oklahoma numbered approximately 60,000 Cherokee, 24,000 Choctaw, 15,500 Creek, 6,000 Chickasaw, and 5,000 Seminole.
Twentieth Century. As in Oklahoma, Native Americans in the Southeast have a variety of economic strategies for survival in the modern world. These range from individual money-making endeavors based on traditional crafts (such as basketmaking) or activities (fishing) to community financial undertakings such as bingo and other gambling and various industries. Modern Indian communities must decide on the balance that they wish to maintain between, on the one hand, a traditional Native American lifestyle and, on the other, the dominant American worldview. For many Indian groups, this decision-making process is marked by internal dissention and disagreement concerning the tribal future.

According to the 1980 census, the three largest Southeast Indian groups still in the Southeast are the Cherokee, the Choctaw, and the Seminole. The Eastern Band of Cherokee, located on the Qualla Reservation in North Carolina, had a census-reported population of 5,482; however, Eastern Band tribal rolls included approximately 9,000 members. These people maintain the Southeast’s largest federal reservation, founded in 1889.

The Mississippi and Louisiana Choctaw number fewer then 5,000 (although there are 50,000 Choctaw in the United States). The Florida Seminole include approximately 10,000 people, of whom few live on reservations.

Current estimates of southeastern Native American numbers are imprecise measures, since there are many definitions of who is to be considered
Indian; numbers vary depending on whether one is enumerating federally recognized Indians, state-recognized groups, or individuals who declare that they are “Indian.” (Other ethnic groups in the United States and Canada generally are self-ascribed and do not have to demonstrate their ethnicity.)

In the United States, recognition by the federal government is based on Indian documentation and demonstration that the Native American community has possessed separate and distinct tribal government processes since European contact. The group must be able to prove descent from a historic tribe, and it must be identified in the available records as a distinct cultural entity. Because of these stringent federal criteria, most Native Americans in the Southeast are not federally recognized. Federally recognized groups in the Southeast include the Louisiana Chitimacha (520 members in 1985), the Louisiana Coushatta (350 members in 1985), the Louisiana Tunica-Biloxi (250 members in 1985), the Mississippi Band of Choctaw (8,080 enrolled members in 1990), the Alabama and Florida Poarch Band of Creeks (1,850 enrolled members in 1986), the Florida Seminole (approximately 1,600 enrolled members in 1990), the Florida Miccosukee (approximately 400 members in 1990), and the North Carolina Eastern Band of Cherokee (with a 1980 census population of 5,482 people, while tribal rolls list about 4,000 more members).

The Southeast also is home to a number of triracial groups, descendants of Native Americans, Europeans, and Africans. Generally, such groups have been cut off from federal benefits available to “Indians,” although in some cases they have managed to obtain state recognition for their Indian ancestry. In the Southeast, the presence of these triracial groups and the racial divisions within twentieth century American society meant that many Native American peoples were denied educational opportunities. For example, the Houma Indians of southeastern Louisiana were classified as black and thus were not permitted to attend white schools. As a result, many southeastern Native Americans abandoned their Indian heritage in order that their children might have increased opportunities in a segregated society. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 worked to desegregate the schools, expanding the educational options of these Native Americans and permitting many Indian descendants to rediscover their heritage.

Susan J. Wurtzburg

Bibliography


Southeast American Indian Tribes


Southwest

**Language groups:** Athapaskan, Keres, Kiowa-Tanoan, Uto-Aztecan, Yuman, Zuni

**Tribes:** Acoma, Apache (including Chiricahua, Jicarilla, and Mescalero), Cochiti, Havasupai, Hopi, Isleta, Jemez, Karankawa, Laguna, Nambe, Navajo, Picuris, Pima, Pojoaque, San Felipe, San Ildefonso, San Juan, Sandia, Santa Ana, Santa Clara, Santo Domingo, Taos, Tesuque, Tohono O’odham, Walapai, Yaqui, Yavapai, Zia, Zuni

The United States Southwest includes Arizona, New Mexico, and southern Utah and Colorado. The area features rugged terrain and an arid landscape in which agriculture provided an unlikely but solid foothold for the growth of settled populations among the deep canyons and dun-colored mesas. It remains home to many of the most culturally conservative tribes, notably the Navajos and the Pueblo Indians. Southwestern archaeological remains—carefully planned masonry or adobe communities—are major tourist attractions in the region.

**Paleo-Indian/Archaic Era.** The earliest commonly accepted evidence for humans in the Southwest is from people archaeologists call Paleo-Indians. It dates from the last thirteen thousand years. Widespread habitation probably began about 9000 B.C.E., when highly mobile bands hunted large game animals, gathered wild plants, and killed smaller game as opportunities arose.

By 6000 B.C.E., many of the largest game animals were extinct, and early southwesterners shifted to more generalized hunting and gathering. Archaic period Indians probably operated from central base camps in defined territories by 1800 B.C.E. Archaic culture ended with the adoption of maize horticulture, probably around 1500-1000 B.C.E., but the people were cautious about depending on these new ways, continuing to hunt and gather along with caring for the crops.

**Hohokam and Mogollon Cultures.** The cultures of the Hohokam and Mogollon, known from their archaeological remains, had developed from
Archaic populations in southwestern New Mexico and southern Arizona by 200 B.C.E., the Hohokam in the valleys of the Gila and Salt rivers, the Mogollon in the uplands of those drainages. The Hohokam had irrigation technology by 700 C.E. There were 500 kilometers (slightly over 300 miles) of main canals in the Salt Valley alone, watering fields of corn, beans, squash, and cotton.

Raw or woven cotton was probably an important export in trade, as were elaborate shell ornaments, pottery, turquoise, jet, and obsidian. Copper bells, parrots, and macaws suggest trade ties to ancient Mexico, as do Hohokam ballcourts and platform mounds. Local exchange of goods and services, however, was probably the main cement that bound the culture.
together; they probably never shared a single government.

The Mogollon are known for making the earliest pottery yet found in the Southwest, about 300 B.C.E. They lived in small, egalitarian pit house villages with specialized ceremonial rooms, depending on a combination of agriculture and hunted and gathered resources. By 700 C.E. they were trading regularly with the Hohokam, and the cultures mixed at the Mogollon western edge. The Mogollon began irrigation and water run-off control about that time and, particularly in their eastern and northern areas, began to build aboveground architecture, sometimes with large ceremonial structures. The Mimbres Mogollon variant produced finely painted figurative pottery, ceremonially “killed” for interment with the dead.

Both Hohokam and Mogollon cultures disappeared around 1350-1400. The people of southern Arizona reduced the scale of their agriculture, probably because of depleted desert soils and climate change. The Mogollon population split, some withdrawing into northern Mexico while others faded into their Anasazi neighbors to the north.

Anasazi Culture. Most Pueblo Indians are descended from the Anasazi, a Navajo term meaning “ancient others.” Anasazi territory included the Little Colorado, San Juan, and northern Rio Grande drainages in New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, and Utah.

The Anasazi relied on horticulture, hunting, and gathering wild foods. The earliest Anasazi, the Basketmakers, began about 100 B.C.E. as a semi-nomadic population, ranging out from pit house villages. By 400-700 C.E. they were building separate, large ceremonial structures (kivas) and grew beans, cotton, and maize.

The Anasazi began building their characteristic masonry apartment-house-style pueblos about 700 C.E., along with irrigation and soil-control features. The bow and arrow replaced the spear, and the turkey was domesticated. Between 900 and 1100, the Anasazi built planned communities of up to eight hundred rooms throughout their territory. Probably the largest and best known are in Chaco Canyon, but outlying “great houses” of Chacoan style also dot the remainder of the San Juan basin. Another Anasazi variant of this period is represented at Mesa Verde National Park, Colorado. Both areas were largely abandoned by 1300, when prehistoric Puebloan peoples began concentrating in the areas where modern Pueblo tribes live.

The Pueblos. There are twenty different tribes of Pueblo Indians, representing four major language families and six languages. Three Tanoan languages (Tewa, Tiwa, and Towa) join Keresan, Hopi, and Zuni as language groups still actively spoken in their pueblos. A fifth language group, Piro, is now extinct in the Southwest.
The Tanoans and Keresans, called the Eastern Pueblos, live mainly along the northern Rio Grande and its tributaries in northern New Mexico. They include the Tanoan pueblos of Jemez, Taos, Picuris, Isleta, Sandia, San Juan, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, Nambe, Pojoaque, and Tesuque, as well as the Keresan towns of Zia, Santa Ana, San Felipe, Santo Domingo, and Cochiti. Two other Keresan groups, Acoma and Laguna, are farther west. Zuni and Hopi are the Western Pueblos.

Despite linguistic diversity, the Pueblos share similar architecture and organization of their apartment-house-style villages; horticulture of corn, beans, squash, and sometimes cotton; finely made painted pottery; the beliefs of their ancestor-based kachina religion; and philosophy in which personal aggrandizement is discouraged and group harmony is of paramount importance.

Eastern Pueblo men, women, and children participate in kiva ceremonies. Societies are usually organized by division into moieties (halves), each associated with one kiva. Each moiety has a chief, and power is rotated between moieties semiannually. Moieties also organize community labor for such tasks as caring for the irrigation systems that bring Rio Grande water to the fields. Although many Eastern Pueblo people practice Christianity, indigenous religion also survives in belief and practice, closely guarded and distinct from introduced practices. Many Eastern Pueblo villages are famous for their fine pottery; Keresans are skilled workers in turquoise and shell beads.

The two largest Western Pueblo groups, Hopi and Zuni, are organized into matrilineal clans and into kiva societies in the kachina religion. Usually only men participate in kachina ceremonies, dancing for rain and fertility. Both Hopi and Zuni are noted for fine jewelry and pottery.

Navajos. The Navajos, or Diné, as they call themselves, are the largest traditional Indian tribe in the United States and have the largest land holdings.

Navajo oral and religious history accords with archaeological evidence that they came to their present area between six hundred and eight hundred years ago, probably from Canada. They and the Apaches, also Athapaskan speakers, were probably one group then. In 1598 early Spanish colonists in northern New Mexico encountered Apachian raiders and soon began to differentiate between corn-growing “Apaches de Navaju,” probably ancestors of the modern Navajo, and those who were mainly hunters and gatherers, still called Apaches.

Differences between these two Athapaskan groups strengthened after the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, in which Pueblo Indians, aided by some Athapaskans, drove the Spanish colonists out of New Mexico for nearly twenty years. Fearing reprisal, many Rio Grande Puebloans fled to live with the
Navajos. Pueblo traits, such as masked dancers, painted pottery, masonry construction, and probably weaving, along with Spanish livestock, entered Navajo culture. In the mid-eighteenth century, after the Puebloans had returned home, most characteristics now considered a part of traditional Navajo life crystallized, including sheep and goat pastoralism, extended family household units based on the mother-child bond, and the Blessing Way (Chantways) ceremony.

The old raiding pattern remained also, and Navajos often came into conflict with their Pueblo, Spanish, and later American neighbors. This situation led eventually to the capture of more than nine thousand Navajos by Kit Carson in 1863; they were then marched 300 miles to internment at Fort Sumner, or Bosque Redondo, on the brutal “Long Walk.” After five years of sickness and starvation, they were allowed to return to about 10 percent of their former range. Reservation lands have been increased many times since 1868. Navajos are known for their fine weaving and silversmithing.

**Apaches.** For the other southern Athapaskans, the Apaches, raiding as an economic strategy became increasingly important in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Although some Apache women planted corn, beans, and squash, the products of the hunt—whether wild or domestic animals—were far more integral to Apache life. Conflict between settlers and Apaches led to warfare, and then to the establishment of seven reservations, the Jicarilla and Mescalero in New Mexico and five Western Apache reservations in Arizona. Some of the Chiricahua and Lipan moved onto Mescalero lands; other Chiricahuas, those who had rebelled under Geronimo, were removed to Oklahoma. Most Apaches were settled by 1872.

**O’odham.** The modern descendants of the Hohokam people are the Akimel O’odham, or River Pima, and the Tohono O’odham, the Desert Pima or Papago, of southern Arizona. In the historic period, they have tradition-
ally lived in rancherias (communities of family homesteads) near streams, irrigation canals, or wells. Homesteads usually consist of an elderly couple and the families of their married sons, who grow maize, beans, and pumpkins.

The O’odham had sporadic contact with the Spanish from 1540 on and adopted cattle, wheat, and fruit trees from them in the late seventeenth century. Contacts became increasingly negative, however, through the nineteenth century as ranchers and miners encroached on O’odham land, driving a few to become nomadic, living entirely on wild resources. Two main reservations were established in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

About four thousand Yaqui, a mainly northwestern Mexico tribe, also live in southern Arizona, having moved into the United States as a result of an early twentieth century sovereignty dispute with the Mexican government. Their traditional way of life was similar to that of the O’odham, though each rancheria belonged to one of eight towns. When Mexico wished to assert dominion over the eight towns in 1825, a rebellion began which has continued sporadically since.

**Pai.** The Yuman-speaking Pai, including modern groupings called the Walapai (or Hualapai) and the Havasupai, live along the most lowland drainage of the Colorado River and a tributary, the Gila. They are related to the Yuma, Mojave, and Maricopa and were once divided into numerous local groups of up to sixty persons who lived by hunting, gathering, and gardening. These small groups joined into larger units only at certain times of the year around particular resources—good gardening areas in summer or large stands of edible wild plants at ripening. At those times, marriages and friendship renewed connections between the groups. They were informally and flexibly organized, each local group coalescing around a respected leader who, though influential, was never in a position of command.

European and American contact with the Pai was sporadic and limited until the establishment of a gold field in their area in 1865 led to war from 1866 to 1869. They were ultimately placed on two reservations, the western and southern Pai together on the Walapai Reservation, and the northeastern band on designated Havasupai lands.

*Linda B. Eaton*

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The Subarctic culture area covers a huge region, spanning three continents and the coasts of three oceans. For the purposes of a study of North American native cultures, the area can be considered to cover Alaska, the Yukon, the Northwest Territories, Labrador, and the northern portions of British Columbia, Alberta, and Manitoba. There is, however, no clear break between the cultures of North America and those of Greenland, Siberia, and Northern Scandinavia, as these cultures spread long before current boundaries between nations were established, and the cultures remain very similar.

Generally, the native population of the area can be divided into three groupings: Eskimos and Aleuts, Athapaskan Indians (sometimes spelled Athabaskan—the actual sound is an aspirated p, which cannot be rendered in the English alphabet), and the Northwest Coast Indians. These are three distinct cultures and will be discussed separately below. It should be noted that the term “Eskimo” has engendered some controversy (with many Canadian Arctic and Subarctic natives, for example, preferring “Inuit”), but it is used here because it incorporates a large number of groups that cannot easily be united under any other term and because it has a long scientific tradition of usage.

Prehistory. The people of the Subarctic did not have a written language before the arrival of European explorers and missionaries, and physical evidence is in short supply owing to the harsh climate and sparse population. Most modern archaeologists, however, have agreed that the North American continent was first settled by immigrants from Asia during the last Ice Age, over a land bridge across the Bering Strait, which now separates Alaska from Siberia. During the Ice Age, sea level was considerably lower,
and the islands that now exist in the Bering Strait were once almost certainly mountain peaks on that land bridge.

At least two, and probably three, separate migrations occurred, according to linguistic evidence. It is impossible to date these migrations accurately, but the land bridge probably existed from about twenty-five thousand to ten thousand years ago, so the migrations must have taken place during those time spans. It is likely that the people we call Athapaskans were the first to arrive, because they later made much farther inroads south. Surprisingly, the Athapaskan languages of Alaska are closely related to the Apache and Navajo but are not apparently related to the language groups that exist in the huge area between Alaska and the Southwest United States. The area in between is populated by people who speak a completely different family of languages, including Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian in Alaska and a great number of languages in Washington, Oregon, and Northern California. The gap in cultures remains a mystery, but these groups may represent a second migration.

The third group involved were the Eskimos and Aleuts. Modern linguists generally believe that the two groups split about three thousand years ago. Between eight hundred and eighteen hundred years ago, the
Eskimo language split into a number of dialects, but the dialects are not nearly as different as one might expect, considering the huge distances involved. The language and culture of Eskimos in northern Alaska and in Greenland are similar enough so that the people can communicate more easily than can most people in bordering countries in Europe.

**The Natural Environment.** Before considering the conditions of modern-day Subarctic cultures, it is important to dispel some stereotypes that many people unfamiliar with the territory have formed. There is a stereotypical tendency to picture Eskimos in igloos, living in a frozen wasteland that is dark six months out of the year. While this environment certainly exists, it is limited to areas near the North Pole and at high elevations. Several other climatic situations exist in the Subarctic.

Along the west coast of Alaska, British Columbia, and Washington State, there is a warm ocean current (the Japanese Current), similar in nature to the Gulf Stream that warms the western coast of Europe, and the temperatures are warmer than one might expect. Temperatures in Anchorage, Alaska, are actually warmer, on the average, than in many parts of New York and New England. In the interior, temperatures can reach 70 degrees (Fahrenheit) below zero during the long winter nights, but summer days can be as warm as 80 above.

**The Eskimos.** The old Eskimo culture is a rapidly dying one. While there are still people living in igloos and wearing sealskins, and while Eskimo languages are still spoken, most modern Eskimos have taken advantage of Western civilization and removed themselves from the harsh life of their ancestors. By and large, it is only in the most remote places that Eskimo civilization as it once existed can still be found.

These areas are remote indeed. In Alaska, for example, only one road runs north of Fairbanks; beyond the Yukon River it is a private road built by the Alaskan Pipeline companies that is still inaccessible to the general public. The Alaskan Highway is built of gravel and is unsuitable for travel by car for approximately six months of each year. There are many villages that remain largely untouched by Western civilization. These villages can be reached only by plane or by dog sled, and they are hardly tourist attractions.
According to archaeological evidence, Eskimos once occupied considerable inland territory that is now mostly inhabited by Athapaskans and people of European ancestry, but it is impossible to determine when they abandoned these lands to others. At present, Eskimos are largely confined to the coasts of the Arctic, Atlantic, and Pacific Oceans and probably number about thirty to forty thousand, an extremely sparse population considering the area involved.

The Aleuts. There are only a few thousand people in the present day who consider themselves Aleuts. They primarily inhabit the Aleutian Islands, an archipelago stretching southwest from the Alaskan mainland. They are apparently related closely to the Eskimos, at least linguistically, but they may also be related to the Athapaskans farther inland. They also may have a tie to the natives of Siberia, though this is much harder to determine.

The Athapaskans. The Athapaskans presently comprise a great number of tribes over a wide range of territory. For some undetermined reason, as mentioned above, they appear to be closely related to some of the tribes in the southwestern United States, but there is a large group of tribes in between. Currently, they inhabit most of interior Alaska as well as the Yukon and the Northwest Territories.

The Athapaskans encompass what is in some ways a strange mixture of cultures. They were among the last American Indians to be “discovered” by people of European descent and were largely unknown before the Alaskan gold rush of the late nineteenth century. When gold was discovered along the Yukon River, the Athapaskans were found to be already in control of the land; they were not especially upset by the arrival of whites. There was an attempt by Christian missionaries to convert the native people they found in Alaska and the Yukon. This effort was successful only on a superficial level. Until the 1970’s, most of the territory the Athapaskans controlled in Alaska was still Indian Territory, never ceded to the United States by treaty. During that time, much of the land became national park or national monument land, but this has had little effect on the lives of the people who live there.

The largest numbers of Athapaskans in the Subarctic live along the Yukon and Tanana rivers in Alaska and the Yukon. Most speak English, although the native dialects are still used for religious ceremonies. Generally speaking, Christianity is common but has not replaced older customs. Like many American Indian groups, the Athapaskans believed in many gods and had no objection to accepting Jesus Christ into the pantheon. At important times such as births, deaths, and marriages, two ceremonies often take place: a Christian ceremony conducted in English and a native one conducted in the native language.

Marc Goldstein
Bibliography


Tribes and Traditions
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**Abenaki**

*Culture area:* Northeast  
*Language group:* Algonquian  
*Primary location:* New England, Quebec  
*Population size:* 1,469 Abenaki, 2,173 Penobscot in U.S. (1990 U.S. Census); 945 Abenaki in Canada (Statistics Canada, based on 1991 census)

The Abenaki form a cross-border ethnic group that is organized in several autonomous communities. There are three reservation-based Abenaki bands: Odanak (St. Francis) and Wolinak (Becancour) in southern Quebec, and Penobscot (Old Town) in Maine. The St. Francis/Sokoki band of Abenakis of Vermont is a landless group headquartered in Swanton. The total population of these groups has been estimated at fifty-five hundred. Their native tongue, spoken by few, belongs to the Eastern Algonquian language family. Calling their homeland *Wabanakik* ("Dawnland"), they draw their name from *Wabanaki* ("Dawnlanders"). Because of cultural similarities between the Abenaki and their neighbors, Wabanaki has become a collective term for western Abenaki (Odanak, Wolinak, and Swanton) and eastern Abenaki (Penobscot) as well as Passamaquoddy, Maliseet, and Micmac. Historically, it also embraced now-extinct communities at Moosehead Lake, Norridgewock (Kennebec River), Amesokanti (Sandy River), Amirkangan (Androscoggin River), Pequawket (Saco River), Pennacook (Merrimack River), Sokoki (Connecticut River), and Missisquoi (Lake Champlain).

**Prehistory.** While tribal legends recall a culture hero, the mythic giant Gluskap (or Odzihozo, for western Abenaki), as creator of Dawnland humans, prehistoric evidence shows that Paleo-Indians migrated to this area eleven thousand years ago. It appears that Abenaki ancestors first arrived some three thousand years ago. The region features mixed spruce-fir and hardwood forests, interrupted by swamps, lakes, and rivers; it also has a long, indented coastline. Abounding with fowl, fish, and game, the region offered the migratory Abenaki a rich subsistence based on hunting (bear, deer, moose, beaver, and seals), fishing (eel, salmon, and sturgeon), collecting shellfish (lobsters, oysters, and clams), and gathering (roots, berries, and nuts). Moving about, they walked on snowshoes and pulled toboggans during winter, and they paddled birchbark canoes the rest of the year.

Periodically, Abenaki families banded together in groups of up to three hundred people, their birchbark wigwams clustered in temporary settle-
ments. Most of the year, however, they lived in smaller units of ten to fifty people, representing one or more extended families. They elected a band chief ("sakom") to whom they turned for leadership. With the exception of pottery, introduced approximately twenty-five hundred years ago, Abenaki culture remained largely unchanged until the introduction of horticulture between 1200 and 1600 C.E. In the fertile valleys from Lake Champlain to the Kennebec River, Abenaki women began to raise corn, squash, and beans in fields cleared by men. Becoming semipermanent sedentary communities of up to 1,500 people, some Abenaki groups began fortifying their villages against raiders. Because hunting, fishing, and gathering remained important, families shifted residence between these villages and temporary camps in their hunting territories.

Colonial Period. In the early 1600’s, Abenakis began regular trade with European newcomers, bartering beaver and other pelts for commodities such as steel knives, axes, copper kettles, woolen blankets, and alcohol. Contact brought a series of epidemics (especially smallpox) and stunning mortality rates (90 percent), reducing Abenaki numbers from about 25,000 to 2,500 in a century. By the 1620’s, English colonists had begun settling "widowed" coastal lands. Meanwhile, Abenaki survivors regrouped and armed themselves with muskets acquired from French and English merchants. Paying for trade goods with furs, Abenakis and neighboring groups soon faced shortages and competed for hunting grounds. This resulted in conflicts known as Beaver Wars, pitting Abenaki warriors against Iroquois and other enemies.

From the 1640’s onward, French missionaries converted Abenakis to Christianity, and the baptismal ritual gave expression to their alliance with the French, which lasted throughout the colonial era. From 1675 onward,
Abenakis fought repeatedly against British aggressors: King Philip’s War (1675-1676), King William’s War (1688-1699), Queen Anne’s War (1702-1714), Governor Dummer’s War (1721-1726), King George’s War (1744-1748), and the so-called French and Indian War (1754-1763). During these colonial wars, they were joined by Micmac, Maliseet, and Passamaquoddy, with whom they formed the Wabanaki Confederacy. Raids by English militia and scalp bounty hunters forced the Abenaki to flee most of their traditional settlements in New England. Their famous mission village at Norridgewock, where Jesuit missionary Sebastien Rasle had been active since the 1690’s, was attacked and burned to the ground in 1724.

**Modern Period.** When France surrendered Canada to the British, thousands of white settlers invaded Abenaki lands. In New England, only Abenakis residing in the Penobscot Valley could secure a reservation (in 1796). Having found refuge in Roman Catholic mission villages in French Canada since the 1670’s, Abenakis at Odanak and Wolinak also gained title to the small tracts where they had their settlements. In the nineteenth century, no longer able to subsist as hunters, some tried farming. Most turned to seasonal wage-labor (lumbering), guiding sport hunters, or making splint-ash basketry. Others drifted to cities such as Boston or Montreal for industrial employment.

Since the 1960’s, Abenakis have embarked on a process of cultural revitalization. Fighting for native rights, they have booked numerous achievements. In 1980, the Penobscot settled an immense land claims case against the state of Maine, which gave them federal recognition and $40.3 million, mostly earmarked for land acquisition. By the mid-1990’s they owned two hundred islands in their river and 55,000 acres of trust land in nearby Penobscot County. On a spiritual level, they have revived the sweat-lodge ritual and other ancient ceremonies. Similar efforts are made by their Abenaki relatives in Vermont and Quebec.

*Harald E. L. Prins*

**Bibliography**


Achumawi

**Culture area:** California

**Language group:** Hokan

**Primary location:** Northern California

**Population size:** 1,640 (1990 U.S. Census)

The Achumawi, also known as the Pit River Indians, live in the northeastern corner of California. They are not really one tribe, but eleven autonomous bands. “Achumawi,” the name of one of these bands, serves as a kind of collective label. The other ten are the Aporige, Astarwawi, Atsuge, Atwamsini, Hammawi, Hewisedawi, Ilmawi, Itsatawi, Kosalextawi, and Madesi.

Like all California Indians, the Achumawi were well adapted to their environment. Summer houses were lashed-together poles covered by reed or tule mats; winter dwellings were semi-subterranean, with a wood frame covered by a layer of earth, tule, or bark.

The Achumawi fished, hunted, and gathered for their subsistence. Seeds, roots, and insects were collected, and game such as deer, beaver, and badger were hunted. The Achumawi dug pits to trap deer, a practice which led the first whites who came in contact with them to dub them the “Pit River people.”

The Achumawi’s clothing was made of deerskin and shredded juniper bark, and their basketry attained the level of fine art. Bows and arrows were used in hunting; the arrowheads were made of obsidian (a volcanic glass).
Among the Achumawi, shamans were highly respected for both religious leadership and their encyclopedic knowledge of medicine and healing. Boys would go out to the mountains to seek a tinhowi, or guardian spirit, when they reached adolescence. The tinhowi would impart supernatural powers to the young men.

The first whites to come to Achumawi lands were trappers in about 1828. There were about three thousand Achumawi at that time. Later, during the California gold rush, a great influx of white settlers threatened the Indians’ way of life.

In spite of the problems of the past, the Achumawi are fortunate enough still to be living on ancestral land. The X-L Ranch Reservation, founded in 1938, contains 8,700 acres in six parcels. Not all Achumawi live on the reservation. The tribe maintains a health-care center and tribal office at Burney, California. In the early 1990’s, there were efforts by such companies as Pacific Gas and Electric to gain control of forested Achumawi reservation lands for development.

Adena

**Date:** c. 1000 B.C.E.-200 C.E.

**Location:** Southern Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, West Virginia, western Pennsylvania

**Culture Affected:** Hopewell

The Adena culture, which flourished between about 1000 B.C.E. and 200 C.E., was the first in a “spectacular series” of North American Early Woodland societies. With its classical heartland situated in a large area
around Chillicothe, Ohio, the Adena culture was found in southern Ohio, eastern Indiana, northern Kentucky, West Virginia, and southwestern Pennsylvania. Its name is derived from Adena, the estate of an early Ohio governor that was situated near a mound on a hillside overlooking Ohio’s first capital.

**Mound Builders.** The early American settlers of the trans-Appalachian West were astounded at the existence of thousands of earthen “mounds” in an area stretching from the Gulf of Mexico to the Great Lakes and from the Mississippi to the Saint Lawrence rivers. The tribes that were living in the region were as uninformed as to the origins of these earthworks as were the European American immigrants. Initially it was assumed that the prehistoric “mound builders” were one people. Only with the scientific exploration of these earthworks in the late nineteenth century did it become evident that there were a series of cultures represented in the construction of mounds, the earliest being the Adena. By about 500 B.C.E. they had produced the most complex and organized way of life found in the Americas north of Mexico.

Arriving in what is now the American Midwest by the start of the first millennium B.C.E., the Adenans avoided the malarial wetlands near the Great Lakes and the dense forestlands of Appalachia, preferring to settle in the open, rolling, well-drained valleys along the Ohio River and its tributaries. Here they practiced both food gathering (hunting, fishing, and harvesting fruits, berries, and herbs) and food producing (corn, squash, gourds, pumpkins, sunflowers, sumpweed, goosefoot, and, for use as a ceremonial substance, tobacco). Some mining (of gypsum) and trading (of copper, mica, and seashells) across the American heartland supplemented their economy, which was, perhaps, able to support a population density of one person per square mile.

**Material Culture and Settlements.** This rich and diverse economy enabled the Adenans to craft sophisticated tools and ornaments. Adenan sites have yielded such artifacts as stone and copper axes, adzes, celts, hoes, projectiles, crescents, gorgets, beads, bracelets, and carvings. Particularly remarkable are the stone tube pipes, such as one found at the Adena mound near Chillicothe, Ohio, which carries the effigy of a man wearing a set of large spool-shaped earrings and a breechcloth (decorated with the figure of a snake); he has bare feet (as if dancing), his hair is carefully braided, and his mouth is open (as if singing). Small stone blocks, deeply carved and engraved—for example with the picture of a hunting bird—have been found, perhaps having been used for printing designs on woven cloth. In addition to creating many types of woven materials, the Adenans were accomplished potters.
Adenan settlements were usually in the river valleys, near fields, gardens, and water. Both single-family units and structures capable of housing forty or more people have been found. Perhaps ten or more buildings characterize these permanent sites. The pattern of a typical Adenan house was circular in floor plan, conical in appearance. Perhaps 26 feet in diameter, the home would be sustained by six main uprights, drawing additional support from forty or fifty smaller staves around the circumference. The “roundhouse” had a hard-pounded dirt floor (with indentures for storage pits and the central hearth), with bark and thatch for a roof and walls of intertwined branches. There were also transient camps, used in hunting and trading, containing two to four dwellings.

**Massive Earthworks.** The Adenans are most remembered for their massive earthworks. Two major theories have been offered to explain the Adenan practice of building mounds. One, the diffusionist doctrine, suggests contact with Mexico and the dissemination of both corn cultivation and pyramid construction to the Ohio Valley at the same time. The other, the developmental theory, contends that the accumulation of surplus wealth through a successful economy enabled the Adenans to engage in gigantic public works projects. Perhaps the answer is found in a combination of both approaches. With better agricultural production, an increased population, improved social organization, and long-distance trade and communication, the Adenans had the means and the motive to engage in building monumental architecture.

Between three and five hundred Adenan mounds have been found; they vary greatly in size and purpose. Some are in ceremonial or symbolic shapes, such as the Great Serpent Mound near Peebles, Ohio. More than 1,330 feet long, 15 to 20 feet in width, and averaging a height of 4 feet, it represents an outstretched serpent (with coiled tail) with head and jaws closing on another mound, variously said to be an apple or an egg. Other Adenan mounds are circular or square, perhaps enclosing sacred sites where religious rites were conducted. Common are the tomb mounds. Some of these were burial plots for single funerals, and some were for multiple funerals. Both children and leaders (chiefs, priests, great hunters, warriors, and expedition leaders) had mound burials. Cremation and bodily burial were both practiced.

From archaeological excavation it has been determined that mound construction was a community project. Initially the ground was cleared—the scrub timber being burned and the site being leveled. If entombment was planned, either graves were dug in the base or corpses were placed in a log building erected on the site. Hundreds of laborers, carrying baskets and skin aprons full of dirt, would then complete a low, rectangular ridge
of dirt and begin the “inner” or “first” mound. Sticks, shells, hoes, and animal bones were used to loosen soil. Over the core mound, the outer shell was raised, often being as much as 100 feet high and covering several acres.

The fate of these brilliant prehistoric builders is disputed. Since their influence is evident in subsequent cultures in the Ohio Valley, the best guess is that they were assimilated by their successors, especially the Hopewell people, after 200 C.E.

C. George Fry

Bibliography

Ahtna

CULTURE AREA: Subarctic
LANGUAGE GROUP: Athapaskan
PRIMARY LOCATION: Copper River, Alaska
POPULATION SIZE: 101 (1990 U.S. Census)

The Ahtna were divided into Lower, Middle, and Upper autonomous bands, with a warlike stratified society of chiefs, nobles, commoners, and slaves organized into matrilineal clans and moieties. Their subsistence base was diversified with fishing, hunting, trapping, and gathering; their major food source was fish. They engaged in extensive trade with neighboring groups and distant Eskimo, and they utilized the potlatch to recognize
Ais

**Culture area:** Southeast  
**Language group:** Muskogean  
**Primary location:** Indian River, east coast of Florida

The Ais were a Muskogean-speaking tribe who occupied the area along the Indian River on the east coast of Florida. Their principal village was located near Indian River Inlet.  

They were primarily fishers and gatherers who traveled the adjacent waterways in dugout canoes. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Ais apparently dominated neighboring tribes to the north and south, while they were dominated by the Calusa to the west.  

A shipwrecked Basque sailor seems to have been the first Spaniard to live with them and learn their language. In 1565, the Spanish governor, Pedro Menéndez, visited and established relations with them. A peace treaty was signed in 1570. In the 1590’s the Ais sought an alliance with the Spanish, but the overtures were fruitless, as were others in later years. In 1609 an Ais chief, joined by minor coastal chiefs, visited the city of St. Augustine, where the chiefs were baptized. Evangelization by the Spanish, however, was never successful. The remaining Ais, probably numbering a few hundred, along with neighboring Indians, were removed to Cuba after Florida was ceded to Great Britain in 1763.  

Information on the Ais is derived primarily from Spanish sources. The spelling of their name varies: Aix, Aiz, Alis, and Jece.
The Alabamas first came into contact with white explorers under Hernando de Soto in 1541, and by 1696 they were trading with Carolina traders. Later, they allied with the French. The tribe was part of the Creek Confederacy and lived on the Alabama River just below the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers. They lived in permanent villages and were hunters, fishers, and farmers; they cultivated potatoes, corn, peas, and fruit trees.

In the mid-1700’s many moved to Louisiana near the town of Opelousas, on the Opelousas River. The Alabamas who stayed took an active part in the Creek War of 1813-1814 and offered to help Andrew Jackson in the war against the Seminoles in 1828. This remnant was removed in 1836 to Indian Territory (Oklahoma).

After the Alabama migration, Louisiana was acquired by the United States in the Louisiana Purchase, and the Alabamas moved to the Spanish Territory of East Texas, near the town of Livingston. This settlement area was declared a reservation for the Alabama and Coushatta Indians in 1840. The state of Texas purchased the land in 1854 and vested the title in the Indians as a tribal unit.

The Alabamas prospered in Texas when game was plentiful but turned to farming as game decreased. The sandy soil produced poor crops, however, and poverty soon was widespread. By the late 1800’s, the Alabamas were in great difficulty, surviving by finding work with logging companies. In 1928, citizens of Livingston as well as the Texas Federation of Women’s Clubs succeeded in obtaining more than $100,000 from the U.S. government for the reservation, and Texas gave additional aid. When the Depression struck, the tribe suffered. Since that time, living conditions have improved. The reservation has a school and a hospital, and there are Indian-owned businesses.

The Alabamas have demonstrated remarkable patriotism. When the United States went to war in 1914, more than half the males of the tribe immediately volunteered. Many Alabamas served during World War II, and the members of the tribe bought more war bonds than the average citizen.
The Aleut, consisting of two main groups, the Atka and Unalaska Aleut, probably migrated from Siberia about 6000 B.C.E. into Alaska and moved into the Aleutian Islands around 2000 B.C.E. Their name comes from the Russian word meaning “barren rock.” “Atka” is the Aleutian word for island, and “Alaska” comes from the Aleutian word for mainland. The Aleut people occupied about a dozen of the hundred or so islands (the Aleutians) that stretch from Alaska more than 1,200 miles into the Pacific. Their language resembles that of the Eskimos (Inuits). Aleuts and Eskimos moved to the New World significantly later than American Indians did. The Unalaskas live on islands close to the Alaska coast, while the Atkas live on remote islands in the Pacific.

Society and Subsistence. Aleut culture is similar to the Eskimo way of life. Both depend heavily on the sea for their existence. Seal hunting was the most important economic activity, and Aleuts became expert at this task. Most food came from the ocean, including whale meat, fish, oysters, and clams. Aleut hunters learned to navigate by following ocean currents, and they could travel on the water at night simply by feeling the direction of the wind. In times when hunting failed to bring home enough food, Aleuts ate seaweed and birds’ eggs. The eggs were gathered by lowering a man on a rope over the side of a cliff to the nests, a very dangerous practice that led to many deaths and injuries.

Aleuts lived in small, isolated villages with populations of a hundred or less and no more than twelve houses. They built homes of logs, whalebones, and skins sunk at least 3 feet into the ground. A ladder from the roof provided an entranceway, and people sat inside on mats in these windowless structures. Each house contained several families, and polygamy (a man having more than one wife) and polyandry (a woman having more than one husband) were both permitted. A chief (toyon) headed each community, and every village had its own leader; no central authority existed among the Aleuts. The chief, who inherited his office, settled quarrels, protected village hunting grounds, and led the villagers in time of war. In return he received a portion of all foodstuffs acquired by villagers during hunts. Chiefs usually became quite wealthy but could lose their
positions if they exhibited cowardice during battle.

Because of the large number of villages, there were disputes and quarrels over hunting boundaries, and Aleuts frequently fought with one another. They usually attacked their enemies at dawn, killing the warriors and taking women and children as slaves. High-ranking enemies such as a chief and his sons could also be enslaved. Aleut society had three major classes: chiefs, warriors, and slaves.

Religion. Traditional Aleut religion revolved around worship of Agudar, the creator of the universe, the provider of good fortune, and the guardian of paradise. The men worshiped in a sacred place, usually in a cave or at a certain rock, and excluded women and children. Only adult males could make offerings of sealskins and feathers and learn the sacred language of the spirits. Aleuts believed that the human spirit lived on but became invisible after death and protected loved ones still in the earthly world from harm. Death led to cremation for slaves and commoners, but important leaders and young children were mumified by removing their internal organs through a hole in the chest. Family members then laid the body in a stream until it was clean, stuffed it with grass, oiled it, wrapped it in furs, and placed it in a dry cave. They suspended the body aboveground in a cradle and left. Shamans contacted the spirits of the dead and learned about hunting prospects and what the future held. Traditional religion disappeared after initial contact with Russian fur trappers and missionaries. Most Aleuts converted, sometimes forcibly, to the Eastern Orthodox faith, and it has remained the principal religion of survivors.

Material Culture. The severe climate and shortage of natural resources placed major limitations on Aleut material culture and art. They made clothes from fur, birdskin, and whale intestines. Generally, their parkas and dresses reached to their ankles. Aleuts did not wear shoes or foot covering. They made wooden hats, and hunters wore well-designed wooded eye shades to protect their eyes from the glare while at sea.

Artists produced masks and bowls from the bones and intestines of whales, sea otters, and other mammals. Pottery was nonexistent, and most food containers were skins. Aleut women made fine baskets of wild grasses, however, that became noted for their geometric designs and expert craftsmanship. Hunters built their own kayaks, an especially prized and important possession. They were light and fragile and built to individual body measurements. At sea they could travel at a relatively rapid 7 miles per hour. Hunters used spears thrown by hand from a sitting position in the kayak. Bows and arrows were used only in warfare. Aleuts killed whales with poison-pointed spears and let the bodies drift to shore, where they were butchered.
First contact with the Russians took place in the early 1700’s, with devastating consequences for the native population. Between 1750 and 1780 almost 90 percent of Aleuts, who numbered about 25,000 before contact, died from smallpox, malnutrition, forced labor in Russian hunting parties, and even suicide. Aleuts proved such good hunters that Russian trappers forced them to pursue seals and otters almost constantly. The Russians forced all males to hunt seals and otters; refusal meant torture or death. Women and children left behind in isolated villages with little food during these forced hunts frequently starved to death. By the 1840’s, after less than a century of Russian domination, fewer than 4,200 Aleuts remained alive. When the United States bought Alaska, which included the Aleutian Islands, in 1867, the Aleut population stood at fewer than 3,000. American control did not lead to better conditions. A tuberculosis epidemic in the 1890’s and migration to the mainland reduced the number of islanders to 1,491.

**Recent History.** In 1911 the United States Department of the Interior prohibited the hunting of sea lions, a major resource of the Aleuts, because overhunting had led to a huge decline in their population. Two years later the Aleutian Islands became a National Wildlife Refuge, and the department banned most other hunting without a special permit. In the 1920’s and 1930’s a majority of Aleut males left their homes, heading for the Alaska coast to work in salmon canneries. During World War II the U.S. Navy removed all Aleuts from their island villages after the Japanese invaded Kiska and Attu in the far western Pacific and resettled them in southeastern Alaska. Only a few hundred returned to their homes when the war ended, and they found that many of their villages had been destroyed by American soldiers to prevent the Japanese from using them. Government officials gave the returnees rabbits to raise for food, but most of the animals died of disease or were eaten by rats. The experiment ended quickly. No crops could be raised in the rainy, cold (temperatures seldom get above 50 degrees), and windy climate.

Economic development was limited in the islands. The U.S. Navy built a large base on Adak Island but hired whites from the mainland for most available jobs. Work existed for only a few dozen native men, chiefly at the underground nuclear testing base on Amchitka Island. Those who remained in Alaska continued working in salmon and tuna canning factories. The death rate on the islands remained very high, especially among infants, into the 1970’s, when the U.S. Public Health Service opened a facility on a remote island, the first hospital many Aleuts had ever seen. The Aleut League, formed in 1967, pressed for more economic assistance but had little success. The number of natives hovered around three thousand, far too few people
to make any impression upon the federal government in Washington. Schools in the islands began bilingual education in 1972, and Aleut customs were taught, but extreme poverty remained the major problem. War on Poverty programs in the late 1960’s provided some job training and literacy classes, but they created no new jobs, so out-migration continued. A majority of Aleuts now live on the mainland. Fewer than fifteen hundred live in the islands, where the only permanent jobs are found as support staff at government-owned facilities. The Department of Commerce, National Marine and Fisheries Service, controls seal hunting and pays hunters for their catches but in scrip, which can be spent only in local stores. For most Aleuts, life remains as hard and difficult as the climate in which they live.

Leslie V. Tischauser

Bibliography

The Algonquin people, originally from eastern Canada and what would become the northeastern United States, gave their name to the language group of Algonquian speakers. Central Algonquians, including the Ottawas, Potawatomis, and Illinois, were pushed westward to the Great Lakes region by their hereditary Iroquois enemies in the mid-seventeenth century. The Algonquins proper, also enemies of the Iroquois, stayed in areas colo-
nized by both the French and the English. Their tendency to prefer trade and military alliances with the French worked to their advantage, since French colonial rivalry with Iroquois-supporting Britain meant periodic support from a European ally in inter-Indian warfare.

Until the British finally pushed the French out of Canada in the 1760’s, this pattern enabled the Algonquins to hold considerable territory in the Ontario region, communicating with other related tribes in areas that would become the United States. Prominent examples of this included the Wabanaki (most notably the Passamaquoddies and Penobscots of Maine and the Micmacs of New Brunswick) and, farther south, the Wampanoag Federation. The latter had alliances with the famous seventeenth century tribe of Massachusetts (from the name of Massasoit, a dominant leader at the time of Pilgrim colonization).

The warring aggressiveness of the Iroquois, coupled with the already visible heavy hand of British colonialism on the Atlantic seaboard, caused the decline of the Algonquin tribal network by the end of the eighteenth century. Algonquins in Ontario, who became part of the Canadian reserve system, had a better chance of survival than those to the south in the United States.
By the nineteenth century, centuries of disruptions and dislocations had all but destroyed traditional Algonquin culture. Modern Algonquin population estimates vary according to what groups are considered “Algonquins.” By the most inclusive definition, including the Abitibi, Kitcisagi, Nipissing, and other groups, there may be more than six thousand Algonquins in the U.S. and Canada.

Alsea

**CULTURE AREA:** Northwest Coast  
**LANGUAGE GROUP:** Penutian  
**PRIMARY LOCATION:** Oregon coast  
**POPULATION SIZE:** 12 (1990 U.S. Census)

Alsea is the name given to the peoples of Yakonan stock occupying a small territory at (and near) the mouth of the Alsea River along the coast of western Oregon. The modern form of this name is a variant of the Alsean word *Alsi’*. Based upon linguistic classification, they are speakers of a language which is part of the Alsean family of the Penutian language phylum and appear to be most closely related to the Yaquina people.

Little is known of their early history. They remained on and around their traditional territory after they were assigned to the Siletz Reservation in the mid-1800’s, because their territory was part of the original reservation. When the reservation was reduced in size in 1875, they were removed to the new Siletz Reservation.

Before the arrival of significant numbers of white settlers, the Alsea lived in small villages on both sides of the river and at the river mouth, engaged in a primarily riverine and woodland lifestyle based on fishing, hunting, and gathering. On the north side of the river were the villages of Kutauwa, Kyamaisu, Tachuwit, Kaukhwas, Yulehais, Kakhtshanwaish, Shiuwauk, Khlokhwaiyutslu, and Melcumtk. On the south side of the river were the villages of Yahach, Chiink, Kauhuk, Kwulisit, Kwamk, Skhakhwaiyutslu, Khlimkwaish, Kalbusht, Panit, Thielkushauk, and Thlekuhweyuk. At the mouth of the river was the village of Neahumtuk. The Alsea are affiliated with the larger political unit of the Confederated Tribes of Siletz Indians of Oregon. In the 1990 U.S. Census, twelve people identified themselves as Alsea.
Anadarko

**Culture Area:** Southeast  
**Language Group:** Caddoan  
**Primary Location:** North of Anadarko, Oklahoma; northwest of Nacogdoches, Texas

The Anadarko, or Nadako, were a tribe of the Hasinai Confederacy of the Caddo. They were first encountered by Europeans in northeastern Texas by members of Hernando de Soto’s expedition in 1542. Later, in the late seventeenth century, they were living on the southern edge of what is now Rusk County, Texas.

The Anadarko and the other Hasinai formed a loose confederacy of settled farmers who lived in scattered ranchos in the bottomlands. They were primarily farmers and hunters and had elaborate religious and political systems. On a number of occasions the Spanish sought to establish missions among them, but to no avail. The French from Louisiana provided them with guns and trade goods, which allowed them to maintain their independence.

In the late eighteenth century, other Indian tribes and white Americans began to encroach on their lands. Protests to Spanish and, later, Mexican officials did little to restore their independence. Poor relations with the Republic of Texas drove the Anadarko and their Indian neighbors to central Texas. After Texas became a state, the Anadarko and other Indians were removed to Oklahoma in 1859.

After the Civil War they were finally able to obtain a reservation north of the Washita River and settled down to farming. In 1891 they ceded their lands to the government but had them restored in 1963. They are concentrated around their tribal center north of Anadarko, Oklahoma. The late twentieth century saw a cultural revival among Anadarko and other Hasinai.

Anasazi

**Date:** c. 300 B.C.E.-1600 C.E.  
**Location:** Southwest  
**Cultures Affected:** Navajo, Pueblo (Zuni, Hopi)
The term “Anasazi” is a corruption of a Navajo term meaning either “ancient ones” or “enemies of our ancient ones.” The Navajo applied the term to ancient peoples responsible for extensive architectural ruins scattered throughout the modern states of New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, and Colorado. Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth century, archaeologists believed these ruins to be a colonial or provincial extension of the Aztec or Toltec cultures of Mexico. During the 1920’s, however, cultural anthropologists and archaeologists began to understand the Anasazi as an indigenous southwestern culture directly ancestral to the modern Pueblos.

Pre-contact History. Archaeologists have identified Anasazi sites throughout the southwestern United States, but the greatest concentration is in the Four Corners region of southern Utah and Colorado and northern New Mexico and Arizona. From these sites, archaeologists have reconstructed and named various stages of the evolution of Anasazi culture (some of the dates that follow are currently in dispute among archaeologists).

By 300 B.C.E., the agricultural/horticultural tradition that originated in central Mexico at least nine thousand years ago had spread to what is now the southwestern United States through cultural diffusion. Groups of Indians in the Southwest began cultivating maize, squash, and beans to augment the foodstuffs they acquired through hunting and gathering, often using primitive irrigation methods. Archaeologists call this formative period “Basketmaker I” and consider it to have begun around 300 B.C.E. (Some archaeologists consider Basketmaker I to be a part of the Archaic period.)

During the Basketmaker I period the Anasazi represented one group of agriculturalists among many in the southwestern area. Their art and architecture were virtually indistinguishable from those of other farmers scattered from present-day California to Texas: They constructed pit houses, wove textiles from wild plants, and left a few impressive paintings and carvings on rock walls.

Between 300 and 500 C.E., the Anasazi underwent a cultural revolution that made them clearly distinct from their neighbors. The Basketmaker II period among the Anasazi witnessed the introduction of large villages composed of pit houses (houses built largely underground). They began making distinctive pottery, beautiful baskets woven from native plants, and textiles woven from cotton.

During the ensuing Basketmaker III period (circa 500-750 C.E.), the Anasazi villages became larger and more numerous. Each village had a ritual room, which archaeologists call the kiva, used for religious ceremonies. The pit houses became larger and more complex, and each had an adjoining storage room for stockpiling food. Pottery making and textile weaving became more complex with the introduction of intricate designs and bril-
liant colors. Irrigation systems became more common and more elaborate as agriculture became the main form of subsistence, although hunting and gathering remained an important supplement to the Anasazi economy. The bow and arrow came into common use among the Anasazi during this period; they were probably imported from Mexico.

Archaeologists call the next stage of Anasazi cultural evolution the Developmental Pueblo period (circa 750-1100, called Pueblo I and Pueblo II in another common classification system). During this period, Anasazi communities greatly increased in number and size and spread as far west as Utah and northern Arizona. The pit houses gave way to multistoried houses constructed of dry masonry, adobe, or cut rocks joined to form massive structures somewhat resembling modern apartment complexes. These structures contained many kivas, some huge, some small, all increasingly elaborate, arguing for increasing religious diversity as the Anasazi absorbed neighboring tribal peoples. Famous Anasazi sites such as Chaco Canyon in New Mexico and Mesa Verde in Colorado originated during this period. Extensive trade began during the Developmental Pueblo period among the various Anasazi towns and between the Anasazi and cultures as distant as the Mississippi Valley, the Pacific coast, and Mexico. Pottery making and textile weaving became art forms as well as an integral part of the Anasazi economy.

Around 1100, Anasazi culture entered what archaeologists call the “Classic Pueblo” (Pueblo III) period, which lasted until around 1400. During this era,
Anasazi architecture reached its zenith. The famous and impressive ruins at Chaco Canyon, Mesa Verde, and Kayenta assumed their modern proportions. Cut sandstone became the primary building material at many of the sites, which took on increasingly aesthetically pleasing contours, obviously planned by the builders. Some of the towns housed populations of ten thousand or more; the total Anasazi population increased to more than a hundred thousand. Pottery and textile weaving became more refined; trade and commerce became more important to the economies of the Anasazi communities, as evidenced by a well-planned road system connecting some of the towns.

The final stage of Anasazi civilization began in the fourteenth century and lasted until about 1610. Sometimes called the Regressive Pueblo Period (Pueblo IV), the era witnessed profound changes in Anasazi culture. Many classic towns were abandoned. Neighboring communities adopted Anasazi architectural and artistic styles. More primitive hunting and gathering peoples moved into Anasazi territory, some assimilating into Anasazi culture, others apparently waging war against the Anasazi towns. New styles of pottery making and coloring replaced classic Anasazi methods, and a religious revolution (apparently imported from Mexico) occurred with the introduction of worship of supernatural beings called kachinas.

European Contact. When the Spaniards under Francisco Vásquez de Coronado penetrated the Anasazi region in the mid-sixteenth century looking for the fabled seven cities of gold, the Anasazi entered the realm of history. The Spanish described ten Anasazi provinces whose people spoke at least six different languages. Older men and clan societies governed the individual towns, with warrior societies playing an important role. Inheritance was usually matrilineal, and the Spanish noted little social/economic stratification. Each town was politically independent, but during times of war it was not unusual for several towns to ally together against nomadic peoples or against other towns, or to ally with nomadic peoples against other towns. Only once, during the great Pueblo Revolt of 1680 against the Spanish, did all or most of the Anasazi cooperate together against a common foe. By the time of the Spanish penetration, the Anasazi had abandoned most of the stone towns and moved to locations in areas which had little stone suitable for architecture. They often built their new towns from adobe brick, which led archaeologists to characterize this era as “Degenerative Pueblo,” a misleading label. The art and culture of the Anasazi people during this era were in no way inferior to those of the Classic period.

Conflict and animosity marked Spanish-Anasazi relations from the first contact between the two cultures. Most anthropologists date the end of the Anasazi period to 1610, by which time Spanish dominance in the former Anasazi area had become well established. Nevertheless, in a very real
sense, the Anasazi are still with us in the form of several Pueblo towns that have survived to the present. Pueblo towns such as the one at Taos, New Mexico, retain many elements of Anasazi culture, relatively untouched by modern civilization.

Paul Madden

Bibliography

Apache

**Culture Area**: Southwest
**Language Group**: Athapaskan
**Primary Location**: Arizona, New Mexico, Oklahoma
**Population Size**: 50,051 (1990 U.S. Census)
The Apaches belong to the Athapaskan linguistic group, believed to be the last group to have crossed over to North America from the Asiatic continent. Most of the Athapaskan speakers spread out into northern Canada and down the Pacific coast, but ancestors of the Apaches pursued a more interior route, probably moving south along the eastern flank of the Rocky Mountains. At some point, the group that would become the Navajos split off, although retaining enough linguistic similarity to enable Navajo and Apache speakers to converse. The Apaches spread out in the Southwest, inhabiting primarily the areas now known as Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, and northern Mexico. They were driven west from the southern Plains in the eighteenth century by the Comanches.

Traditional Culture. They called themselves Tin-ne-áh, or “the people,” as many American Indian groups did in their own languages. The origin of the name “Apache” is widely disputed but is agreed to have been given to them by their enemies. The Apaches separated into two broad groups,
Western and Eastern. The Eastern Apaches were the Plains groups, the Jicarilla and the Lipan, whose culture showed the influence of contact with other Plains tribes. To the west were three main divisions: the Mescaleros, the Chiricahuas, and the Western Apaches. Five major groups made up the Western Apaches. The White Mountain, which had a Western and an Eastern (often called Coyotero) band, held the largest territory. The remaining four Western groups were the San Carlos or Gileños, the Cibicues, and the Southern and Northern Tontos. These bands were further subdivided into smaller, extended family groups that supported their highly mobile existence, each designated by its own particular name, often associated with a favorite haunt. Defining early Apache bands is made difficult by the Spanish practice of naming a band for the location where they were encountered, or after a powerful chief.

Life in the deserts of the Southwest was harsh, and the Apache way of life prepared its members for survival with a rich and meaningful culture. Folktales involving Coyote and other animal spirits illustrated proper as well as improper behavior and its consequences. Spirituality was inherent in every aspect of life, and great care was taken to observe rituals and taboos. The number four was important, and the east was favored as the most holy direction.

Although bands were small and children were valued highly, a crying baby could betray the entire group to extinction by enemies. Thus, from early infancy, the Apache child was trained in self-control. The ability to remain motionless and to be quiet for long periods of time, a skill learned in the cradleboard, served the grown warrior well as he hunted or waited in ambush for an enemy.

The most important time in an Apache child’s life occurred at puberty. For girls, this was marked by the onset of menses and celebrated by a puberty ceremony that lasted four days, involving blessings with sacred pollen and culminating in the girl’s run to the east. During the four days, the girl assumed the identity of White Painted Woman, a supernatural figure of the Apache creation myth. An Apache boy was inducted into manhood by serving an apprenticeship to raiding warriors. The novice was required to observe certain taboos and carry special equipment on four raids, and was required to perform camp tasks such as gathering wood and cooking for the warriors.

Adult Apache men and women had clear, gender-defined tasks. Women were responsible for gathering and processing wild foods, cooking what they gathered as well as any meat brought in by the men and boys, and the manufacture of all necessary camp equipment, clothing, and personal effects—except weapons. Women also constructed the family dwelling. Al-
though some of the Plains Apaches used the tipi, camps were usually composed of the brush-covered wickiups, easy to construct and then abandon. A man’s primary task while in camp was to make weaponry, and arrow-making took up most of his time. His other responsibilities were hunting and raiding or war. A married man became an economic contributor to his wife’s family.

**Contact and Resistance.** The earliest contact of Apaches with European explorers is believed to have occurred in the sixteenth century. The Spanish were pushing north from New Spain (Mexico), and several parties encountered bands whose description matched that of Apaches. Raiding for supplies was an important part of Apache life, leading inevitably to conflict with Europeans. The earliest known violence involved Gaspar Castano de Sosa, whose party set out for adventure and were raided by a band of Apaches, who captured some stock and killed an Indian with Castano’s party. Men were sent to punish the raiders; they killed and captured several of the raiding party.

As colonization progressed, Spanish soldiers were accompanied by Roman Catholic priests eager to convert any subdued Indians. The converts were used as ready labor, often as slaves, to build missions and rancherias in the vast new country of the Southwest. In the seventeenth century, the Pueblo Revolt on the northeastern frontier sent the Spanish south, with Eastern Apaches attacking the Spaniards as they fled. The Spanish returned, however, and by 1697 once again occupied the region.

When the Mexicans won their freedom from Spain in 1824, peace agreements made with various Apache groups were abandoned. Raiding, which had never stopped, increased as the new government could not field any force to match the Apaches. Trouble on the Santa Fe Trail, which was established in 1822, led to a bounty being placed on Apache scalps. By the time the area passed into United States control after the Mexican-American War, Apaches had a reputation as fearsome enemies.

Apache and American relations were frustrating for both sides. The Apaches found that farming, which the United States government expected them to embrace as their new livelihood, did not always provide for their families—and they could not understand why the Americans opposed their continued raids into Mexico for supplies. Treaties made by the United States government were often broken for political expediency. Apache leaders were lured with promises of peace, then arrested and sometimes killed. Army officers would spend years establishing peaceful relations with key Apache leaders, only to see their efforts destroyed by a single party of drunken vigilantes bent on exterminating any Apaches they could find, these generally being helpless women and children.
The course of the Apache Wars is a tangled story of capitulation, betrayal, and outbreaks of tribes believed to have been “pacified.” One by one the Apache bands were subdued as the U.S. military moved relentlessly west. Treaties settled the Jicarillas and Mescaleros on reservations, but occasional outbreaks occurred. After they made peace, some of the Lipans served as army scouts, as did Apaches from other groups.

There is some evidence that hostilities were prolonged by the machinations of a secret group known only as the “Tucson Ring” or “Indian Ring”; for a time, the only lucrative business for whites in Arizona was supplying the troops who were fighting the Apaches. To the west, the Mimbres band of the Chiricahuas led by Mangas Colorado clashed openly with the Americans over matters of justice and harassment by settlers. Cochise, another Chiricahua leader, was provoked into war by the treachery of military authorities involving a white boy who had been captured by a different group of Apaches.

The peace sought by a band of Arivaipa Apaches led by Eskiminzin was broken by an attack on their farming settlement. One hundred twenty-five sleeping men, women, and children at Camp Grant were killed by a mob of civilians from Tucson, who had taken advantage of the absence of the fort’s main garrison. Among the last Chiricahua holdouts were the famous Geronimo and Naiche, last hereditary chief of the Chiricahuas. More effective fighting on foot in the rugged hills of their familiar country in both Mexico and the United States, these Apaches managed to fight and elude army troops for years, surrendering only when they could no longer escape the Apache scouts used to hunt them.

Following their military defeat, various groups of Apaches were settled on reservations in Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, and Oklahoma. The Fort Chiricahua Apache chief Geronimo in 1887, the year after his surrender to Nelson A. Miles. (National Archives)
Apache and San Carlos reservations in Arizona were established jointly in 1871 for Arivaipa, Chiricahua, Coyoterio, Mimbreno, Mogollon, Puraleno, and Tsiltaden Apaches. This reservation was partitioned in 1897. Also in Arizona are the Fort McDowell, Tonto Apache, and Yavapai Apache reservations. The Jicarillas and Mescaleros each have reservations in New Mexico, with the Jicarilla reservation extending northward into Colorado as well. In Oklahoma, there is the Fort Sill Apache Reservation.

**Modern Apaches.** Far from being vanishing Americans, Apaches had grown in population to about fifty thousand by 1990. Weathering the extremes and changes of United States government policy, most Apaches have chosen to remain on their reservations. Some groups have been fortunate in the availability of natural resources; others have continued to struggle at subsistence-level poverty, assisted by government programs designed to help them with their specific needs.

The Jicarilla Apache tribe is a member of the Council of Energy Resource Tribes (CERT), founded in 1975; it obtains income from the exploitation of coal, natural gas, oil, and geothermal energy.

The San Carlos Apache Tribe is governed by a Tribal Council of elected officials serving four-year terms. Of a total reservation population of 10,000, enrolled tribal members equal 7,639; total enrolled tribal membership is 10,500. Located approximately 100 miles east of Phoenix, Arizona, the reservation has three distinct terrains: desert highlands, mountain ridges covered in grass and trees, and forested mountains abundant in wild game. The tribe has adopted an Integrated Resources Management Plan to exploit a stable economy. Timber, recreation and wildlife, agriculture, and ranching bring in additional revenue for the tribe and are being actively developed.

The White Mountain Apache Tribe, whose reservation is contiguous with the San Carlos, also govern by Tribal Council. They, too, benefit from the availability of exploitable natural resources, including an 800,000-acre ponderosa pine forest that supports the Fort Apache Timber Company. The tribe operates a ski resort which boasts the best ski runs in the southwestern United States and provides scenic campgrounds. Apache Enterprises operates businesses such as gas stations and restaurants throughout the reservation.

The Tonto Apaches have not been as fortunate. A small group numbering 106, with 88 members living on their reservation, they are also governed by Tribal Council. Economic development projects include a Tribal Market/Smokeshop and an eighty-unit motel, but more space is needed for housing and other development. Irrigation of a 5-acre community fruit orchard is under way, and the tribe is attempting to acquire 1,500 acres of land.
Despite relocation efforts of the twentieth century, most Apaches desire to remain on their reservations in proximity to their families. Those who have left to seek employment off the reservation often return after a short while to their more familiar lifestyle and culture. Like so many Americans, Apaches are working hard to prosper while retaining their traditional cultural identity.

Patricia Masserman

Bibliography


Apache Tribe of Oklahoma

**Culture area:** Plains  
**Language group:** Apachean (Southern Athapaskan)  
**Primary location:** Oklahoma  
**Population size:** 1,400 (1993 tribal census)

The Apache Tribe of Oklahoma, or Na-i-shan Dené (“Our People”), sometimes misnamed Kiowa Apache, were a unique Apache-speaking tribe of Plains Indians distinct from the Apaches of the Southwest and politically independent of their Kiowa allies. There were a number of Apache groups on the Great Plains in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but the small Na-i-shan Apache tribe was the only one to survive as Plains Indians until the reservation period. Their tribal traditions, which are supported by those of the Kiowas and other tribes, indicate northern origins for the Na-i-shan and long-term residence on the Great Plains.

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**History.** It is difficult to identify the Na-i-shan in early documents because they were often known—both to other tribes and to Europeans—by
names that also meant “Apaches” generally. They are identifiable on the northern Great Plains by 1805. At that time they were described as traders of horses to the farming tribes of the upper Missouri River. They are then recorded to have shifted their range gradually southward across the Plains until they were settled on the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache (KCA) Reservation in present southwestern Oklahoma late in the nineteenth century. They seem to be the Apaches del Norte, whose arrival in New Mexico with a group of Kiowas was recorded early in the nineteenth century, as well as the Plains Lipans who reportedly arrived on the northern frontier of Texas at about the same time with Kiowa and Arapaho allies and were escorted farther south by Lipan emissaries.

The alliance and close association with the Kiowa tribe are said to be ancient; in the summer they joined in the Kiowa tribal Sun Dance encampment. The two tribes made an alliance with the Comanches about the year 1800 in the course of their movement southward. With the expansion of the frontier and the decimation of the buffalo, the Na-i-shan and their allies signed treaties with the United States. The last of these, the Treaty of Medicine Lodge in 1867, limited the apparently unsuspecting Kiowas, Comanches, and Na-i-shan Apaches to the reservation in present southwestern Oklahoma. That reservation was allotted in 160-acre tracts to individual members of the three tribes in 1901, over heated Indian protest. Most of the rest of the reservation was then opened to settlement by European Americans.

**Traditional Culture.** The nineteenth century Na-i-shan were a mounted buffalo-hunting people who lived in tipis and had Plains Indian medicine bundle, warrior, and medicine society complexes. The tribe has no traditions of a time before they lived on the northern Plains or of ever having practiced agriculture or making pottery or basketry. Their material culture was that of the Plains Indians; their economy depended upon the buffalo hunt and the trading of horses and mules taken in Mexico northward. They numbered about 350 and were unified by kinship, a common language and culture, reverence for their medicine bundles, and membership in their sodalities. Children of both sexes first joined the Rabbit Society, whose spirited dances were directed by a tribal elder. The Blackfeet Society was composed of warriors, and it acted as the tribal police. Senior warriors could belong to the *Klintidie*, whose vows required them never to retreat from the enemy. Elderly women might belong to the *Izouwe*, a secret society of grandmothers. Other societies existed as well, but little has been recorded of them. The societies generally owned certain songs, dance motifs, and regalia and met periodically, particularly when the tribe gathered for ceremonies and socializing and the summer buffalo hunt.
Recent History and Modern Life.

The occupation of the former KCA Reservation by a flood of non-Indian homesteaders and speculators in 1901 took place when the Na-i-shan population had dwindled to its lowest point, about 150, primarily because of epidemic disease. Their recent history has been one of rapid population growth, gradual adjustment to the changed circumstances of increased involvement in the affairs of American society, and determined efforts to preserve their cultural heritage.

In the 1970’s a tribal government was formed to administer federal programs and otherwise benefit the tribe’s members. In the 1980’s the tribe’s official designation was changed from the misleading term “Kiowa Apache” to Apache Tribe of Oklahoma. The people generally refer to themselves as Plains Apaches or simply as Apaches. The tribe has an administrative complex, which it also uses for educational and social activities, in Anadarko, Oklahoma, as well as a nearby bingo facility and convenience store. Tribal pow-wows take place in June and August at their dance ground west of Fort Cobb, Oklahoma. In 1993 a formal committee of elders and a tribal research committee were organized to preserve their cultural heritage and facilitate relevant research. The Na-i-shan Apaches are notable for their rich repertory of traditional music and dance. They often excel in painting, silverwork, and beadwork, as well as in other arts and crafts.

Michael G. Davis

Bibliography


The Apalachee, a branch of the Muskogean family, lived in northwest Florida along the Apalachee Bay. Their name comes from the Choctaw word *a’palachi* (“[people] on the other side”). The Apalachee were among a group of advanced tribes who migrated from west of the Mississippi River to the Southeast around 1300.

Their first recorded contact with whites was in 1528, with an expedition led by the Spanish explorer Pánfilo de Narváez. The encounter was marked by hostility and fighting on both sides. When another Spanish explorer, Hernando de Soto, came through in 1539, he and his men were also given a hostile welcome. De Soto noted in his journal that the Apalachee were skilled agriculturalists, growing corn, beans, pumpkins, and squash. His forces walked two days through one immense stretch of cornfields. By the early 1600’s, the Apalachee had been visited by missionaries, and most had converted to Roman Catholicism. While many Apalachee eagerly accepted Christianity, and at least seven chiefs were baptized, there was still tension between the Indians and the Spanish. In 1647 a rebellion occurred; several missionaries were killed, and the churches were destroyed. The missionaries persevered. In 1655, there were approximately six thousand to eight thousand Apalachee living in eight towns, each built around a central Franciscan mission.

In 1703, the Apalachee were attacked by a company of a hundred whites and about one thousand Indians of various tribes. The force was sent by the English governor of Carolina, who wanted to disrupt Spanish influence in the area. Some two hundred Apalachee were killed, and another fourteen hundred were carried off into slavery and resettled near New Windsor, North Carolina. All the major Apalachee towns, missions, groves, and fields were destroyed. A year later, another raid killed several hundred more Apalachee. Small bands drifted away, joining other tribes or establishing independent villages. When the Yamasee War broke out, those who had been made slaves joined the Lower Creeks and were eventually absorbed. By the end of the nineteenth century, the tribe was no longer a distinct entity.
Apalachicola

**Culture area:** Southeast  
**Language group:** Muskogean  
**Primary location:** Southwestern Georgia, southeastern Alabama

The matrilineal Apalachicola raised the “three sisters”—beans, corn, and squash—but were also river-oriented. They had individual and large communal hunts for deer, which supplemented their food bases and provided needed by-products. There were probably four large, permanent, and politically independent villages that maintained exchange of resources and alliances. According to oral history, when the Muskogee encroached upon Apalachicola territory a peace treaty resulted, which the Apalachicola negotiated and which led to the Creek Confederacy.

The Apalachicola were first contacted by the Spanish in the late sixteenth century, then by the French, and eventually by the British. After conflict with encroaching European Americans in 1706, the Apalachicola were resettled on the Savannah River. After the Yamasee War of 1716, they returned to their aboriginal area. During the years 1836-1840 they were forced onto the northern part of the Creek Reservation in Oklahoma, where they were gradually absorbed into other ethnic groups.

Arapaho

**Culture area:** Plains  
**Language group:** Algonquian  
**Primary location:** West-central Wyoming, western Oklahoma  
**Population size:** 6,350 (1990 U.S. Census)

The Arapaho were Plains Indians with a classical buffalo economy. They are closely related to the Apsáalooke and were close associates of the Cheyenne. The Utes, Shoshones, and Pawnees were their constant enemies. Their relationship with the Sioux, Kiowa, and Comanche varied. The Arapaho were probably pushed west and south by the Sioux in their early days on the Plains, and in turn they pushed the Comanche and Kiowa south. At other times, they were allied with each tribe against other Indians and white Americans.
Early History and Traditional Lifestyle. Exactly when the Arapaho moved into the Plains is not clear, but at the end of the eighteenth century, when they first came to the attention of white Americans, they were established in eastern Colorado, southeastern Wyoming, and extreme western Nebraska and Kansas. They may have lived as farmers in western Minnesota until the sixteenth century and then moved west and south into the Plains, probably because of pressure from eastern tribes moving west under pressure from European immigrants. On the Plains, they established a nomadic lifestyle, almost entirely dependent on buffalo. Eventually, northern and southern subdivisions developed.

The Arapaho’s early Plains lifeways are not well known either, but they probably followed buffalo herds, using travois pulled by dogs to move their belongings. They lived in lodges (tipis) made of buffalo hides stretched over a set of poles. Their hunting tactics included driving buffalo into enclosures and killing them with arrows and spears; they also drove groups of buffalo over cliffs.

Sometime before the middle of the eighteenth century, by raiding or trading, the Arapaho obtained horses from southwestern tribes. This acqui-
tion changed their lives dramatically. The travois was adjusted to fit horses, so moves could be made rapidly. More important, the horses became their vehicle for hunting and fighting. The Arapaho were not the best-known horse Indians of the Plains; nevertheless, they were highly skilled at hunting and fighting from horseback.

Men hunted buffalo by separating the target individual from the herd and killing it with arrows and spears. Alternatively, if a large group of horsemen was available, the buffalo herd was surrounded and arrows were fired into the herd. Those wounded too seriously to keep up with the escaping herd were killed. Guns became available to the Arapaho shortly after they obtained horses, and buffalo hunting became even more efficient. The men butchered the buffalo at the site of the kill.

In camp, the women cooked some of the meat for immediate use and smoked or dried the rest. Women also scraped and treated the hides for use as tipi covers, clothing, or pouches for carrying various materials. They gathered and preserved berries, roots, and other plant foods. Tools, such as knives, scrapers, and arrowheads, were initially made of flint or buffalo bones. After trade was initiated with whites, metal was often used.

The Arapaho lived in groups of twenty to eighty families. Several such groups came together in spring and summer to hunt buffalo and for ceremonial events. The groups separated for winter, each moving to a stream in a protected valley in the foothills of the Rocky Mountains. The men, often on snowshoes, hunted deer, elk, and small game. The women cooked and made and decorated clothes and other articles.

Ceremonial and Religious Life. The Arapaho were deeply religious, holding ceremonies for each stage of life (the birth of a child, the child’s first steps, selected stages of male maturity) and for every important event (the buffalo hunt, an individual’s pledge of service to— or plea for help from— the Creator). Music and dance were important parts of all these ceremonies. The Flat Pipe, the most sacred symbol of the Arapaho Nation, is kept by an elder of the Northern Arapaho in a sacred bundle and is still used in a number of the nation’s most sacred ceremonies. The Sacred Wheel is maintained and used in the same way by the Southern Arapaho.

Arapaho men were almost all members of age-graded societies or lodges. These were of particular importance in the organization of the tribe and in assigning duties to the various tribal members. The first two were youth societies. Membership in the six adult male lodges was achieved with age and demonstration of responsible behavior, especially generosity. Regular demonstration of generosity was essential for becoming an Arapaho leader. There were specific rituals associated with each lodge, and members of each had certain responsibilities in war and peace. The highest lodge
comprised the seven Water Sprinkling Old Men and was attained by a few spiritual leaders. Each was responsible for a medicine bundle which contained items of spiritual importance to the tribe.

Arapaho women belonged to the buffalo lodge. There were also Seven Old Women, who, though they did not form a lodge, were the female counterparts to the Water Sprinkling Old Men. Their medicine bags contained the materials needed to teach the skills of making and decorating tipis, clothes, bags, and other tribal materials. The symbolic decorations were of great importance in tribal culture.

A vision quest was a personal religious undertaking. To gain insight into his particular role in life, a man would fast and pray alone in the plains until he received a vision. Often a small animal would be involved in the vision, and the man made his medicine bag from that animal’s skin.

The best-known Arapaho ceremony was the Offerings Lodge, also called the Sun Dance. It was an elaborate, week-long ceremony initiated when an Arapaho, called the lodge builder, vowed to pay for the ceremony. This was done to petition the Creator for success in battle, recovery from sickness, or satisfaction of some other need or desire. Self-torture was the most infamous part of the Offerings Lodge. A man pushed skewers through his chest muscles, tied the skewers to the center pole, and hung suspended until the skewers tore through his flesh. According to one explanation, the man was asking the Creator to forgive and favor the tribe.

The Offerings Lodge was important in social as well as spiritual life, especially in maintaining the unity of the tribe. All Arapaho bands gathered for the ceremony. The other lodges were important in maintaining order and organization in Arapaho life. Tribal history, skills, and customs were passed from generation to generation by way of the age-graded societies and the Buffalo Lodge. Some authorities believe that the organization of the age-graded societies spared the Arapaho the conflicts between generations that other Plains tribes suffered during the transition from buffalo hunting to reservation life.

**Transition and Modern Life.** The Arapaho fought ably against other American Indian tribes and, as allies of the Sioux, Cheyenne, and Comanche, against white encroachment. Some raided settlements and wagon trains, stole livestock, and participated in battles with white Americans. They were less aggressive than some other tribes, however, and put more effort into trading than fighting. Friday, a Northern Arapaho, and Left Hand, a Southern Arapaho, spoke English and had many white friends. They counseled for peace throughout the white invasion. Northern Arapaho men were important scouts for the United States Army, and relationships between Arapahos and whites were often friendly.
The Arapaho’s most important encounter with the U.S. Army was at Sand Creek, Colorado, on November 29, 1864. A group of Cheyenne and Arapaho, camped under the flag and protection of the U.S. government, were attacked by troops led by Colonel John Chivington. The chiefs in the camp, Left Hand and Black Kettle, a Cheyenne, were known advocates of peace, and the Indians present were primarily women and children. Chivington probably knew this before the attack. Most of the Indians killed were women and children, and soldiers mutilated the dead Indians. Left Hand died as a result of his wounds.

In response, many Arapaho joined the Cheyenne and Sioux in the Plains Indian wars, which finally ended in 1890, at Wounded Knee, South Dakota. Most Arapaho, however, followed chiefs Little Raven, of the southern group, and Medicine Man and Black Coal from the north and pursued peace. In 1869, the Southern Arapaho and Cheyenne were assigned to a reservation in Oklahoma; in 1878, the Northern Arapaho were placed on the Shoshone (Wind River) Reservation in western Wyoming. These areas were a minute fraction of the land that had been promised in the 1851 treaty of Horse Creek.

In response to settlers’ demands for land from the new reservations and because of a determination to assimilate the Indians into white society, the General Allotment Act (Dawes Severalty Act) was passed in 1887. It gave a parcel of reservation land to each individual American Indian. Not coincidentally, there was reservation land left after all Indians had received allotments, and the law allowed whites to buy or lease the leftover land. Both Northern and Southern Arapaho were cheated by unfair loan, lease, and sale agreements, but the burden fell most heavily on the southern group.

The Northern Arapaho succeeded in retaining control of most reservation land through a long period of abject poverty. In the 1940’s, a tribal business council of six elected representatives, working with the tribal elders and a similar Shoshone council, convinced the federal government to allow payments to individual families from reservation income. The income is derived from oil and gas production, land rental, and tribally owned businesses. In 1961, the Arapaho and Cheyenne won millions of dollars in compensation for broken treaties. As a result of these and other astute political maneuvers, Northern Arapaho economic conditions improved considerably. Many old problems continued, however, especially undereducation, unemployment, and attendant poverty.

The Southern Arapaho also received individual allotments, but for reasons unique to their situation, they were unable to maintain an intact reservation. Reservation land left after allotment was sold to white ranchers and farmers; in addition, many individual Arapaho sold their allotments.
Because of extensive fraud, sale prices were often well below market value. As part of the continuing attempt to assimilate American Indians into white society, the reservation was abolished in 1890. The Southern Arapaho subsequently scattered around western Oklahoma, and tribal unity, so important to the maintenance of Arapaho culture, was lost. An elected Cheyenne-Arapaho Business Committee now manages tribal resources. Many Arapaho live in the towns of Geary and Canton, Oklahoma, and the tribal offices are in Concho. Many tribal members are undereducated, unemployed, and living in poverty.

The two branches of the tribe maintain contact with each other. The Offerings Lodge is celebrated in Wyoming each year, and some southern members make the trip north to join in the celebration. The Arapaho language is on the verge of extinction, but members of both branches are striving to maintain their heritage while living in the modern world.

_Carl W. Hoagstrom_

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**Bibliography**


The term “Archaic” was designated by archaeologists Gordon Willey and Philip Phillips as nomenclature for the period between the end of the Paleo-Indian big-game hunting and gathering period and the beginnings of settled, agriculture-based village life. It has roughly the same meaning in the New World as the term “Mesolithic” does in the Old World. The Archaic tradition covers several millennia and is broadly construed. It includes societies that were highly nomadic, such as those of the Desert culture, as well as more sedentary groups, such as riverine and coastal shell-fishing peoples of the southeastern United States. Archaic cultures ranged from small, mobile bands that utilized sites such as Bat Cave to relatively large groups such as those who constructed Poverty Point.

A number of characteristics were shared by societies of the Archaic tradition. First and foremost of these was a reliance on wild plant and animal resources. Archaic peoples subsisted primarily by hunting (sometimes with domesticated dogs) and gathering. Strategies ranged from buffalo hunting on the central Plains and shellfishing on the Florida coast to intensive gathering of marsh elder in eastern Illinois.

The technology of the Archaic tradition included artifacts made of chipped and ground stone, bone, wood, shell, gourds, and a variety of fibers. Among these were ground-stone manos and metates, for grinding seeds and nuts, and polished axes. Over time, ground-stone techniques extended to the manufacture of elaborate stone bowls, axes, and adzes as well as objects such as birdstones and banner stones. Archaic peoples were adept at the use of leather, sinews, and plant fibers. Basketry was used for containers, sandals, and even shelters. Leatherwork, as well as twining and weaving, was used to make bags, hats, clothing, and sandals. Pottery was invented by Archaic peoples. In the lower Mississippi Valley, fired clay was used to make boiling “stones,” while fiber-tempered vessels were manufactured in the Southeast. Simple metallurgy was also practiced in the Great Lakes region, where Archaic peoples made ornaments of hammered native copper.

Archaic peoples initiated the processes that resulted in the domestication of plant and animal species. In Mexico these included maize, beans, squash, chiles, avocados, amaranth, and goosefoot, as well as turkeys. In South
America they included gourds, cotton, potatoes, chiles, the guinea pig, llama, and muscovy duck, while in eastern North America they included squash, marsh elder, amaranth, goosefoot, and sunflowers. Other Archaic period innovations were the emergence of early social ranking, as evidenced by marked differences in the quality of burial goods found in cemeteries, and long-distance trade in rare minerals or craft items. It is likely that many of the religious traditions that became focal points of community activity in later times had their origins in Archaic times.

The Archaic tradition ends with the emergence of communities that relied more heavily on agricultural products than on wild resources. It is fair to say that it continued into the historic period among groups such as fishing societies of the Northwest Coast and can still be found in remote regions of South America.

The Arikara, or Ricaree, lived along the lower Missouri River basin in what is presently North and South Dakota. This is prairie country, which was conducive to the Arikara hunting and agriculture practices. The tribe had originally been Pawnee but had at some point moved north up the Missouri to form their own tribe, maintaining much of the Pawnee language yet being influenced by the neighboring Sioux and various other tribes.

Hunting, farming, and fishing were all practiced by the Arikara. During the winter, the tribe spent its time on the hunt, ranging as far as forty miles in search of buffalo. During this time, the people lived in lodges constructed of animal hides. Yet these Indians were not renowned as great hunters, nor did they keep many horses in their own possession. Rather, they served as middlemen in the distribution of horses from the nomadic tribes south and west of the Missouri to other nomadic tribes north and east of the river.

When they were not engaged in hunting, the Arikara’s housing was more permanent. Huts were constructed by driving four posts into the ground and laying timbers lengthwise between them. Smaller twigs were then filled in and overlaid with rushes, willows, and grass. The entire structure was plastered thickly with mud, with a hole left in the top for

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**Arikara**

**Culture area:** Plains  
**Language group:** Caddoan  
**Primary location:** North Dakota, South Dakota  
**Population size:** 1,583 (1990 U.S. Census)

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smoke and one in the side for a door. The finished home was round in shape. Each hut was excavated inside to a depth of 2 to 4 feet, making the interior tall enough for people to stand up and walk around in. Beds were located around the extremity of the interior circle. A covered passage about 10 feet in length was then constructed outward from the side opening, sloping gently from the exterior to the interior, with a wooden door helping to shut out the elements. Trenches were dug around the outside of the huts to guide rainfall away. Huts were placed randomly within the village, 15 to 20 feet apart, with no paths of any regularity among the dwellings. Cellars were dug within the houses for the storage of corn and other produce.

Corn was grown on family farms of about one acre each. Farming plots were separated by brush and rudely built pole fences. Women did the majority of the farming chores, using hoes and pickaxes made from shoulder blades of cows and deer, and rakes made from reeds. The corn, a variety of Indian corn with a small hard grain and stalks only 2.5 to 3 feet tall, was planted in April or May and then picked around the first part of August. The Arikara women picked the corn when it was still green, boiled it slightly, dried it, shelled it, and then stored it. Other popular crops were squashes, either boiled or eaten green, and pumpkins. Crops were subject both to occasional floods by the Missouri River and to drought. The Arikara held various rites and ceremonies related to the production of crops.

They also capitalized on their agricultural successes by trading crops with the American Fur Company for knives, hoes, combs, beads, paints, ammunition, and tobacco. In addition, they traded with the Sioux for buffalo robes, skins, and meats—and then, in turn, traded these items with whites for guns and horses.

The Arikara were known to be good swimmers and fishermen. The men would place willow pens in eddies of the river, and then throw the caught fish to shore. In the spring, the men would sometimes float out on melting ice cakes and gather rotting buffalo which had died in the winter, stack them on the shore, and then feast on the carcasses with fellow tribe members. Women were known to float out on ice floes in much the same manner to collect driftwood.

The Arikara were adept at making fired, unglazed pots; pans, porringer, and mortars for pounding corn; ornaments of melted beads; skin canoes of buffalo hide, and willows for hunting along the banks of the Missouri River. They made good use of the resources available to them and were generally considered to be a peaceful people.

Ruffin Stirling
Assiniboine

CULTURE AREA: Plains  
LANGUAGE GROUP: Siouan  
PRIMARY LOCATION: Alberta and Saskatchewan (Canada), Montana (U.S.)  
POPULATION SIZE: 5,274 in U.S. (1990 U.S. Census); more than 3,000 in Canada

The Assiniboine (including groups sometimes called the Stoneys) lived in northeastern Montana, northwestern North Dakota, and adjacent Canada. They spoke a language of the Siouan language group, but their associations with the Sioux were generally antagonistic, as were their relations with the Blackfoot. They had a close and long-standing alliance with the Cree and became friendly with the Atsina after decades of fighting them. The Assiniboine were not important participants in the Plains Indian wars and were assigned to several reservations in Montana, Alberta, and Saskatchewan.

Early History and Traditional Lifestyle. The Assiniboine separated from the Sioux in the mid-seventeenth century while still living in the eastern woodlands. They moved into southern Ontario, where they became associated with the Cree. They trapped furs for Europeans and acted as intermediaries between western Indians and European traders until the establishment of trading posts on western rivers gave the traders direct access to those Indians.

With the westernmost members of the Cree, they moved into the northern Plains and took up buffalo hunting, at first on foot using dogs to bear their belongings on their treks across the Plains. Around the middle of the eighteenth century they obtained horses, and although they probably never had as many as other Plains Indians, the buffalo hunt and tribal movements in pursuit of the buffalo became easier and more efficient.

They followed the buffalo herds across the prairies and plains and obtained most of their food and material goods from them. They lived in tipis of buffalo hides sewn together and stretched across a group of poles. Readily put up and taken down, the tipi was ideal housing for a mobile society. Men hunted, butchered their prey, defended the tribe in war and made weapons and shields. Women cooked; gathered seeds, fruits, and vegetative parts of plants; preserved foods for future use; made clothing and tipi covers; struck camp; and put up camp with each move. They gathered in large groups to hunt buffalo, and broke up into smaller groups for the winter.
The Assiniboine fought almost constantly with the Blackfoot, Crow, Sioux, and Atsina over buffalo ranges and horses. These wars, and diseases (especially smallpox and measles) introduced by Europeans, precipitated a decline in the Assiniboine population and in the tribe’s ability to hold its territory. Around 1870, the Atsina-Blackfoot alliance disintegrated and the Assiniboine and Atsina became allies. This association may have been what enabled the two small tribes to resist constant Blackfoot and Sioux aggression.

Assiniboine ceremonial and spiritual life was typical of plains Indians. They held the Sun Dance, an elaborate spiritual ceremony lasting for days. Generally held when the tribe was gathered for the buffalo hunt, the Sun Dance was intended to assure a successful hunt; it was also used to invoke supernatural assistance in other undertakings, or to express gratitude for past assistance. Individuals went on vision quests, which involved days of fasting and praying in a secluded place, to obtain their personal “medicine” or source of power. The message, or inspiration, they received on the quest gave subsequent direction to their lives.

Men were organized into warrior societies, each with a particular responsibility in the life of the tribe. Men became eligible for membership as they accomplished feats of bravery, and practiced generosity. Chiefs were also chosen on the basis of these characteristics. While masks were not generally a part of Plains Indian ritual, members of the Assiniboine Fool Society (who mocked and acted contrary to societal standards to emphasize their importance) wore masks.

**Transition and Modern Life.** The Assiniboine contributed little resistance to the European American conquest of the Plains, in part because of the early interaction between Assiniboines and whites in the fur trade, as well as the reduced Assiniboine population because of disease and Indian
warfare. They were placed on several reservations, representing a small fraction of the land over which they once hunted, in Montana, Alberta, and Saskatchewan.

Assiniboines face the poverty, unemployment, lack of education, and threats to their culture that other Indian groups face. Yet they have clung to their culture throughout government attempts at assimilation. One aspect of that culture in which they take particular pride, a willingness to assist one another in times of trouble or need, will be a great help in efforts to improve the tribe’s condition and conserve Assiniboine culture.

*Carl W. Hoagstrom*

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**Atakapa**

**Culture area:** Southeast  
**Language group:** Atakapan  
**Primary location:** Southwestern Louisiana, southeastern Texas

The Atakapa lived in small groups scattered across southwest Louisiana and southeast Texas. Most of the Texas Atakapa were called Akokisa or Deadose by the Spanish.

According to Atakapa oral tradition, their ancestors were stranded in Texas after a great flood, and they later spread eastward. At the time of European contact, Atakapa subsistence depended on collecting wild plants and hunting (buffalo and deer) across the grasslands and swamps of southeast Texas and southwestern Louisiana. Unlike their neighbors to the east, such as the Chitimacha, the Atakapa did not depend on agriculture and had a less sedentary lifestyle. In common with other southeastern cultures, the Atakapa traded with neighboring peoples. Despite their contacts with the hierarchical societies of the Mississippi River, Atakapan sociopolitical organization was not stratified to the same degree. The seeming simplicity of their lifeways (hunting and gathering rather than farming and inhabiting permanent villages) meant that the European settlers recorded little information concerning them, and since their culture had vanished by the twentieth century, no other data were forthcoming.

The word *Atakapa* is Choctaw, meaning “people eater,” and their cannibalistic reputation is upheld in the account of Simars de Belle-Isle, who was captured and enslaved by the Akokisa (the Atakapa on the Louisiana-Texas border) from 1719 to 1721.

The Louisiana Atakapa inhabited terrain deemed inappropriate for early European settlement, so they were initially spared the depredations suf-
fered by other southeastern Native Americans. The Akokisa and Deadose of Texas were not so lucky. They were missionized in 1748-1749, from the San Ildefonso Mission in Texas. The combined influence of additional missions (begun during the middle to late eighteenth century) and an epidemic (1777-1778) resulted in the Akokisa and the Deadose no longer being mentioned in colonial records by the 1800’s.

The Louisiana Atakapa were affected by European incursions dating from the mid-eighteenth century onward. The locations of several Louisiana Atakapa villages are recorded for the period 1760 to 1836, but afterward there are only scattered reports of Atakapa. In 1885, for example, two Atakapa speakers were living in the vicinity of Lake Charles, Louisiana. By the early twentieth century, the Atakapa had been absorbed into the European population or joined other Native American groups. Atakapa lifeways and history are described in John R. Swanton’s *The Indians of the Southeastern United States* (1946).

### Atsina

**Culture area:** Plains  
**Language group:** Algonquian  
**Primary location:** Montana  
**Population size:** 2,848 (1990 U.S. Census)

The ethnological origins of the Atsina, or White Clay People, are mysterious. The Atsina, also known as the Gros Ventre, once belonged to an Algonquian parent tribe that included the Arapaho. Until the seventeenth century, the Arapaho-Atsina hunted, gathered, and perhaps planted near the Red River of Minnesota. In the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century, the Atsina broke off from the Arapaho and moved northward and westward to the Eagle Hills in Saskatchewan. There the Atsina probably subsisted by gathering and pedestrian buffalo hunting, although they evidently also planted tobacco. In the middle of the eighteenth century, the Atsina acquired horses and became equestrian buffalo hunters. In the late eighteenth century, the Cree and Assiniboine pushed the Atsina from Saskatchewan southwest to the Upper Missouri River.

Like other Plains tribes, the Atsina alternately battled and allied with their neighbors. Atsina bands were often allied with the closely related Arapaho and the Algonquian-speaking tribes of the Blackfeet Confederacy. In 1861, however, the Atsina sought an alliance with their erstwhile ene-
emies, the Crow. At some point in the mid-nineteenth century, the Atsina allied with their former enemies, the Assiniboine, to resist the encroachments of the Sioux into their hunting territory.

Atsina religion and social organization revolved around two medicine bundles containing the Flat Pipe and the Feathered Pipe. Stewardship of the bundles, which combined both religious and political authority, rotated among certain adult men every few years.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the territory under the control of the Atsina steadily eroded. An executive order by President Ulysses S. Grant in 1873 established a large reservation for the Blackfoot, Assiniboine, and Atsina in northern Montana. In January, 1887, representatives of the federal government met with the Atsina and Assiniboine at the Fort Belknap Agency to negotiate the cession of most of the Indians’ reserve. President Grover Cleveland signed the Fort Belknap agreement into law on May 1, 1888, reducing the Atsina and Assiniboine to a shared reservation of approximately 600,000 acres. Despite the diminution of their territory, the Atsina and Assiniboine of the Fort Belknap Reservation won an important United States Supreme Court decision in the early twentieth century that became a landmark in American Indian law. On January 6, 1908, the Supreme Court ruled in Winters v. United States that the Indians of Fort Belknap Reservation, rather than nearby white settlers, had first rights to the contested water of the Milk River.

In 1934, Fort Belknap became the first reservation in the Plains to establish a government under the auspices of the Indian Reorganization Act. For the Atsina, reorganization had the unanticipated consequence of merging their reservation government with that of the Assiniboine. Economic conditions at Fort Belknap languished until the mid-1960’s, when many Atsina were able to take advantage of federal War on Poverty programs. By 1980, Fort Belknap had the highest percentage of college graduates of any reservation of the northern Plains.

Atsugewi

CULTURE AREA: California
LANGUAGE GROUP: Palaihnihan
PRIMARY LOCATION: Burney Valley and Mount Lassen, California

Prior to European contact, the Atsugewi were a socioeconomically stratified society, divided into two territorial groups: the Atsuge (“Pine Tree
People”), most of whose population was confined to five main villages, and the Apwaruge (“Juniper Tree People”), who occupied more extensive territory. People lived in either bark or earth lodges, with the village being the principal autonomous political unit. Traditional forms of wealth could be acquired and accumulated by anyone willing to be industrious. Fish and acorns, the staple foods, were acquired and stored by elaborate technologies, particularly the leaching of tannic acid from acorns and horse chestnuts.

First contact with European Americans was in 1827 with Peter Skene Ogden. By the 1830’s, the Hudson’s Bay Company was trapping in the area and had established a trail from Klamath to Hat Creek, which provided access to prospectors entering the area in 1851. Conflict erupted with settlers, some of whom were killed at Fall River, which led to a punitive war by white volunteers. Some Atsugewi were removed to the Round Valley Reservation, and many participated shortly after in the Ghost Dance revival of 1890.

**Aztec**

**Culture area:** Mesoamerica  
**Language group:** Uto-Aztecan  
**Primary location:** Central Mexico

The Aztecs, or Mexica (Me-shee-ka) as they called themselves, became the most important tribe in Central Mexico and created a powerful empire that would last until the arrival of the Spanish in the early sixteenth century. The Aztec state disappeared, but the people and their culture left an important legacy; modern Mexicans refer to the founding of Tenochtitlán by the Aztecs in 1325—not the arrival of the Spanish—as the beginning of their nation. Moreover, more than a million people still speak Nahuatl, the Aztec language (a part of the Uto-Aztecan family).

**Early History.** Aztec origins are unclear. The people entered the Valley of Mexico in the thirteenth century from what is now northern Mexico, or perhaps Southwestern United States, from a land they called Aztalan, or Aztlán. They would later create an elaborate legend to describe how their principal god, Huitzilopochtli (the left-handed hummingbird), led them to a site where an eagle stood on a cactus with a serpent in its beak. This scene, pictured on the present-day flag of Mexico, marked the location of Tenochtitlán, capital city of the Aztecs and later the site of Mexico City.
Archaeologists tell a simpler story, suggesting that the Aztecs were a relatively unimportant Chichimec tribe from the north that entered the Valley of Mexico looking for more fertile land. Many important cities already existed around the great lake in the valley, and the Aztecs became tributaries of a more powerful tribe, serving them as mercenaries. The city of Tenochtitlán was originally a muddy mound in the middle of the lake, where the tribe could find protection after antagonizing important Indian leaders. They flourished in their new home, and their city expanded.

**Society.** The Aztecs were divided into clans, or capulli, each related by blood and engaging in a specific economic activity. The capulli were led by a council of elders, called the Tlatocan, who made the important decisions for the community. Though still under the domination of other tribes, the Aztecs chose Acamapichtli (who ruled from 1375 to 1395) as their leader. A new warrior class was created from these ruling families, known as the Pipiltin. When Acamapichtli died, his son became chief, beginning the Clan of the Eagle, a royal lineage that would last 125 years, until the defeat of the Aztecs by the Spanish.

Aztec nobles were priests, warriors, and judges. They were trained in a school called the Calmécac, where they learned discipline and special skills. Beneath the nobles in Aztec society were the merchants. Because they traded with distant lands, they were able to serve as spies for the expanding empire. Called Pochteca, these merchants amassed wealth but were denied the dress or status of nobility. Members of lesser groups could be put to death for wearing dress reserved for the nobility. Sandals, jewels, and feathered headdresses were the prerogative of the upper class.

Craftsmen formed a separate group in Aztec society. They worked with jade, gold, and feathers to make ceremonial costumes and jewelry. Commoners, the largest group, worked the fields, performed construction duties, and served the nobility. Their day began at dawn; rising from sleeping mats in small huts and wearing simple loincloths, they went out to work without any breakfast. At ten in the morning the first meal was taken, consisting of a simple bowl of porridge. The main meal was eaten at midday, during the hottest hours of the day. This meal consisted of maize cakes, beans, pimento, and tamales. Meat from turkeys or small game, routine fare for the upper classes, was rare among the commoners. Everyone would squat on a mat and eat quickly, drinking only water. This meal would often be the last of the day.

Nobles, by contrast, lived in larger homes and ate better meals. Their midday meal included meat and fruit as well as more common dishes made from corn. Nobles drank cocoa, at that time a bitter drink taken without sugar. Occasionally there were feasts that lasted most of the night at which
pulque, a fermented alcoholic beverage, was consumed. The drug peyote was used, but only for religious ceremonies.

**Religious Beliefs.** The Aztecs believed that life was a struggle, and their religion was based on the need to appease the gods. They thought that the sun’s journey across the sky would continue only if the gods were offered human sacrifice. The belief in human sacrifice was not unique to the Aztecs, but it became bound up with their expanding empire and came to dominate their society to a greater extent than in other tribes. In fact, much of Aztec culture, including their gods, was derived from earlier peoples of the Valley of Mexico. One aspect of this common culture was a calendar that combined the lunar and the solar years in fifty-two-year cycles. On the eve of the last year of the cycle, all the fires in the land were extinguished, symbolizing the people’s fear that the world was about to end. Crowds gathered silently on the hillsides as priests climbed to the top of a mountain to await the hoped-for dawn. When the sun rose, and time did not end, a human sacrifice was conducted and a new fire kindled. The flame was used to relight fires throughout the land, and the people rejoiced. The Aztecs believed that only human sacrifice could save their society from destruction. They also believed that there had been four previous cycles of time, and that they were living in the fifth and final period.

**Rise to Power.** In the early 1400’s the Aztecs, along with the people from the cities of Texcoco and Tlacopán, rebelled against the overlordship of Azapotzalco, the most powerful city in the Valley of Mexico. Once successful, the three cities formed a Triple Alliance to dominate the area around the great lake. The alliance was short-lived, however, and the Aztecs subdued
the other tribes to emerge by 1440 as the greatest power in Central Mexico. At this time a shift occurred among the Aztecs that necessitated further expansion. In response to a number of natural disasters, Aztec priests claimed that additional sacrifices were needed to please the gods. Thus, the Aztecs began to combine wars of conquest with capture of warriors to be used as human sacrifices. Some estimates indicate that tens of thousands of sacrifices were conducted in major ceremonies such as those marking the dedication of temples. Even after the Aztecs had conquered most of the tribes in Central Mexico they conducted ceremonial “Flower Wars,” whose purpose was to take prisoners for sacrifice. For more than half a century the Aztecs ruled this expanding empire, facing much discontent among their subject peoples who were seldom integrated into Aztec society.

Conquest and Legacy. When Hernán Cortés arrived in 1519 he heard about the wealthy city of Tenochtitlán and the great lord Montezuma. Cortés, with a small group of Spanish soldiers and a growing number of Indian allies hoping to be freed from Aztec rule, entered Tenochtitlán, which he described as one of the largest and most beautiful cities he had ever seen. Undaunted by the power of the Aztecs, and fully aware that Montezuma thought him to be the god Quetzalcóatl returning from the East, Cortés took the Aztec leader prisoner and attempted to control his empire. An Aztec assault forced him out of Tenochtitlán, but Cortés returned with more Indian allies and destroyed the city in 1521. The last of the Aztec leaders, Cuauhtémoc, was taken prisoner by the Spanish.

Cortés chose the site of Tenochtitlán for his new capital, Mexico City. Although many Aztecs died in the assault or later perished from disease, their language and many of their customs remained to influence the development of Mexican society.

James A. Baer

Bibliography


Bannock

**Culture area:** Great Basin  
**Language group:** Uto-Aztecan  
**Primary location:** Fort Hall Reservation, southeastern Idaho  
**Population size:** 218 (1990 U.S. Census)

The name “Bannock” derives from the tribe’s Indian name, Banakwut. Originally a branch of the Northern Paiute tribe in southeast Oregon, they acquired horses in the eighteenth century and moved to Idaho.

The Bannock were closely allied with the Shoshone. They were primarily horsemen and ranged widely throughout Idaho, Montana, and Wyoming. Family units were organized into at least five larger bands. Each band was headed by a chief, who inherited his position through the male line subject to approval by band members. The Bannock traveled with the Shoshone to hunt buffalo, trade, or do battle against their common enemies, the Blackfoot—and sometimes the Crow and Nez Perce.

In the winter—and while traveling—the Bannock lived in buffalo-skin tipis, which they adorned with pictures of their personal exploits. In the summer they lived in dome-shaped grass-and-willow houses. The Bannock fished for salmon in the spring, gathered seed and roots in the summer, and communally hunted buffalo in the fall.

Their major ceremonies were four seasonal dances. The dead were buried with their heads pointed west, since souls were thought to journey west along the Milky Way to the land of the dead. Both men and women served as shamans responsible for healing illness, conducting ceremonies, and controlling the weather.

The California gold rush and opening of the Oregon Trail in the mid-nineteenth century brought hordes of whites through Bannock lands, with devastating results. Wagon trains destroyed their pastures and smallpox reduced their population from about 2,000 to 500. The Bannock and Shoshone fought in vain to protect their way of life. Finally, in 1868, they signed the Fort Bridger Treaty, agreeing to relocate to the Fort Hall Reservation. Adverse conditions there and bitterness over their losses led them to revolt in 1878 (the Bannock War). The revolt was suppressed by 1880, and the Bannock returned to their 500,000-acre Fort Hall Reservation, where most now live with the Shoshone.
Bayogoula

**CULTURE AREA:** Southeast  
**LANGUAGE GROUP:** Muskogean  
**PRIMARY LOCATION:** Alabama

The Bayogoula were largely dependent upon garden products, mainly maize, beans, squash, and different roots, berries, and nuts gathered by women. Men hunted, particularly for deer, and utilized various fishing technologies. The Bayogoula are known to have engaged in almost continual conflict with various neighboring tribes. In fact, oral history states that the Bayogoula nearly exterminated the Mugulasha people; later, the remaining Mugulasha deceived and massacred many of the Bayogoula.

The Bayogoula were probably first encountered by the explorer Pierre le Moyne Iberville in 1699. It is documented that the Houma inflicted considerable loss of life with a surprise attack upon the Bayogoula in 1700. The remaining Bayogoula were eventually removed to an area near New Orleans, but later they settled to the north between the Houma and Acolapissa tribes. There is debate as to the date, but probably by the early 1730’s, the Bayogoula were decimated by a smallpox epidemic. The Bayogoula eventually merged with the Houma.

Basketmaker

**DATE:** 1-750  
**LOCATION:** Arizona, New Mexico, Utah, Colorado  
**CULTURES AFFECTED:** Anasazi, Pueblo

The term “Basketmaker” is used to refer to pre-Pueblo ancestors of the Anasazi culture in the Four Corners region of the American Southwest. The name is based on archaeological sites in the region that lacked pottery but had evidence of the production of basketry, nets, and sandals. It was introduced as part of a nomenclature for prehistoric peoples at the first Pecos Conference (1927), organized by archaeologist Alfred V. Kidder. Basketmaker I (Early Basketmaker), a designation that has since been dropped, was proposed for a preagricultural stage that is now recognized as the Archaic period. Basketmaker II (Basketmaker) refers to a pre-pottery agricultural stage during which time the atlatl, or spear thrower, was intro-
duced. Basketmaker III (Post-Basketmaker) refers to the earliest pottery-making village farmers, who lived in characteristic pit house dwellings. The Basketmaker stages were followed by the Pueblo I through IV periods, corresponding to the appearance and growth of agricultural villages with contiguous, aboveground rooms.

Among the differences between Basketmaker and Pueblo peoples was their physical appearance. Basketmaker peoples had longer skulls, while skulls of the Pueblo period were flattened. This was originally thought to indicate genetic differences between the earlier and later populations. Actually, however, these differences are attributable instead to the adoption of hard cradleboards and their resultant modification of cranial shape. A continuity in population from the Basketmaker through the Pueblo periods is now widely accepted, and together these are referred to as part of the Anasazi tradition.

**Basketmaker II: 1-450 C.E.** The Basketmaker II period is transitional between the nomadic hunting and gathering patterns of the late Archaic period and later sedentary lifeways. Villages were small and widely spaced, with circular pit houses that were deeper in the west than in the east. Natural caves and rock shelters were favored locations for campsites and burials. Food was often stored in caves, using large, jar-shaped pits excavated into the floors and bins made of stone slabs and mud.

The most characteristic trait of Basketmaker II occupations is the absence of pottery at all but a few sites. The principal containers were coiled baskets, nets, and fiber bags. The former included a wide variety of useful containers, including large trays for winnowing grain, conical baskets for collecting seeds, and a range of serving bowls. As noted above, the atlatl, or throwing stick, was utilized during Basketmaker II times. This device improved the leverage of spears tipped with projectile points, increasing the speed, distance, and accuracy with which a spear could be thrown. Flaked projectile points of this period are typically side- or corner-notched, and they were attached to spears with hardwood foreshafts. Ground stone tools represent a continuity of Archaic technology and included a variety of milling stones, with large, basin-shaped grinding slabs and manos (handstones) made from large cobbles. At some sites, trough-shaped metates approach shapes typical of later periods.

The Basketmaker II people were the first people in the Anasazi tradition to utilize agriculture, but wild plant foods and hunting resources remained a significant part of the diet. Among the plant foods collected by Basketmaker II peoples were grass seeds, chenopodium, amaranth, and pinion nuts. There is some evidence for the cultivation of maize and squash, although beans are reportedly absent at this time. The transition to agricul-
ture may have occurred as a response to pressures on wild resources that resulted from growing populations, periods of environmental deterioration, or a combination of the two. Experimentation with cultivated species, farming, and food storage would have provided an adaptive advantage in the face of diminished resources. As these strategies became more efficient, especially with changes in environmental conditions, agricultural populations grew in size and complexity.

**Basketmaker III: 450-750.** By 450, there was a noticeable preference for settlement near well-watered soils, probably because of an increased reliance on agriculture. Sites are found in both alluvial valleys and upland regions such as mesa tops. With greater utilization of cultivated foods as opposed to wild resources, there was less concern for access to a diversity of natural regions. Sedentism led to an increase in the size and density of settlements. Although some sites consist only of isolated pit houses and hamlet clusters, some villages had more than fifty structures for estimated populations of more than two hundred people. There is evidence for communal construction activities, such as an encircling stockade found at the Gilliland site in southwestern Colorado, and the building of ceremonial structures.

The typical dwellings of Basketmaker III people were pit houses with either circular or rectangular plans and antechambers or large ventilator shafts. These were often augmented with auxiliary storage units, built of jacal (poles and mud) on stone slabs. At Mesa Verde (Colorado), pit houses contained banquettes, clay-lined central hearths, wing walls, and four-post roof supports. In general, the plans of Basketmaker III villages do not indicate any type of organized arrangement. Exceptionally large pit houses, however, have been interpreted as the precursors to great kivas, used for councils and sacred rituals.

The subsistence patterns of this period differ from those of the preceding one in their emphasis on the cultivation of maize, squash, and beans. There is evidence for the keeping and possible domestication of turkeys, which would have replaced meat from hunting activities as the latter became less frequent. Bows and arrows, indicated by the use of basal-notched projectile points, replaced atlatls as the favored hunting weapon. The technology for food processing was modified by the introduction of two-handed manos and an increase in the use of trough-shaped over slab metates. The crafts of twined woven bags, nets, sandals, and coiled basketry continued, but Basketmaker III peoples also made and used pottery containers. The most common vessels were jars and bowls of a plain gray ware, although vessels decorated with simple black designs on a white base also appear during this period. In southeastern Utah, orange pottery with red designs appears
toward the end of this period. The adoption of pottery use and changes in ground stone tools have been interpreted as signalling an intensification in household labor that accompanied village sedentism and an increased reliance on agricultural products.

John Hoopes

Bibliography


Beaver

**Culture area:** Subarctic  
**Language group:** Athapaskan  
**Primary location:** Northeastern Alberta and northeastern British Columbia, Canada  
**Population size:** 1,405 (Statistics Canada, based on 1991 census)

The Beaver lived as three composite bands along the Peace River; their fundamental socioeconomic unit was the bilaterally extended family group, which was dependent upon buffalo, woodland caribou, moose, beaver, and hares. Their worldview, associated behaviors, and socioeconomic activities emerged from this dependence upon game. Social control,
kinship, and traditions were maintained through stories, vision quests, food and behavioral taboos, dreaming, consensus of opinion, and threats of sorcery.

The Beaver, after being forced from their aboriginal area by the Cree in the mid-eighteenth century, displaced the Sekani on the eastern slopes of the Rocky Mountains. In the nineteenth century, the Beaver became increasingly involved in fur trading, and were influenced by Roman Catholic missionaries in 1845.

In 1900, treaties which established reserves were signed. By 1930, European American farmers had settled on most of the Beaver territory, and in 1942 construction of the Alaskan Highway further disrupted their lives. Most Beaver by the 1960’s earned a living by guiding hunters and clearing brush for roads, pipelines, and powerlines. Although the number of Athapaskan-speaking Beaver has declined, some traditions remain viable.

**Bella Bella**

- **Culture area:** Northwest Coast
- **Language group:** Wakashan (Heiltzuk dialect of Kwakiutl language)
- **Primary location:** British Columbia, Canada
- **Population size:** 1,580 (“Heiltsuk,” Statistics Canada, based on 1991 census)

The Bella Bella originally lived on Milbank Sound in British Columbia. They were divided into three subtribes, the Kokatik, Oeltik, and Oealitk, and three matrilineal clans, the Haihaiktenok (Killer Whale), Koetenok (Raven), and Wikoktenok (Eagle).

The Bella Bella were a Kwakiutl tribe, and their cultural and social lives were similar to those of other Kwakiutl tribes. Central to their social life were secret societies, potlatches, and a highly developed mythology featuring a folk hero named Raven and a creator god. The Bella Bella lived in villages. Their houses were made of cedar planks and decorated with totem poles and the crests of their clan. They subsisted primarily on salmon and other wild animals and plants; their primary means of transportation was the dugout canoe, which they used for fishing, warfare, travel, and trade.

During their early history the Bella Bella were a warlike tribe. They were flanked on either side by the Tsimshian and Bella Coola, and they had to contend with Haida war parties. It is believed that this constant threat of war was responsible for the founding of the secret societies, the most
important of which originated in war customs.

Europeans eventually moved into the area, attracted by Milbank Sound, which provided one of the few good openings into the inner passage to Alaska. The effects of this contact with Europeans were similar to the dismal effects visited on other tribes in the area: decline in population from war casualties, disease, and confinement to reservations. Additionally, the Bella Bella were largely Christianized by Protestant missionaries, such that most of their ancient culture, customs, and mythology have been largely forgotten.

Most modern Bella Bella live on a 1,622-acre reserve. The remaining Bella Bella live on numerous small reserves, totalling 1,759 acres, in British Columbia.

### Bella Coola

**Culture Area:** Northwest Coast  
**Language Group:** Coast Salish  
**Primary Location:** Bella Coola Valley, British Columbia  
**Population Size:** 980 (Statistics Canada, based on 1991 census)

The Bella Coola occupied approximately sixty permanent villages built of split/hewn rectangular cedar houses along the major rivers and streams in the narrow Bella Coola Valley; they intermarried and traded with the Carrier, Chilcotin, and Bella Bella. A wide variety of fish was their major source of food, supplemented by various animals—particularly the mountain goat, which provided food, horn, and wool that was woven into blankets and capes. Both sexes wore fur robes and capes of woven cedar or rabbit skin.

Kinship was based on lineal ascent, and social organization centered on the extended household. Marriage was usually monogamous, though polygynous households existed. Though Bella Coola society was divided into nobility, commoners, and slaves, social mobility was possible. Potlatches acknowledged change of status; they also served to redistribute goods and wealth and commemorate rites of passage. Each stage of life—birth, puberty, marriage, and death—called for a specific ritual. Status was gained through family affiliation, hunting skills, shamanism, oratory, and wealth—the latter counted in pleated red woodpecker scalp capes, obsidian blades, copper, dentalium, and slaves.

Captain George Vancouver first met and traded with the Bella Coola in 1793 while surveying. Alexander Mackenzie came overland, establishing
the Hudson’s Bay Company post in 1869. The Bella Coola invited a Methodist minister, the Reverend William Pierce, a mixed-blood Tsimshian, to establish a mission in Bella Coola. The people experienced drastic change with depopulation and disease, and by the 1900’s their traditional hunting, gathering, and fishing way of life had changed to one dominated by commercial fishing and logging.

Musical recordings, legends, and records of older art forms have become important in the revitalization of past woodworking and weaving skills, singing, Indian rights, and a renaissance of traditional medicine and beliefs during the 1970’s. In 1980 the Bella Coola Band Council, in establishing their sovereignty, referred to their people as the Nuxalk Nation.

Beothuk

**Culture area:** Northeast/Subarctic  
**Language group:** Algonquian  
**Primary location:** Newfoundland, Canada

The Beothuk lived in small villages in Newfoundland prior to the arrival of Europeans in the late 1500’s. Each village consisted of three or four wigwams, cone-shaped houses made of sticks and birch bark, with a hole in the top to let out smoke. The Beothuk slept in trenches dug in the floor around a fireplace for cooking. They fished for salmon and hunted seal, birds, and caribou; they also gathered eggs, roots, and berries. The meat and fish were frozen or smoked for winter consumption. Little is known of where the Beothuk originated or of their history before contact with Europeans.

Their customs are known only through reports made by early missionaries. They had twenty-four-hour wedding ceremonies with much dancing and feasting. The men conducted purification ceremonies in dome-shaped sweat lodges. Inside the skin-covered huts were hot rocks and water to make steam. Individuals would enter for a while, then run out to jump in the snow, believing that this would cleanse their bodies of evil. Tribal members dressed in caribou-skin robes, with leggings, mittens, and fur hats for winter. They sewed together birch and spruce bark for dishes, buckets, and cooking pots.

The Beothuk buried their dead with their weapons and tools and small, carved wooden figures probably representing a god or goddess, but little is known about Beothuk religion. They placed the deceased in a wooden box.
and carried the body to a cave, setting it aboveground on a small scaffold.

English explorers made first European contact with the Beothuk and called them “red men” because they covered their bodies and hair with a reddish powder to repel insects. By the early 1700’s, French fur-trappers from Labrador began trading with the Beothuk. Conflict with the Micmac who were also trapping furs for the Europeans, erupted into warfare and many deaths. By 1800, the Beothuk—who probably never numbered more than five hundred—were almost wiped out because of war, disease, and starvation. A few survivors migrated to Labrador, where they were absorbed into the Montagnais.

Biloxi

**Culture area:** Southeast  
**Language group:** Siouan  
**Primary location:** Louisiana, Mississippi

French explorers first encountered a Biloxi village on the Pascagoula River about 1700. The Biloxi at that time were one of only two groups in the area that spoke a language from the Siouan linguistic family; the other was the Ofo. Both probably migrated from the Ohio River valley. The name Biloxi was a corruption of their own word for “first people”; others wrote it as “Moctobi.”

The French observed that the Biloxi village contained thirty to forty cabins and was surrounded by a palisade that was 8 feet in height. Security was enhanced by the presence of three square watchtowers. During the French occupation, there were no more than five hundred Biloxi at any time, and they usually lived between the Pearl River on the west and the Pascagoula on the east, though there was an abortive attempt by the French to settle them closer to New Orleans.

The culture exhibited by the Biloxi fascinated the French. They were organized by clans with animal names, and kinship was traced through the mother. Chiefs were assumed to have religious as well as secular power, and after death their bodies were dried before a fire and stored in a temple with the remains of their predecessors. The Biloxi were adept at making pottery and weaving baskets, and their adornment included feather headdresses, tattoos, nose rings and earrings of bone, and necklaces of bone and bird beaks. One of their more enduring rituals proved to be stickball, which was abolished in the twentieth century because of the gambling associated with it.
After the French lost the area east of the Mississippi River in 1763, the Biloxi moved to Louisiana, together with other Indians from the Gulf Coast. Many Biloxi joined the Tunica and Choctaw Indians there, while some moved to Texas and the Indian Territory and blended with other groups. In 1975, the state of Louisiana officially recognized the Biloxi-Tunica tribe. At that time, there were about two dozen people who claimed Biloxi ancestry.

## Blackfoot and Blackfeet Confederacy

**Tribes Affected:** Siksika (Blackfeet Proper), Kainah (Blood), Northern Piegan, and Southern Piegan  
**Culture Area:** Northern Plains  
**Language Group:** Algonquian  
**Primary Location:** Montana (U.S.), Alberta (Canada)  
**Population Size:** 32,234 in U.S. (1990 U.S. Census); 11,670 in Canada (Statistics Canada, based on 1991 census)

The Blackfeet Confederacy consisted of four Algonquian tribes: the Siksika (Blackfeet Proper), Kainah (Blood), Northern Piegan, and Southern Piegan. Siksika is a Cree word meaning “people with black feet,” which probably referred to moccasins dyed black or that turned black after contact with prairie fire ashes. “Piegan” means “poorly dressed robes” and referred to tribal members who lived in the foothills of the Rocky Mountains. The Blackfeet originally came from somewhere in the east and had a common language and similar religious beliefs; they frequently intermarried. Geography separated the tribes, particularly in the mountains where each branch of the Confederacy lived in a separate valley or along a different river. The Blackfeet came together to fight invaders, to hunt for food, and to celebrate weddings and successful hunts. The tribes moved about frequently in search of their primary source of food and clothing, the buffalo.

**Customs and Culture.** The four major tribes separated into smaller groups, the Northern and Southern Piegans having twenty-three bands, the Blood seven, and the Blackfoot or Siksika six. Each band had a headman, chosen because of bravery in battle. The headman took care of the poor and disabled and sponsored social and religious ceremonies. The headmen met together as a tribal council to decide on questions such as war and trade relations with neighboring tribes. Within each band, warriors were divided by age into military societies, dance groups, and religious clubs.
In traditional Blackfoot religion, the Sun Dance played a prominent role as it did in many Plains tribes. A woman—the “vow woman”—sponsored the event, usually after a great disaster such as a tornado or the loss of many lives in battle. In honor of the survivors she prepared a sacred dish of buffalo tongue and pledged to live a life of purity. A Sun Dance ceremony consisted of three days of preparation and four days of dancing. Male members of the tribe constructed a medicine lodge (okan) of a hundred newly cut willows and dedicated it to the sun, the source of all power and knowledge. They covered the okan with offerings of food and drink. Inside they said prayers and conducted secret purification rites. The “vow woman” fasted while the lodge was built and presented herself to the assembled worshippers on the fourth day, wearing a sacred headdress, and led the people in prayers. If the prayer was not uttered precisely right or if too few presents, such as horses, blankets, and clothes, were given away by the woman and her family, more terrible disasters could strike the tribe. The Blackfoot Sun Dance did not include incidents of self-torture, such as
among the Mandan. It remained the most important event in the yearly cycle of life, however, until ended by missionaries in the 1890’s.

When a Blackfoot died, the body was placed in a tree and a horse was killed to accompany the deceased into the land of the dead. If the death took place in a tipi, the tipi was burned. Surviving relatives and friends mutilated themselves to show their grief—slashing their arms or legs, cutting their hair, or cutting off their fingers.

The Blackfeet lived in tipis made of skins. Women built the tipis; men painted them with sacred signs, including star constellations and animals. The men spent much of the summer hunting buffalo. In the fall and spring they gathered turnips, onions, cherries, plums, and berries. Women made clothing, cooked, sought out wood and water, and made pemmican, a favorite food made of dried meat pounded together with blueberries. Besides buffalo meat, the tribe also consumed deer, elk, and antelope. The buffalo, however, provided far more than food. Tribal members found more than sixty uses for various parts of the animal. The buffalo provided clothing and shelter (from the hides), tools (from the bones), and utensils, bags, and storage containers. Before horses were introduced, warriors hunted buffalo by chasing them on foot and stampeding them over cliffs. The Blackfeet learned how to use horses in the early 1700’s from other tribes. Hunting strategies changed quickly; warriors now drove the buffalo into a box canyon where they shot them from horseback with bows and arrows. Their hunting territory now spread from central Montana to northern Saskatchewan.

**Historical Period.** The first contact with whites came in 1806 when Meriwether Lewis reported meeting people called Piegans. Not until the 1830’s, however, did the tribe become involved in trade with white Americans. At this time John Jacob Astor’s American Fur Company, headquartered in St. Louis, opened a series of trading posts in the northern Great Plains. The company sought buffalo robes and paid for them with guns, blankets, and ammunition. The Blackfeet gained control of a vast area of buffalo range through successful wars with the Flathead, Nez Perce, Crow, Cree, and other Plains tribes. Wealth and weapons acquired in the robe trade enabled the Blackfeet to keep their traditional customs, at least as long as the buffalo herds existed. The coming of the railroads and the increasing number of white farmers moving into the area greatly threatened those herds.

In 1855, the Blackfoot headman (chief) Lame Bull signed a treaty with United States government agents allowing construction of a railroad through tribal lands. American citizens would be able to travel through the territory unharmed. According to the terms of the treaty, the confederacy
would receive $20,000 in useful goods and services immediately and $15,000 each year in the future “to promote civilization and Christianization.” The United States promised the Blackfeet schools, agricultural training, and perpetual peace. The army established an office at Fort Benton in northern Montana Territory to distribute the goods and services. Beginning in 1856 about seven thousand Blackfeet a year received aid, though many crossed the border from Canada to get their annuities. The Indians, having never recognized such a border, ignored army agent complaints about giving aid to “Canadian” citizens.

In the years after the American Civil War (1861-1865), more and more whites moved into the region and demanded added protection from “savage Indians.” Especially troublesome for the Blackfeet were the increasing numbers of cattle ranchers who fenced their lands with barbed wire to keep buffalo out. In 1870, war broke out in Montana after a massacre of 173 Blackfoot men, women, and children by a white volunteer militia. In addition to the dead, 140 women and children were driven from their village into the subzero weather, where they suffered horribly.

In 1874, President Ulysses S. Grant issued an executive order moving the reservation boundary much farther north than had been agreed upon by the Blackfeet. No payment was offered to the Indians. A smallpox epidemic in the new reservation reduced the tribe’s population to three thousand, about one-fifth of what it had been a hundred years earlier. At this point, Chief White Calf ordered a halt to any more resistance; “further war would only result in our extermination,” he explained.

The Blackfeet living in Canada managed much better than their American brothers. In 1877, the Canadian government signed a treaty creating a reserve on which Blackfeet could live, hunt, raise cattle, and receive government rations. Only at this point did the American-Canadian border achieve any significance in tribal history, as people north of the line improved the quality of their lives while those living south of it suffered a continuing population decline. By 1880, only twenty-two hundred Blackfeet lived on the United States reservation surrounded by a white population of over twelve thousand. The buffalo had practically disappeared, in all of North America only a few hundred having survived the hunters. With the annihilation of their main source of subsistence, the Blackfeet became impoverished; more than six hundred suffered horrible deaths in the “starvation winter” of 1883-1884. Rations provided by the army allowed 1.5 pounds of meat, 8 ounces of flour, and smaller amounts of beans, bacon, salt, and coffee for each individual. Another bitter winter hit the reservation in 1886-1887, but the rations still were not increased and hundreds more died.
The Roman Catholic church provided much of the education on the reservation in the early days. An elementary school had opened in 1859, but after thirteen years a new agent, the Methodist minister John Young, closed the school and opened one of his own. Catholics were forced to attend school off the reservation. Jesuit missionaries built a school a few miles away, but refused to allow parents the right to visit students during the school term. Isolating children from parents, it was hoped, would break down old loyalties and habits and encourage young Indians to adopt white ways. The reservation school taught English, Christianity, and “modern” ways. Whichever institution the students attended, any connection with their past customs and traditions was effectively torn away from them.

**Reservation Life.** In 1895, Blackfoot leaders leased thousands of acres of land back to the federal government, with Indians retaining the right to hunt, fish, and cut timber on the property. The leased land supposedly contained large deposits of gold, but prospectors actually found little of value in the territory. Much of this land became Glacier National Park a few years later.

After 1900, economic conditions on the reservation became even worse, largely because of a failed attempt by the Indian Office in Washington, D.C., to “civilize” the Blackfeet by teaching them how to farm. The leasing of land for grazing cattle had at least provided a meager income to the tribe, but now some experts in the Indian office believed that collecting grazing fees just made the Indians “lazy.” Farming, it was decided, was a manlier, healthier, more appropriate way to make a living. Accordingly, the local agent contracted to have a huge irrigation system built. The reservation, however, had little water of its own. It was also windy and subject to extremes of temperature, and crops could not be grown. The irrigation project proved to be a costly waste of time and effort.

The agent in charge of the reservation then encouraged cattle ranching. In 1904, the Blackfeet paid to have their land fenced to keep out non-Indian cattle, but a drought that year, a tough winter the next, and an epidemic disease the next killed thousands of reservation cattle. The Blackfeet stayed poor. Other problems resulted from a rapid turnover in agents; from 1905 to 1921 ten different men filled the post. Some of the agents quit after being charged with corruption, while others were simply weak or incompetent. Weather continued to have a devastating impact on reservation life. The 1920’s saw a long dry spell bringing fires and tremendous heat as well as grasshoppers, cutworms, and other plagues to the area. Grain and cattle prices fell, and many surrounding communities became ghost towns. The Blackfeet, of course, could not leave. Poverty, sickness, and hunger spread. Two out of three Blackfeet were living entirely on government rations.
A new agent in the late 1920’s improved conditions somewhat by encouraging small gardens for each household and the raising of chickens and pigs. He also promoted adult education and literacy programs. Then the Great Depression hit, its impact on the reservations mirroring that on American society at large. The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 promoted self-government and a return to cultural traditions. It also brought some money into the community for small construction projects. These helped many Blackfeet survive the worst ravages of the Depression years, but hunger and poverty persisted for many on the reservation.

The Great Northern Railroad provided some help by hiring Blackfeet to give performances at its lodge in Glacier National Park. The park had opened in 1910 and lay outside the territory the Blackfeet had actually lived in, but tourists enjoyed the Indian dances all the same. The Blackfeet still performed the Sun Dance but by the 1930’s had moved the date of celebration to July 4. Missionaries who formerly had denounced the dance as heathen could hardly object when the dancers insisted that their only motive was to celebrate the birthday of their new homeland. Allowing Indians to practice their traditional religions, as provided for by the 1934 act, came too late to save many Blackfeet customs. Poverty, death, and disease had already taken their toll; meanwhile, white schools had ruined any opportunity for the Blackfeet to maintain their traditional language. Few young Blackfeet could speak the old tongue anymore, and with its passing went most of the traditions of Blackfoot life.

Conditions on the reservation improved somewhat after World War II, and only a few tribal members participated in the disastrous resettlement plan of the 1950’s when the Bureau of Indian Affairs tried to force Indians from their reservations and place them in cities. In the 1960’s, many Blackfeet got jobs through the War on Poverty as Head Start teachers, firefighters, and government welfare agents. Others obtained employment in the sugar-beet and hay fields of northern Montana. A few became teachers, doctors, lawyers, and engineers. Still, the per capita income on the reservation was well below the poverty level, and many Blackfeet in the late twentieth century found themselves trapped in joblessness and hopelessness.

Leslie V. Tischauser

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relations, with a few pages devoted to the Blackfeet. Useful for placing the confederacy into the overall picture of Indian life in North America. Good index and bibliography.


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**Caddo tribal group**

**Culture area:** Plains  
**Language group:** Caddoan  
**Primary location:** Oklahoma  
**Population size:** 2,549 (1990 U.S. Census); 2,500 according to Caddo tribal roll
The Caddo Nation historically included the Hasinai, Kadohadacho, and Natchitoché alliances of peoples. It existed for centuries before the modern era in what is now the northwest portion of Louisiana, east Texas, southwest Arkansas, and southeastern Oklahoma. In this region of river valleys and upland forests, the Caddo hunted and cultivated the rich fauna and flora in a sustainable manner. They hunted deer, peccary, and bear as well as small game animals. Long expeditions were sent out on the Southern Plains to hunt buffalo and antelope in the spring and the fall. In early spring, migrations south to the Gulf Coast were made to feast on turtles, sea bird eggs, and early spring fruit. Vegetables, fruit, and berries were cultivated in riverine areas in great variety, including amaranth, blackberries, and potatoes.

With the introduction of bows and arrows, hunting became more efficient. Agricultural innovations made it possible to sustain larger populations. Especially important was the introduction of corn and pumpkin. The Caddo planted and harvested two varieties of corn, one smaller and early maturing, the other larger and more abundant. Intensive agricultural methods provided a reasonable harvest yet did not deplete the soil, especially when the corn was grown with beans. Corn and pumpkin were preserved through drying and roasting methods. Food surpluses strengthened the place of the Caddo Nation in relation to other peoples. Food was preserved and stored for future use or traded for items that further enriched the Caddo people. Agriculture continued as a principal means of supporting life for the Caddo well into the twentieth century. Agricultural patterns were based on observation. Each person was taught never to be false with the earth, for lack of respect only leads to destruction.

Classic Villages and Ceremonial Complexes. The classic Caddo villages and ceremonial centers dominated the river courses of the ancient landscape in the Arkansas, Red, Sabine, Neches, and Angelina valleys. Towns were surrounded by the fields given over to intensive forms of agricultural production of maize or corn, beans, pumpkins, squash, and other foodstuffs. Inside the circle of houses of extended families was the central plaza, the public meeting buildings, monuments, and community storage houses. Walkways connected the village’s living areas with its community service areas, the fields, and the water courses.

Architectural and artistic evidence of the classical forms of Caddoan culture have been collected from villages and centers throughout the region of their existence. In the eastern and southern portions of the region, styles closely resemble those of the region of the Mississippi River populations, but in the core Caddo areas their own styles dominate, expressing genius in engraving and design. Elements of design unlike those originating else-
where appear in important sites such as Keewut’ (the Davis site near Alto, Texas, in the Neches River valley) and Dit-teh (the Spiro mound complex in the Arkansas River Valley in present-day Oklahoma).

The Davis site is on a high alluvial terrace above an old stream bed about a mile from the present course of the Neches River. The remains of this ceremonial complex extend over approximately 60 acres. The most prominent architectural features are three large mounds constructed of rammed earth, clay, and ash. Two of the mound structures are considered to be temple platforms. The third is defined as a burial mound. The outlines of houses and other material remains are concentrated around and between the mound structures. These include the remains of pottery and stone implements as well as marine shell, copper, high-quality flint, and galena, which were imported into the area.

The Spiro mound complex is dominated by two large monumental structures and a series of seven smaller mounds. The burial mound at the extreme eastern edge of the site is the largest in the ceremonial complex. It measures approximately 91 meters in length, 37 meters in width, and 10 meters in height at its highest point. Architectural features found within the burial mound structure are the primary mound, a clay basin area, a central chamber, and an earthen ramp extending northeast from the main structure. In the central chamber archaeologists found thousands of pearls, elaborate shell engravings, copper images, and carved cedar as well as shaped flint, stone celts, and axes. It is one of the most treasured collections of pre-Columbian art in North America.

Another way to look at the story of the Caddo Nation is through the facts and philosophies that are found within the framework of Caddo dance patterns and songs, notably the traditional Turkey Dance and Drum Dance. Some stories that form parts of the dances and songs relate specific events in the lives of the people, locating them in space and time. Others are historical only in that they communicate a sense of the meaning of history rather than present a record of events. Still others record natural events that have affected the lives of the people. The sequence of songs and dances is destroyed if the stories that speak to the meaning of the people’s existence are ignored and only events themselves are expressed.

**The Turkey Dance: Historical Insight.** The Turkey Dance is always done in the afternoon. It relates the stream of events in relationship to the land through time that defines the Caddo peoples within the centering device of song and dance. The women dance the principal sequences expressing the active logic of the Caddo people.

For the dance, the drum is placed in the center of the dance ground. Male singers sit around the drum. They begin by calling the dancers through
several songs. The first of these songs translates as “Come, you turkeys.” As the women dancers begin to arrive in the dance plaza, they start to dance in a circle, dancing on the balls of their feet in a clockwise direction, in harmony with the earth.

The singers continue, describing the movement of the dancers. The next songs repeat the message of the first, but in the dialects of the various tribes within the Caddo Nation, including the Haish or Eyeish, Neche, Hainai, Yona, Ceni, and Keechi (Kichai). The Keechi are now affiliated with the Wichita Nation but are still remembered as part of the Caddo Nation. Only the Hasinai, Hainai, and Haish dialects are still spoken with any frequency, although each of the dialects is used in the song sequence.

By the end of the first sequence of songs, the dance ground is filled with the color and movement of the women in their traditional dresses. The Turkey Dancers wear clothing of every color—purples, reds, yellows, greens, and blues. The dresses are usually of one piece, with unmarried women having their clothing buttoned in the back and married ones having theirs buttoned in the front. Over the dresses are long aprons that are tied at the waist. The most distinctive feature of their clothing is the *dush-tooh*, a butterfly-shaped board tied to a silver crown worn in the hair. This is decorated with ribbon pendants and streamers with attached shell or small round mirrors.

The next cycle of songs is the longest. The women in single file follow the lead dancer, imitating the turkey’s gait. They dart each foot forward in turn, then quickly draw it back before planting it on the ground. The feet then alternate in rapid succession. During this phase, the songs relate events and insights from the Caddo collective past. These are records of significant occurrences and understandings in the history of the people. These range from single military engagements to major natural phenomena. Songs carry the story of events that occurred both before and after the forced removal into Indian Territory that climaxed in 1859.

An example of the pre-removal record is that of an eyewitness account of the creation of Caddo Lake. The lake exists on the present Louisiana-Texas border northwest of Shreveport. Two brothers watched as the Caddo people danced through the night in the traditional sequence of dances that includes the Drum Dance, the Bear Dance, the Corn Dance, the Duck Dance, the Alligator Dance, the Women’s Dance, the Stirrup Dance, the Quapaw Dance, the Vine Dance (sometimes known as the Cherokee Dance), the Bell Dance, and the Morning Dance. Several village populations were present at the dance. As it proceeded, the water near the dance ground began to rise. The brothers watched as the people continued to dance while the water rose around them. The older of the two brothers called out: “Let’s go to higher
The people went on dancing despite his efforts. It was then that the brothers noticed movement to the east of the dance ground. They perceived something like a great serpent writhing across the stream bed. This undulating form was holding back the water. The dancers continued to dance, even as they disappeared beneath the surface of the water.

Finally, the younger brother went for help, but he did not return until after dawn. The lake was formed where the people had danced through the night. As the people surveyed the scene they found no serpent, but a natural ridge of land retaining the water, as it does to this day. Some say the people still dance beneath the surface of the water. Others say that the older brother was frozen in fright as he continued to watch the scene. His form is said to be found in stone on the high ground above the lake.

At times during the dance sequence, the women can go to the center of the dance plaza to give the singers some tobacco and tell a story involving an event or insight that further carried the Caddo sense of heritage. These stories are sometimes incorporated into the collected public history of the Caddo Nation in the form of a new song. (At other times, the woman may give tobacco to the singer and simply say, “I have no story.”) In this way new materials are added to the history as the Caddo moved from their place of origin in southeastern North America up the valleys of the Red River, the Sabine River, and the Neches and Angelina rivers, out onto the southern Great Plains. The dance cycle continues until the end of the historical song sequences.

After an extended pause, the third sequence of songs begins. During this phase of the Turkey Dance, the singers relate a basic philosophical outlook. The dancers move to and from the center of the dance ground examining the singers at the center. As they continue, the dancers examine the center from a variety of perspectives around the dance plaza. The underlying thought is that the Caddo should examine every concern from a variety of perspectives, up close and far away, until they can bring about a decision that is appropriate for the community.

A final segment of the dance begins with a song that tells the women to select a male partner. They dance in a counter-clockwise fashion around the dance ground. Sometimes the women must choose the man and catch him for the dance. If he still refuses, he must offer her an article of clothing, which he must redeem at the end of the dance.

At the foundation of the Turkey Dance is the feeling that the Caddo people can find the center for the community in this analog. Throughout the centuries, all Caddo people have repeated these patterns in dance and song so that they know who they are. Without the Turkey Dance and the other
dance sequences, the individuals are lost. The historiography of the dance and its songs provides a civilized frame of reference for lifeway concerns—for public and private decision making.

**The Drum Dance: Governance and Development.** The initial dance of the night-time dance sequence is the Drum Dance. It tells of the origins of the Caddo people as they emerged from the world of darkness into the world of light. It patterns the nature and structure of governance among the Caddo as well as the spiritual and economic underpinnings of traditional society. The patterns of the dance represent the self-organizing thought patterns that are critical to thought and feeling. The dance refers directly to the emergence of the sun in the universe, the place of emergence of the Caddo people, the ecology of sustainable development, and the village system of life. It also refers to cultural heroes such as Medicine Screech Owl, who introduced the bow and arrow and provided a code of behavior for the Caddo. It also refers to the importance of dreams and visions to appropriate behavior as well as to the symbolic loss and reintroduction of the drum in Caddo lifeways.

**Tribal and International Relationships.** The Caddo Nation maintained generally harmonious relations with the tribes in the region of the Mississippi Valley and the Southern Plains. They have had close associations with the Wichita Nation for centuries. They also worked with other tribes as they appeared on the Southern Plains, such as the Comanche, Kiowa, and Apache. The Caddo had more strained relations with the Chickasaw and the Osage as they were forced to hunt farther and farther west in the modern era.

Of the European nations, the Caddo Nation was recognized by both the Spanish and the French as the dominant force in the region between the Mississippi River and the Rio Grande. The Spanish named the province of Texas using a corruption of a Hasinai word for “friends,” *ta’-sha*. While the Spanish attempted to introduce European feudal practices among the Caddo people, the French traded on a commercial scale which brought about more favorable relations. U.S. relations with the Caddo Nation primarily involved forceful removal from Louisiana to Texas and then to Indian Territory or Oklahoma, where the Caddo tribe is one of several federally recognized tribes in the area of Anadarko, Oklahoma.

In 1938, a measure of home rule was afforded the Caddo under the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act of 1936 when it was accepted by the Caddo voters. A Caddo constitution was drawn up and accepted in 1938 along with an economic charter that provided for economic development. The Caddo constitution has been revised several times since the New Deal era to provide more effective governance. The constitution remains true to the
federated style of government that has been Caddo tradition for centuries. The tribal council is chosen according to the district in which the member lives. The parliamentary style of governance is headed by the tribal chairperson, who is a member and chief officer of the council. The tribe supports a number of social and economic programs for the benefit of the Caddo people. It also enables cultural retention through the preservation of the Caddo languages, customs, music, dances, crafts, and values. In this way the Caddo maintain a bicultural perception of the world around them.

Howard Meredith

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**Cahuilla**

**Culture area:** California

**Language group:** Uto-Aztecan

**Primary location:** Southern California

**Population size:** 1,418 (1990 U.S. Census)

Cahuilla Indians lived at the southern tip of California. Men used the bow and arrow to hunt deer, rabbits, and mountain sheep; women roasted and dried surplus meat for winter use and gathered acorns, piñon nuts, seeds, beans, fruit, and berries. Many of the goods so gathered were ground into flour and stored in pots and baskets.

Cahuilla villages were situated near water, which became scarce in summer. The homes were constructed of brush gathered together and
formed into dome-shaped structures; there were also some larger dwellings, rectangular in shape, that could be as long as twenty feet. Men wore deerskin loincloths; women wore skirts made from mesquite bark or deer-skin. Rabbitskin blankets provided winter warmth.

Cleanliness was very important to Cahuilla. They regularly bathed and sweated in village sweathouses. It was a great disgrace for any foreign particles to be discovered on household utensils and baskets. They believed in supernatural spirits and a universal power which explained unusual or miraculous events. Elderly tribe members were greatly respected; they taught values and skills to the young and were regarded as repositories of knowledge.

In 1774, Spanish explorer Juan Bautista de Anza made the first documented contact with Cahuilla Indians. Because Cahuilla and other local tribes were hostile to Europeans, white settlers avoided the area for many years. Cahuilla Indians finally did become involved with Europeans through the Spanish missions. They adopted certain aspects of Spanish culture, including trade, Roman Catholicism, animal husbandry, and wage labor.

In 1863, a smallpox epidemic struck the Cahuilla, cutting their population in half. This left the tribe defenseless against the increasing number of Americans who began to settle in their region. After 1891, the U.S. government began overseeing Cahuillan life and activities. Schools and Protestant missions were opened, and several traditional practices—particularly Cahuilla religious activities—were discouraged.

During the 1960’s, federal resources provided significant improvements in health, education, and general welfare. In the second half of the twentieth century, the Cahuillas raised cattle and worked in civil service, construction, social work, and blue collar jobs. Despite such modernization, a number of traditional foods were still favored and Cahuilla songs and dances were performed on holidays.

Early twentieth century Cahuilla woman, carrying nuts or berries in a decorated basket. (Library of Congress)
The Calusa were a nomadic people who inhabited the south Florida peninsula from the Tampa Bay area to Lake Okeechobee, including the Florida Keys. They may have been related to the Muskogee family in North America. Stories of their cannibalism, human sacrifice, and piracy suggest a connection to the South American or Caribbean Indians.

Historians believe the Calusa numbered about three thousand at the time of their first contact with whites (around 1513), when the Spanish explorer Ponce de León attempted to enter Calusa land. The Calusa lived up to their name, which means “fierce people,” and forced Ponce de León to retreat after a prolonged battle. Spanish missionaries made several forays into the area but abandoned the attempt to convert the Calusa around 1569.

The Calusas’ success in repelling the European invaders also depended upon their reliance on hunting and fishing instead of agriculture. The tribe roamed freely throughout south Florida, harvesting the bounty of the sea and native plants that grew year round, rather than building more permanent villages and planting crops; sites of Calusa settlements along the Florida coast are marked by huge shell mounds. This nomadic life made them less vulnerable to the Spanish, who often subjugated the Indians by burning their storehouses, leaving the tribes without food for the winter.

Like most Southeastern Woodlands tribes, the Calusa probably followed a matrilineal clan structure: Familial relationships depended on the mother’s connections. Calusa women prepared and preserved food, though they did not have to plant and cultivate like women of other tribes. The men, through their intimate knowledge of the sea, became excellent swimmers and divers, made strong, seaworthy canoes, and plundered sunken Spanish ships for gold and silver to make jewelry (as well as making captives of stranded crew members).

In spite of their independence, the Calusa population seems to have dwindled rapidly, probably from diseases introduced by the European invaders; by the time the Seminoles entered the area in the late 1700’s, few members of the tribe remained. These few were probably assimilated into the Seminoles; some may have moved to Cuba.
Cape Fear

**Culture area:** Southeast  
**Language group:** Siouan  
**Primary location:** Cape Fear River, North Carolina

The proper name of this tribe is unknown; they were designated “Cape Fear” by European Americans. The matrilineal Cape Fear group gained their subsistence primarily from different types of maize, squash, beans, and other plants tended by women, who also gathered numerous types of nuts, seeds, and roots. Hunting, trapping, and fishing supplemented their diet.

English settlers from New England may have been the first to contact the Cape Fear people in 1661, but they were driven away after the settlers kidnapped several Indian children, under the pretense of civilizing them. A small colony of settlers from Barbados arrived in 1663 but soon left. Numerous settlements were attempted by European Americans. In 1695 the Cape Fear asked Governor Archdale for protection, which was granted after the Cape Fear Indians rescued fifty-two passengers from a wrecked New England ship. After the 1716 Yamasee War they were moved inland from Charleston, South Carolina. Records indicate that by 1808 only twenty Cape Fear people remained.

Carib

**Culture area:** Mesoamerica  
**Language group:** Cariban  
**Primary location:** Lesser Antilles

The Caribs, the third Indian group to migrate from the north coast of South America through the Lesser Antilles, began their move northward in the fifth century; by the end of the fourteenth century they had expelled or incorporated the Arawaks in the Lesser Antilles.

The Caribs, who were farmers and fishermen, located their villages high on the windward slopes of mountains near running water. Land was communally owned, but canoes and ornaments were personal property. Tobacco was used as money. The Caribs erected small, wood-framed, oval or rectangular houses with thatched roofs around a plaza with a communal fireplace.
The plaza served as the center of ceremonies and social life. Furnishings were few: small wooden tables, metates (grinding stones), griddles, stools, hammocks, gourds, and pottery. Their diet consisted of fish, lizards, crabs, agouti, corn, sweet potatoes, yams, beans, and peppers. Turtles and manatees were forbidden foods because of the fear that eating them would make a person slow. Men and women shared the tasks of making canoes, beer, baskets, and textiles. Both sexes shaped their skulls, wore amulets and charms, and decorated their bodies with flowers, coral or stone, gold dust, and red, white, and black paint. Persons of rank wore crescents of gold or copper.

The Caribs were closely related culturally to the Arawaks but were less organized socially. Their villages were small, usually populated by an extended family. The leader, often head of the family, supervised the activities of the village and settled village disputes. He also served as military chief and led raiding parties.

War was the main activity of the Caribs, who were fierce fighters. Their weapons included bows, poisoned arrows, javelins, and clubs embedded with sharpened flint. The Caribs were excellent sailors and could construct a war canoe from the trunk of a single tree that could carry more than a hundred men. They also lashed canoes together to form rafts for longer voyages. The Caribs raided Arawak settlements, reaching Puerto Rico by the 1490’s. Captured Arawak men were killed and sometimes cooked and eaten. Captured women and children were taken away as slaves; the women were settled in breeding colonies which the Carib warriors visited periodically.

Carib religion had no elaborate rituals. Each individual Carib had a personal deity that could take many forms and to which the Carib sometimes offered cassava (a plant with a nutritious edible root). Good and evil spirits fought constantly, both within the body and everywhere in nature. Shamans attempted to ward off the evil spirits and to please the good ones.

The Spaniards did not settle the Lesser Antilles, but the Caribs’ skill as fighters and their reputation as cannibals did not prevent other European nations from displacing them later. The Caribs were limited to the islands of St. Vincent and Dominica. On St. Vincent they mixed with shipwrecked slaves and became known as the “Black Caribs,” who in 1795 were transferred by the English to Roatan Island off Honduras. They spread onto the mainland and northward into Guatemala. A small Carib population lives on a reservation on Dominica.
Carrier

**CULTURE AREA:** Subarctic  
**LANGUAGE GROUP:** Northern Athapaskan  
**PRIMARY LOCATION:** British Columbia, Canada  
**POPULATION SIZE:** 6,910 (Statistics Canada, based on 1991 census)

The Carrier, members of the Northern Athapaskan language group, got their name because widows of the tribe carried the bones of their deceased husbands in a small bag on their backs during a one-year mourning period. The original location of the Carrier remains unknown, though they moved into the area of north-central British Columbia between the Rocky Mountains and the Coastal range several hundred years before first contact with whites. The Carrier lived in small subtribal groups in isolated villages. Ideas of individual ownership did not exist, and land belonged to the people using it. The Carrier fished for salmon; hunted caribou, mountain goats, and sheep; gathered berries and turnips; and—in the hard times of winter—survived by eating the bark of hemlock trees.

Carrier religion centered on a belief in a vast spirit world. Spirits could be talked to during dreams. A young man found a guardian spirit of his own after a two-week-long period of fasting, praying, and dreaming in the wilderness. This spirit was said to remain with a person for his entire life, offering protection and guidance. Potlatches were held every year by clan chiefs and wealthy tribe members, who gave away huge amounts of food and property to demonstrate their power and generosity. Individuals gained status by giving away goods rather than accumulating them as in European value systems.

Europeans first contacted the Carrier in 1793 along the Fraser River. The Carrier wanted guns and horses and gave furs to the whites in exchange. Until the 1850’s, the Hudson’s Bay Company provided the only contact with white civilization. Still, the trappers brought measles and smallpox with them which severely reduced the Indian population. A gold rush in 1858 brought thousands of prospectors, and then farmers and ranchers. The Carrier population continued to decline. The Canadian government established a reservation in 1876. Sawmills opened, and the lumber industry provided most of the employment for the Indians—though the greatest cash income for the tribe came from old-age assistance programs and welfare.
Catawba

**Culture area:** Southeast  
**Language group:** Siouan  
**Primary location:** South Carolina  
**Population size:** 1,078 (1990 U.S. Census)

The Catawba (or Katapu) tribe is the largest of the eastern Siouan tribes, the only one to have survived into the twentieth century under its original name. Like most Southern Woodlands tribes, the Catawba grew corn, beans, and squash, and were known for their skill in pottery making and basket weaving. The Catawba inhabited the area that would become the North/South Carolina border. The Catawba were sometimes known as Isswa, “the river people.” The Catawba River and Catawba grape are both named for this group. First contact with whites probably occurred in the 1560’s, when Spanish explorers occupied the region. The Catawba were generally friendly to the English, becoming their allies during skirmishes with the Tuscarora tribe in the early 1700’s and later joining them against the French and northern Indians.

The Catawba, whose name means “strong” or “separated people,” had a history of enmity with other tribes. A long-standing state of war existed between them and several other tribes, among them the Cherokee, the Iroquois, and the Shawnee. Battles were often prompted by white settlers’ encroachment into Indian territory, forcing one tribe to move into another’s domain. The Catawba took several smaller tribes (the Congeree, Sugaree, Wateree, Sewee, Santee, and others) under their protection and probably later assimilated the remnants of these groups. Between 1738 and 1776, the Catawba were ravaged by smallpox; the tribe never recovered their previous numbers or importance. In 1840, they were tricked into signing over their land in South Carolina in exchange for land in North Carolina. The North Carolinians refused to honor the treaty, however, and the Catawba were forced to retreat, homeless. They were eventually granted a reservation in York County, South Carolina, where some members of the tribe still remain. Others moved west, to Oklahoma, Arkansas, and Utah; many joined the Choctaw. In 1970, only seventy Catawba Indians lived on the South Carolina reservation (some records indicate that only mixed-blood descendants of the tribe existed); by the mid-1980’s, they numbered more than a thousand and were engaged in a legal battle to regain some 140,000 acres of their homeland.
One of the original five tribes of the Iroquois Confederacy, the Cayugas occupied a homeland between the Senecas to their west and the Onondagas to their east in what is now west-central New York State. The Cayuga language is very closely related to those of the other Iroquois tribes and to other Iroquoian languages. The name Cayuga is thought to mean “where the boats were taken out,” “where the locusts were taken out,” or “mucky land.” The Iroquois Confederacy Council name for the Cayugas refers to them as “those of the great pipe.” Like their fellow Iroquois, the Cayugas were divided into matrilineal clans, with a spokesman for each clan in the political system appointed by the matron of each clan. The Cayugas were matriloc-al—a marrying couple would live with the wife’s family. Consequently, married men were guests in their wives’ extended family households.

Men in Cayuga society traditionally spent much of their time away from the village hunting, fishing, trading, and engaging in warfare. Women were the primary breadwinners, raising the staple crops of corn, beans, and squash as well as tobacco and other agricultural products. Cayuga villages were composed of twenty to fifty longhouses, extended-family dwellings made of poles and bark coverings. Each longhouse housed between fifteen and thirty people. The Cayuga population was estimated at 1,500 in 1660, after the first epidemics of European diseases had taken their toll. For most of the eighteenth century, the Cayugas occupied only one village, and their population fell partly because of disease but also from extensive warfare. The Iroquois Confederacy was engaged in a series of wars with both other tribes and European powers, most notably the French. They initiated the “Beaver Wars” of the mid-1600’s and were periodically involved in military expeditions until the American Revolution.

In the war of American independence, the Cayugas and most other Iroquois sided with the British, and they lost most of their homelands in what is now New York State. Most Cayugas moved to the Grand River in what is now Ontario, Canada, and settled on a large reserve set aside for the Six Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy. Many still reside there. A few remained in New York, and some moved to Sandusky, Ohio, in the early
nineteenth century with some Senecas, eventually moving to Oklahoma. A few remain in Oklahoma. Some traveled with a group of New York Oneidas to Wisconsin in the 1830’s, their descendants remaining there. The Cayugas still living in New York and Ontario retain much of their traditional culture: Their language is still spoken, and traditional ceremonies such as the Green Corn Ceremony and the Midwinter Festival are still held. Cayugas all live with other Iroquois people and must strive to maintain their distinctiveness in the face of larger numbers of Onondagas and Senecas.

Cayuga contact with the French, Dutch, and English in the colonial era was not as great as it was for the Onondagas and Mohawks. The Cayugas often were overshadowed by the larger Onondaga and Seneca tribes. Nevertheless, the Cayugas did deal with the French and succeeding English and American missionaries, who at times attempted to change their culture as well as their religious beliefs. Handsome Lake, a Seneca prophet who revitalized traditional Iroquois spiritual beliefs and blended them with Quaker Christian ideas in the early nineteenth century, had an impact on many Cayuga people; some still adhere to this Longhouse religion. Others are nominally Christian, a legacy of the various missionary attempts to proselytize the Iroquois.

Cayuse

**Culture area:** Plateau  
**Language group:** Penutian, Sahaptian  
**Primary location:** Oregon and Washington  
**Population size:** 126 (1990 U.S. Census)

The Cayuse tribe is generally considered a Plateau tribe, but some scholars consider the Cayuse a Great Basin group. The Cayuse were called “Cailloux,” meaning “People of the Stones,” by early French-Canadian fur traders. They were closely related to the Walla Wallas of southeastern Washington and to the Nez Perce, with whom they intermarried and whose more flexible language they eventually adopted. They lived primarily near the headwaters of the Walla Walla, Umatilla, and Grande Ronde rivers. The Cayuse acquired horses relatively early and became known as expert riders (the term “cayuse” was eventually adopted by whites to refer to Indian ponies generally).

Little is known of the pre-contact history of the Cayuse. Some of the earliest information about the tribe was recorded in the journals of the
Lewis and Clark expedition and in historical documents describing the activities of missionary Marcus Whitman in the Walla Walla, Washington, region.

Cayuse mother and child, photographed in 1910 by Edward S. Curtis, who recorded the traditional culture of North American Indians in thousands of photographs. (Library of Congress)
By 1844, the number of European Americans arriving in Cayuse territory had escalated to the point that a dramatic increase in confrontations was occurring between the two groups. In the mid-nineteenth century, the Cayuse became regarded by whites as one of the more fierce and warlike tribes. Two sources of tension were the activities of missionaries and, later, the fact that whites repeatedly sought to move the Cayuse from their land. Among the missionaries in the area were Whitman, Samuel Parker, and Roman Catholic priests François Norbert Blanchet and Modeste Demers. In 1841, the two priests baptized several Cayuse chiefs and the baby of Chief Tauitau. In 1847, a group of Cayuse killed missionary Whitman along with thirteen others, beginning what is known as the Cayuse War (1847-1850). The Cayuse were angry and worried that he and other missionaries, in attempting to win converts, were beginning to destroy traditional Cayuse beliefs and lifeways. In return, a vigilante army launched a devastating attack on the Cayuse.

In 1856, about a year after the Walla Walla Treaty, a general war broke out among the Plateau tribes, who essentially wanted their lands back. The Cayuse were unable to keep their lands in the Walla Walla Valley, however, and they had to move to the Umatilla Reservation. In 1886, because whites wanted land that was part of the Umatilla Reservation, the reservation was reduced to about one-fourth of its original size.

The modern Cayuse population is small. Through the years, tribal members have intermarried with other groups, and their descendants tend to be scattered among the Colville, Nez Perce, Coeur d’Alene, and Umatilla reservations.

**Chasta Costa**

**Culture area:** Northwest Coast  
**Language group:** Athapaskan  
**Primary location:** Rogue River and Chasta Costa Creek drainages, Oregon

Living in a mountainous area throughout their history, the socially stratified Chasta Costa were dependent upon trading with the Upper Coquille, the Galice to their southeast, and the coastal Tututni. These patrilineal groups were headed by polygamous chiefs whose position was maintained through consensus of opinion, oratorical skills, and leadership. The groups had complex ceremonies and engaged in warfare, primarily for status and for
acquiring slaves. Subsistence was diversified through fishing, hunting land 
and sea mammals, and gathering of roots, tubers, berries, nuts, and acorns. 
Annual controlled burning improved resource areas; deer-hunting areas 
were burned over every five years. Permanent winter dwellings were of 
split cedar planks; the size of the structure was determined by one’s status.

In April of 1792, Robert Gray began trade with people of this area, but 
little ethnographic information was recorded. These tribes were devastated 
by gold seekers, who introduced disease. The Rogue River War (1855-1856) 
was also destructive, as Chasta Costa were moved from their traditional 
territories. By 1871 the Ghost Dance was introduced, followed by the Warm 
House Dance in 1873.

Chehalis

**Culture area:** Northwest Coast  
**Language group:** Coast Salish  
**Primary location:** Harrison River below mouth of Chehalis to Harri- 
son Lake, Washington  
**Population size:** 484 (1990 U.S. Census)

The marine-oriented Lower Chehalis lived, during the winter, in perma-
nent gable-roofed dwellings of split cedar, each housing eight to twelve 
families. The inland Upper Chehalis were located on major streams and 
used similar structures. Marriage was outside the kin group and the village 
was the main socioeconomic and political group. Fish was the principal 
food, as reflected in fishing technology, ceremony, and various behavioral 
prohibitions and divisions of labor. Smelt, herring, lamprey, and shellfish 
were taken. Women collected roots, berries, and fruit.

Several other expeditions had made contact with the Chehalis before 
Meriwether Lewis and William Clark visited them in 1805. By 1811, Astoria 
was established, and fur traders began to exploit the area. The estab-
lishment of Fort Vancouver in 1825 by the Hudson’s Bay Company encour-
aged further white settlement and use of the Cowlitz Trail, which traversed 
Lower Chehalis territory. The Chehalis Reservation was established in 1864, 
and in 1866 a smaller reservation was also established. Until Prohibition, 
most employment was in picking hops. By the late twentieth century, the 
Chehalis were earning their income in urban employment, logging, and 
fishing.
Chemakum

**Culture area:** Northwest Coast  
**Language group:** Chemakum  
**Primary location:** Hadlock Bay and Port Townsend, south to Port Gamble, Washington

Little is known of the lifeways of the Chemakum before contact with European Americans. They were a marine-oriented society and lived in a stockaded village on Chimacum Creek. The area was sometimes subject to drought, placing an emphasis upon fish and sea mammals for food and various by-products. The Chemakum had linguistic and cultural connections with the Quileute.

European American disease and intertribal warfare reduced the Chemakum population. They were reported to be an aggressive people, having conflict with the Clallam, Duwamish, Makah, Snohomish, and Twana. By 1850, it was apparent that their decline was partially attributable to assimilation by other ethnic groups. In 1855, part of the Point No Point Treaty placed them on the Skokomish Reservation. By 1860, there were only seventy-three surviving Chemakum; that same year they dispersed north and relocated in eighteen lodges at Point Hudson, where they intermarried with the Clallam and Twana-Skokomish. Some Chemakuan people took up residence on the Skokomish Reservation.

Cheraw

**Culture area:** Southeast  
**Language group:** Siouan  
**Primary location:** Head of Saluda River, South Carolina

The matrilineal, horticultural Cheraw were socioeconomically stratified and had centralized authority. They lived in palisaded permanent riverside villages, with fields of maize, squash, beans, and other cultivated food plants. Men hunted and trapped large and small animals throughout the year to supplement stored foods. Principles of usufruct applied to acorn forests, deer-hunting areas, and berrying patches.

Hernando de Soto first mentioned the Cheraw in 1540, calling them Xuala. European American disease came in the late sixteenth century, reduc-
ing the Cheraw population. By 1700 they moved from their aboriginal territory to Dan River, and in 1710, after continual conflict with the Iroquois, they moved southeast and joined the Keyauwee. This close association of the tribes alarmed colonists of North Carolina, who declared war on the Cheraw. The Iroquois also maintained their attacks on the Cheraw, who between 1726 and 1739 became affiliated with the Catawba for protection. By 1768 only a few Cheraw remained.

**Cherokee**

- **Culture area:** Southeast
- **Language group:** Iroquoian
- **Primary location:** North Carolina, Oklahoma
- **Population size:** 308,132 (1990 U.S. Census)

The largest and most powerful of the Eastern Woodland tribes in what is now the southeastern part of the United States was the Cherokee. Their population in the sixteenth century is estimated to have been about twenty-five thousand. Between their first major contact with Europeans in 1540 and their forced removal to the west in 1838-1839, the Cherokee adopted many aspects of European civilization. The Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Seminole, all southeastern tribes, became known as the Five Civilized Tribes.

**Background and Tradition.** The Cherokee language belongs to the Iroquoian language group, found primarily in the Northeast. Apparently a major war, perhaps against the Delaware (Lenni Lenape) along the East Coast, separated the Cherokee from the other Iroquoian tribes and led to their migration to the southern Appalachian highlands. Traditions of both the Delaware and the Cherokee support this theory.

The early Cherokee called themselves Ani-Yun-Wiya, which means “principal people.” Neighboring tribes of the Muskogean language group called them Chiliki, or “people of a different speech.” The chroniclers of Hernando de Soto in 1540 called the area Chalique. “Cherokee” is an Anglicized form of these last two names.

The Cherokee lived in approximately eighty towns, scattered over a large area of the southern Appalachians. There were three basic groups of towns, each speaking a distinct dialect. The lower towns were along the Tugaloo River in northeastern Georgia and the Keowee river in northwest South Carolina. The middle-valley towns were in western North Carolina,
along the Nottely River, the upper Hiwassee River, and the Valley River. Across the mountains in eastern Tennessee was the third group, the upper or Overhill towns, which were located around the Little Tennessee River, the Tellico River, the lower Hiwassee River, and the headwaters of the Tennessee River. Although the Cumberland Plateau formed the western boundary of all Cherokee towns, their hunting grounds spread far beyond the plateau into middle Tennessee. The dialect of the middle-valley towns has been preserved by the Qualla Cherokee in North Carolina; the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma has retained the Overhill dialect. The lower town dialect has disappeared.

Although the Cherokee had a loosely organized tribal government, most affairs were conducted at the town level. Both levels had a dual organization, one for peace and one for war. At the town level, the peace chief was an elder who also served as the chief priest. The war chief was a younger and highly successful warrior; he wielded great power in town affairs. Each town had a council, which met in a seven-sided town house, composed of seven clans: Deer, Wolf, Long Hair, Red Paint, Blue, Bird, and Wild Potatoes.

The customs of the Cherokee were similar to those of the other Eastern Woodland tribes. They lived in mud and thatch houses that were easy to build yet designed to be permanent. Marriage and family traditions were matrarchal and matrilineal. Women often rose to influential positions in town and tribal affairs, acquiring such titles as Ghighau (beloved or greatly honored woman). These women had an active role in town councils and could decide the fate of prisoners.

The major occupations of Cherokee men were hunting and warfare. Some historians classify them as the warlords of the southern Appalachians. Although most wars occurred on the town level, there were basic tribal rivalries, especially with the Creek, who lived south of the Cherokee, which led to major tribal wars. Honorary titles, such as Mankiller, Bloody Fellow, and The Raven were given to outstanding warriors.

Cherokee religion was polytheistic, but major emphasis was placed on Yowa, the creator god. Seven religious festivals, with elaborate ceremonies and artistic dancing, were held each year. One of the most beautiful of all Native American dances is the Cherokee Eagle Dance. Many elements of Cherokee religion, including Yowa, made it comparatively easy for many Cherokees later to convert to Christianity. In spite of this conversion, much religious tradition has been retained by modern-day Cherokees.

On the eve of their first contacts with Europeans, the Cherokee seemed to be at peace with their environment, contented with their lifestyles, and prosperous in their economic development. Beginning in 1540, these conditions began to change—first slowly, then very rapidly.
European Contact, 1540-1775. Although there are legends of white-skinned people visiting the southern Appalachians as far back as the twelfth century, the first documented contact was with the Spanish explorer and conqueror Hernando de Soto. De Soto landed at Tampa Bay in 1539, fought his way up the East Coast with an army of six hundred men, and entered Cherokee country in May, 1540. Along the way, several hundred other Native Americans had been enslaved as burden-bearers for de Soto’s army. The goal of de Soto’s expedition was gold, such as had already been discovered by other Spaniards in Central and South America. As he drew near to the Cherokee and heard accounts of their power, de Soto thought he had found what he was seeking.

The Cherokee were initially awestruck by the sight of de Soto’s armoured warriors, thinking that the Spaniards had been sent by the gods to punish them for their sins. Later, realizing the true nature of the Spaniards, the Cherokee goal was to get their uninvited guests through and out of their territory as quickly as possible. This they accomplished by being hospitable but pressuring de Soto to move on, which he did when he found no gold. De Soto moved west into Chickasaw territory, where, in 1542, he was buried in the Mississippi River. Twenty-five years after de Soto, another Spaniard, Juan Pardo, visited the Cherokee, also looking for gold (and also finding none). Following the exit of Pardo in 1567, the Cherokee enjoyed more than a century with no significant European contact.

That serenity ended in 1673, when Abraham Wood, a trader in the English colony of Virginia, sent two men to establish a commercial relationship with the Overhill Cherokee in eastern Tennessee. With the taste of the Spanish still lingering in their tribal memory, the Cherokee killed one of the men and made a temporary prisoner of the other. In spite of this rough beginning, commercial ties were soon established that endured until the American Revolution.

In 1730, six Cherokee warriors were taken on a visit to Great Britain, where they signed the Articles of Friendship and Commerce. This treaty, after being approved by the chiefs at home, meant that the Cherokee would trade only with—and fight only for—the British. For the next fifty years, the Cherokee tried to keep their word, even when the British were negligent in regard to theirs. This period included the French and Indian War (1754-1763), in which the Cherokee fought with the British against the French and their Indian allies. In the midst of that conflict, however, mistreatment by the British led to the brief Cherokee War (1759-1761) against the British. Following the end of the French and Indian War in 1763, peaceful cooperation between the Cherokee and the British was restored.
One of the warriors who visited Great Britain in 1730 was Attakullakulla, later called the Little Carpenter by the British because of his ability to build mutually beneficial relationships between his own people and the European settlers. Until his death in 1778, at about ninety-two years of age, Little Carpenter performed this task well.

The Cherokee were perplexed by the outbreak of the American Revolution in 1775, not understanding why British settlers were fighting Great Britain. When they did understand, true to the Articles of Friendship and Commerce, they gave support to the British. The desire of Little Carpenter and most other leaders was that the Cherokee would not become militarily involved. The British also, believing that the revolution would soon collapse, believed that it would be in the best interests of the Cherokee to remain neutral. One group of Cherokee warriors, however, had no desire for neutrality.

The Chickamauga, 1775-1794. On March 19, 1775, exactly one month before the first shots of the revolution were fired, the Treaty of Sycamore Shoals was signed in present-day Elizabethton, Tennessee. This treaty was between the Cherokee and their white neighbors, and it involved the sale of about twenty million acres of Cherokee hunting grounds to white leaders. The land, about half of the area originally claimed by the Cherokee, included much of Kentucky and middle Tennessee. Little Carpenter led the majority of the Cherokee in approving the sale. Dragging Canoe, the outspoken son of Little Carpenter, led the minority who opposed it. When he realized that his views were not going to prevail, Dragging Canoe left Sycamore Shoals, with a bitter warning of the violence to be expected when whites tried to settle the land being purchased.

In June, 1776, a delegation of northern tribes, led by a Shawnee chief named Cornstalk, visited the Cherokee capital of Chota, on the Little Tennessee River. Taking advantage of the American Revolution, Cornstalk was forming a coalition to drive the white settlers back across the Appalachian Mountains. Little Carpenter and other peaceful chiefs listened to Cornstalk’s appeal, then watched in sad silence while Dragging Canoe accepted the war belt offered by the Shawnee chief.

Within a month of the meeting at Chota, Dragging Canoe was leading raids against the white settlements in east Tennessee. The settlements, however, were usually warned by friendly Cherokees such as Nancy Ward, a Ghighau (beloved woman). After being wounded in a raid that became an ambush, Dragging Canoe and his followers withdrew from Cherokee territory. Their new home was along Chickamauga Creek, a tributary of the Tennessee River. They occupied several abandoned Creek sites and began to call themselves the Chickamaugas, a name that means “river of death.”
The raids against the settlements in east Tennessee continued until the original Chickamauga towns were destroyed by a retaliatory raid in April, 1779. After moving west to their Five Lower Towns, the Chickamauga launched new raids, this time against Fort Nashborough and the Cumberland River settlements on land bought at Sycamore Shoals. The raids, which continued for about ten years and covered a distance of about one hundred miles each way, could not prevent the settlement of that part of middle Tennessee.

In September, 1794, two years after the death of Dragging Canoe, the Five Lower Towns were destroyed by a surprise attack from Fort Nashborough. The surviving Chickamaugas were gradually assimilated back into the mainline Cherokee.

Cherokee Civilization, 1775-1830. The Long Island Treaty, signed in July, 1777, kept the majority of the Cherokee out of the American Revolution. By the terms of the Treaty of Hopewell, in 1785, the Cherokee recognized the supreme authority of the new government of the United States, which in turn promised to protect the rights of the Cherokee to the twenty million acres of land that they still possessed. In spite of this promise, by 1817 Cherokee lands had been reduced to about seven million acres in southwest North Carolina, southeast Tennessee, a large portion of north Georgia, and the northwest corner of Alabama.

The reduction in the size of Cherokee land led to major changes in their lifestyle. The basic means of support shifted from hunting to agriculture. Many Cherokee continued to supplement their income by trading with their white neighbors, who constantly moved closer and closer to the Cherokee towns.

Soon after the American Revolution, the Cherokee began adopting European standards of civilization. Their hope was that by so doing they would be able to remain in their homelands. The first step in civilization was the acceptance of Christianity. The evangelization of the Cherokee was begun by the Moravians in 1802. The most effective attempt was by the Brainerd Mission, beginning in 1817 in present-day Chattanooga; this was also the major source of education for young Cherokee men and women. Later Cherokee leaders such as Elias Boudinot and John Ridge began their formal education at Brainerd.

During the War of 1812, the Cherokee were given the chance to prove their loyalty to the United States. One of their traditional tribal enemies, the Creek, were fighting in Alabama. The Cherokee joined the volunteers of Andrew Jackson to defeat the Creek at Horseshoe Bend in 1814, a battle in which Yonaguska, a future Cherokee chief, saved the life of Jackson, a future American president.
Cherokee educational development took a major step forward in 1826, when Sequoyah, a part-blood Cherokee, invented a syllabary for the Cherokee language. With this creation, the first for any Native American tribe, the Cherokee soon began publishing their own newspaper: the *Cherokee Phoenix*, edited by Elias Boudinot.

The next significant step was the Cherokee adoption, on July 4, 1827, of a democratic constitution. This document was patterned after the U.S. Constitution. It established a national capital at New Echota, in north Georgia, and led to the election of John Ross as the first principal chief. Although only an eighth-blood Cherokee, Ross was pure Cherokee at heart, and he became the tribe’s major protector and spokesman during the trying years that followed.

**The Trail of Tears, 1830-1839.** Beginning with the Georgia Compact in 1802, signed by President Thomas Jefferson, the United States government promised to aid in the eventual removal of the Cherokee from Georgia. The Jackson-McMinn Treaty in 1817 was the first step in that process; it provided for the voluntary relocation of Cherokee to the western territory, present-day Oklahoma. Between two and four thousand Cherokee accepted this offer; about sixteen thousand remained on their ancestral land.

The urgent demand to remove all Cherokee began in 1828, when gold was discovered on their land near Dahlonega, Georgia. In 1830, Congress passed the Indian Removal Act, authorizing President Andrew Jackson to pursue Cherokee removal vigorously. A representative of the president met with a pro-removal minority of Cherokee leaders at New Echota on December 29, 1835. The resulting treaty was ratified by the U.S. Senate; it gave the entire tribe until May, 1838, to move voluntarily to the west. The majority, led by John Ross, refused to move.

The forced removal began when the deadline expired. After a heartless roundup of unoffending Cherokee families, the deadly journey began. Under the guard of federal soldiers, the Cherokee were taken, first by water, then by land, to their new homes in the west. When the “trail where they
cried” ended, in March, 1839, there were four thousand unmarked graves along the way. About one thousand Cherokee escaped the removal by fleeing into the mountains. They later became the nucleus of the Eastern Band of the Cherokee, on the Qualla Boundary in North Carolina.

**A New Life.** The tragedy of the Trail of Tears did not end with the arrival in the west. Those who had been forced to travel the trail harbored deep bitterness toward those who had signed the New Echota Treaty. The brutal assassinations of the leaders of the Treaty Party on June 22, 1839, did not end the bitterness. The murderers of Major Ridge, John Ridge, and Elias Boudinot were never identified or punished.

There was also friction between the Old Settlers, who had been in the west since 1817, and the more numerous arrivals of 1839. On July 12, 1839, the Act of Union, under the leadership of John Ross, helped create a unified direction for the uncertain future. On September 6, the first united council was held at Tahlequah, their new capital. Ross was elected as the first principal chief, and David Vann, an Old Settler, was chosen as assistant chief. The constitution for the tribal government was similar to the one adopted in 1827. A new treaty signed in 1846 helped to heal the rift with the Treaty Party.

A new Cherokee schism developed in connection with the U.S. Civil War. Both the Union and the Confederacy courted Cherokee support. John Ross, still the principal chief, led those who backed the Union. Stand Watie, the brother of Elias Boudinot, became a Confederate general.

Traditional tribal government for the western Cherokee Nation ended in 1907, when Oklahoma became a state. From that date until 1971, the principal chief was appointed by the president of the United States. In 1971, the Cherokee regained the right to elect their chief and a tribal council.

The last capital of the Cherokee before the Trail of Tears had been at Red Clay in east Tennessee. In 1984, an emotional meeting was held at the same location. It was the first full tribal council since 1838, with delegates from both Oklahoma and North Carolina attending. An eternal flame was lit to symbolize the new united spirit of all the Cherokee. In December, 1985, another history-making event occurred in Oklahoma, when Wilma Mankiller became the first female chief of any North American tribe. She was re-elected to four-year terms in 1987 and 1991.

A 1989 U.S. Census Bureau publication listed the population of the western Cherokee Nation at 87,059. According to the 1990 U.S. Census, the Qualla Boundary in North Carolina had a population of 5,388. The 1990 census figure for the total Cherokee population was much higher (308,132), because it included anyone who identified himself or herself as Cherokee.

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Cheyenne

**Culture area:** Plains  
**Language group:** Algonquian  
**Primary location:** Montana, Oklahoma  
**Population size:** 11,456 (1990 U.S. Census)

The Cheyenne originally lived in woodland country in what is now southeastern Minnesota. The name “Cheyenne” comes from the Dakota Sioux, who called the Cheyenne Shahiyena or Shahiela, which means “people who talk differently,” “people of alien speech,” or, literally, “red speakers.” They probably lived in permanent, small villages of two to three hundred and hunted, harvested, and gardened.

**Early History.** By the late 1600’s the Cheyenne began to be displaced from their homeland by hostile neighboring tribes of Woodland Sioux, Cree, and Assiniboine. The Cheyenne sought escape by migrating westward to the prairie country in the southwestern corner of present-day Minnesota; however, they were forced by hostile Sioux to migrate northwest to the prairies of the Sheyenne River in the Dakotas. From 1725 to 1775 they established a number of fortified earthlodge villages along the river. They established cordial relations with, and learned horticultural techniques from, a number of tribes in the area, including the Oto, Iowa, Mandan, and Hidatsa. They also acquired horses and used them for hunting and war. Once again, however, they were forced to abandon their prosperous life, this time because of the depredations of the Chippewa and the European diseases of smallpox and measles.

**Plains Phase.** The Cheyenne left the prairie in the late 1700’s and moved west across the Missouri River. A number of villages may have been established for a time on the Missouri River, but the Cheyenne had become a predominantly nomadic tribe. Upon crossing the Missouri into the Great Plains they encountered the Sutaio, who had been living on the plains for some time. The Sutaio also spoke an Algonquian dialect, and the two tribes became closely allied. By 1820 the two tribes had united, and the Sutaio became one of several distinctive bands within the Cheyenne.

The Black Hills, located in the northwest corner of South Dakota, became a spiritual and geographical center of the Cheyenne. The Cheyenne roamed over a vast area approximating a semicircle to the west, south, and east of the Black Hills. The half century from 1800 to 1850 represents the apex of Cheyenne culture. It was a period of stabilization, solidification, and prosperity. In 1840 the Cheyenne reached an accord with their traditional ene-
mies the Kiowa and Comanche in order to fortify their southern flank against the Pawnee, Cherokee, and other tribes. They made peace with the Sioux to oppose their mutual enemies to the north, the Crow and Shoshone. By 1830 the Cheyenne had obtained sufficient numbers of horses to abandon village life completely and become nomadic hunters and traders. Sufficient firearms had been obtained that they were able to become a formidable warrior nation.

**Culture in the Early Nineteenth Century.** The Cheyenne lived in tipis made from animal skins by the women. The women were also responsible for dressing skins for clothing and for gathering various edible plants. The men hunted game, fought battles, and performed most of the tribal ceremonies. The Cheyenne fought in order to acquire access to new territory to hunt, to maintain their traditional territory, to obtain horses, and to revenge previous defeats and deaths. Military virtue and bravery were glorified. In a sense, warfare was a game or competitive activity in which the Cheyenne counted the number of “coups” a warrior accumulated. A coup could include killing or scalping an enemy but could also involve “show-off” accomplishments such as touching the enemy or being the first to find him.

The Cheyenne consisted of ten bands, including the Sutaio. The bands lived separately in the winter but came together in the summer for the communal buffalo hunt and to perform sacred ceremonies (the Great Ceremonies) of unity and renewal, such as the Sacred Arrow Renewal and the Sun Dance, which they learned from the Sutaio. A large circular camp was constructed, and each band had a particular position it occupied within the circle. The circle symbolized the family tipis and reinforced the belief that the tribe was one large family.

Bands were composed of closely related kindreds which customarily camped with one another. Kindreds were composed of individual conjugal and composite families. Each of the ten bands had a name, such as Eaters, Burnt Aorta, or Hair Rope Men. These were nicknames, often referring to a particular, unique characteristic of that band and emphasizing that each band had a distinctive identity and its own customs.

Each band was presided over by a chief, the man considered to be most outstanding in that band. A few members from each band were chosen as members of the Council of Forty-Four. This council had the responsibility for maintaining peace, harmony, and order among the Cheyenne bands and so was the supreme authority in the tribe. The Council of Forty-Four was composed of chiefs committed to peace. It was separate from the Society of War Chiefs, who were chosen from the seven military societies to which males belonged. All peace chiefs were warriors. Upon joining the council they could keep their membership in the war society but had to resign any
position held. The Cheyenne recognized the virtues of separating civil and military powers. Each band contributed about four members to the council. A council member served a ten-year term but could be reelected. A member had to be a man of highest virtue: even-tempered, good-natured, energetic, wise, kind, concerned for others’ well being, courageous, generous, altruistic, and above reproach in public life. The council chose one of its members to be the head chief-priest of the entire tribe, the Sweet Medicine Chief. Four other chiefs chosen by the council served as the head’s associates and were known, along with the Sweet Medicine Chief, as the five sacred chiefs. The tribal chief could not be deposed or impeached during his term, even if he committed a grievous crime such as murder.

The Council of Forty-Four symbolized the melding of spiritual, democratic, and moral values that characterized the Cheyenne. When the council was in session, the chief sat at the west side of the lodge, the center or zenith of the universe (heum). The five sacred chiefs were considered cosmic spiritual beings, and a number of other council members represented various spirits of the supernatural and mystical world. The council consisted of the wisest men and men in touch with the positive life forces from which emanated the good things which the Cheyenne desired. The high virtue of the council members symbolized the values the Cheyenne placed on dignity, chastity, courage, rationality, harmony with their environment, and a democratic tribal government.

1830’s to 1870’s. In the late 1830’s, the Bent’s Fort trading post was established in southern Colorado. Many Cheyenne moved south near the fort to establish a primary position of access to trade. This taxed the solidarity of the tribe because of the great distance separating those remaining in the north (who eventually became known as the Northern Cheyenne) from those who moved south (who eventually became known as the Southern Cheyenne). It became increasingly difficult for the whole tribe to assemble for the Great Ceremonies of early summer. Also, the tribal council met less frequently and thus lost much power in regulating tribal affairs. One of the last unified gatherings for the Great Ceremonies occurred in 1842. The Northern and Southern Cheyenne then separated from each other and went their own ways.

In the 1840’s the westward movement of white settlers and gold seekers drastically upset traditional Cheyenne culture. Hunting areas were distributed, and a cholera epidemic in 1849 exterminated nearly half the tribe. The Santa Fe Trail ran through the heartland of Cheyenne territory. In 1851 the Cheyenne and eight other tribes signed the first Fort Laramie Treaty with the United States. The treaty formalized the separation of Northern and Southern Cheyenne, merged the Southern Cheyenne and Arapaho for treaty
purposes, and assigned 122,500 square miles of territory (not a reservation) to them. It also permitted the United States to establish roads and forts on their territory (which had already been done).

The steady influx of settlers continued to disrupt tribal life, however, bringing the Southern Cheyenne and Arapaho to near starvation in 1853. The Indians retaliated, and wars broke out between 1856 and 1878. Notable events included the massacre at Sand Creek in 1864 and the death of Black Kettle in 1868 at the hands of Colonel George Armstrong Custer. The United States assigned the Southern Cheyenne and Arapaho to reservations in 1869, but they resisted until finally subdued in 1875. Some warriors were considered prisoners of war and sent to Florida.

The Northern Cheyenne joined with the Sioux in resisting the encroachment of gold seekers and settlers. Attempts by the army to confine them to reservations culminated in the Battle of the Little Bighorn, in which the Seventh Cavalry of George Armstrong Custer was annihilated in 1876. They were captured and confined to reservations by 1884.

Since the 1870’s. Confinement to reservations effectively ended traditional Cheyenne culture. The Northern Cheyenne fared much better than did their southern brethren. They eventually settled in 1884 on the Tongue
River in Montana in an area they chose and which was isolated from whites. Most of their land remained unallotted. Unallotted lands were not made available to whites. The Northern Cheyenne own more than 275,000 acres of tribal land held in common and have been buying back parcels of the more than 150,000 acres of allotted land. Mineral resources, farming, and stock raising are the main sources of income.

The Southern Cheyenne and the Arapaho were confined to a reservation in the Indian Territory in 1875. Their traditional nomadic hunting society was stripped from them as the federal government tried to assimilate them into American society by molding them into educated Christian farmers. Religious ceremonies were banned. The Council of Chiefs had disappeared by 1892. The military societies were disbanded. Additionally, the government consistently failed to provide adequate support services so that hunger, disease, and hopelessness became daily miseries. The 1887 Dawes Severalty Act (General Allotment Act) ultimately resulted in the loss of 3,500,000 acres of unallotted reservation land that was bought by the government.

The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 and the Indian Claims Act of 1947 redressed these injustices somewhat and encouraged increased self-government and the assumption of control over a number of services. This process was given further impetus by the 1975 Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act. Economic development is a high priority, but success has been spotty and many Indians still live in poverty. Nevertheless, through all this the Cheyenne have retained their essential identity, character, and courage.

Laurence Miller

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Chiaha

**CULTURE AREA:** Southeast  
**LANGUAGE GROUP:** Muskogean  
**PRIMARY LOCATION:** Chattahoochee River, Georgia/Alabama border


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**Chiaha**
The Chiaha (or Chehaw) were a horticultural people who lived in raised dwellings located in several large permanent villages within sight of their extensive fields of maize, beans, squash, and other plants (including tobacco). For men, hunting and trapping were favorite pastimes, and they encouraged relationships which were critical in trading and in political alliances. Chiaha society was somewhat stratified, but with central authority that was influenced by consensus of opinion. Men gained status through warfare, hunting, oration, and generosity. Women who were industrious and skillful were accorded status.

Hernando de Soto’s narratives of 1540 provide the first description of these people, suggesting that the Chiaha were already members of the Creek Confederacy. The Spanish later established a fort in Chiaha territory in 1567, which the Chiaha destroyed. Because of ongoing conflict, numerous demographic changes affected the Chiaha, who eventually moved to Oklahoma and settled in the northeastern corner of the Creek Reservation. After the Civil War, many remaining Chiaha moved to Florida and settled among the Western Seminole.

Chichimec

**Culture area:** Mesoamerica  
**Language group:** Nahuatl (Otomian)  
**Primary location:** Northern Mexico

The name Chichimec is used to describe several different tribes of northern Mexico, most of whom spoke the Nahuatl language. They were nomadic and were considered barbarians by the more developed tribes of the Valley of Mexico. Chichimec, in fact, means “people of dog lineage.”

The city of Teotihuacán acted as a buffer between the Valley of Mexico and the Chichimecs. When it fell in 650 C.E., the way was opened to invasions by Chichimecs. An early group was the Tolteca-Chichimeca, or Toltecs. Beginning in the tenth century, they entered the Valley of Mexico under the leadership of Mixcóatl (Cloud Serpent), who has been called a “Mexican Genghis Khan.” He established his capital at Culhuacán.

After Mixcóatl was assassinated by his brother, his pregnant wife fled into exile and bore a son, Ce Acatl Topilzin, who as a young man defeated his uncle and ascended the throne. He became a follower of the Feathered Serpent god Quetzalcóatl, assuming the name Topilzin-Quetzalcóatl. A dispute between the followers of two gods split the people. Topilzin-
Quetzalcóatl was tricked by opposing priests into committing the sins of drunkenness and incest. He voluntarily went into exile, promising to return from the east in the year Ce Acatl to resume his rightful place on the throne. In 1519, the year Ce Acatl, the Spaniards appeared from the east, raising the question of whether Hernán Cortés was Topilzin-Quetzalcóatl returned.

From the late eleventh century to 1156, droughts and famine weakened the Toltecs. Wars discouraged them until they abandoned their capital Tula, and the great Toltec diaspora began. The fall of Tula again opened the Valley of Mexico to invasions by primitive Chichimecs. By the first part of the thirteenth century, several Chichimec tribes had conquered the desirable areas; however, by the early fifteenth century, all the Chichimec cities had declined.

The most famous and successful of the Chichimec tribes was the Mexica, or Aztecs. The Aztecs were the last of the important nomadic Chichimecs to enter the Valley of Mexico. In 1111, the Aztecs migrated from Nayaret southward. From their capital, Tenochtitlán, on an island in Lake Texcoco, they conquered their neighbors, creating an empire that extended from the Pacific to the Gulf Coast and from the Valley of Mexico to the coast of Guatemala.

After their conquest of the Aztecs, the Spanish controlled the sedentary Indians, leaving the north-central plateau in the hands of the Chichimecs. After the silver strike at Zacatecas in 1545, Spain began to expand northward into the Gran Chichimeca. Between 1550 and 1590, the War of the Chichimeca occurred, the longest and most costly in money and lives of the frontier conflicts. Their military efforts were unsuccessful, so Spanish officials changed their policy in the decade of the 1590’s to pacification by gifts of food and clothing and by conversion, using the mission system and sedentary Indians from the south. By 1600 the Chichimecs were incorporated into pacified Mexico.

**Chickasaw**

- **Culture area:** Southeast
- **Language group:** Muskogean
- **Primary location:** Oklahoma
- **Population size:** 20,631 (1990 U.S. Census)

At the beginning of the historic period, the Chickasaws inhabited an area encompassing modern western Tennessee and Kentucky, northern Mississippi, and northwestern Alabama. They are closely related linguistically
to the Choctaws, and the two tribes may once have been one. The Chickasaw way of life was similar to that of other southeastern tribes. They lived in towns and pursued an economy based on farming, especially corn, and hunting. Chickasaw social structure was based on a clan system. One’s clan was derived from one’s mother, and marriage between clan members was forbidden. While most affairs were handled locally, the High Minko, or principal chief of the tribe, was chosen by a council of clan elders. Though a relatively small tribe (around forty-five hundred at the time of European contact), the Chickasaws had a reputation among neighboring tribes as fierce warriors.

The Chickasaws were visited by Hernando de Soto’s expedition in 1540, and they nearly annihilated the Spaniards the following year. In the seventeenth century, the Chickasaws became involved in a series of wars against the French and their Indian allies. Having established contact with English merchants, the Chickasaws became British allies in the eighteenth century and remained loyal to them through the American Revolution. By the late eighteenth century, a mixed-blood, acculturated minority was becoming increasingly influential in tribal affairs.

In 1786, the Chickasaws signed the Treaty of Hopewell with the new United States, acknowledging themselves to be under American protection and selling a small area at Muscle Shoals (modern Alabama) to the United States. The Chickasaws fought on the American side in the Creek War of 1813-1814; however, they soon came under pressure to part with more and more of their land. In 1818, General Andrew Jackson persuaded the tribe to sell all of its lands in Tennessee and Kentucky. After Jackson became president, the Chickasaws were pressured to sell the remainder of their lands east of the Mississippi. In 1832, the Chickasaws agreed to sell out and move to the Indian Territory (modern Oklahoma), where they would settle on land bought from the Choctaws. It took five years to work out mutually acceptable arrangements, but in the 1837 Treaty of Doaksville the Choctaws agreed to sell to the Chickasaws a large tract of land to the west of their Oklahoma settlements for $530,000 and to accept the Chickasaws as tribal citizens. A tribal census taken at the time of removal in 1838 counted approximately five thousand Chickasaws.

Though the Chickasaws had an easier “Trail of Tears” than other southern tribes did, they faced problems once in Indian Territory. They resisted absorption by the Choctaws and faced threats from the Plains tribes who were used to roaming the area. Only after army posts were established did full-scale resettlement take place. Friction with the Choctaws continued until, in 1855, the two tribes reached a relatively friendly divorce, and a separate Chickasaw Nation was constituted in what later became south-central Oklahoma.
The Chickasaws had brought about a thousand slaves with them on their trek west, and when the Civil War broke out in 1861, they allied with the Confederacy. The Chickasaw Nation was relatively unscathed by the fighting, but at the end of the war the tribe had to make peace with the United States. The tribe lost its claim to a large tract of southwestern Oklahoma, and accepted the end of slavery. Pressured to incorporate its former slaves (freedmen) into the tribe, the Chickasaw—alone among slaveholding tribes—avoided doing so.

In the later nineteenth century the tribe once again found itself in the path of expansionist policy. During the 1890’s Congress moved to extend the policy of allotment (the division of tribal lands among individual Indians, with “surplus” land being sold off) to Indian Territory. Tribal powers were reduced, and the Dawes Commission was established to negotiate allotment terms. In 1906 a tribal roll was drawn up, counting 6,319 citizens of the Chickasaw Nation (1,538 of them full-bloods); the roll of Chickasaw freedmen numbered 4,670. On March 4, 1906, the tribal government came to an end. Each Chickasaw received 320 acres of land (each freedman got 40 acres). By 1934, 70 percent of the land had passed from Chickasaw ownership. Tribal government was eventually reorganized in the 1960’s.

William C. Lowe

Bibliography
Chilcotin

**Culture Area:** Subarctic  
**Language Group:** Northern Athapaskan  
**Primary Location:** British Columbia, Canada  
**Population Size:** 1,705 (Statistics Canada, based on 1991 census)

The Chilcotin, named for a river flowing through their homeland, originally came from an area north of their present reservation in British Columbia. They fished for salmon, hunted caribou, elk, and deer, and gathered roots and berries. The Chilcotin had no group leaders. No one could force another tribal member to do anything. They lived in small isolated camps made up of brothers and sisters and their husbands, wives, and children. These camps grew larger in the winter when a number of family groups lived together in a cluster, but when spring came they moved to their separate hunting areas again. Parents usually arranged marriages. Sharing was a cultural ideal; if people had things to spare, they gave them away.

The Chilcotin believed that ghosts and monsters filled the universe but had no direct influence in human affairs. No single, all-powerful supreme being was thought to exist. An individual could acquire a “guardian spirit” while a teenager—but only after fasting, meditating, and bathing during a vision quest lasting several weeks. This spirit protected an individual from harm and helped bring success in fishing, hunting, and gambling. Chilcotin art consisted of human heads carved in tree stumps, basketry, dancing, and drums for music.

White trappers first contacted Chilcotin along the Fraser River in the late 1700’s. Until the 1850’s, however, they had little contact with Europeans. Then, in 1857, a gold rush brought prospectors and railroad surveyors onto Chilcotin land. Within two years, a smallpox epidemic reduced the tribe’s numbers from 1,500 to 550. The Chilcotin fought a brief war against white settlers in 1864, but after five Indians were hanged the war came to an end. In the 1870’s, Roman Catholic missionaries established schools, and the Chilcotin moved onto a reservation in the 1880’s. Ranching replaced hunting as the most important economic activity, and many of the natives became cowboys. In the 1960’s, several resorts opened in the area and many Chilcotin found jobs as maids, cooks, and fishing guides.
The Chinook, a southern tribe of Northwest Coast Indians, controlled the Columbia River waterway from The Dalles (the location of a major waterfall) to the Pacific Ocean and lived on the coast in the area of the present states of Washington and Oregon. The Chinook charged a toll to other tribes who used the river for commerce and became principal traders in the area, partly because the falls at The Dalles made portaging necessary. The Chinooks’ trade included slaves, canoes, and dentalia shells.

The first documented contact that the Chinook had with European Americans was with explorer John Meares at Willapa Bay in 1788. The Chinook later met the overland Astor fur expedition as well as, in 1805, explorers Meriwether Lewis and William Clark. References in Chinook oral
tradition imply earlier contact with Russian and perhaps even with Spanish ships.

The Chinook shared many characteristics with other tribes of the Northwest Coast—living in plank houses, building seaworthy canoes, telling Coyote stories, and participating in potlatch distributions of property. The Chinook, however, did not generally enjoy the wealth of coastal tribes to the north. While the Chinook produced twine basketry and sewed rush mats, they did not create the totemic art of the northern coastal tribes.

Salmon provided sustenance—spiritual and physical—to the Chinook. An important ceremony in the Chinook religion is the first salmon rite, which heralds the annual salmon run. The Chinook supplemented their diet with clams, crabs, oysters, seals, and small game hunting on land.

The Chinook language is unique in a number of respects and has been only tentatively affiliated with the widespread Penutian stock. “Chinook jargon,” spoken from California to Alaska, bases its lexicon on the Chinook language but has characteristics of French, English, and other Indian (especially Nootka) languages.

Chipewyan

**Culture area:** Subarctic  
**Language group:** Athapaskan  
**Primary location:** Saskatchewan, Manitoba  
**Population size:** 9,350 (Statistics Canada, based on 1991 census)

The early Chipewyans occupied the edge of the northern subarctic forests and the tundra beyond, where the winters were long and severe and the summers moderate. By the late 1700’s, some Chipewyans had moved into the forests. These people were nomadic hunters and fishermen. The most important animal was the caribou; it was the focus of their religious belief and oral literature, and it structured their life cycle and population distribution.

The Chipewyan tribe had no central organization but lived in regional bands, the size of which depended on the concentration of the caribou. Bands were larger during the caribou migrations and smaller when the caribou were dispersed. Hudson’s Bay Company officials recognized two divisions: the Northern Indians (Chipewyans) and the Yellowknife. Chipewyan means “pointed skins,” a term referring to the form of their dried beaver skins.
Early contact with Europeans came as a result of fur trading and brought both good and hardship. Furs were traded for basic necessities, but in 1781 smallpox, caught from the Europeans, destroyed a large number of the Chipewyans.

The Chipewyans had few ceremonies to mark life’s events. If the band was traveling, a woman would give birth and continue traveling within a few hours. No ceremonies marked puberty or marriage. The husband hunted with the woman’s family until the birth of the first child. Polygamy was permitted, and wives, especially the young and childless, were sometimes prizes in wrestling matches. The old and feeble had little value and could be abandoned if they could not keep up when traveling.

By the mid-1800’s, the Chipewyans were divided into five regional bands, and their territories existed primarily within the forests. They were divided between living on the forest edge in order to hunt on the tundra and living deep within the forest close to trading posts and missions. In the 1960’s there was an attempt to move some of the bands into towns. This was only partly successful; many families returned to their traditional areas and have remained hunters and fishermen. Some of the bands engage in commercial fishing.

Chitimacha

CULTURE AREA: Southeast
LANGUAGE GROUP: Chitimacha
PRIMARY LOCATION: Chitimacha Reservation, Charenton, Louisiana
POPULATION SIZE: 618 (1990 U.S. Census)

The Chitimacha are found on their reservation at Charenton, Louisiana. According to Chitimacha oral tradition, their homeland was in the Natchez, Mississippi, region. By the time of European contact (in the early 1700’s), they occupied an extensive territory on the western side of the Mississippi River in southern Louisiana. Bayou Lafourche, a principal drainage flowing south from the Mississippi River, was known as the River of the Chitimacha.

The traditional lifeways and material culture are described in John R. Swanton’s The Indians of the Southeastern United States (1946). Chitimacha subsistence involved agriculture, fishing, hunting, and gathering. They lived in palmetto hut villages, some with dance houses for religious celebrations. There is limited information concerning their complex social, politi-
American Indian Tribes

Chitimacha

cal, and religious organization, although there are suggestions that in these matters they may have resembled the Natchez (a well-documented group at Natchez, Mississippi).

During the early years of colonialism, the European settlers were often short of food, and they relied upon the Indians initially to provide sustenance and later to exchange deerskins. As a result of this lucrative trade, Native Americans relocated to settlements more convenient to the foreigners, and farming groups, such as the Chitimacha, planted more extensive fields.

Despite initially peaceful interactions, the relationship between the Chitimacha and the Europeans became increasingly antagonistic. By 1706, a dispute between the Chitimacha and the Taensa had resulted in several French deaths. Chitimacha warriors attempted to retaliate against the Taensa (or Bayogoula) but were unable to locate them; instead, by chance, they encountered the French Jesuit Jean François Buisson de Saint-Cosme and his companions. As a result of this unfortunate meeting, Saint-Cosme and most of his party were killed. After this event, Jean Baptiste le Moyn, Sieur de Bienville, created a coalition of Mississippi tribes to revenge the French deaths. In 1707, they raided a Chitimacha village. From this time until 1718, the Chitimacha battled with the French.

In 1727, Father du Poisson made a trip up the Mississippi River and contacted the Chitimacha. His account mentions a chief named Framboise, who had been a French slave. The case of Framboise’s enslavement was not an isolated incident, since many Chitimacha had been captured during the war with the French. In 1769, Governor Alejandro O’Reilly proclaimed that Indian slavery was forbidden, but as late as 1808, there were still Native American slaves.

Through the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, European settlement encroached further upon Chitimacha territory. In response, some Chitimachas retreated to more remote locations; others moved to New Orleans.

In 1925, the Chitimacha received federal recognition, and they later complied with the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. Chitimacha property near Charenton consists of 262 acres and approximately three hundred people, although another few hundred may reside outside the reservation. The reservation possesses a school and a branch of the Jean Lafitte National Park. The Chitimacha are probably best known for their basketmaking skills.
Choctaw

**Culture area:** Southeast  
**Language group:** Muskogean  
**Primary location:** Oklahoma, Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama  
**Population size:** 82,299 (1990 U.S. Census)

The Choctaw, a linguistic subgroup of the Muskogean people, first occupied portions of present-day Mississippi, Arkansas, and Alabama. By 1820 the Choctaw were considered part of the so-called Five Civilized Tribes because of their rapid adaptation to European culture. By 1830 the Choctaw were forced to cede all lands east of the Mississippi; their removal to Indian Territory (Oklahoma) took place between 1831 and 1833. Tribal lands and businesses of the Choctaw are textbook examples of progressive farming, ranching, and industrial development. The Choctaw have grown from a few thousand to more than 82,000 persons, making them the fifth largest tribe in the United States.

**Prehistory and Traditional Life.** The prehistory of the Choctaws centered on farming communities in the modern state of Mississippi. Their culture was an integral part of a large ethnolinguistic area stretching from the Atlantic Coast to the Mississippi Valley. A portion of this region was also occupied by other tribes of the Muskogean branch of the Gulf language stock, the Seminole, Chickasaw, and Chitimacha. Sixteenth century Spanish arrivals found the Choctaw in the last stages of mound building. They were preeminent agriculturalists and hunters, having an abundance of food, including sunflowers, corn, beans, and melons, as well as tobacco. Favored dietary items included bear ribs, turkey, venison, root jelly, hominy, corn cakes, and soup. In 1729 the Choctaw aided the French in a war against the Natchez Indians. Later they signed a treaty with the British, although they continued to support the French until the latter’s defeat by Great Britain in 1763. During the American Revolution, Choctaw warriors served under the command of four American generals. (Choctaws continued to provide meritorious military service in World Wars I and II, Korea, Vietnam, Grenada, Panama, and the Persian Gulf.) The Naniaba (fish eaters) were a riverine Choctaw tribe; in the early 1700’s they were located in close proximity to the Mobile and Tohome tribes in southern Alabama. Their earlier home was on a bluff (Nanna Hubba) near the confluence of the Alabama and Tombigbee rivers.

**Removal.** The Naniaba had provided fierce opposition to Hernando de Soto’s advance in 1540, but by 1761 both the Naniaba and Mobile were lost
to history as tribes. The Indian Removal Act of 1830, urged on Congress by President Andrew Jackson, provided for forcing southeastern natives to give up their ancestral homelands. The Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek, signed later that same year, officially legalized the deportation of the Choc-taws. A small amount of land was reserved for Choctaw chiefs and other individuals; this land formed the basis of the present-day Mississippi Band of Choctaws. Although the Choctaw had never fought against the United States, they were forced to cede their lands in a series of treaties starting in 1801 and culminating in 1830. The forced deportation of the Choctaw, under army escort, to Indian Territory was cruel and involved bitter hardship and death from exposure and starvation. The road they and other tribes followed to Indian Territory has forever since been known as the Trail of Tears.

Modern Life. The Choctaw are divided into three areas: southeastern Oklahoma, with tribal headquarters located at Durant; Mississippi, with the band administrative center at Philadelphia; and the Apache, Jena, and Clifton bands of Louisiana and the Mowa band of Alabama. The Choctaw also reflect the geographic mobility of Americans in general. Most Choctaws live outside tribal enumerated census areas. Figures from the 1990 census include 82,299 persons total: Oklahoma, 28,411; Mississippi, 3,932;
Louisiana, 1,048; and Mowa Band of Alabama, fewer than 100 persons (total 33,400). Choctaws living outside enumerated areas totaled 48,899.

The Choctaw, rich in cultural heritage and spirit, are successful developers and managers of an array of cultural and business activities in Oklahoma, Mississippi, and Louisiana. Choctaw leaders have particularly focused their development efforts on a valuable commodity, the intellect and drive of the Choctaw people.

Burl Self

Bibliography
American Indian Tribes

Chumash

**Culture area:** California  
**Language group:** Chumashan  
**Primary location:** Ventura, Santa Barbara, and San Luis Obispo counties, California  
**Population size:** 2,981 (1990 U.S. Census)

The Chumash were one of the largest (fifteen thousand is a likely estimate) and most sophisticated California Indian tribes at the time of European contact. Of the many unique features of their culture, two stand out as distinctive: their extensive rock art and their construction of boats. The Chumash area abounds in pictographs, mostly of abstract forms. By the time of the arrival of Europeans, no Indians were still living who could recall the origins or meaning of the paintings, and vandals have destroyed many of the sites. Many of the Chumash lived on islands in the Santa Barbara Channel, and trade and communication between those islands and the mainland was extensive. The Chumash became very proficient in making canoes of pine planks stitched together with deer sinews and sealed with thick asphaltum. Canoes varied in length from 8 to 25 feet, were usually painted red with shell decorations, and held two to twenty people.

While some scholars have attempted to identify and preserve native terms for regional subdivisions, others have simply borrowed the names of the five Spanish missions in the region: Tsóiínéahkoo or Obispeño for the San Luis Obispo mission (founded 1772); Ahmoo or Purisimeño for Purísima Concepción (1787); Kaššakompéah or Ynezeño for Santa Ynéz (1804); Kaśswah or Barbareño for Santa Barbara (1786); and Chumash or Ventureño for San Buenaventura (1782). Inland territorial districts have been named Hooíkookoo or Emigdiano and Kahshenashmoo or Cuyama.

The Spanish expedition of 1769 reported the Chumash as friendly and peaceful, so missionaries were eager to enter the area. By the 1820’s nearly all the Chumash, including those of the Channel Islands and the inland mountainous areas, had become part of the mission system. As happened elsewhere, however, the Chumash preserved many features of their own culture. Although they generally proved to be, as anticipated, a very peaceful people who quietly accepted Hispanization, the most serious uprising in the entire history of the California missions occurred in 1824 when a violent Chumash revolt at several missions resulted in the death of a number of Indians and whites. Historians are uncertain about the cause of that rebellion, but one explanation is that the Chumash were fighting to
preserve some of their traditional social and marital patterns.

Despite their efforts to maintain their traditional lifestyle, the Chumash population experienced the familiar pattern of decline during and after the mission period. By 1832 they numbered only 2,471, by 1865 only 659, and by 1920 a mere 74. The federal roll of 1928 identified 31 Chumash, of whom only 8 were of unmixed ancestry. In May, 1941, Juan Justo, identified as the last surviving full-blood Chumash, died in Santa Barbara. The federal government had established the Santa Ynés Reservation near the mission of that name on December 17, 1901. As of March 15, 1993, that reservation provided a home for 195 people of Chumash ancestry, with another 28 registered members living in adjacent areas. The 1990 U.S. Census reported a much larger population, with nearly three thousand people identifying themselves as Chumash.

Clallam

**Culture area:** Northwest Coast  
**Language group:** Salishan  
**Primary location:** North side of Strait Juan de Fuca  
**Population size:** 3,800 (1990 U.S. Census)

Prior to European American contact, the Clallam—including the Klallam, Skallam, and Tlallum—inhabited approximately a dozen permanent villages while intermarrying with other Central Coast tribes and thus encouraging trade and ritual exchange of wealth. They hunted inland to the Olympic Mountains and used dugout canoes to hunt seals, porpoise, sea lions, and sturgeon. They gathered numerous plant foods and by-products. Various complex ceremonies recognized status change and redistribution of food and goods.

By the 1820’s, the Hudson’s Bay Company had explored the area and established Fort Langley on the Fraser River in 1827. The Central Coast Salish territory was divided in 1846 by the Treaty of Washington. In 1855 the Clallam signed the Point No Point Treaty, consenting to cede their lands and live on the Skokomish Reservation. Most Clallam earned wages by picking hops and berries, working in canneries, and selling fish.

By the late twentieth century, issues of gaming and gill-netting confronted the modern Clallam, along with land claim settlements against the federal government.
Clatskanie

**Culture area:** Northwest Coast  
**Language group:** Athapaskan  
**Primary location:** Chehalis River and mouth of Shockumchuck River, Washington

The Clatskanie (or Tlatskanai) were a riverine and maritime people, living in permanent frame, rectangular post and lintel dwellings. They depended largely on fish for subsistence, but also hunted. The women exploited the large root fields of their territory. Unfortunately, little ethnographic data was collected before their culture’s demise. It is estimated that their population of approximately two thousand in 1780 had declined to 336 by 1904; by 1910, only three Clatskanie were living; this decline was primarily the result of disease introduced by European Americans and of conflict with other ethnic groups of the region. It is believed that the Clatskanie may have enforced a toll on people using the Columbia River for trading of goods.

Clovis

**Date:** 10,000-9200 B.C.E.  
**Location:** Most of continental North America  
**Cultures affected:** Paleo-Indian

Archaeological evidence of Paleo-Indian peoples was unearthed near Clovis, New Mexico, in 1931, and subsequent discoveries of related artifacts at kill sites across the continental United States justified the designation of a Clovis cultural tradition. In the west the best-known Clovis sites are Blackwater Draw, New Mexico; Naco, Lehner, Murray Springs, and Escapule, Arizona; Union Pacific, Montana; Dent, Nebraska; and Domebo, Oklahoma. Of the many sites excavated in the east, rich Clovis finds have been unearthed at Plenge, Port Mobil, Dutchess Quarry, and West Athens, New York, as well as at Reagan, Vermont; Williamson and Flint Run, Virginia; Bull Brook, Massachusetts; Shawnee-Minisink, Delaware; Shoop, Pennsylvania; and Hardaway, Tennessee. Related discoveries have been found at a score of other locations.
The Clovis tradition apparently was short-lived, lasting from circa 10,500 B.C.E. to 9200 B.C.E., giving way to the somewhat different Folsom and then Plano traditions. Clovis peoples have been characterized chiefly as roving mammoth hunters, although they also stalked horse, buffalo, tapirs, caribou, giant armadillo, four-horned antelope, sloths, and dire wolves. Some kill sites continued in use for thousands of years, providing ample evidence of their distinctive Clovis fluted projectile points, prismatic and edge-chipped, flat-flaked knives, smooth or bone cylinders, burins, cleavers, picks, and uniface chipped scrapers. Quarries where the chert and jasper preferred for such toolmaking were obtained have likewise been found. The Clovis culture was well-acquainted with fire, and there are findings at the Thunderbird site at Flint Run, Virginia, as well as at locations in Massachusetts and Nova Scotia, which suggest that the Clovis tradition may have included construction of the earliest known houses in the Americas. Developed south of, though often close to, continental glaciation, the Clovis culture yielded to other adaptations as its chief prey, mammoths, disappeared.

Coast Yuki

**Culture area:** California  
**Language group:** Yuki  
**Primary location:** Drainage of the Eel River, northwestern California

The coast Yuki, or Ukhotnom, were shell-mound dwellers. They comprised eleven groups who occupied approximately fifty miles of the Mendocino Coast. They lived in conical redwood bark-covered dwellings; in summer they utilized brush huts for privacy and windbreaks. Men hunted and fished, while women collected and gathered essential plant foods. Each group had its own elected headman and territory. Groups visited, traded, and had usury rights to resources of other villages. Though
a marine-oriented people, they had no boats. Their diet consisted primarily of acorns, grass seeds, salmon, and mussels. Deer and elk were important for food and by-products.

In the early 1850’s, the Coast Yuki were intruded upon by white lumbermen and ranchers, whose activities destroyed many natural resources. Many Indians were interned on the Mendocino Reservation in 1856, though some continued to work on white ranches. The Coast Yuki joined the Pomo Earth Lodge cult, a derivative of the Ghost Dance, and revitalized some traditional ways, but by the 1970’s they were no longer considered a distinct group.

Cocopa

**Culture area:** Southwest  
**Language group:** Yuman  
**Primary location:** Sonora, Mexico  
**Population size:** 640 in United States (1990 U.S. Census); most live in Mexico

The Cocopas, sedentary dwellers of the Southwest, inhabited the region along the lower stretch of the Colorado River in what is presently Sonora, Mexico, bordered on the south by the Gulf of California. Along with the nearby Mojaves, Halchidhomas, Maricopas, and Yumas, the Cocopas were Yuman-speaking and were ancient inhabitants of this hot and dry region. Another neighboring tribe was the Chemehuevis of the Uto-Aztecan language family.

Because of their efficient use of the land and water resources available to them, the Cocopas were able to remain in one place, and didn’t have to roam for hunting or gathering purposes. They utilized the annual flooding of the Colorado River, rather than irrigation, for the watering of their crops, which included corn, beans, pumpkins, gourds, and tobacco. Both men and women took part in tending the fields. Limited hunting of small game, including rabbits, supplemented the agricultural production for the tribe, as did the gathering of mesquite beans and other wild foods by the women. The Colorado River provided fish, which were caught by the men with seines, basketry scoops with long handles, weirs made from interlaced branches, and dip nets.

Because of the intense heat of the area, the men wore only narrow breechcloths, while the women wore front and back aprons. Sandals were worn while traveling. Men and women painted their faces and wore tattoos.
Hair was worn with bangs covering the forehead. The men twisted their hair in back into many thin strands, while the women wore their hair long.

The housing of the Cocopas also conformed to the hot, dry weather. Houses were little more than flat-roofed structures for shade, with open sides. In winter, rectangular structures with sloping sides and ends, all covered with earth, were utilized. Rabbitskin blankets provided warmth in winter.

The Cocopas lived with little formal government. They held a strong sense of tribal unity, with the family being the basic unit within the tribe. Chiefs held an advisory role, maintaining intratribal peace and conducting religious ceremonies. Shamans were held in high regard and accompanied chiefs on war parties. War raids were well organized, with the warriors using bows and arrows, clubs, heavy sticks, round hide shields, and feathered staves.

Most Cocopa people live in Sonora, Mexico; the 1990 U.S. census also reported 640 living in the southwestern United States.

Coeur d’Alene

**Culture area:** Plateau  
**Language group:** Salishan  
**Primary location:** Northwestern Idaho  
**Population size:** 1,048 (1990 U.S. Census)

The Coeur d’Alene, an Interior Salishan-speaking people, called themselves “Schitsu’ Umsh.” They occupied an area east of the Spokane River, around Coeur d’Alene Lake and all its tributaries, including the headwaters of the Spokane River, with eastern boundaries to the Bitterroot Mountains. Aboriginally they were composed of three distinct geographical bands with a population of approximately 3,500 until the smallpox epidemics of 1831, 1847, and 1850 reduced the population by half. After acquiring horses in the late 1700’s, they, like the Flathead and Nez Perce, adopted a war ethos. At the time of European American contact, they had adopted many Plains traits, including the hide tipi, scalp taking, reed armor, and Plains-style clothing and ornaments. Their culture was further influenced when they ventured annually onto the western Plains for hunting buffalo and trading out roots, salmon pemmican, bows, and hemp.

They possessed bilateral descent, sexual equality, a strict division of labor, polygyny, rule by consensus of opinion, and elaborate ceremonialism
that emphasized the Bluejay Ceremony, First-Fruit Ceremony, and Midwinter Ceremony. Other aspects of their culture included shamanism, the vision quest for skill-related tutelary spirits, an animistic belief system with a complex pantheon, the sweathouse complex, a trickster, and social control by public opinion and threats of sorcery.

First mention of the Coeur d’Alene was by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark in 1805, and their first contact with European Americans was with David Thompson, who surveyed the area in 1811. The first permanent white settler was Father Nicholas Point, who in 1842 established a Roman Catholic mission on the banks of the St. Joseph River. It was built by the Coeur d’Alene from 1843 to 1853 under the supervision of Father Anthony Ravalli and was later moved to the present Cataldo site; it is the oldest standing building in Idaho. The area was periodically exploited by encroaching settlers and miners, a situation which in 1877 caused the Sacred Heart Mission to be moved to its present location at De Smet, Idaho. An executive order of November 8, 1873, established the Coeur d’Alene Reservation, and the existing boundaries were ratified by Congress in 1894; it covers an area of 345,000 acres. In 1903 the Historic Sisters’ Building was constructed by the Sisters of Providence and functioned as a boarding school for Indian girls until 1973.

The Coeur d’Alene, a sovereign nation created by executive order, are consolidated on the Coeur d’Alene Reservation on the southern portion of Coeur d’Alene Lake, Idaho. Tribal headquarters, containing the tribal archives, museum, and library, is southwest of Plummer, and the elected tribal council administers finance, planning, natural resources, a tribal farm, education, and social and health services. The Benewah Center features an Indian specialty store, post office, medical center, and supermarket. The two major employers are the Coeur d’Alene Tribe and Pacific Crown Timber Products, with additional monies gained from the successful management of agriculture, minerals, and water recreation facilities on adjacent Coeur d’Alene Lake.

Bibliography
The so-called Columbia Indians were composed of seven bands who lived on the Columbia River and collectively called themselves Sinseloxw’i’t (“big river people”). They numbered about twelve hundred at the time of contact with European Americans, and are generally considered to have included the Sinkiuse, Chelan, Methow, Sinkakaius, and Wenatchi. These hunters and gatherers had a definite annual subsistence round, regulated through marriage, trade, and availability of resources. Social control was achieved through threats of sorcery, gossip, consensus of opinion, behavioral and dietary taboos, high division of labor, and a complex mythical charter. Villages were autonomous, with chiefs, and descent was bilateral. The aboriginal population was drastically reduced by seven major epidemics; the first, in 1782-1783, was estimated to have reduced their population by one-half.

The first European Americans to spend time with the Columbia peoples were Alexander Ross of the Pacific Fur Company in 1810 and David Thompson in 1811. White incursion increased throughout the first half of the nineteenth century until it resulted in a series of wars involving Columbia peoples from 1855 to 1858. Eventually the militaristic, nontreaty Colombias were settled on the Colville Indian Reservation in 1884 under the leadership of Chief Moses after the July, 1884, “Moses Agreement.” No
full-blooded Columbias still exist; those people with Columbian ancestry live mostly on the Colville Reservation.

**Colville**

**Culture area:** Plateau  
**Language group:** Salishan  
**Primary location:** Washington State  
**Population size:** 7,140 (1990 U.S. Census)

The Colville, one of the largest branches of the Salishan family, lived between Kettle Falls and the Spokane River in eastern Washington. They spoke the same language as another Salishan tribe, the Okanagan. “Colville” is the name of the fort of the Hudson’s Bay Company near which they lived, in villages of varying size. Because they relied on hunting and fishing—salmon was a chief staple of their diet—as well as on gathering roots and berries, they were forced to move throughout the year to find food in different seasons. This prevented the villages from growing and developing as political or social centers.

The Colville do not seem to have relied on agriculture. They were skilled with horses and used them in their travels seeking food. Generally, Salishan tribes enjoyed relatively peaceful lives. They were involved in no protracted struggles with their neighbors; there seems to have been enough food to go around, so no major disputes arose over hunting territory. The American explorers Meriwether Lewis and William Clark encountered the Colville in 1806. In 1872 the Colville Reservation was established in Washington, on 2.9 million acres. Some of that land was later allotted to white settlers, and the reservation had slightly more than 1 million acres in the late twentieth century. Toward the century’s close, the Colville were making their living primarily by raising cattle, farming, and logging.

**Comanche**

**Culture area:** Southwestern Plains  
**Language group:** Shoshonean  
**Primary location:** Oklahoma  
**Population size:** 11,322 (1990 U.S. Census)
The Comanche tribe arose as an offshoot of the Shoshone tribe. They call themselves the Nemena, “the real people.” The name Comanche has been said to come from the Ute word *komanticia* (“an enemy,” or “one who fights all the time”). The Comanches ruled much of the southwestern Plains until the middle of the nineteenth century and did “fight all the time” to maintain their ascendancy. They were also called the Paducah (or Padouca, a Sioux name) by the French and the Americans, who mistakenly thought that they were an Apache tribe that had once inhabited the region. The Comanche lands once made up much of modern Texas, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Kansas, and Colorado. Most modern Comanches live on Oklahoma reservation lands.

**Tribal History.** Tribal legends suggest that the Comanches and the Shoshones split into separate tribes because of disagreements about the fair division of game or in the aftermath of a disastrous disease epidemic. The pre-1700 tribal split led the Comanches into the southwestern Plains and kept the Shoshones in the Wyoming and Montana mountains. The Comanches soon controlled 24,000 square miles and defeated all those who contested their control. This success was attributable to their being one of the first tribes who had horses and to their superb military horsemanship.

The Kiowas and the Comanches, at first bitter enemies, became military allies in the eighteenth century. The close alliance continued until the pacification of the Plains tribes placed them all on reservations. The main enemies of the Comanches were the Apaches, the Navajos, the Osages, the Pawnees, and the Utes. The Comanches ranged far into Texas and Mexico in raids seeking horses and other plunder.

**Traditional Lifeways.** The Comanche tribe was divided into thirteen autonomous bands that often cooperated in war but had no political consensus, no tribal chief, and no tribal council. Most numerous was the Penateka band (the Honey Eaters or Wasps). Other prominent Comanche bands were the Quahadi (the Antelopes), the Nokoni (the Wanderers), the Kutsueka (the Buffalo Eaters), and the Yamparika (the Yamp, or potato, Eaters). The Comanche tribal organization was so loose that any warrior could enter or leave a band at will. In battle, a war chief was in charge of all of a band’s warriors. In time of peace, however, he had no power, and the tribespeople were autonomous, although they often listened to the advice of peace chiefs and of a council of elders.

Comanche men did not often marry until they were well-established warriors (usually at about age twenty-five). They were polygamous, especially as to marrying women who were the sisters or the widows of their brothers. Men could marry as many women as they were able to support, although most had only one wife. Each wife was given a separate dwelling,
wherever polygamy occurred, but extended families shared most home-making activities. Divorce was simple and favored the Comanche man. Female adultery was punished by beatings or nose-clipping. Children were loved and doted upon by all Comanches.

The Comanche religion is not thoroughly documented. Their main deities were a Creator (the Great Spirit), the Sun, the Earth, and the Moon. Comanches revered the boisterous trickster spirit Coyote; hence, they did not eat coyotes or dogs. The young Comanche men, like those of most Plains tribes, went on vision quests to achieve their adult names and to obtain their medicine power. It was believed by the Comanches that all “the real people” who died went on to an afterlife unless they had been scalped, had died in the dark, or had been strangled.

Funerals included dressing the deceased in the finest clothing they owned, painting their faces, and interring them in caves or in shallow graves along with their finest possessions. Before 1850, a warrior’s favorite wife was often killed to accompany him to the afterlife. During mourning, both family and friends gashed clothing and bodies, burned the dwellings of the deceased, and destroyed horses and other wealth in their honor. Afterward, the names of the deceased were never again mentioned by any tribe member.

Comanche bands had men’s secret societies, many ritual dances, and many other medicine ceremonies. They were so secretive about these ceremonies, however, that very little is known about Comanche ritual, compared with that of many other tribes. The Sun Dance—very important to most other Plains Indian tribes—was not celebrated by the Comanches until the late nineteenth century.

Comanches lived in well-designed, finely decorated buffalo-hide tipis, made by women, and moved when new campgrounds were sought (sometimes because of the need for fresh forage for their horse herds). The buffalo provided many Comanche needs, including food. Comanches were nomad hunter-gatherers who neither farmed nor fished. Their plant foods, such as potatoes, nuts, and various fruits, were all gathered by women’s foraging expeditions. In contrast, the Comanches were expert horse breeders, fine horse trainers, and excellent primitive veterinarians. Their horse herds were tremendous and contained exceptionally fine animals.

Comanche men’s personal adornment included painting their faces and the heads and tails of their mounts before battle. Buffalo-hide shirts, leggings, and boots, as well as very elaborate headdresses, were also worn. Long hair was desired by all Comanche men, and they acquired it both via natural hair growth and interwoven horse hair. Prior to the use of firearms, Comanche weapons were buffalo-hide battle shields so strong that arrows
and bullets did not easily pierce them, long war lances, heavy war clubs, and bows and arrows. The chief decorations of all Comanche weapons were feathers, bear teeth, and scalps of enemies. War was the main occupation of Comanche men, providing them with sport, horses, and other plunder. The Comanches were viewed as exceptionally fierce warriors.

Comanche chief Parker fought fiercely against confinement to reservations, but after 1875 he became an advocate of acceptance and assimilation. (Library of Congress)

Comanche cooking consisted mostly of the roasting of meat on sticks over open fires and of boiling it, with other foods, in skin pouches into which hot stones were dropped. Comanche eating utensils were very simple. Their weapons and shields, on the other hand, were very well-crafted
and attractively adorned. Comanche bows, arrows, and lances were most often made of the very tough wood called bois d’arc (Osage orange) by the French explorers of North America.

**Movement to Reservations.** In the 1850’s, the Penatekas were the first Comanche group to move to a reservation. After the Medicine Lodge Treaty and the Battle of the Washita, in the 1860’s, most Comanche bands moved onto reservations. Comanche resistance ended in 1875, when Quanah Parker and his Quahadi band, the last Comanche warrior holdouts, surrendered. Slowly changing their ways but retaining their heritage, the Comanches have acclimatized themselves to mainstream American life. The 1930’s passage of the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act remedied some tribal grievances, and a Kiowa-Comanche-Apache Business Committee aimed at improving the lot of the three tribes was created. In the 1960’s the Comanche Business Council began to seek to improve Comanche life. Modern Comanches have opened businesses, entered the general workforce and many professions, and are well represented in the American armed forces. At the same time they continue to fight to keep tribal traditions alive both in their homes and in the schools where their children are taught.

_Sanford S. Singer_

**Bibliography**


Comox

CULTURE AREA: Northwest Coast  
LANGUAGE GROUP: Central Salish  
PRIMARY LOCATION: South of Johnstone Strait and west of Discovery Portage, British Columbia and Washington  
POPULATION SIZE: 800 in Canada (Statistics Canada, based on 1991 census)

Prior to European American contact, the Comox were divided into the Island and Mainland groups, living in split-cedar gable-roofed houses, located for exploiting the Strait of Georgia and numerous streams of their territory. Their main source of food was fishing, supplemented by the hunting of deer, black and grizzly bear, mountain sheep, and goats. Smaller animals were caught with traps and snares. Most bird species were hunted, primarily for feathers and plumage. Women gathered seeds, berries, nuts, tubers, roots, and cambium.

By 1792, the British and Spanish had entered the Strait of Georgia, trading metal tools and beads for food. Maritime fur trade was active until the demise of the sea otter. Epidemics reduced native populations and brought some demographic shifting. Roman Catholics opened missions in the 1860's, denouncing the Winter Dance, potlatching, and other of the traditional ways, forcing people into a wage economy. Descendants of the Comox live primarily in British Columbia. There are three groups, the Homalco, Klahoose, and Sliammon.

Coos

CULTURE AREA: Northwest Coast  
LANGUAGE GROUP: Coos  
PRIMARY LOCATION: Coos Bay, Oregon  
POPULATION SIZE: 216 (1990 U.S. Census)
The Coos tribe is a small estuarine community living in the Coos Bay area of southwestern Oregon. The words “Coos,” “Coosan,” and “Kusan” are of uncertain origin but might have originated with a word in their native tongue, Kusan, described as a dialect of the Macro-Penutian language spoken by several tribes of possible Yaconan stock in southern Oregon and northern California.

The Kusan culture, made up primarily of the Miluk and Hanis communities, lived exclusively around Coos Bay, Oregon, and upriver along its tributaries. They were part of a family of peoples composed of four related groups who shared territories covering parts of present-day Coos County. The name the modern people use for themselves is Miluk-Hanis. The Coos, Kusan, or Coosan peoples, as they are collectively known, were actually four communities who spoke related dialects of a source tongue and who shared an estuarine environment.

Western Coos County, from Ten Mile Lake to the north to the south bank of the Coquille River, and from two miles offshore inland to the crest of the Coast Range Mountains, was home to the Kusan peoples. The Melukitz lived on the far south and west sides of Coos Bay. The Naseemi lived on the banks of the Coquille River to the south. The Miluk occupied the north shore of the Coquille and ranged up the headlands of Cape Arago from Coos Head to the place on the bay now known as Tar Heel Point. The Hanis resided on the south side of the bay and up the estuary, from just south of the town of Empire to the downtown area of present-day North Bend.

These four branches of the Kusan family lived peaceably together in an unbelievably rich ecosystem. As a unit they are often grouped with several other cultural units to the north, usually categorized by language affiliation or genetic stock, such as their Yaconan-speaking ancestors, who remain as the Alsea, Kuitish, Siuslaw, Umpqua, and Yaquina. To the south are the distantly related language groups and cultures of the Klamath Basin Culture Area. The Kusan say they are not necessarily related to the riverine peoples to the north and south.

Indirect contacts with whites came in 1828. It is estimated that there were about two thousand people living around Coos Bay at that time. White settlement of the bay area commenced in the late 1840’s. The Kusans did not fight; they tried to make treaties but were rapidly overwhelmed.

They joined with the Lower Umpqua and the Siuslaw to form the Confederated Tribes of the Coos, Lower Umpqua, and Siuslaw Indians in 1855. About that time they were forced to move to a reservation on the Siletz River. They did not return for many years to their homeland, which was taken over by American settlers during their absence. The confederation still exists and is recognized as an Indian nation by the U.S. government.
Copalis

**CULTURE AREA:** Northwest Coast  
**LANGUAGE GROUP:** Salishan  
**PRIMARY LOCATION:** Grays Harbor, Washington

Traditionally the Copalis, a relatively small group, lived in an area nearly surrounded by water. Division of labor was based on age, sex, status, and ability. The importance of fish and marine products was reflected in various rituals, technology, status, and the First Salmon Ceremony. Inland areas were hunted for bear, deer, and elk; smaller animals were taken by traps and snares for food, skin, and by-products. Rights of usufruct applied to whaling and clamming beaches, berry patches, barnacle stacks, and timber areas. Low tides provided a variety of foods. Numerous food plants were utilized, particularly camas.

Though earlier naval expeditions had probably visited the Copalis, first documentation was by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark in the years 1805-1806, who estimated the population to be two hundred, in a total of ten dwellings. By 1811, fur trappers and traders were in the area, but the opening of Fort Vancouver in 1825 by Hudson’s Bay Company brought considerable socioeconomic change—including a major epidemic of malaria. Missionaries, loggers, and settlers in the Quinault and Lower Chalis area sustained deculturation.

Costanoan

**CULTURE AREA:** California  
**LANGUAGE GROUP:** Costanoan  
**PRIMARY LOCATION:** San Francisco Bay to Monterey Bay, California  
**POPULATION SIZE:** 1,023 (1990 U.S. Census)

Historically, the Costanoan lived in approximately fifty politically autonomous tribelets or nations, each with a permanent village. Their culture was based on patrilineal clans that were divided into bear and deer moieties. Acorns were the most important plant food, but numerous seeds, berries, and tubers were collected by season, and animals were trapped and hunted. Waterfowl and numerous bird species were hunted for food and feathers. Gathered insects were an important source of protein.
First European American contact was in 1602 by the Sebastián Vizcaino expedition. Groups later explored Costanoan territory between 1769 and 1776. The mission period, 1770-1835, brought many devastating changes—particularly a population decline from disease and a diminishing birth rate. The missions discouraged traditional social and religious rituals. Later, secularization of the missions and the proliferation of settlers further disrupted the Costanoan culture, which by 1935 brought the language to extinction. By 1970, Costanoan descendants had united into a corporate unity, known as the Ohlone Indian Tribe. These people have never been compensated for the loss of their lands during the gold rush.

**Coushatta**

**Culture area:** Southeast  
**Language group:** Muskogean  
**Primary location:** Texas, Louisiana  
**Population size:** 1,269 (1990 U.S. Census)

The origin of the Coushatta tribe is unknown. Variants on the tribal name include Koasati, Coosawanda, and Shati. Differing folklore traditions place them coming from the north as well as Mexico. The first contact with Europeans occurred in 1540, when Hernando de Soto found the tribe living on Pine Island in the Tennessee River in Alabama. During the eighteenth century, Coushatta villages were connected with one another and with white settlements. The relationships between Indians were usually peaceful, and villages often engaged in athletic competition. The English settlers changed the Coushatta economy by trading cloth, munitions, and alcohol—all new to the Indians—for animal pelts.

The Coushatta lived side-by-side with other Creek peoples. They shared many cultural traditions, including a religion revering “Isakita immissi” or the “Master of Life/Holder of Breath.” The deity was worshiped as “resident of the sky” and linked to sun worship. Many religious rituals and taboos regulated eating and drinking, as the Creeks believed that the consumer would acquire the qualities of the food he ate. Women gathered food and fuel; men hunted with blowgun and bow and arrow and fished with nets and spears.

The linking of the Creek people with one another fostered a flourishing trade of goods. Indian traders traveled, offering distant tribes items they could not obtain in their living area.
During the 1790’s, the Coushattas retreated from white settlements into Spanish Louisiana. They flourished in Louisiana during the first half of the nineteenth century and pushed into Texas, where they suffered from disease and ultimately united with the Alabamas in one village. There they traded with the white communities and got along quite well. The land they settled had to be conducive to agriculture and on a navigable river. They built huts of wood with bark roofs. Their diet consisted of game, corn, and wild fruit.

Migration and white society had a negative effect on the social organization of the Coushatta. By the mid-1800’s, the clan and town had little social meaning. Intermarriage between Coushattas and other tribes, whites, and African Americans was frowned upon but not uncommon. The family began to assume the traditional functions of the clan and town, including education and responsibility for children until they married.

In the twentieth century, the Coushatta are led by a chief chosen by a committee of medicine men and shamans. They also have a “war chief” who is the purveyor of justice in the community. The actual governance is carried on through an elected council. Many traditional religious rituals and practices have persisted to this day, though Christianity has now supplanted tribal religion. In 1990, approximately four hundred Coushattas lived in Louisiana and Texas on a 4,000-acre reservation; others lived in Alabama and Oklahoma. English is the primary language, although even as late as 1990 many of the older Coushattas spoke their native language. Most Coushattas in Texas and Oklahoma earn their living in either the timber or tourism industry.

Cowichan

**Culture area:** Northwest Coast  
**Language group:** Salishan  
**Primary location:** Vancouver Island, British Columbia  
**Population size:** 9,360 (Statistics Canada, based on 1991 census)

The Cowichan (the Cowichan included the Pilalt and Sumass) inhabited six villages on the lower course of the Cowichan River, on Malahat, and one village on Saanich Inlet. Permanent dwellings were large rectangular post-and-lintel constructions of split and hewn cedar. Households cooperated in numerous ceremonies and for mutual protection. The Cowichan were dependent upon a wide variety of marine products, some of which were stored for winter consumption and trade. The harpoon was used for
sea mammals. Hunting and trapping of land mammals were the responsibilities of the men; women gathered a wide variety of food and utilitarian plants.

In 1775, the Bruno de Hezeta-Juan Franciscisco de la Bodega y Quadra expedition became the first European American group to have contact with the Cowichan, and they brought smallpox with them. Malaria, measles, influenza, dysentery, and typhoid followed. Fort Langley prevented attacks by the Cowichan upon the Upper Stalo Salish, but they continued to fight with the Clallam, Lummi, and Musqueam. In the 1860’s, the Cowichan encroached upon Pentlatch territory to use the Qualicum fishery.

Cowlitz

**Culture area:** Northwest Coast  
**Language group:** Salishan  
**Primary location:** Lower and middle course of Cowlitz River, Washington  
**Population size:** 773 (1990 U.S. Census)

The socially stratified Cowlitz were dependent upon the local streams where they located their permanent villages for fishing. Eulachon, when dried, was a valuable trade fish. Inland game was also fully exploited for food and needed by-products. The Cowlitz harvested great amounts of camas, which stored well—as did numerous types of berries, tubers, and nuts. Canoes and rafts were utilized for water transport. Dwellings were of split hewn cedar and housed as many as ten families.

In 1812 the first fur traders, from Astoria, penetrated Cowlitz territory, and by 1833 the Hudson’s Bay Company regularly used the Cowlitz Trail. The company established the Cowlitz Farm in 1839. The 1850 Treaty of
Washington and the Oregon Donation Act of 1850 permitted European Americans to enter and exploit the region. The estimated Cowlitz population of a thousand declined to 105 by 1910.

The Cowlitz were not compensated for the loss of their lands until the 1960 and 1969 Indian Claims Commission hearings. The Cowlitz award was held in trust until 1988.

Cree

**Culture Area:** Subarctic  
**Language Group:** Algonquian  
**Primary Location:** Surrounding and to the east of Hudson Bay  
**Population Size:** 119,810 in Canada (Statistics Canada, based on 1991 census); 8,290 in U.S. (1990 U.S. Census)

The first European contact with the Cree occurred in 1611, but it was fully a hundred years before extensive contacts between the Hudson’s Bay Company and the Cree created one of the most lucrative settler-Indian partnerships for a colonial economy in North America. The arrangement initially had advantages for the Cree as well. When the Hudson’s Bay Company first established contacts and trading posts on the shores of Hudson Bay, they planted themselves in the center of Cree territory. The Cree dominated all contact with the white traders by controlling the waterways from the lands west of the bay, allowing only their allies the Assiniboine to have equal contact with the Europeans. The fame of the Cree comes from their essential role as a “middleman” in relations with Indians far to the west of Hudson Bay itself. According to Leonard Mason, the history of Cree-settler contact can be divided roughly into three periods: the period of the Cree initiating contact with settlers (1610-1690), the period of settlers initiating contact with the Cree (1690-1820), and Indian rehabilitation (1820-1940).

**Traditional Lifeways.** The traditional lands of the Cree lay between Hudson Bay and Lake Winnipeg—to the southeast, south, and southwest of Hudson Bay itself. The Crees’ geographic location did not allow an extensive agricultural base to develop for tribal subsistence, so the Cree were famed hunters, who also gathered berries from the harsh boreal landscape when they were available. The long winters in this region can be devastating, and failure to gather enough food during prime hunting seasons could lead to disaster during the snowy winter months. The Cree hunted caribou,
mole, black bear, beaver, otter, mink, muskrat, fox, wolf, wolverine, geese, and duck.

The Cree people, related to the larger Algonquian cultural tradition, did not live in large settlements and often traveled in small bands, a situation that led to a separate identity for some of the Cree peoples. There are no strong clans or lineage traditions that unify a larger Cree identity. The Cree themselves recognize three large “divisions,” corresponding roughly to the lands and ecological niches that they occupy: the “Swampy People” (maskekowak), inhabiting lands between Hudson Bay and Lake Winnipeg, the “Woods People” (saka-wiyiniwak), in the forested lands away from the shores, and the “Prairie People” (paskwa-wiyiniwak), who wandered farther east into the high Canadian prairie. Another division, known as the Tete de Boule Cree, who occupy lands in the lower St. Maurice River in Ottawa, were already separated from the others at the time of contact with white settlers. Some scholars simply differentiate between Woodlands and Prairie Cree, considering the “Swampy Cree” label to apply to the Woodlands group and implying that this is the major division between the two groups.

The Woodland/Swampy Cree are surrounded by the Beaver and Chipewyan tribes to the north and west, the Saulteaux to the south, and Hudson Bay itself to the east. The Cree social organization is rather simple, with no central authority or formal leadership patterns. They are reputed to remain a reserved people to this day, exercising social control through reputation (maintained through frequent gatherings to exchange information and rumor) and the threat of conjuring and witchcraft. The separation of the Prairie Cree, from about 1790, transformed the canoe-based Cree culture of eastern Canada along the tributaries of the bay into a Plains culture based on hunting, warring, and buffalo.

In the movement of the Woodlands Cree up the rivers of Canada, they came into contact with the Blackfoot, who would transform Cree life. It is difficult to date this meeting with precision, but scholars suggest that by 1690, the initial contacts had been made. The Cree were able to take great advantage not only of their connections with the trapping interests of the Hudson’s Bay Company but also of their alliance with the Blackfoot, to whom they supplied European weapons in the Blackfoot wars against the Snake. A second major change in the culture of the Plains Cree came after securing horses; new alliances were formed in an attempt to secure a steady supply of horses from southern tribes in the United States area. The securing of horses can possibly be dated to just before 1770. The importance of horses to the Plains Cree greatly increased with the expansion of European trading posts farther and farther up the various tributaries. This expansion reduced dependence on the canoe and increased reliance on horses. These inland
trading posts also demanded more supplies from their Cree contacts. They needed food as well as furs, and the Cree began to supply it from hunting the buffalo. It has been suggested that beaver populations were also declining, putting pressure on trapping as an economic resource for the Cree.

With all this adoption of the Plains lifestyle and dependence on the buffalo, the decimation of the buffalo herds had a devastating impact on the Cree, since the buffalo herds first disappeared from their lands in Canada. The response of the Plains Cree was to solidify their territorial claims in the mid-1870’s and to make war on the Blackfoot, their former allies, who still had access to the remaining herds. The defeat of the Prairie Cree made them dependent on relations with the Blackfoot. The traditional partners, and occasional adversaries, of the Cree were the Blackfoot, the Hidatsa, and their perennial allies, the Assiniboine.

Religion and Social Organization. Cree religious life is dominated by the influence of Christian missionaries; however, some aspects of traditional belief remain. Religion does not consist of a dominant ideology in Cree life, except for important rituals that surround the killing of prey in hunting, widely reported in most discussions of Cree religion and ritual. There are varying forms of belief in a central “great spirit” (kitci manitu) as well as varying versions of a belief in a malevolent, evil spirit (matci manitu) who must occasionally be placated in order to prevent illness and other problems in social life. There are shamans who are practiced in various forms of witchcraft. One of the most prevalent features of Cree religious/social life is the “shaking tent.” This is a tent reserved for ceremony and storytelling. The shaking tent is regularly a feature of larger Cree social gatherings.

The Cree traveled in small bands, and membership in these bands was fluid, changing with circumstances and environmental factors. Leadership was gained through prestige, particularly through success in warfare, for the Plains Cree. There were warrior societies among the Cree, led by a warrior chief. The highest office was “chief,” selected from among the warrior chiefs. As was the case in other Plains societies, however, peacemaking was considered one of the most honorable virtues of a Cree leader. The second manner of acquiring status was through generosity. Food gathered by the band was distributed to all, and a form of “Plains communalism” maintained a balance with those possessions that were considered to belong to an individual.

The Cree experienced, as did other Native North Americans, a series of devastating plagues that considerably reduced their numbers. There were serious smallpox outbreaks in 1780 and 1782, and one of the more extreme estimates from historians is that only one in fifty survived. The native peoples could not believe that illness could transfer from one person to
another. Estimates of the Cree population in 1809 ranged around 5,000 individuals, increasing to 13,000 in 1860. Flu epidemics of 1908, 1909, and 1917 had a devastating impact on the Cree population. In 1924, census figures indicated a population of roughly 20,000. Present estimates of the Cree population vary widely, with some sources putting the population at 100,000 or more.

When the fur trapping economy began to break down in the nineteenth century because of a decreasing interest in the European markets, the economic incentive for settler contact with the Cree also broke down. The Cree had become economically dependent on their settler contacts, and the reduction in the fur trade had a devastating effect on Cree independence. By 1940 there was a situation of serious dependence on the Canadian government for continued subsistence.

Daniel L. Smith-Christopher

Bibliography


Creek

CULTURE AREA: Southeast
LANGUAGE GROUP: Muskogean
PRIMARY LOCATION: Alabama, Oklahoma
POPULATION SIZE: 43,550 (1990 U.S. Census)

While tribal tradition held that the Creeks, or Muskogees, originally came from west of the Mississippi, they occupied large areas of Georgia and Alabama by the seventeenth century. The name “Creek” is of English origin and derived from Ochesee Creek, a tributary of the Ocmulgee River. (Ochesee was the name given the Muskogees by neighboring Indians.) English traders originally referred to the Muskogees as Ochesee Creeks but soon shortened the name to Creeks. The Creeks were not originally a single tribe, and not all Creeks spoke Muskogee. They were instead a collection of groups that included, among others, Muskogees, Alabamas, Hitchitis, Coushattas, Natchez, Yuchis, and even some Shawnees. Those living along the Alabama, Coosa, and Tallapoosa Rivers came to be regarded as Upper Creeks, while those along the Chattahoochee and Flint Rivers came to be known as Lower Creeks. Over time, the English (and later American) habit of regarding the Creeks as a single nation and dealing with them as such encouraged more of a sense of overall Creek identity. Few tribes, however, could match the ethnic and linguistic diversity of the Creeks.

Traditional Culture. Despite their diversity, the Creeks did share something of a common culture. At the time of contact with the English, the Creeks were an agricultural people whose major crop was corn. The green corn ceremony, or busk, was held in July or August. It marked the beginning of the new year and remained the ritualistic focal point of Creek culture.

The Creeks generally lived in towns centered on a square ground. The major towns of the Upper Creeks included Abihka, Atasi, Fus-hatchee, Hilibi, Kan-hatki, Kealedje, Kolomi, Okchait, Pakana, Tali, Tukabachee, Wi-
wohka, and Wokakai; Coweta, Eufala, Kashita, and Osachi were important Lower Creek towns. Each town (or talwa) had its chief (or micco), as well as its military leader (tastanagi). There was no chief of all the Creeks, though a Creek National Council met annually to discuss matters of common concern. Loyalties to individual towns were strong, and individuals were more likely to think of themselves as Tukabachees or Cowetas than as Creeks.

The social structure in all the towns was based on clans. An individual was born into the clan of his or her mother, but marriage within the clan was strictly forbidden. Since clans transcended town boundaries, the clan system helped to keep the Creek towns united in a rather loose confederacy.

Warfare was an integral part of Creek society as it was through military exploits that males earned the reputations that brought status within the tribe. Traditional enemies included the Cherokees and the Choctaws. Warfare also played a symbolic role in Creek social organization: Towns (and clans) were considered to be either “red” or “white.” White towns were considered to be more oriented toward peace, and red towns to war. Over time this distinction lost much of its meaning, but into the nineteenth century it was customary for civil matters to be discussed at councils in white towns, while military affairs were discussed in red towns.

**European Impact.** The Creeks first encountered English traders in the seventeenth century. Finding clothes, weapons, and other goods attractive, the Creeks became willing participants in trade, providing deerskins in return. Hunting parties ranged extensively, returning with the hides that allowed them to purchase the English goods that were increasingly deemed necessities. As long as English settlements did not threaten Creek hunting grounds, the trade appeared to benefit both sides.

The commerce in deerskins, however, changed Creek society. Not only did the Creeks become increasingly dependent on European manufactures, but white traders came to live among the Indians, often intermarrying with Creek women. This introduced a mixed-blood element into Creek society that often brought with it increasing acculturation to European ways. Traders also brought their slaves with them, introducing an African influence. Though there was some precedent for slavery in traditional Creek society, the institution took root more slowly among the Creeks than among some of the other southern tribes; Africans also intermarried with Creeks.

**Creeks and European Americans.** After the American Revolution, the Creeks felt increasing pressure from white settlers. In the first treaty made by the United States after ratification of the Constitution, Alexander McGillivray and other Creek chiefs ceded some of their lands in Georgia in 1790. As American influence became more intense, it became increasingly difficult to maintain the deerskin trade. Some Creeks looked to Britain for
protection, while others believed it wiser to come to terms with the Americans. Increasingly, Creek society divided. Some of the more acculturated Creeks, often of mixed blood, sought a closer relationship with the United States and followed the advice of Indian agent Benjamin Hawkins, who encouraged the Creeks to take up American-style agriculture and to put away tribal traditions such as the communal ownership of property. The McIntoshes of Coweta prospered by following such advice and became increasingly powerful. Many such Creeks came from Muskogee backgrounds and wanted to see the Creek National Council become a centralized government.

Others, however, resisted and sought to retain the old ways. Many of these were of non-Muskogee backgrounds. They were reluctant to abandon the deer-hunting economy and to see the autonomy of the towns reduced. Traditionalist Creeks were much affected by a religious revival that swept the Indian country in the early 1800’s, calling for a return to old tribal ways as a means of restoring order to a disordered world. The traditionalists were also influenced by the pan-Indianism of Tecumseh, and the Shawnee leader (whose mother was a Creek) won many supporters when he visited Creek country in 1811.

The Creek War. The increasing divisions in Creek society led to bloodshed in 1812 when the traditionalists retaliated against the National Council’s attempt to punish Creeks involved in attacks against settlers. A Creek civil war erupted, with Red Sticks (as the traditionalists were called) launching attacks on the towns of Creeks friendly to white settlers. In 1813, the war expanded to include the United States, which was itself at war with Great Britain. Despite early successes, notably at Fort Mims, an aroused United States inflicted a crushing defeat on the Red Sticks. In the Treaty of Fort Jackson (1814), Creek chiefs were forced to agree to the cession of roughly one-half the tribe’s remaining lands. Some Red Sticks escaped into Florida, where they joined their Seminole kinsmen. There they kept up resistance until defeated in the First Seminole War (1817-1818).

Removal. The influx of settlers into former Creek lands spelled the end of the deer-hunting economy and made it increasingly difficult for Creeks to live as Indians. As whites eyed remaining tribal lands, some of the more acculturated leaders were receptive to suggestions that the Creeks move west. In 1825, William McIntosh signed a treaty ceding all that was left of Creek lands in Georgia. His subsequent assassination was evidence that many Creeks disagreed. McIntosh’s heirs and some others voluntarily departed for the Indian Territory (modern Oklahoma).

Though most Creeks remained in the South, President Andrew Jackson’s removal policy proved inescapable. In 1832 a new treaty was signed that
paved the way for removal. Though some traditionalists resisted, in the spring of 1836, the bulk of the tribe left peacefully for the Indian Territory under Opothleyaholo’s leadership. The Creeks’ Trail of Tears was less dramatic than that of the Cherokees, in part because most of the Lower Creeks moved by water, but at least 10 percent of the tribe perished en route, and as many died in the first year in their new homeland.

**Creeks in Indian Territory.** Once in Oklahoma, the Creeks attempted to re-create the social order they had known in the South. New towns were founded, often bearing the names of ones left behind, and sacred fires kindled from ashes brought from Alabama burned in the square grounds. Settling largely along the Canadian and Arkansas Rivers, the Creeks adjusted to their new surroundings as one of the Five Civilized Tribes of transplanted southern Indians. The Creeks were slower than the other tribes to organize a tribal government, however; not until 1867 was a constitution drafted and a national government created with its capital at Okmulgee.

By this time, internal division had reappeared. During the Civil War the more acculturated Creeks, led by the sons of William McIntosh, committed
the tribe to an alliance with the Confederacy. The traditionalists, led by Opothleyaholo, were pro-Union. Another Creek civil war resulted, in which the pro-South faction gained the upper hand. The eventual Union victory brought an imposed treaty that cost the tribe half of its Oklahoma lands and required that the Creeks incorporate their former slaves within the tribe.

The life of the Oklahoma Creeks continued to be marked by division—one reason, perhaps, for the organization of the country’s first tribal police force (the Creek Lighthorse) in 1877. Though the more acculturated Creeks generally controlled the nation’s government, traditionalists periodically attempted to oust them, sometimes by force. The most serious conflict arose in the Green Peach War (1882), when Isparhecher and his followers fought with the tribal government. Around the end of the nineteenth century, Chitto Harjo (Crazy Snake) led a religious revival among traditionalists that sought to stem the tide of acculturation.

Twentieth Century Changes. By 1900, the Creeks were again coming under pressure from the outside. The Five Civilized Tribes had been exempted from the General Allotment Act (1877). The desirability of their land, however, and the assimilationist thrust of government policy led to passage of the Curtis Act (1898), which provided legal authority to allot the lands of the Five Civilized Tribes and to dissolve their governments. In 1901 the Creeks agreed to allotment, with each individual receiving 160 acres. Though some traditionalists resisted by refusing to take up their allotments, they acted in vain. By 1936, fewer than 30 percent of Creeks still held their allotments. In preparation for Oklahoma statehood, the tribal governments of all Five Civilized Tribes were abolished on March 6, 1906.

Under the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act (1936), Indians in the state were allowed to organize governments again and to hold land communally. Creeks initially responded to the act at the town level, and in 1939 three towns adopted constitutions. In 1970 Congress allowed the election of principal chiefs in the Five Civilized Tribes, and the Creeks adopted an updated constitution that restored tribal government with elected legislative, executive, and judicial branches. Resurgent population growth made the Creeks the country’s tenth largest tribe by 1990.

The twentieth century also saw a revival among the descendants of the small number of Creeks who evaded removal in the 1830’s. Though largely acculturated, several hundred individuals maintained a Creek identity in southern Alabama. After several decades of struggle, they received federal recognition as the Poarch Band of Creeks in 1984.

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Crow

**Culture area:** Plains  
**Language group:** Siouan  
**Primary location:** Montana  
**Population size:** 8,588 (1990 U.S. Census)

The Crow tribe, of Siouan ancestry, split off from the agriculturalist Hidatsa tribe. Crows, who called themselves Absaroka (bird people, or children of the long-beaked bird), were hunter-gatherers who inhabited parts of Montana and Wyoming. The tribe was divided into three groups by yearly migration patterns. They were one of the tribes which cooperated with European settlers and the U.S. government (as army scouts, for example). This policy, and the accomplishments of astute Crow chiefs, led to preservation of some Crow ancestral lands as a Crow reservation. Modern Crows have been fairly successful in accommodating to modern American ways while retaining tribal values. Among their many achievements are the election of a Crow to the Montana State Senate and a Crow Fair, which creates income from tourism.

**Tribal History.** The Crow or Absaroka are a Hokan-Siouan tribe. It has been said that the name “Crow” (or Kite) came from misconceptions of French explorers and that the tribe was actually named for the sparrow hawk. The Absaroka arose between the mid-sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, after two groups broke away from the Hidatsa tribe. Hidatsas were Indian agriculturalists who lived along the Missouri River. There are several Crow legends about the basis for the split. It is believed that the first Crows were Awatixa Hidatsas who became disenchanted with the lifestyle associated with farming and sought the excitement to be found in a society of nomad hunter-gatherers. Certainly this is what they became, nomads whose economy was based mostly on the buffalo. Later, after obtaining horses—probably by trade with the Shoshone—the Crow evolved into a mobile and powerful fighting force and became wide-ranging hunters.
The Crow originally inhabited the eastern part of the Rocky Mountains at the head of the Yellowstone and Missouri rivers. They were subdivided into three distinct groups. Mountain Crows (Acaraho), originally the Awatixa Hidatsa, settled in the Big Horn and Absaroka mountains. They hunted there most of the year but wintered in warmer areas south of the modern Wyoming-Montana border. River Crows (Minisepere) were a second group of dissatisfied Hidatsas, whose migration pattern followed the Missouri River. The third group, an offshoot of the River Crows, “Kicked in the Belly” Crows (Erarapio), migrated through the Little Bighorn and Powder River valleys.

These three groups interacted peaceably and protected one another from encroachments of the Blackfoot, Shoshone, and Sioux to the north, south, and southeast, respectively. The Crow allied themselves with the Hidatsa and other nearby tribes, including the Mandan. These alliances were particularly important because the Crow tribe was not large (reportedly never exceeding sixteen thousand people) and their tribal land abounded with game, making it desirable to others.

In the 1820’s, non-Indians began to arrive in Crow territory. Initially, most were traders, who introduced Crows to metal tools, enhanced their use of rifles for hunting and war, and provided glass beads as well as other materials useful in Crow handicrafts. Non-Indians also brought European disease that decimated the Crow population. According to several sources, smallpox was the main factor that dropped the Crow population from sixteen thousand to under three thousand.

By 1851 various trading posts and forts had been built in Crow territory, and the expanding westward flood of American settlers began to force other tribes (especially the Sioux and Blackfoot) off their own lands. This situation put them in serious competition for Crow lands. The U.S. government brought the Plains tribes together at Fort Laramie in 1851 to define “Indian homelands.” This action, probably aimed mostly at protecting American settlers from the results of Indian wars, resulted in defining the Crow country as a 38-million-acre area bounded on the east, north, south, and west by the Powder River, the Missouri and Musselshell rivers, the Wind River Mountains, and the Yellowstone River, respectively.

The generation of fixed boundaries of a Crow homeland represented the first loss of territory by the tribe. It was followed, in rapid succession, by the disappearance of most of their territory and by huge disruptions of every facet of Crow tribal life. All this occurred despite the friendliness of the Crows to American settlers and their service as army couriers and scouts. First, in 1868, the Crows, under chief Middle of the Land, were stripped of nearly 30 million acres of the homeland granted to them in 1851. They
retained 8 million acres bounded on the south by the Montana-Wyoming border, on the east by longitude 107 degrees, and on both the west and the north by the Yellowstone River.

The 1868 treaty involved subjugating the Crow tribe in order to “prepare them for civilized life.” It did this by placing them under the control of Indian agents, who were to “help them to blend into American mainstream life.” This blending—not desired by the Crow tribe—included establishment of schools to modernize them, churches to Christianize them, supplementation of their food supply, and an attempted precipitous conversion of hunter-gatherers into farmers.

Then, three successive steps—in 1882, 1891, and 1904—diminished the Crow reservation to its present 3 million acres, divided into individual

![Crow Indians gathering to receive the annuities they are owed for agreeing to live on a reservation. (National Archives)](image)
farms and ranches. As time went by, the Crows were forced more and more into mainstream American culture. They resisted in a variety of ways, such as the introduction into their religion of the Shoshone Sun Dance, a ritual which enabled young Crow men to prove their bravery by bearing great pain (it replaced the earlier Crow Sun Dance).

The retention of the rites of their Tobacco Society, an important part of traditional Crow life, was also very influential here, as was the development of the Native American Church, which utilizes peyote in its ceremonies. In addition, the strength and solidarity of Crow family life, the retention and routine use of the Crow language, and the annual Crow Fair have helped to maintain Crow tribal identity. Always essential, throughout Crow interaction with mainstream American society, have been the achievements of a continuum of insightful Crow leaders; these statesmen include Eelapuash (Sore Belly), Medicine Crow, Plenty Coups, and Robert Yellowtail.

Traditional Lifeways. The Crow were subdivided into thirteen clans, described in detail in Robert H. Lowie’s The Crow Indians (1956). Each of these tribal subgroups (large groups of closely related families) was headed by a man with a distinguished record in intertribal war. Members of all clans were found in the Acaraho, Minisepere, and Erarapio encampments.

Each encampment was governed by a council of chiefs, shamans, and tribal elders. Chiefs were individuals who attained this title by performing four specific deeds: leading successful war parties, counting coup by touching an enemy and escaping, taking an enemy’s weapon from him, and cutting loose a horse from an enemy camp. One member of the tribal council, usually a chief, was elected head of each encampment. At all levels, chiefs lost their power if they stopped living up to Crow ideals.

The Crow men were divided into men’s military societies such as Foxes, Lumpwood, Crazy Dogs, Big Dogs, and Ravens. Membership in the societies was open to any proven warrior. The societies, each having its own rules and customs, competed to recruit the most promising young men. Every spring, one military society was appointed as the tribal police force to keep order in Crow encampments, enforce discipline during important tribal activities such as the buffalo hunt, and keep war parties from setting out at inappropriate times.

Crows almost always married outside their own clans, sometimes by interclan wife-capturing (in which the wives-to-be were willing candidates). More often, wives were purchased from their families for a bride price. Most women were married by the time they reached puberty. Marriage taboos forbade men and women to look at or talk to mothers-in-law or fathers-in-law, respectively. Other elaborate rules governed the behavior of other family members.
Fathers lavished attention on their sons, praising them for any good action. In addition, all adults lavished praise on youngsters for achievements in hunting, war, and general life (for example, boys returning from a first war party would be praised by all their relatives). Inappropriate actions, on the other hand, were handled by people called “joking relatives,” who gently and jokingly ridiculed bad behavior. Such teasing discipline was much more effective than harsh treatment in a society in which cooperation was essential for tribal survival. Youngsters, in turn, treated all adults respectfully.

The most important tribal religious ceremonies were those of the Tobacco Society and the Sun Dance (later replaced by the Shoshone-Crow Sun Dance), which helped men to prove their bravery. The Tobacco Society ceremonies were held three times each year: at the spring planting of tobacco (the sole Crow crop), when the tobacco was harvested, and at initiations. The Sun Dance was held when needed; it was most often associated with acts of revenge or initiation into war. One religious hero of the Crow tribe was Old Man Coyote, the creator of the world, a smart, clever being who was the subject of many lively and educational Crow tales.

The Crow Indians lived in skin tipis. These skin houses were often 25 feet high and could accommodate forty people. They were made of as many as twenty buffalo skins, sewn together and supported by lodgepoles. The preparation of a new tipi was communal woman’s work. It was carried out by a skilled woman, hired by the owner of the planned dwelling, and a group of her friends. Inside each tipi was a draft screen, painted with pictures that depicted important tribal events and the brave deeds of the tipi owners. At the rear of each tipi, directly opposite its door, was a place of honor for its owner or special guests.

When a Crow died, the body was taken out through a hole cut in one side of the tipi, rather than by the door; it was believed that if a body were taken out by the door, another tipi occupant would soon die. Dead bodies were placed on wooden scaffolds in their best clothing, where they remained until their decomposition was complete. At that time the remains were taken down and buried. Common Crow mourning practices included giving away property, cutting the hair, tearing clothing, and gashing the body. In some cases mourners cut off a finger joint.

The main food source of Crow Indians living on the plains was buffalo, which were hunted by driving them over cliffs, surrounding them on horseback and shooting them, or driving them into traps. Deer were another major meat source. Most meat was roasted over fires, cooked in the ashes of fires, or boiled in skin-lined pits. Some meat was mixed with berries and fat and dried to produce pemmican food reserves. Edible roots,
berries, and fruit such as wild plums were harvested by women to supplement meat, which was the main Crow food.

Crows were exceptionally fine horsemen and possessed huge numbers of horses per capita. Many of these horses were obtained by theft from other tribes, and the Crows had the reputation of being exceptionally accomplished horse thieves. They were also, however, very successful horse breeders.

The tools and weapons of the Crow were of fine construction. Their bows were fabricated from hickory and/or ash and horn, when possible. Crow bow and arrow makers were very skilled, and all Crow artifacts, including buffalo horn cups and wooden bowls, were well made. Crow handicrafts such as clothing, arrow quivers, and various adornments were of very fine quality and were sought after. These adornments enhanced the appearance of a people who were usually relatively tall (many men were near 6 feet). Crow men rarely cut their hair, letting it grow very long and lavishing much attention on it. Hence, many traders called Crows “the long-haired Indians.”

Clothing, blankets, and other items that modern society manufactures from cloth were made of animal skins. Preparation of the skins began by soaking them in water for several days. Then, loosened hair and scraps of flesh were scraped off, a paste of animal brains was added to soften the skins, and scraping continued. Finally, the skins were tanned and used to make garments that were soft and flexible in any weather. Prior to the advent of European traders, skin objects were decorated with dyed porcupine quills and feathers. Later, glass beads replaced quills.

**Modern Life.** Modern Crow life, to a large extent, has been that of the reservation. In the 1880’s, buffalo had become nearly extinct because of hide hunting. At this time, a Crow named Wraps His Tail (Sword Bearer) excited some Crows into revolt, but his death at the hands of Crow reservation police ended the movement.

The next forty years saw strong efforts by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to force the Crow tribe to enter modern life completely. Their program included attempting to force the Crows to remain on the reservation, to become Christians, to follow mainstream marriage and social customs, and to farm or ranch. At this time Crow children were forced to attend boarding school, which was intended to turn them into mainstream Americans. Up to the end of World War II, Crows reacted by constructing a cultural base which preserved the core of their culture. In essence, Crows went their own way while acceding to many demands of the federal government. This action was complicated by a need to interact with the world outside the reservation, a world in which Crows were often treated with contempt.
Most Crows thus remained on the reservation whenever possible, where most social relationships were regulated by Crow tradition. For example, Crows often belonged to an Indian Christian church but married and interacted according to Crow custom. Ironically, the Crow tribe, which had generally interacted peacefully with the American government, was the least tractable Plains Indian tribe in parting with their traditions. Canny and pragmatic, they made the best of advantages of mainstream culture without losing sight of their Absaroka culture. This feat was not accomplished without mental anguish, and some Crows fell victim to depression and alcoholism.

By the 1940’s the peyote religion of the Native American Church and the Crow-Shoshone Sun Dance were firmly in place in Crow life. The church provided an alternative to straight Christian worship. Combined with other shamanic rituals, the Sun Dance both provided Crow health care and enabled Crow young men to prove courage in a variant of the old way. In addition, the tribal customs of gift giving, respecting the family, and using “joking relatives” were applied to situations as disparate as winning an athletic event or having a young relative be graduated from high school or college.

In the political arena, Crows developed political and legal machinery to defend the reservation against further encroachment by whites. Primary among their leaders was Robert Yellowtail. In addition, in 1948 the Crow tribe adopted a reservation constitution based on their traditional tribal council but allowing every Crow adult to vote. The council elected officers, including a chairman, and established committees to solve tribal needs.

Abetted by a federal government policy more sensitive to American Indian needs, Crow leaders became ever more useful to the tribe. Successful legal action against the federal government, sale of the land used for Yellowtail Dam (named after Robert Yellowtail), and a recreation site on the Bighorn River, as well as royalties on coal discovered on the reservation, swelled the coffers of the tribe.

In the early 1990’s a third of reservation residents were non-Indians, and 20 percent of Crows lived off the reservation. Many modern Crows work for the tribal government, which has improved health care, education, and housing for tribe members with funds from the tribal treasury. They also teach at nearby colleges and other schools, work at many levels in local industry, and successfully own and run ranches and farms. The annual Crow Fair is a valuable tourist attraction. Robert Yellowtail died in 1988; however, others, including his son (Bill Yellowtail), have followed him. Bill Yellowtail has been a Montana State senator.

Sanford S. Singer
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Cupeño

**Culture area:** California  
**Language group:** Cupeño  
**Primary location:** San Jose de Valle valley, California  
**Population size:** 371, including Agua Caliente (1990 U.S. Census)

The Cupeño were patrilocal and married outside their kin groups. With no direct access to the ocean, the Cupeño relied on acorns, seeds, berries, deer, quail, and small animals. They occupied two politically autonomous villages, united by trade, marriage, rituals, and language. Clans were headed by men through inheritance; they maintained the clan’s ceremonial dance house and paraphernalia. Ceremonies were concerned with mortuary rituals, world-renewal rites, and an eagle-killing ritual.

The Cupeño were first contacted by the Spanish in 1795, but no sustained contact was established until 1820 when asistencias were built by the Spaniards to graze their cattle. With control of their lands gone, the Cupeño were forced to work as serfs until eventually the “owners” of Cupeño lands wanted them removed in the late 1890’s. Years of litigation and national protest prevented this, until the California Supreme Court removed the Cupeño to the Pala Reservation in Luiseño territory.

Desert culture

**Date:** Since 8000 b.c.e.  
**Location:** Southwest, Great Basin  
**Cultures affected:** Paiute, Shoshone

The term “Desert culture” is used to refer to a widespread pattern of small, mobile, hunting and gathering populations adapted to dry environments of western North America. The Desert culture tradition begins around 7000 b.c.e. and continues into the historic period with peoples such as the Paiute of the Great Basin. In general, this term—coined by Jesse Jennings in the 1950’s—has been replaced by more specific cultural phases in different geographical regions that emphasize regional and temporal variations as revealed by increasingly detailed archaeological data. The majority of these occur during a time referred to by archaeologists as the Archaic period.
As originally conceived, Desert culture referred to a lifestyle characterized by small social groups or band-level societies composed of extended families numbering, at most, twenty-five to thirty individuals. These groups moved across the landscape in annual cycles, taking advantage of a wide variety of different resources that varied with altitude, rainfall, soil conditions, and seasonal availability. Material possessions were limited to portable objects that were easily manufactured as needed. Among these were baskets and milling stones, used in the transport and processing of plants and seeds, and chipped-stone projectile points. Vegetable foods were supplemented by hunting, primarily of small mammals, birds, and reptiles and mainly through the use of traps, snares, and simple weapons.

The earliest (and latest) manifestations of Desert culture occurred in the Great Basin region. Danger Cave, in western Utah, yielded traces of slab milling stones, twined basketry, bone awls, and various small projectile points dating to between 8000 and 7000 B.C.E. Coiled basketry was found in later levels, accompanied by wooden darts, skewers, and pins, a variety of bone implements, and cordage made from hides and vegetable fibers.

One of the regional variants of the Desert culture is the Cochise tradition of the southwestern United States. Its earliest phase, Sulphur Spring, dates to about 7000 B.C.E. and is characterized by percussion-flaked projectile points together with simple manos and metates. It is followed by several thousand years of successive phases, known mostly from open sites, that provide evidence of gradual changes in both chipped- and ground-stone technology. At the site of Bat Cave (New Mexico), evidence for the use of maize appears in the context of a late Cochise tradition occupation.

The Desert culture, in its broadest conception, is the oldest and most persistent indigenous tradition in North America. This is probably attributable both to its simplicity and to its versatility in the face of environmental change. Desert culture represents the most flexible adaptation to a landscape in which food resources were varied and widely dispersed. During difficult climatic conditions, the Desert culture way of life permitted the survival of small populations as populations of large game hunters declined.

Diegueño

**Culture area:** California  
**Language group:** Hokan  
**Primary location:** Southern California  
**Population size:** 2,276 (1990 U.S. Census)
The range of the Diegueño, a Southern California group, extended across deserts and mountain valleys. Actually, the term “Diegueño” is misleading, a throwback to Spanish colonial designations. The Tipai and Ipai together, peoples who were linguistically and culturally related, made up the Diegueño. Technically, the Diegueño were not a true tribe, but rather groups of autonomous bands or tribelets.

The Southern California climate was very warm in summer, but winters were mild. Dwellings varied according to the season: brush shelters in summer; frameworks of bent poles covered by thatch, bark, or pine slabs in winter. The tribelets usually were composed of a single clan; leadership was provided by a clan chief and his assistant. Shamans cured the sick, presided over ceremonies, and interpreted dreams.

To the Diegueño, as for many California native groups, the acorn was a major staff of life. Acorns were gathered, ground into meal, then baked or made into a kind of mush. Great care was taken to leach out the bitter tannic acid from the acorns.

The Tipai-Ipai/Diegueño were the first California Indians to experience repression under Spanish colonial rule, when Mission San Diego de Alcalá
was founded in their territory in 1769. Early conversions to Christianity were probably genuine, but the Tipai-Ipai soon found that they had traded freedom for a kind of semiserfdom as the Spanish tried to suppress native culture and religion in the name of civilization.

After a few years of repression, however, the Tipai-Ipai, now called Diegueño after the mission, staged a revolt in November, 1775. Led by a mission Indian named Francisco, eight hundred warriors stormed Mission San Diego, burning the buildings and killing three Spaniards. Superior Spanish weaponry eventually restored control over the Diegueño, and the mission was restored. By the 1990’s, the Diegueño were scattered on fourteen reservations of varying size, from six to fifteen acres. Modern Diegueño call themselves “Kumeyaay,” since the former term is associated with the colonial past.

**Dogrib**

**CULTURE AREA:** Subarctic  
**LANGUAGE GROUP:** Northeastern Athapaskan  
**PRIMARY LOCATION:** Northwest Territories, Canada  
**POPULATION SIZE:** 2,845 (Statistics Canada, based on 1991 census)

The Dogrib, a tribe of the Athapaskan language group, get their name from a traditional legend according to which the first tribesmen came from the mating of a woman and a dog. Dogrib people have lived since the 1500’s in the Northwest Territories of Canada, between Great Slave and Great Bear lakes along the Mackenzie River. Their earliest contact with Europeans dates to 1771, when French trappers encountered tribal members and began trading for furs and caribou hides. Epidemics began to take their toll, however, and the population began a rapid decline. By the 1880’s, caribou herds began to decline, and musk-ox robes became the main trade good. By this time, Roman Catholic missionaries had entered the area, built mission schools, and converted most of the Dogrib to Christianity. In 1900, when the population had dipped below 1,000, tribal leaders signed a reservation treaty with Canadian authorities retaining control of much of their traditional homeland. A gold rush in the 1930’s brought an influx of whites, who built the town of Yellowknife.

Traditionally, the tribe had divided into six regional bands. Each band had a leader, who generally was the best hunter and the most generous gift-giver to the group. The Dogrib believed that human beings got their
power from spirits inhabiting animals and trees—and that these spirits caused sickness, controlled the population of animals to be hunted, and dictated the weather. Illnesses could be cured by confession of sins and misbehavior in front of group leaders.

Many Dogrib practiced their traditional way of making a living until the 1960’s. They hunted beaver and muskrat in the spring and caribou in the summer, and fished in the river until the October freeze-up. Winters were the hardest times because of the intense cold and dwindling supply of animals. Government assistance programs began in the 1960’s, with health and medical services, a public housing program, schools, and a new highway. The population began to increase, although many Dogrib remained poor. Employment came mainly from these government programs, and after construction was completed the only jobs available were as fishing guides, or janitors and clerks in the assistance programs.

**Dorset**

**DATE:** 950 B.C.E.—1000 C.E.

**LOCATION:** Canada’s eastern Arctic, southern Greenland

**CULTURE AFFECTED:** Inuit

The Dorset cultural tradition is said to have begun around 950 B.C.E. Pre-Dorset hunters were the earliest known occupants of the central and eastern Arctic, and they were living in the area by 3000 B.C.E. They established themselves there during a period of postglacial warming.

By 950 B.C.E., during another period of climatic warming, pre-Dorset culture had evolved into the distinctive Dorset tradition, centered at northern Foxe Basin and southern Baffin Island. Thereafter, from roughly 200 B.C.E. to 200 C.E.—the period of its maximal distribution—the Dorset tradition was marked by viable colonies scattered throughout the Arctic from Banks Island in the west, around Hudson Bay in the center, to Greenland, Labrador, and Newfoundland in the east. Dorset colonies in Newfoundland were planted farther south than Inuit have ever been discovered. By 1000 C.E., the Thule people, moving out of the western Arctic with superior technology, began occupying areas previously marked by the Dorset tradition. Anthropologists are unsure whether the Dorset were already in decline or whether the Thule merged with or simply displaced them.

Many Dorset cultural characteristics were continuations of pre-Dorset patterns; subsistence still rested heavily on hunting seal, walrus, and smaller
whales along shorelines and ice floes, activities which were supplemented by organized drives to kill caribou as well as by fishing for salmon and trout. Accordingly, the Dorset tradition developed a wide range of distinctive hunting weapons: flaked chert harpoons, slotted bone and barbed harpoon heads, beveled slate lance points, fish spears, flaked chert snub-nosed scrapers, flaked chert bifaced knives, beveled slate flensing knives, burins, and snow knives for igloo building. Though lacking bows or floating drags for kayak hunting, the Dorset built hand-drawn sledges, used dogs for hunting or food, crafted blubber lamps, constructed several types of housing, were expert at grinding and polishing tools, and carved elaborate magico-religious art objects.

Duwamish

**CULTURE AREA:** Northwest Coast  
**LANGUAGE GROUP:** Salishan (Nisqually)  
**PRIMARY LOCATION:** Seattle  
**POPULATION SIZE:** 201 (1990 U.S. Census)

The Duwamish were divided into five different territorial groups. Although they were a maritime people and fish was a staple, they also depended on vegetable foods and land animals. Numerous types of waterfowl were caught, and tidal foods were abundant, particularly shellfish. Traditional forms of wealth were dentalia, slaves, canoes, blankets of dog and mountain goat wool, fur robes, and clamshell disk beads.

The first European-American contact with the Duwamish was in 1792, when George Vancouver explored Puget Sound. John Work of the Hudson’s Bay Company explored the region in 1824. In 1833, the company established Fort Nisqually as a trading post, which brought many changes through increased trade. In 1854 and 1855 the Treaties of Medicine Creek and Point No Point reserved land for some tribes. By the 1880’s, the Indian Shaker Church had spread through the area.

The final Judge George Bolt decision in 1979 denied the nonreservation Duwamish their fishing rights. In 1988, a petition for recognition by the Duwamish and other landless tribes of western Washington was drawn up and was still in litigation in the early 1990’s.
The Erie were a powerful sedentary tribe closely related to the Hurons, occupying lands south of Lake Erie down to the Ohio River in the early seventeenth century. With an economy based on horticulture, the women produced the crops of corn, beans, squash, and sunflowers, while men hunted and fished, thereby creating a varied and stable diet. Consequently, the Erie people numbered as many as fourteen thousand in the early seventeenth century, living in palisaded villages. They were matrilineal and matrilocal. Known as excellent warriors, they frequently clashed with the Iroquois tribes to their east, particularly the Senecas, over hunting grounds. The Erie had only limited contact with Europeans, mainly French missionaries who called them “the Cat (chat) Nation” because of their customary dress style of animal skin robes complete with tails. (The name “Erie” came from the Huron term for “it is long-tailed.”)

In 1651, the Erie Nation was attacked and destroyed by the Iroquois, although the victors adopted more Erie people into their families than they killed. The Erie did not survive this attack as a distinct group, and their language became extinct as their descendants were forced to speak Iroquois languages. The Iroquois were successful at destroying the Erie Nation not because of superior numbers of warriors or greater skill in battle, but rather because of the firearms they had acquired from the Dutch. The Erie did not have access to such weapons. After having engulfed these people, the Iroquois claimed Erie territory as their ancestral hunting grounds.

Not only were the Esselen one of the smallest of the California Indian tribes, they were also probably the first to disappear ethnographically. Because no identifiable Esselen could be located by anthropologists even in
the nineteenth century, nobody knows what name they may have had for themselves. “Esselen” or variant spellings appeared in Spanish records referring to a village in the area that is now modern Monterey County, and scholars adopted it for the tribe in the absence of any other information.

The Spanish explorer Sebastián Vizcaíno entered Monterey Bay in 1602 and observed many Indians, some of whom may have been Esselen. Actual European contact, however, did not begin until 1769, when the Spanish expedition led by Gaspar de Portolá passed through Esselen territory. The population at that time has been the subject of widely divergent estimates, but 750 is a probable compromise figure. In 1770, Spanish missionaries established Mission San Carlos, originally on Monterey Bay but later moved to the mouth of the Carmel River. From that mission, which served as the headquarters of Junípero Serra and Fermín Francisco de Lasuén, the padres recruited Esselens for conversion to Christianity and Spanish culture. Mission Soledad, founded in 1791 on the Salinas River, also included some Esselen among its converts.

Mission life did not agree with the Esselen, and by the early nineteenth century their numbers had dropped precipitously. By the time of the secularization of the missions around 1834, both San Carlos and Soledad were nearly abandoned because of the near extinction of both Esselen and non-Esselen populations. No significant features of Esselen culture and very few Esselen people survived the mission experience. By 1928, when the federal government undertook to enroll all California Indians, only one person claimed Esselen ancestry, and that was a one-quarter link of questionable authenticity.

Since anthropologists and other scholars have had essentially no informants on which to base their research, the little knowledge of Esselen culture has been obtained from a few scattered records of the Spanish missionaries, members of other tribes who could recall a few Esselen words and cultural features, and the archaeological record. Although some Esselen lived along the Pacific coast and utilized fish and abalone for subsistence, most inhabited the mountainous regions of southwestern Monterey County and relied on acorns and other plants. Since they lacked bows and arrows, hunting was not possible, but the Esselen snared skunks, rabbits, lizards, and dogs. Some rock art, a few burial sites of cremated remains, some chipped-stone artifacts, and a large number of bedrock mortars have been found. The relative paucity of artifacts has led one archaeologist to suggest that the alleged Esselen sites were only visited periodically by Indians of other tribes and to question whether an actual Esselen tribe ever existed. The only evidence of distinct Esselen culture is linguistic and is mostly from indirect secondary sources.
The Fernandeño are among the small California tribal groupings that once occupied the area of modern-day Los Angeles county, specifically the northern valley areas or present San Fernando Valley. The modern Fernandeño live slightly to the south. Their near neighbors, the Gabrieleno, also had villages on the islands of Catalina, Santa Barbara, San Nicolas, and San Clemente. The name “Fernandeño,” like the Gabrieleno, derives from the people who surrounded the San Fernando Mission, one of the early Roman Catholic missionary stations founded in the Southern California region. Fernandeño speak a dialect, also called Fernandeño, of the Gabrieleno language, which is part of the Shoshonean division of the Uto-Aztecan linguistic division.

Little is known of either Gabrieleno or Fernandeño life because of the decimation of their traditional lifestyle and ideologies before trained recorders were available to record aspects of their life. It is known that their homes were domed, circular huts with thatched roofs, and reports indicate that some of these dwellings were large enough to hold fifty people.

The noted anthropologist of the California native groups, Alfred Kroeber, estimated that the Fernandeño and Gabrieleno combined totaled approximately five thousand in 1770. California Indians generally are not to be understood as “tribes,” but rather “tribal groups” of perhaps a hundred persons at most, usually not all of them permanent members, which surrounded a centrally recognized permanent village. The Fernandeño shared many common cultural traits with other village communities up and down the California coast, including a simple artistry in basket weaving, simple agriculture, and architecture. As with other Southern California native peoples in the region’s near-tropical climate, the Fernandeño typically dressed very lightly.

Most Fernandeño live in the southern Orange County and northern San Diego County areas. There are no reservations. As with the Gabrieleno, Fernandeño religious expressions were focused largely on the cult of the god Chingichngish, who was also recognized among related peoples such as the Luiseño and the Serrano. There was a fully developed shamanism, whose members were rain-makers, finders of lost objects, and healers (as well as instigators) of illness.
Bibliography

Flathead

**Culture area:** Plateau  
**Language group:** Salishan  
**Primary location:** Montana, Northern Idaho  
**Population size:** 4,455 (“Salish,” 1990 U.S. Census)

The Flathead, or Inland Salish, are related to the Shuswap, Thompson, Wenatchi, Columbia, Okanagan, Sanpoil, Colville, Kalispel, Spokane, and Coeur d’Alene. They live in northern Idaho, eastern Washington State, and Montana. The modern Flathead share their reservation with the Kutenai, around Flathead Lake near Dixon, Montana. A Flathead Indian museum is maintained in St. Ignatius, Montana, and a traditional pow-wow of the Flathead/Kutenai tribes is held in early July every year. They are united by their common use of the “Inland Salish” dialect, as differentiated from the dialect of the Coastal Salish peoples.

The name “Flathead” is a misnomer, apparently deriving from European descriptions of people holding their hands on either side of their faces, a sign-language gesture that was misunderstood by the settlers. The name has nothing to do with a tradition of “flattening heads” of children which was practiced among other western coastal peoples. The people themselves prefer “Salish.”

Around 2000 B.C.E., internal migrations of native peoples forced some Salish to the area of Bitterroot Valley, which is considered to be the tribal homeland. Around 1700 C.E., the Salish language dialects became a kind of *lingua franca* of the West Coast, since there were Native Americans who could be found as far away as present-day Montana who could understand them.
The Inland Salish are to be sharply differentiated in their culture development from their coastal cousins. The Inland Salish developed into a Plains people, hunting buffalo, and were largely nomadic in the summer as they engaged in hunting and fishing. While the Flathead remained in the Rocky Mountains, they fished the many tributaries of the Columbia River, but they shifted to buffalo hunting as they moved eastward. The women traditionally prepared food and made clothing while the men hunted, guarded camp, and made weapons. As with other Plains-dwelling native nations, the domestication and use of the horse revolutionized Inland Salish life, allowing far more wide-ranging travel for food. The Flathead got most of their horses, according to Flathead tradition, from trade with the Shoshone. For dwellings, the Flathead used the traditional Salish "longhouse" structures until they adopted a tipi-like structure later in their Plains development. Unlike other Plains tribes, they never used skins around the conical pole frame, but spread vegetation and bark around it and then partially buried the base.

Constant wars with the Blackfoot forced the Flathead/Inland Salish people to flee to various locales. Peace was established between the Blackfoot and the Flathead through an intermediary, Pierre Jean de Smet, a Jesuit missionary who lived with the Flathead between 1840 and 1846.
Tribal ceremonies and religious life were generally simple among this group. The Flathead consider themselves to be the descendants of Coyote, whom they believe to be responsible for the creation of human beings. There was a belief in countless numbers of spirits, and supernatural powers were consulted to ward off the evil effects of others’ power and the evil spirits of animals. There were dances and prayers directed to the sun and moon, largely for success in hunting and for general success in life. Power was demonstrated by wealth and luck, and men often carried a pouch containing symbols of their various powers. Shamanism was practiced as a healing and supernatural art. An interesting aspect of Flathead oral tradition was the arrival of “Shining Shirt,” possibly an Iroquois, who acted as a prophetic figure announcing the coming of the “black robes” (the Jesuits). Other Iroquois followed, and it is possibly from their influence that Roman Catholic Christianity was established among the Flathead.

Historic estimates of the population of the Inland Salish people vary from four thousand to fifteen thousand; they were decimated by smallpox epidemics between 1760 and 1781. In 1805, the Flathead chief Three Eagles encountered Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, who immortalized the Flathead people in their journals. Although relations with the settlers were always friendly, by the 1850’s both war with the Blackfoot and the settlers’ diseases had reduced their numbers to fewer than five hundred. Estimates of the modern Flathead population vary from three thousand to five thousand, counting those who live away from the reservations.

The Flathead people first requested missionary educational support in 1841; the earliest respondents were the Jesuits, who formed mission schools that had wide-ranging and extensive influence on Native American life. In 1891, Chief Charlot sold the traditional Bitteroot land, and the Flathead people were moved to the reservation lands that they now share with the Kutenai.

Daniel L. Smith-Christopher

Bibliography


Folsom

**Date:** 9000-7500 B.C.E.

**Location:** Folsom, New Mexico (site); North America (tradition)

**Culture affected:** Folsom

Folsom is the name of the prehistoric site near Folsom, New Mexico, where the antiquity of people in the Americas was finally accepted by the scientific community in 1926. Folsom also is the name of the Paleo-Indian tradition associated with the distinctive Folsom projectile point. The Folsom discovery marked a significant turning point or “paradigm shift” in American archaeology in 1926: The presence of people in the Americas at the same time as Ice-Age or Pleistocene animals that are now extinct was accepted with the discovery of a Folsom “fluted” point embedded in the ribs of an extinct species of bison, *Bison antiquus*. The site’s investigators, Jess Figgins, director of the Colorado Museum of Natural History, and Harold Cook, a geologist, telegraphed leading scientists in North America asking them to view and validate the find in the ground, which effected immediate acceptance. Since 1926, the occurrence of Folsom fluted points across North and Middle America has been regarded as part of the Folsom Paleo-Indian tradition, dated between 9000 and 7500 B.C.E.

Folsom fluted points are distinctive stone tools manufactured by flaking two sides of a narrow blade struck from a stone tool, normally chert. The point has a channel or flute removed from each side at the base. In contrast to the earlier Clovis points, the Folsom points are smaller, but the flute extends virtually the entire length of the point.

The subsistence for Folsom Paleo-Indians was based on hunting the now extinct bison, as discovered at the Folsom site. Excavations at the Olsen-Chubbuck site in Colorado by Joe Ben Wheat uncovered a kill site where about 157 bison had been stampeded into a dry gulley and trampled to death. Seventy-five percent of the animals were butchered, which Wheat estimates provided meat for a hundred people for one month. Other bison-
kill sites are located at Lindenmeier, Colorado, excavated by Frank Roberts in the 1930’s; Casper, Wyoming, excavated by George Frison; and the Jones-Miller site in Colorado, excavated by Dennis Stanford.

Despite poor preservation of plant or animal remains from Paleo-Indian times, remains at other sites indicate that the diet included other animals. At Debert, Nova Scotia, George MacDonald suggested reliance on caribou (*Rangifer*), which has been substantiated by caribou bones at other sites in northeastern North America, notably at the Udora site by Peter Storck and Arthur Spiess and at the Sandy Ridge site by Lawrence Jackson and Heather McKillop in Ontario, Canada, and at the Holcombe site in Michigan by Charles Cleland. As the large Pleistocene animals became extinct, the Folsom Paleo-Indians adapted their hunting strategies to small animals and began to gather plants during what archaeologists refer to as the Archaic tradition in North America.

**Fox**

**Culture area:** Northeast  
**Language group:** Algonquian  
**Primary location:** Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, Oklahoma  
**Population size:** 4,517 (“Sac and Fox,” 1990 U.S. Census)

The Fox are generally thought to have originated in southern Michigan. They belong to the Algonquian family and are closely related to the Sauk (or Sac), Kickapoo, and perhaps the Mascouten. The designation “Fox” was given them by French explorers; the group’s name for themselves was Mesquakie (in other transliterations, “Meshwakihug” or “Meshwakie”). Another name for the tribe is Outagami, which they were called by other tribal groups.

Mesquakie means “the people of the red earth” and may signify either the soil coloring of their primal homeland or a mythological belief that they were created from the “red earth.” When the French called them the Reynolds (Foxes), they were probably confusing a clan designation with the name of the entire people. Since the eighteenth century, the Fox have been closely identified with the Sauk people; the two groups are often regarded as a single entity by the U.S. government (as in census figures). The Fox have a long and tragic history, an economic life combining features of both the Eastern Woodlands and the Great Plains, a rich social and cultural heritage, and a modern existence characterized by survival and revival.
Prehistory and French Contact. William T. Hagan has described the history of the Fox as “a case study of the results of the clash of two civilizations.” The Fox encounter with Western culture—as embodied successively in the French, the British, and the Americans—was inherently tragic. Near genocide was followed by their displacement from their ancestral homeland in the Midwest. By the dawn of the twentieth century the Fox had declined in numbers (from about twenty-five hundred in 1650 to only 264 in 1867) and were scattered among a tribal farm in Iowa and governmental reservations in Kansas, Nebraska, and Oklahoma.

Oral tradition suggests that prior to the arrival of Europeans the Fox had been eased westward from their lands in central Michigan because of pressure from the Chippewas. Resettled in southern Wisconsin and northern Illinois, the Fox were primarily located along the Wolf River, with a territory extending from Lake Superior to the Chicago River and from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi. A western Great Lakes nation, they were known as “People of the Calumet” because of the sacred pipes they employed in their tobacco ceremonies.

Initial contact with Europeans was made when French traders, explorers, and missionaries visited Fox country in the early seventeenth century. Confusion commenced immediately, the French misnaming the tribe “Renards.” Conflict quickly ensued from major disagreements between the French and the Fox, resulting in an unusual chapter in American colonial history, the Fox being one of the few North American tribes to oppose the French actively. Several reasons for this anomaly have been offered. The Fox disapproved of the French policy of facilitating the fur trade by repressing even legitimate disputes between tribes. When the French extended the fur trade to their enemies, the Dakota, they protested. To the Fox, French trade goods and prices were inferior to those proffered by the British through their former enemies, the Iroquois, who now sought an alliance. Tribes hostile to the Fox fanned the fires of disagreement. Open warfare was almost inevitable.

The French-Fox War (1712-1737) was occasioned by the Fox demand that French traders pay a transit toll when plying the Fox River in Wisconsin. This the French refused to do, retaliating by arming the traditional enemies of the Fox, the Dakota and the Ojibwa. For a quarter of a century furious combat transpired. A brave and warlike people, the Fox were nevertheless vastly outnumbered. Many scholars believe they continued to wage war even though they realized that the French had adopted a deliberate policy of genocide. The French hoped to annihilate their adversaries through war and disease. Some French officials even suggested the total elimination of the Fox people through their deportation to the West Indies to work as
slaves in the sugar colonies. Peace was restored only in 1737 when the French, weary of war, offered a general pardon to the Fox. A permanent legacy of distrust had been generated.

From 1750 to the Reservation Era. Fox survival had been facilitated through a close alliance with the Sauk. By the mid-eighteenth century the Fox and the Sauk were regarded by outsiders as a single people. The “Dual Tribes” moved westward and southward, inhabiting lands along the Mississippi River by the 1760’s, modifying their Eastern Woodlands lifestyle with elements of the Siouan culture of the Great Plains. The disappearance of French rule with the signing of the Treaty of Paris (1763) and the advent of British hegemony did little to dissipate Fox distrust of Europeans.

The actions of the American government confirmed the Fox’s fears. Not signatories to the Treaty of Fort Greeneville (1795), the Fox and the Sauk resisted white settlement; they were active in Little Turtle’s War (1790-1794) and in Tecumseh’s Rebellion (1809-1811). Certain leaders, however, argued for “peace and accommodation,” accepting, in 1804, an annual annuity from the United States government in return for the legal cession of Fox lands east of the Mississippi. Many Fox were angered and fearful after the British failure in the War of 1812. Chief Black Hawk, a Sauk warrior, argued for armed resistance. In the last Indian war in the Old Northwest Territory, Black Hawk War (1832-1833), the Sauk and their Fox allies were routed. Most of Black Hawk’s army was killed, and Black Hawk himself was captured by the U.S. Army and exhibited as a “trophy” during a tour through the East. Removal of the Sauk and Fox to lands west of the Mississippi was now a foregone conclusion.

As a consequence of the Treaty of Chicago (1833), the Fox and their allies were removed to Iowa. This arrangement was not satisfactory for a number of reasons. The steady press of American settlers was a threat. Illegal seizure of the Fox lead mines near Dubuque, which had provided a revenue in excess of $4,000 annually from sales to traders, provoked outrage. There was a steady erosion of the traditional Fox way of life.

By 1842 the Fox and the Sauk had migrated to Kansas. Reservation life led to serious disputes between the Fox and the Sauk. Disagreements centered on the distribution of annuity payments, fears of removal to Oklahoma, apparent government favoritism toward the Sauk, the inability to make a good living on the reservation (poor land, limited hunting opportunities), and the gradual loss of a separate Fox identity. The spread of epidemic disease was the “last straw.” By the 1850’s many of the Fox wanted to return to Iowa. In 1856 an act of the Iowa state legislature legalized the residence of the Fox within that jurisdiction. The following year five members of the tribal council purchased land in Tama County, the original 80
acres eventually becoming 3,000. As a nonreservation community, the Iowa Fox settlement avoided both assimilation and federal restrictions. The settlement survived through the twentieth century. By the 1990’s the Fox people had been divided three ways: Some of them lived on the tribally owned lands in Iowa, some on reservations in Kansas and Nebraska, and the remainder in Oklahoma with the Sauk.

Economic Life. The Fox were unique among Algonquian peoples in that they were economically at home in both the Great Lakes and the Great Plains regions. In the course of their long history, the Fox adapted well to both areas.

Originally, the Fox inhabited the Great Lakes region, living in Michigan and later in southern Wisconsin and northern Illinois. The opportunities afforded by the Eastern Woodlands were fully exploited. Though the climate was harsh, the Fox prospered. Fishing was practiced; hunting was profitable. The marshlands provided a sky filled with waterfowl. On the eastern Plains were buffalo. In the primeval forests a wide variety of game flourished, including deer and moose, both of which were used for hides and meat. Trapping for furs began in earnest after contact with the Europeans. Food gathering supplied the Fox diet with nuts, berries, honey, tubers, herbs, fruits, and especially the “wild rice” (named “wild oats” by Americans) so common in the Midwest wetlands. Food producing occurred along rivers near Fox villages, the women raising corn, beans, squash, pumpkins, and melons. Tobacco was cultivated for ceremonial purposes. The forests of beech, birch, conifers, elms, oaks, and chestnuts offered materials for canoes, snowshoes, containers, writing materials, daily implements, and house construction. Maple sugar was harvested in winter. Surface metals (and copper) were mined for trading purposes.

Later in their history the Fox adjusted well to the economic opportunities of the Great Plains. This shift in lifestyle was stimulated by a variety of factors. Pressure from the Chippewas forced the Fox to flee Michigan for Wisconsin and Illinois. Contact with the Siouan peoples familiarized them with the possibilities of the prairie habitat. The arrival of Europeans supplied them with horses, firearms, and markets. Perhaps the most striking change was the adoption of the Great Buffalo Hunt. While the Fox continued their earlier seasonal economic cycle of food gathering and food producing, they significantly increased their dependence on the hunt.

A virtual exodus took place after the planting of crops in April and May, as Fox hunters went west of the Iowa-Missouri watershed seeking buffalo. During the long, dry summer they searched for bison herds. Prior to the extensive use of rifles, the hunters would surround the herd, start a grassfire, panic the buffalo, have a skilled Bowman shoot the lead animal, and
then start the “kill.” Robert Cavalier Sieur de La Salle, the seventeenth century French explorer, reported that it was not unusual for two hundred buffalo to be taken in a single day. Women accompanying the hunters would strip, clean, pack, and dry the meat while tanning the hides. By August and the advent of harvest time, the hunters would return to their permanent villages with meat for the winter and hides to trade for ammunition. A smaller winter hunt was not unknown. By 1806 the Fox were reckoned the best hunters in the Mississippi and Missouri valleys, and American pioneer Meriwether Lewis estimated the value of their annual fur sales to be $10,000. By then the Fox had become part of the American economy, relying on traders for credit and a wide variety of consumer items (knives, blankets, arms, ammunition, tobacco, and various luxuries).

The end of the traditional Fox economy was evident by the start of the nineteenth century. In 1804 chiefs accepted an annual annuity of $400 from the United States government in exchange for surrender of the ancestral lands east of the Mississippi. Large numbers of whites were settling Fox territories. By 1820 the golden age of the Great Buffalo Hunt was over. Forced removal to Iowa in the 1830’s doomed the traditional Fox way of life.

Social, Political, and Religious Life. The Fox have a rich and diverse heritage involving complex familial, tribal, and religious organizations. The fundamental social unit of Fox society was the family. Sometimes polygamous, often monogamous, the immediate family was composed of husband and wife (in plural marriages the additional wives were often sisters) and children. Courtship occurred around age twenty, with marriage resting on the consent of the bride (and her parents) to the suitor’s proposal. Remarriage following death or divorce was permitted, although marital fidelity was strictly enforced. Initially the bride and groom would reside in the home of her parents, but following the birth of the first child (in the “birthing house”) the new family would move to its own dwelling. Often there was a summer lodge (for farming and hunting) and a more permanent winter home (aligned along an east-west axis), conical in appearance, built around a central hearth. Families normally varied in size from five to more than thirty members.

Families, in turn, were organized into exogamous patrilineal clans. Anthropologists have identified eight (some claim fourteen) clans including Bear, Wolf, Swan, Partridge, Thunder, Elk, Black Bear, and Fox (from which the French apparently misnamed the tribe). The clan was a cohesive group, certain honors being hereditary within each extended family (as the office of peace chief). An institution called the moiety, also practiced among other Native American groups, helped lessen clan rivalries. Across kinship lines the Fox tribe was divided into two moieties (or societies), the White and
the Black. Created by random division, these associations were utilized for games, ceremonies, and even warfare. This arrangement provided fellowship and friendship without distinction as to bloodline or office and was a solidifying force in tribal life.

The life of the individual Fox was regulated and supported by the family, the clan, the moiety, and the entire tribe. Children were prized highly and were reared with considerable affection and attention; corporal punishment was rare. By the age of six or seven, boys were imitating the hunting ways of the males and girls were assisting in farming and homemaking with the women. Puberty was a major event for both genders. Following her initial menstruation, a girl was sent to a separate lodge for ten days to reflect on her new status as a young woman. Boys at puberty were to experience the “vision,” preceded by fasting and followed by a heroic deed. By the age of nineteen or twenty, both boys and girls were expected to be integrated fully into the adult life of the tribe.

The tribe had various types of leaders. One was the office of peace chief (often hereditary within the Bear clan), a male who was respected as an administrator, president at the tribal council, and person of wisdom, experience, and sound judgment. Another was the office of war chief (usually elected from warriors who had proved themselves repeatedly in combat), who, in times of danger, had near-dictatorial power and who was entrusted with leading the tribe to victory. A third office was ceremonial chief or shaman, a position depending on both heredity and demonstrated charismatic gifts. Though the shaman had no exclusive monopoly on spiritual functions, he was a major contact person with the supernatural. Temporary raiding chiefs were selected, men who, following fasting and a vision, would gather a band of warriors for a specific mission. Following the venture, the band dissolved. Lesser chiefs sat with the paramount chiefs in the tribal council, which decided matters of war and peace, the selection of hunting grounds, and diplomatic relations with other tribes and with Europeans.

The religious life of the Fox centered on a reverence for nature and its powers. The universe was divided into two portions: the Powers of the Sky (or the Upper Region, ruled by the Great Manitou) and the Powers of the Earth (the Lower Region, ruled by lesser spirits). The Lower Region was organized along the four points of the compass, the east (ruled by the sun), the north (ruled by the Creator), the west (the land of departed spirits), and the south (the region of the god of thunder). A powerful animism invested the earth, the sky, the waters, the forests, and all creatures with intelligent souls which could either help or hinder human activity. The Midewiwin, or Grand Medicine Society, was a secret group who believed themselves able
to enlist the support of the spirit world for the tribe.

Religious rituals occurred in harmony with the change of seasons (as the Green Corn Feast at the onset of the harvest) and the various stages of life, as puberty and death. Funeral customs were intended to guarantee the happiness of the deceased person’s spirit, burial being either in the earth (seated, or even seated on top of a dead foe, for a warrior) or on a scaffold. Gifts were buried; sometimes sacrificial animals (such as a dog) were also buried to serve as companions in the afterlife.

**Modern Life.** The United States Census of 1990 reported 4,517 Sauk and Fox Indians. Since the nineteenth century, the Fox have been divided into three groups: Some live in reservations in the Plains states (130 lived in Kansas and Nebraska in the 1970’s), some live in Oklahoma (1,000 lived on the Oklahoma reservation in the 1970’s), and the remainder live in Iowa. Since the 1820’s there has been, for most Fox, little marked separation from the Sauk people. Those in Iowa have the most clear-cut identity.

The wisdom of Fox tribal elders was demonstrated in the 1850’s when they purchased 80 (later 3,000) acres near Tama, Iowa. They won recognition by the state legislature as to the legitimacy of their residence, thus freeing themselves from the restrictions accompanying reservation life. They prospered in Iowa, and by the end of World War II there were 653 Fox living on the tribal farms. Some commuted to urban jobs, while others managed land rentals (to white farms). In Iowa, family, clan, and tribal life continues, with nearly all Fox speaking the ancestral language (one-third speak it exclusively, the rest being bilingual). While some have accepted Christianity, the majority belong to medicine societies and practice the ancestral faith (with some adhering to the Native American Church). Though only a remnant of the once proud Fox, or Mesquakie, Nation, the Iowa tribal community demonstrates the power of the people to survive and gives evidence of a revived hope for the twenty-first century.

*C. George Fry*

**Bibliography**


Fremont

**Date:** 650-1250  
**Location:** Western Colorado plateau, eastern Great Basin  
**Culture affected:** Paleo-Indian

The Fremont culture, named for the Fremont River in south central Utah, was first defined in 1931 by Harvard University anthropologist Noel Morss. Geographically, Fremont remains extend from the eastern Great Basin to the western Colorado Plateau. Although material traces go back much further, archaeologists estimate the main Fremont period to have been between 650 and 1250 C.E.

Some theories have tied the visibly less-developed Fremont to the better-known Anasazi because the last stages of both cultures, which were roughly modern, seem to have involved spatial retreats—the Anasazi into the Pueblo area, and the Fremont into the Southern Paiute, Ute, and Shoshone areas of the eastern Great Basin. Similarities in geometric designs on pottery are noted among remains left by both groups in both regions. Other archaeological evidence, however, suggests such major differences (beyond the obviously more substantial buildings and ceremonial sites left by the Anasazi) that Morss’s separate classification has remained largely unchallenged.

A main characteristic of Fremont sites is that, although some general cultural links show similarities between groups, local diversities are notable. Similarities have been traced through a unique single-rod-and-bundle method of basketmaking. Another distinctly Fremont artifact is the moccasin made from a single piece of deer or mountain sheep hocks. Although local variations are found in construction methods associated with both these artifacts, one area of Fremont archaeology shows a nearly universal practice: the use of a characteristic gray clay to fashion coil pottery forms. Although objects made by Fremont groups, and the designs used to decorate them, are not essentially different from those found in neighboring cultures, the material used is unique. Within the extensive Fremont zone, distinctions are made on the basis of proportions of granular rock added to the gray clay, or degrees of temper in the final baking. Subgroups have been labeled “Snake Valley Gray,” “Sevier Gray,” “Emery Gray,” “Uinta Gray,” and “Great Salt Lake Gray.”

In terms of decorative style, Fremont artists used a unique trapezoidal shape reproduced in large numbers in small clay figurines with characteristic hair “bobs” and ornate necklaces. The same stylized human shape...
appears in the famous canyon petroglyphs at various sites in the Fremont Zone, particularly in the Colorado Plateau region.

Because some important differences exist between remains left by groupings on the Colorado Plateau and those inhabiting the Great Basin, there has been a tendency to refer to two general zones of Fremont archaeology: the Fremont proper and the Sevier-Fremont. Two key examples help explain this division. Stone not being as available in the Great Basin zone, most building remains (although nearly identical in form and function) were made of mud bricks. Trapezoidal baked clay and small stone-etched objects are far more common in the Sevier-Fremont zone, whereas petroglyphs predominate in the eastern Fremont.

Gabrielino

**CULTURE AREA:** California  
**LANGUAGE GROUP:** Shoshonean  
**PRIMARY LOCATION:** Northern San Diego County, southern Orange County  
**POPULATION SIZE:** 634 (1990 U.S. Census)

The Gabrielinos are among the small California tribal groupings that once occupied the land where modern-day Los Angeles is located. The name “Gabrielino” derives from the fact that the people once lived around the San Gabriel Mission, one of the early Roman Catholic missionary stations founded in the Southern California region. (This is also the case with the name “Fernandeño” for those peoples once surrounding the San Fernando Mission in the present San Fernando Valley, just northwest of urban Los Angeles.) The Gabrielinos are thus closely affiliated with the Fernandeños as part of the Shoshonean branch of the Uto-Aztecan linguistic division.

Anthropologist Alfred Kroeber’s estimate for the Gabrielino population in 1770 was approximately five thousand, including the Fernandeños as well. California Indians generally are not to be understood as “tribes” but rather as small “tribal groups” of a hundred persons at most (groups were usually not permanent) that surrounded a centrally recognized permanent village. The Gabrielinos shared many common cultural traits with other village communities up and down the California coast, including a style of basket weaving, simple agriculture, and architecture. As with other Southern Californian natives in this near-tropical climate, the Gabrielinos typically dressed very lightly, if at all.
The Gabrielinos are among the few native peoples of the Los Angeles region. The Gabrielinos are divided in modern California along extended family lines. Unlike many other California groups, who have accepted the usefulness of the nontraditional office of “chief,” the Gabrielinos recognize no central leader. Rival factions among the Gabrielinos have created problems in settling cultural questions and in being able to deal with issues of heritage, such as finding archaeological sites and approving construction projects. A representative of one family or faction may approve a project, thereby creating a great protest from those who do not recognize the authority of the Gabrielinos working on the project. There are even conflicts over the number of Gabrielinos because of the same factionalism and an inability to agree on who is and is not Gabrielino. Most modern Gabrielinos live in the southern Orange County and northern San Diego County areas. There is no Gabrielino reservation.

Bibliography

Gitksan

The Gitksan are a tribal group of western-central British Columbia, closely related in language and culture to the Tsimshian, their neighbors to the west. They originally occupied the Skeena River valley; since 1900, however, some have moved into parts of the adjacent Nass river system to the northwest, where they have intermarried with some members of the Nishga, another group closely related to the Tsimshian.

The Gitksan possess many of the same general cultural features of other Northwest Coast groups. They rely on predictable and abundant salmon runs, fish for ocean species such as halibut and cod, and collect shellfish,
including several species of clams. The Gitksan also traditionally hunted elk, blacktail deer, beaver, fox, and several types of sea mammals.

In general, Gitksan social organization resembles that of other west-central coastal groups. Traditionally they traced descent through the female side (matrilineal descent), but married couples were obligated to reside in or near the house of the groom’s parents (patrilocality). Cross-culturally, this is an unusual pattern. Some anthropologists have speculated that the Gitksan, along with other Northwest Coast groups, may have been exclusively matrilineal/matrilocal in the past, but because through time so much wealth and property was being accumulated by males, cultural evolution favored a shift to institutions sanctioning male control over residence and the eventual transference of property through the male line.

On October 23, 1984, the Gitksan, along with other native groups of central-western Canada, filed a land claim for a little more than 35,000 square miles of central British Columbia. In 1991, the Canadian Government decided against the Gitksan. These same groups, along with the Gitksan, subsequently filed an appeal. The Gitksan have also filed for what has been termed “community-based self government.” This, in principle, is similar to the autonomy achieved by such groups as the Navajo (Diné) of the southwestern United States. If successful, the Gitksan would have more control over their local economic, political, and social circumstances.

Gosiute

**Culture area:** Great Basin  
**Language group:** Shoshone  
**Primary location:** Near Deep Creek, the Great Salt Lake, and Skull Valley, Utah  

Historically, the Gosiute (or “Goshute”) were a mixed tribe of both Shoshone and Ute heritage; though they spoke Shoshone and were a splinter group of that tribe, Gosiutes often intermarried with Utes. Gosiutes roamed the vast area between Ruby Valley, Nevada, and the Utah Wasatch Mountain Range. Their date of arrival in the area has yet to be established.

Because they resided in a barren, desert region of Utah and Nevada, it is believed that the early Mormon settlers of Utah were the first whites to visit the Gosiutes. The ensuing years, however, witnessed many gold miners
passing through Gosiute territory on the overland route to California. During the 1860’s, the Pony Express route also crossed Gosiute lands, and overland mail stations were erected on that tribe’s territory. After the White Pine War of 1875, many Nevada Gosiutes relocated permanently to Deep Creek Utah.

The Gosiute, or “desert people,” had only a loose tribal association and two isolated settlements. An 1866 Indian agent described them as “peaceable and loyal.” In the rare instances when they fought, it was usually to defend themselves. Gosiutes often roamed in small groups, scouring the desert for meager amounts of food. Men hunted small game, primarily jackrabbits, while women gathered edible plants and fruit. Pine nuts proved to be a favorite food source, and the yearly expedition to gather them was a major event. For cultural activities, Gosiutes participated in the Bear Dance and the Round Dance.

Early in the twentieth century, part of the tribe located on the Skull Valley Reservation in Juab and Tooele counties (Utah), while the other part moved to the Deep Creek Reservation in White Pine County, Nevada. President William Howard Taft allocated the Skull Valley region in 1912 by executive order; two years later, another such order created the Deep Creek Reservation. The tribe adopted and approved its constitution in November of 1940. By the 1990’s, less than half of the tribe’s members resided on the reservations.

Guale

**Culture area:** Southeast  
**Language group:** Muskogean  
**Primary location:** Georgia coast

These maritime and river-oriented people were divided into northern, central, and southern groups occupying numerous permanent villages connected by language, marriage, and trade. They had a diversified subsistence base that included horticulture, hunting, gathering, and fishing.

First contact with European Americans (with a Spanish colony) occurred in 1526. Soon the Spanish drove the French from Florida and began to occupy Guale territory. By 1597, French Jesuits were active among these people; they created a Guale grammar. The Franciscans had established a mission in 1573, but by 1597 all but one missionary had been killed. In retaliation, the governor of Florida had many Guale villages and granaries
destroyed, thereby bringing the Guale under Spanish control by 1601. Guale opposition to missionization continued, however, resulting in many of the Guale moving inland or to the islands of San Pedro in 1686. Facing continual conflict, the Guale fled to the Creek, who had united for the 1715 Yamasee War, among whom they lived in two missions near St. Augustine.

Haisla

**Culture area:** Northwest Coast  
**Language group:** Wakashan  
**Primary location:** Gardner Canal, British Columbia coast  
**Population size:** 955 (Statistics Canada, based on 1991 census)

The technology of the Haisla and their annual migration pattern reflected their dependence upon fish. Women gathered shellfish and various types of berries and fruits. The basic social units were five matrilineal exogamous clans, each with territorial rights; they formed alliances for ceremonial purposes. Haisla society was ranked into nobles, commoners, and slaves. Numerous ceremonies existed; the potlatch was important for redistribution of traditional wealth and recognition of status change.

Contact was made by Juan Zayas in 1792, and again the following year by Joseph Whidbey of the George Vancouver expedition. Hudson’s Bay Company established a fur-trading post at Fort McLoughlin in 1833 near Dean Channel. Breakdown of traditional culture began to occur after the arrival of Christian missionaries in 1833. Government banning of potlatches and dancing societies brought further breakdown of Haisla culture. In 1916, the Haisla had fourteen reserves with 1,432 allotted acres. By the mid-twentieth century, many Haisla were working in the fishing and logging industries, but by the 1970’s, a shift had occurred, and working in aluminum smelting had become the primary source of income.

Han

**Culture area:** Subarctic  
**Language group:** Athapaskan  
**Primary location:** Yukon River, both sides of U.S./Canadian border  
**Population size:** 495 (Statistics Canada, based on 1991 census)
The three autonomous, wealth-oriented, matrilineal Han clans subsisted primarily upon fishing, supplementing their diet by hunting, trapping, and a limited amount of gathering. They lived in riverine villages, in semi-subterranean dwellings, and in domed skin houses when hunting and traveling; on water they used birchbark canoes and moose-skin boats.

At the time of their first contact with European Americans and the establishment of Fort Yukon in 1847, the Han had already been influenced by European trade goods. The purchase of Alaska in 1869 by the United States brought white trapper-traders and gold miners who, through trade, diminished Han dependency upon traditional hunting and fishing subsistence by encouraging trapping and a cash economy, therefore making the Han dependent upon European American material culture. From 1919 to 1925, the Han suffered from epidemics of mumps, influenza, and measles.

Many modern Han live in the Indian village at Eagle; they are seasonally employed in road construction, trapping, government positions, and firefighting. Few traditional skills remain, though some beading, birchbark baskets, and snowshoes are manufactured, mostly for sale. The Han are now predominantly Episcopalians.

**Hare**

**Culture area:** Subarctic  
**Language group:** Athapaskan  
**Primary location:** Northwestern Canada  
**Population size:** 1,180 (Statistics Canada, based on 1991 census)

The Hare, or Kawchittine, Indians inhabited a large portion of northwestern Canada. The Hare were unique in that they depended almost entirely on the snowshoe hare for subsistence. Though a few other large animals and fish were consumed, there were not enough caribou and moose in the area they occupied to support the tribe. Because of the limited amount of game available to them, Hare Indians regularly suffered periods of starvation until as recently as 1920. Because they were required to travel great distances in search of food, their relatively small population of 700-800 people covered more than 45,000 square miles of very diversified territory.

Hare Indians hunted large game with bows and arrows as well as with spears. Trout and whitefish were captured with nets and hooks; snowshoe hare were captured in snares. Food was smoked, dried, or frozen for winter.
storage. The Hare used birchbark and spruce canoes for water transportation, and snowshoes for winter travel. Women dragged toboggans to transport food and family possessions. Snowshoe hare skins were woven into blankets and capes. Caribou skins were used for pants, shirts, and mittens. Families lived in tipis covered with moss for insulation.

Hare Indians placed a high value on sharing and believed in the importance of dreams. Dreams were thought to predict their future and help them make important life decisions. Medicine men were said to receive their powers from spirits, whom they called to summon game and identify the proper native medicine to use on the ill.

Though the Hare traded with local Indian tribes who visited Europeans, direct contact between Hare and non-Indians did not occur until the late 1800’s. They quickly became involved in the fur trade in order to obtain western wares. “Trading chiefs” emerged within the tribe to lead expeditions to local forts. Epidemic diseases devastated the Hare several times during the nineteenth century. In 1921, they agreed to give up their lands to the Canadian government in exchange for medical and educational services. In the mid-1940’s, fur prices declined, forcing many Hare into wage labor jobs in the local oil refinery. Native practices disappeared as the population became more urbanized.

It is difficult to determine population figures for the modern Hare Indians, as many have intermarried with members of other Indian groups. Many Hare descendants now consider themselves Slave (Slavey) or Bearlake Indians. There are several Hare Indians at Fort Good Hope and Colville Lake, but population figures represent several Indian tribes.

Havasupai

**Culture Area:** Southwest  
**Language Group:** Yuman  
**Primary Location:** Northern Arizona  
**Population Size:** 547 (1990 U.S. Census)

The Havasupai (“People of the Blue-Green Water”) live in the village of Supai, located in a side canyon of the Grand Canyon of the Colorado River. They are related to the Hualapai tribe now located in Peach Springs, Arizona, and they have a long history of trading with the Hopis to the east and having their storehouses raided by the Apaches to the south. The Havasupai are noted for their basketry.
For at least six centuries they have lived in the summer at the bottom of a narrow side canyon growing corn, melons, and other crops on small farms watered by a large spring just above their village. In winter they ranged out along the south rim of the Grand Canyon hunting deer and other animals as far south as the present-day locations of Williams and Flagstaff, Arizona.

The United States government officially restricted them to a tiny reservation in Havasu Canyon in 1882, and during the 1920’s white ranchers forced them off their winter hunting grounds on the surrounding plateau. The cliff-shaded canyon was an inhospitable place in the winter, lacking firewood and subject to flash floods. Three hundred people were crowded onto about 518 acres. The Bureau of Indian Affairs closed their small elementary school in 1955, forcing all students to attend boarding schools, and started a formal program of relocation the following year.

In the 1970’s under the new government policy of Indian self-determination, things began to improve for the Havasupai. On January 3, 1975, Public Law 93-620 was signed by President Gerald Ford, giving back some of the plateau to the Havasupai. In the same year they took over the management of their elementary school.

As of 1995, students still needed to go to Bureau of Indian Affairs boarding schools in California or Arizona to attend high school. The village had electricity and telephone service, but by choice there was still no road to the village. Supai in 1995 was accessible only by helicopter, walking, or riding a mule or horse down an 8-mile trail. While the Havasupai still practiced a small amount of irrigation farming, the economy was based on running a campground, motel, store, and restaurant for tourists visiting the scenic waterfalls a few miles from the village.

**Hidatsa**

**Culture area:** Plains  
**Language groups:** Siouan  
**Primary location:** North Dakota  
**Population size:** 1,571 (1990 U.S. Census)

The Hidatsa were a Siouan-speaking people who lived along the middle Missouri River. Like their neighbors the Arikaras and the Mandans, the Hidatsa dwelled in villages of earthen mounds and practiced both agriculture and hunting. Their palisaded villages were near the Knife River, a branch of the Missouri in North Dakota, north of modern Bismarck.
Historically, the Hidatsa had been one with the Crow before they separated in the eighteenth century. One legend has it that the split resulted from a dispute over a certain buffalo that had been killed during a hunting party. The nation at that time was governed by two factions, each with a separate chief. The wives of each of these leaders began arguing over the stomach of the dead buffalo. When one of the women killed the other, a battle began between the two factions. Several people were killed on both sides of the struggle. This resulted in the migration to the Rocky Mountains of about one-half of those remaining. These migrants became the Crow, while those left behind constituted the Hidatsa. Linguistic similarities remained after the separation.

This powerful tribe began to acquire horses in the 1730’s and 1740’s from nomadic Plains tribes, with whom they traded. The acquisition of these swift animals made the hunting of buffalo easier and faster. The tribe used the products of the buffalo for food, tipi covers, robes, and utensils. To aid in their hunting and to demonstrate their bravery and daring, Hidatsa warriors raided other tribes for horses and loot. War dances often preceded these raids. Occasionally the Hidatsa were raided by members of the Dakota tribe, who called the Hidatsa “Minitari.”

The tribe’s farming efforts yielded corn, beans, and squash. The men sometimes raised tobacco, which was considered a sacred plant. Clothing was elaborate. Made from animal skins, it was usually decorated with quills and, after the white traders arrived, with beads. The spreading eagle-feather headdress probably originated with either the Hidatsa or the neighboring Mandan.

Clans and societies were important elements of Hidatsa life. Members of these groups often had certain functions and performed particular ceremonies. The supernatural played an important role. Men often sought visions, and shamans with particularly strong visions were consulted for advice. It
was believed that they were able to read the future, diagnose sickness, and perform acts of magic.

Many similarities existed between the Hidatsa and their geographical neighbors, specifically the Mandan and the Arikara. They were all semi-nomadic tribes. That is, part of the year was spent in the cultivating and harvesting of crops, while the remainder was spent on the hunt, especially for buffalo. They were also all subject to problems associated with the arrival of whites such as fewer buffalo to hunt and diseases which ravaged their populations. Smallpox epidemics occurred repeatedly through the years. In 1837, the Hidatsa were joined by about one hundred Mandan survivors of the disease. The two tribes lived together from that point.

**Hitchiti**

**Culture area:** Southeast  
**Language group:** Muskogean  
**Primary location:** Florida, Oklahoma  
**Population size:** 257 (1990 U.S. Census)

At the time of contact with Europeans in the 1540’s, the Hitchitis lived on the lower Ocmulgee River in present-day Georgia. Seeing themselves as the original inhabitants of the area, the Hitchitis regarded the other tribes who came into the Creek Nation as newcomers. (Hitchiti tradition located the founding of the Creek confederacy at Ocmulgee Old Field, the site of present-day Macon, Georgia.) Culturally, the Hitchitis were similar to other Creeks, though their language was not intelligible to speakers of pure Muskogee.

Some Hitchitis moved into Florida during the eighteenth century to get away from white settlers and the dominance of the Muskogees within the Creek confederacy. They became an important component of the evolving Seminole nation. Hitchiti-speaking Seminoles were often called Miccosukees, after a town they settled near lake Miccosuhee in northern Florida. With other Seminoles and Creeks, many Hitchitis were removed to Indian Territory (modern Oklahoma) in the 1830’s and 1840’s. The majority of the two hundred or so Seminoles left behind in Florida were Hitchiti-speakers. In 1961, some of their descendants organized as the Miccosuhee tribe of Indians of Florida and received federal recognition.
**Hohokam**

**DATE:** 600-1450  
**LOCATION:** Central and southern Arizona, northern Mexico  
**CULTURES AFFECTED:** Hohokam, Pima, Tohono O’odham

The Hohokam were a Classic-period southwestern culture whose heartland was centered on the Gila River and Salt River basins and whose largest site was Snaketown. Hohokam (in the Pima language, “those who have gone”) shared many aspects of Classic-period southwestern culture such as maize-based horticulture, relatively dense settlements, and public, ceremonial architecture. Hohokam culture was distinctive in the presence of exotic trade goods and in its ball courts. Because of these unique characteristics, early archaeologists believed that Hohokam culture was derived from Mesoamerica. Most archaeologists now believe Hohokam origins to be indigenous to the Southwest, with roots stretching back to the hunter-gatherer societies of the Archaic period.

Although in the Classic period most Southwest societies continued to live in small, dispersed, unranked agricultural villages, new, more elaborate developments occurred in certain regions. The Hohokam represent one of these new developments, called “systems of regional integration,” as their dominance grew to cover a wide region rather than remaining localized. Archaeological evidence suggests that accompanying this growth, social inequality grew among the Hohokam. Evidence pointing to inequality includes differing residential pit house dimensions and locations, public labor projects (such as platform mounds, ball courts, and extensive irrigation canals), craft specialization (especially shell jewelry), long-distance trade of exotic raw materials, and differential treatment of the dead, in that only certain burials held valuable grave goods.

Hohokam subsistence was diverse and included hunting and gathering, although maize, beans, and squash were primary staples. A complex network of irrigation canals was built near rivers. Settlement sizes ranged from communities the size of Snaketown (with about a thousand individuals) to small, dispersed farmsteads. Cremation was characteristic among the Hohokam, although other burial treatments also existed.

Although most archaeologists no longer point primarily to Mesoamerican inspirations to explain the Hohokam’s rise to cultural complexity, Mesoamerican contacts may have been important in Hohokam society. Well-developed trade networks with quite distant communities existed throughout the Hohokam region. A variety of luxury goods—many from
Mexican sources—passed along well-established routes: copper bells; macaw birds and feathers; finely painted, geometric-motif pottery; stone paint palettes; onyx and argillite ornaments; serpentine; obsidian; turquoise; jet; and a variety of shell objects including conch trumpets, decorated bracelets, and beads. Participants within the Hohokam trade network may have shared a common religious and belief system originating in part with Mesoamerican societies, but it was integrated and adapted by the Hohokam as a means of legitimizing the emergence of social inequality.

Apart from prestige goods that remained mostly in the hands of Hohokam leaders, communities were largely self-sufficient. Although ball courts and luxury trade goods are common in larger Hohokam sites, their presence may reflect only superficial similarity with the Hohokam heartland, as regional cultures maintained their autonomy and distinctiveness within the broader region archaeologists have defined as sharing Hohokam culture.

For reasons still under debate, Hohokam culture went into decline; by the arrival of the Spanish, the Hohokam were gone. The modern-day Pima and Tohono O’odham (Papago) may be descendants of the Hohokam.

**Hopewell**

**DATE:** 200 B.C.E.-700 C.E.

**LOCATION:** Eastern United States

**CULTURE AFFECTED:** Hopewell

The Hopewell cultural tradition is associated with a major florescence of complex village societies in the eastern portion of North America between 200 B.C.E. and 700 C.E. The cultural system that connected societies of the Hopewell tradition is known as the Hopewell Interaction Sphere. Centered at sites in the Scioto Valley of southern Ohio, this network was marked by trade in a wide variety of exotic raw materials used in the manufacture of special craft items. These included goods such as copper from sources in Michigan and Georgia, obsidian and grizzly bear teeth from Wyoming, fine-grained stone from Minnesota and North Dakota, marine shell and shark teeth from the Gulf of Mexico, silver from Ontario, mica and quartz crystals from the southern Appalachians, and galena from Illinois and Wisconsin.

Among the most characteristic features of Hopewell sites are burial mounds and monumental earthworks. The Hopewell site near Chillicothe,
Ohio, for which the tradition is named, covered an area of 110 acres and had thirty-eight burial mounds. The largest of these was 33 feet high and 500 feet long, and it contained the burials of more than 250 individuals. One of these wore an elaborate headdress of wooden deer antlers sheathed in copper. Another was buried with a copper axe weighing 38 pounds. The central portion of this site was surrounded by a ditch and low embankment. Mound City, Ohio, has at least twenty-eight burial mounds, also within an earthwork enclosure. Elite burials here were lined with massive quantities of mica. At Newark, Ohio, the state’s most extensive complex of geometric earthworks includes a circle, an octagon, and other features that have been preserved as part of a municipal golf course.

Burials in Hopewell mounds have been found to contain a wide variety of exotic artifacts. Heavy breastplates, ear spools, beads, animal cutouts, and musical instruments were made from hammered copper sheets, often decorated with embossed designs. Lumps of native copper were worked into celts, axes, adzes, and punches. Thick sheets of translucent mica were cut into the shapes of human heads and hands, bird talons, snakes, and swastikas. Obsidian and fine chert were flaked into beautiful ceremonial knives, some measuring 18 inches long. Crystals of quartz and galena were used for pendants or included in medicine bags. Among the most spectacular manufactured items, also widely traded, were carved stone platform pipes bearing appealing carvings of birds, bears, beavers, frogs, felines, and humans. Ceramic technology flourished, with a wide variety of vessel shapes decorated through plastic manipulation of the surface.

Sites of the Hopewell tradition have been found over a wide geographical region, ranging from the Great Lakes in the north to the lower Mississippi Valley and the central Gulf Coast. To the east, they are known from West Virginia and western Pennsylvania, while their westernmost extent is in the vicinity of Kansas City, Missouri.

Despite its apparent complexity, Hopewell culture appears to have been based on the intensive exploitation of wild resources of woodland regions,
supplemented by some cultivation of sunflowers, squash, and marsh elder. Maize was probably cultivated by late Hopewell peoples, but it remained a minor part of the diet until later periods.

The Hopewell tradition does not represent a single society, but rather a broad phenomenon characterized by extensive networks for the exchange of raw materials and worked goods, the sharing of common notions about artifact manufacture and decoration, the use of mounds for burial grounds, and the emergence of social differentiation as indicated by fine craft objects and individual variation in the quality of grave goods. The apparent decline of the Hopewell tradition after 400 C.E. remains poorly understood, although it has been linked to the consequences of increased competition for farmland as maize became a more important component of the diet. These consequences included a higher frequency of intercommunity conflicts, which may have led to the disruption of existing networks for the exchange of raw materials and ideas.

Huchnom

**Culture area:** California  
**Language group:** Yuki  
**Primary location:** South Eel River, northwestern California

Huchnom culture was a synthesis of Pomoan and Yuki traits and beliefs. The Huchnom village was the basic socioeconomic and political unit, usually with its own resources and territorial concerns. The Huchnom fished, hunted, trapped, and gathered acorns, seeds, and roots. Their material culture was also similar to the Yuki and Coastal Yuki, as were many of their rituals and ceremonies. They lived in thirty permanent riverine villages. The Huchnom participated with the Pomo and Cahto in rites of intensification as well as in the exchange of differential trade goods, and they served as intermediaries between the Yuki and Pomoan. They cremated their dead.

As with neighboring groups, the Huchnom were greatly affected in the 1850’s when lumbermen, miners, and settlers entered their lands. Most Huchnom were forcibly removed by soldiers to the Round Valley Reservation in 1869, where they were known as Redwoods. Their population in 1850 was estimated to be twenty-one hundred, but by 1910 there were only fifteen remaining. By the early 1970’s the tribe was no longer considered a distinct group.
Little is known of Hupa prehistory, but their language indicates that they came from the north about thirteen hundred years ago. Living along the Trinity River in twelve villages, in an area of dense vegetation, their primary subsistence orientation was toward acorns and fish, particularly salmon, which they caught during spring and fall migratory runs with a specialized fishing technology. Hupa religious life was centered on two world-renewal and wealth-display ceremonies, the Jumping Dance and White Deerskin Dance, rituals to ward off famine and natural disaster and to ensure an abundance of resources. The autumn Acorn Feast and spring First Salmon ceremonies were also important.

Woodworking and basketweaving were important status skills. Traditional forms of wealth such as dentalium shell money, scarlet-feathered woodpecker scalp capes, obsidian blades, and albino deerskins were used for a number of purposes. These included the paying of a bride price, resolving conflicts, and paying a shaman’s fee. Social control was achieved through consensus, threat of witchcraft or sorcery, and complex dietary and behavioral taboos.

First European American contact was with fur trappers in the 1840’s. Contact became sustained in the 1850’s when Chinese and white gold miners prospected the Hoopa Valley, some taking up permanent residence. An estimated aboriginal population of eighteen hundred was reduced to half by 1870, mostly from introduced diseases. Fort Gaston was established in 1858, and by 1864 Congress had authorized nearly the entire Hupa territory for a reservation (87,000 acres). Gradually, the Hupa took to agriculture and lumbering. Though they knew of the 1870 Ghost Dance, they never participated in the messianic movement as did their neighbors the Karok and Yurok. A government boarding school and hospital were established on the reservation.

By the 1990’s, much Hupa income was from employment in numerous mills, owned mostly by whites. The wage economy adopted after World War II virtually ended all stock raising and farming. The Hupa enjoy a relatively high standard of living, and they maintain their ethnic identity through native language and self-management of internal affairs.
Huron

CULTURE AREA: Northeast
LANGUAGE GROUP: Iroquoian
PRIMARY LOCATION: Oklahoma, Quebec
POPULATION SIZE: 1,947 in U.S. (1990 U.S. Census); 1,450 in Canada
(Statistics Canada, based on 1991 census)

The Hurons were a confederacy of four highly organized matrilineal and
matrilocal tribes, the Attignaouantan (Bear People), Attigneenongnahac
(Cord People), Arendahronon (Rock People), and Tohontaernrat (Deer Peo-
ple). Their historic homeland, Huronia, was in south central Ontario near
Lake Simcoe, east of Lake Huron. In the early 1600’s, they probably num-
bered about thirty thousand. The Hurons were horticultural, with women
producing the staple crops: corn, beans, squash, and sunflowers. These
were supplemented by game hunting, fishing, and berry picking, as well as
by trade with other tribes for less common food commodities and other
products. The Hurons traveled widely in the 1600’s to pursue trade. They
had successfully kept tribes to their west and north from trading directly
with the French in New France (Quebec) so that they enjoyed a “middle-
man” role in the burgeoning fur trade of the seventeenth century. All of this
came to a crashing halt between 1649 and 1651 when Iroquois tribes ven-

Contemporary drawing of Hurons during the 1840’s. (Library of Congress)
tured northwest into Huronia and completely dispersed the four Huron tribes along with neighboring tribes. The Hurons had already been plagued with disease and had their culture disrupted by French Jesuit missionaries, who introduced a foreign belief system.

The few Huron people who were not captured by the Iroquois tribes and absorbed as adoptees into those communities moved, with fellow refugees of the Tobacco Nation, north and west of Lake Huron. One group of these refugees subsequently occupied areas around Michilimackinac (Mackinac, Michigan), Green Bay (Wisconsin), the Ohio Valley, Detroit, Sandusky (Ohio), eastern Kansas, and eventually, Oklahoma. The group that eventually settled in Oklahoma took the name Wyandot (Wyandotte). The name originated as “Wendat,” their name for themselves in the (nearly extinct) Huron language, meaning “islanders” or “peninsula dwellers.” The word “Huron” was French and derogatorily referred to these people as “boarlike” or “unkempt.”

The other group of refugees (those not eventually finding a home in Oklahoma) traveled with Jesuit missionaries to the St. Lawrence Valley in the seventeenth century, establishing a village called Lorette, near present-day Quebec City. Like their Oklahoma relatives, the Lorette Hurons are somewhat assimilated into the surrounding culture but still maintain some traditional cultural practices and beliefs.

**Illinois**

**Culture area:** Northeast  
**Language group:** Algonquian  
**Primary location:** Oklahoma  
**Population size:** 1,365 (1990 U.S. Census)

When they first encountered Europeans in the 1670’s, the Illinois Indians occupied an area roughly equivalent to the present state of Illinois, though there is evidence that they had previously lived in present-day Michigan. They were among the largest tribes in the region, with an estimated population of thirteen thousand in the 1650’s. The size of the tribe may explain its division into at least six subtribes: the Cahokia, Kaskaskia, Michigamea, Moingwena, Peoria, and Tamaroa. Though each of the subtribes had its own chief, all spoke the same language and acknowledged a single chief for the whole tribe.

The traditional economy of the tribe followed a yearly cycle of agriculture, hunting, and gathering. Crops were planted around summer villages;
then whole villages would embark on hunting expeditions before returning for the harvest. In winter, smaller groups would scatter to winter villages where hunting continued on a reduced scale.

The Illinois were often involved in warfare with other tribes, a pattern that continued after European contact. Several major wars were fought with the Iroquois in the seventeenth century, at times causing the Illinois to move west of the Mississippi River. The Sioux were also frequent enemies.

The decisive event in the Illinois's history came in 1673 when they established contact with the French. They subsequently became an independent ally of the French and heavily involved in the fur trade. The Illinois were involved in almost constant warfare with pro-British and pro-Spanish tribes, while disease, especially smallpox and malaria, periodically ravaged the tribe. French success in converting the Illinois to Christianity curtailed what had been a widespread practice of polygamy, with a depressing effect on the tribe’s birthrate. By 1700 the number of Illinois had fallen to six thousand.

In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the tribe experienced significant fragmentation as subtribes often became divided in attitudes toward European powers or other tribes. The attempt to cultivate good relations with the new United States continued to expose the Illinois to attacks from pro-British Indians. All of these factors further weakened the Illinois until by 1800 the tribe’s population had fallen to an estimated five hundred. By this time they had ceased to be a significant force in the region.

In 1832 the Illinois signed a treaty with the United States in which they gave up all their lands in Illinois except a small area around Kaskaskia (which was shortly abandoned). After several stops west of the Mississippi, the Illinois were assigned a reservation in the Indian Territory in 1867 in what is now northeastern Oklahoma. There the tribe came to be known as the Peorias and intermarried frequently with other tribes, especially the Sauk, Fox, and Kickapoo. Tribal numbers continued to decline before bottoming out in 1910, when only 130 Peorias were counted. The tribe was terminated by Congress in 1959 but was subsequently restored in 1978.

**Ingalk**

**Culture area:** Subarctic  
**Language group:** Athapaskan  
**Primary location:** Yukon and lower Innoko rivers, Alaska  
**Population size:** 600-650 (estimate)
The Ingalik were divided into two groups, the Yukon and Kuskokwim; both intermarried with contiguous Eskimo. Their dependence upon fish was reflected in rank, technology, and wealth. The Ingalik had permanent winter villages of semi-subterranean houses, and temporary spring and summer camps for exploiting a diversified food source by fishing, hunting, trapping, and limited gathering. The potlatch was one of seven major ceremonies involving redistribution of food, change of status, and promoting of group integration.

Russian fur traders and explorers established contact with the Ingalik in 1832, introducing the Russian Orthodox faith and, unfortunately, epidemics of smallpox. Some village populations were reduced by half. The Episcopalians, in 1887, and the Roman Catholics, in 1888, established churches and boarding schools. By 1900, the traditional Ingalik culture had met its demise through intermarriage with non-Ingalik peoples.

Little of the traditional culture now remains, except for some baskets of hide and birchbark and some woodworking. Employment is mostly with local resources, particularly as fishing and hunting guides. Some regional government work is available, and seasonal work is provided by utility companies. In the early 1990’s, the Ingalik population was estimated to be between 600 and 650.

Inuit

**CULTURE AREA:** Arctic  
**LANGUAGE GROUP:** Eskimo-Aleut  
**PRIMARY LOCATION:** West Alaska, North Alaska, Arctic Canada (including Labrador), Greenland  
**POPULATION SIZE:** 44,392 in Alaska (1990 U.S. Census); estimated 25,000 in Canada; estimated 46,000 in Greenland

The Inuit are one of the two major branches of the Eskimo family, the other being the Yupik of southwestern Alaska, southern Alaska, St. Lawrence Island, and Siberia. Inuit are distinguished from Yupik on the basis of both culture and language. The Inuit are distributed over the northern tier of the North American continent from Alaska to Greenland and have developed a lifestyle which allows for efficient adaptation to a cold and harsh habitat.

While the term “Inuit” (meaning “people”) is an appropriate designation for all the northern Eskimo groups, there are more specific self-designations
for different Inuit subgroups: “Iñupiat” in North Alaska, “Inuvialuit” in the western Canadian Arctic, “Inuummarait” in the eastern Canadian Arctic, and “Kalaallit” for Greenland.

**Environment.** With a few exceptions, most Inuit groups inhabit Arctic tundra north of the treeline. The climate is harsh and characterized by pronounced seasonality in temperature and light conditions. Those areas north of the Arctic Circle experience varying periods of continuous sunlight in midsummer and continuous darkness in midwinter. For example, in the community of Barrow, located at the northernmost tip of Alaska, the sun does not rise above the horizon for two months from November to January, while there is continuous sunlight from May through July. Because of extreme cold, high winds, and perennially frozen soil (permafrost), trees are unable to thrive in the Arctic. Even in summer, very little sunlight hits the Arctic, resulting in a low level of biological productivity for Arctic tundra, lakes, streams, and oceans. Because of this low level of productivity, most Inuit were forced to be at least seasonally nomadic in their subsistence efforts.

**Physical Characteristics.** Like the Aleut and Yupik, the Inuit display physical characteristics which indicate their relatively recent Eurasian origins. Eskimo-Aleut populations are more closely related genetically to Siberian groups such as the Chukchee and Koryak than to North American Indians living to the south. Many experts believe that the physical and linguistic evidence suggests that these groups represent a separate and more recent migration into the New World.

**Archaeology and History.** The Inuit are the direct descendants of Thule whale hunters who moved from Alaska into Arctic Canada and Greenland around the end of the first millennium C.E., a time coinciding with the Medieval Warming Period. The Thule are believed to have replaced the earlier Dorset populations, which had lived in these regions since about 3,000 years before the present. The linguistic and cultural uniformity of
modern Inuit groups is the direct result of this rapid spread of Thule culture. As the Thule population spread throughout Greenland and northern Canada, different groups adapted to slightly different ecological conditions. During the Little Ice Age (1600-1850 c.e.), the climate once again cooled, resulting in changes in subsistence routines throughout most of the Eskimo region. This period led to the development of historic Inuit culture.

Contacts with Europeans probably first occurred sometime after the establishment of the Norse colonies in Greenland around 985 c.e. From the late sixteenth century onward, numerous naval expeditions set out from Europe in search of the Northwest Passage. These resulted in repeated, if fleeting, contacts with Inuit groups throughout the North. The intensification of whaling in the late nineteenth century had a more substantial impact upon Inuit groups throughout the Arctic. Not only did whalers initiate an active trade in southern manufactured goods, but they also introduced infectious diseases that took a substantial toll in lives in some areas. With the collapse of whaling at the beginning of the twentieth century, many Inuit took up trapping as a way to support themselves and obtain valued southern commodities offered by independent traders or large trading companies like the Hudson’s Bay Company and the Alaska Commercial Company.

**Economy and Subsistence.** At contact, the Inuit were highly specialized hunters and fishers, utilizing a subsistence routine based upon the seasonal exploitation of both marine and land resources. For many groups, a summer “land” phase involved hunting and fishing in small, scattered family groups on the tundra, while a winter “maritime” phase involved exploitation of various marine mammals (whales, walrus, seals) either along the coast or on the frozen ocean, often in larger social groupings. Regional variation in subsistence routines was contingent upon ice conditions and the availability of game. In North Alaska, for example, walrus and bowhead whale hunting constituted an important part of subsistence efforts, while in certain regions of the Central Arctic, seals were the primary animal resource. In the interior regions of Alaska and Canada, Inuit groups were heavily dependent upon caribou herds.

**Religion and Ritual.** The religious practices of the Inuit, like those of all Eskimo groups, were largely oriented toward regulating human relationships with the animal spirit world. Shamanism was highly developed, and illness was usually explained with reference to violations of taboos. It was generally believed throughout the region that animals were not caught by hunters but gave themselves up to the individuals who followed the necessary rituals, maintained their equipment properly, and kept a respectful attitude toward the animals they hunted. Helping spirits and amulets were often important for hunting success. In most regions, ceremonies were
followed to appease and thank the spirit of a recently caught animal. In the Central Arctic, it was common for a recently caught seal to be given a drink of fresh water. Considerably more elaborate procedures were followed in North Alaskan whaling communities to greet and thank the whale for giving itself up to a community, culminating at the end of whaling season with the Nalukatok (blanket toss) celebration.

**Cold Adaptation.** The primary method of adapting to the cold throughout the region was cultural. The preparation of tailored fur parkas, mitts, and boots was an essential survival strategy, especially in those areas with extreme subzero winter temperatures. The snowhouse of the Central Arctic Inuit and the semi-subterranean communal house of the West Greenlanders and North Alaskans were efficient in insulating their human inhabitants from the cold. Cold tolerance was also aided by a highly thermogenic diet based on fat and protein. Such diets were effective in raising the basal metabolic rate of the Inuit so they could withstand long periods of cold exposure. Some evidence also suggests that hereditary factors may be involved, since Inuits are reported to have a very efficient warming response (cold-induced vasodilation) in the extremities. Inuits are also documented to have fewer sweat glands on the body, a phenomenon which aids in keeping clothes dry and warm.

**Modern Social and Political Status.** The Inuit of Alaska, Canada, and Greenland now live in centralized villages and towns that are supported by schools, medical facilities, government offices, retail stores, and other social amenities. Many Inuit continue to be highly involved in subsistence hunting and fishing, often sharing harvested food with a large network of kinsmen. Hunting and fishing are now accomplished with the help of rifles, snowmobiles, all-terrain vehicles, and boats with inboard and outboard motors. In many communities, wage employment and social assistance are the primary means of support. Aside from the government sector, resource extraction industries employ many Inuit, often on a rotational basis. The Inuit arts and crafts industry has also been an important source of income for many communities.

A number of regional, national, and international Inuit organizations represent the interests of Inuit to various government agencies. The Inuit Circumpolar Conference, for example, was established in 1977 to bring together the Inuit and Yupik of the circumpolar North to address important social, political, economic, and environmental issues. Land claims settlements in Alaska and Canada have resulted in the creation of regional and village corporations which are active in northern investment and business development. Many of these corporations have a cultural resource component that sponsors archaeological and oral history research. In 1979, a Home
Rule government was established in Greenland, effectively releasing the Greenlanders from Danish colonialism. Although living standards and health conditions have improved dramatically for most Inuits, social problems such as suicide, alcohol and drug abuse, unemployment, and underemployment remain significant.

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Bibliography


Iowa

**Culture area:** Plains  
**Language group:** Siouan  
**Primary location:** Oklahoma, Nebraska/Kansas  
**Population size:** 1,615 (1990 U.S. Census)

Sharing a common origin in the upper Great Lakes region with the linguistically related Winnebago, Oto, and Missouri tribes, the Iowas moved south and west from the Great Lakes at some point, probably in the early seventeenth century. Following the Mississippi River south from what is now Wisconsin, they settled at the confluence of the Iowa and Mississippi rivers, also migrating west at various times over the next centuries. The Iowas occupied parts of northern Missouri and southern Minnesota as well as much of what is now Iowa.

Reflecting their adaptation from a woodland to a plains environment, the Iowa economy was based on both female-oriented cultivation of crops such as corn, beans, and squash, and male-oriented hunting. The latter brought in deer, buffalo, beaver, raccoon, and otter meat. Iowa farming was known to be productive; a Frenchman who was setting up a trading post in their territory around 1700 persuaded them to move their village nearby because they were “industrious and accustomed to cultivate the earth.” The Iowas were also known for their crafting and trade of catlinite pipes or calumets.

Their blending of Woodland and Plains cultures is evident in traditional Iowa choice of housing styles. At various times, they used four different types: oval or square bark houses (similar to eastern longhouses or wigwams), wattle-and-daub houses (southeastern in origin), the earthlodge, and the skin tipi (more common to the plains).

The Iowas had a complex clan system and were patrilineal (one belonged to the father’s clan). Strict rules of marrying outside the clan were maintained. Clans were also the basis of political and religious officeholding, as chiefs and religious leaders were elected hereditarily in each clan. The main religious ceremony of the Iowas was the Medicine Dance, similar to those of Algonquian tribes around the Great Lakes. Mourning and burial practices were highly developed, and in the pre-reservation era especially, scaffold burial was practiced.

Although the name “Iowa” came from the French “Aiaouez” (“Ioway”) and originally indicated “sleepy ones,” the name for the Iowa people in their own Chiwerek language, which they shared with the Winnebagos, Otos,
and Missouris, was “Pahoja,” meaning “gray snow,” “snow-covered,” or “dusty ones.” The reason for the name is unclear.

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries brought increased warfare to the Iowa people; their primary enemies were the Dakota Sioux. Early in this period, they also warred with the Sauk and Mesquakie (Fox), but they later made peace and became closely associated with these people. By 1836, the Iowas had ceded all rights to their lands in Iowa and Missouri and settled along with the Sauk and Mesquakie people on a reservation of 400 square miles along the present Kansas-Nebraska state line. The reservation was reduced several times in the 1850’s.

By the 1870’s, the federal government attempted to move the Iowas to Indian Territory (now Oklahoma). A reservation was established for them there and some moved voluntarily, but others insisted on staying on the original reservation. Many of them had successfully blended into the surrounding farm economy. By 1890, both reservations had been allotted (divided into individual family plots), and the “surplus” land had been sold to non-Indians. When given the chance in the 1930’s, both the Oklahoma and the Kansas-Nebraska Iowas set up tribal charters and constitutions, maintaining their political identity as a tribe. Culturally, both groups have outwardly blended with the surrounding non-Indian culture, although they are attempting to recover as much of their cultural heritage as possible.

Iroquois Confederacy

**Tribes affected:** Cayuga, Mohawk, Onondaga, Oneida, Seneca, Tuscarora

**Culture area:** Northeast

**Language group:** Iroquoian

**Primary location:** From the Ottawa River, Canada, south to Cumberland, Tennessee; from Maine west to Lake Michigan

**Population size:** 49,038 in U.S. (1990 U.S. Census); estimated 35,000 in Canada

The word “Iroquois” refers to all the tribes that speak dialects of the Iroquoian language group, including the Saint Lawrence, Mohawk, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida, Seneca, Tuscarora, Huron, Erie, Honniasonts or Mingues, and Susquehannock groups. Cherokee is also an Iroquoian language, but it is as different from the northern dialects of Iroquoian as German is from English. The Iroquois Confederacy, or Haudenosaunee
(People of the Longhouse), included the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca, and, after 1722, the Tuscarora. The Longhouse People practiced extensive horticulture (centered on corn, beans, and squash) as well as fishing and hunting. They lived in fortified villages. They were little affected by European contact until after 1760, when the fall of New France in the French and Indian War opened the floodgates to English and American settlers; encroachment on Iroquois land began in earnest.

Three basic understandings were central to Iroquois life. First, all actions of individuals were based on personal decisions, and group action required consensus. Second, everybody shared; generosity and charity were paramount. Third, no one was separate from the web of life. Humankind was not outside nature, and the earth and the woodlands could be neither owned nor exploited.

The Founding of the Confederacy. These central precepts were incorporated into the famous League of the Iroquois, or Iroquois Confederacy. Modern members of the original five tribes of the confederacy, to which was added the Tuscarora band in 1722, still celebrate in ritual and ceremony the founding of the league.

A Huron prophet, the Peacemaker (Deganawida), had a vision of a white pine which reached through the sky to communicate with the Master of Life.
An eagle perched atop the white pine was present to keep the peace and watch for intruders. This icon is now at the center of understanding of the Iroquois Confederacy, just as the tree of life is at the center of their cosmology. The tree’s roots were the original Five Nations, Seneca (The Great Hill People), Cayuga (People at the Mucky Land), Onondaga (People on the Hills), Oneida (People of the Standing Stone), and Kenienghagas (Keepers of the Flint). “Mohawk,” as the Kenienghagas are also known, is an Algonquian term meaning “cannibal.” The soil around the tree was three principles: skenno, health of body and sanity of mind and peace between individuals and groups; gaiiwiyo, righteousness in conduct, thought, and deed, and equity in human rights; and gashedenza, faith and knowledge that spiritual power (orenda) is connected to governing and the maintenance of self-defense.

The league was probably founded between 1400 and 1600 (some scholars say between 1550 and 1600) in response to constant warfare among the tribes in the Northeast. Its purpose was to unify and pacify the infighting Iroquois and gain strength in numbers to resist the implacable opposition of both the Iroquois-speaking Huron tribe and the Algonquian-speaking people of the area.

The Haudenosaunee created a carefully constructed “constitution” that was transmitted from generation to generation orally from variously colored symbolic cues or mnemonics woven into belts of shells called wampum. (That “wampum” came to be translated as “money” or as valuable in commodity exchanges is an example of the different mindsets of Europeans and American Indians.) Originally, wampum belts passed on ritual, ceremonial, and mythological knowledge as well as political and social instructions.

Iroquois are known as great orators. Oral communication of the symbols on the wampum belts allowed speakers to become definers. The Great Law of Peace, with its social requirements and legal relationships, can take many hours, even days, to communicate.

At the onset the Onondaga were given the responsibility of keeping the central fire and sacred wampum belts. The Faithkeeper (central religious leader), always an Onondaga, calls a yearly council for the purposes of rehearing the constitution and laws and resolving differences. The council retains tribal relationships. Clan system relationships from ancient times define roles within the council. The traditional clan system was matrilineal; the oldest sensible woman of each clan of each tribe was designated in council with other tribal clan women to select a proportion of the fifty chiefs who made up the council. Chiefs served for life, but the clan mothers could remove chiefs from office for immoral or unethical behavior. Since clan
mothers usually selected chiefs from their own lineage, each member of the
council was answerable to the women of his maternal family. The power
wielded by women had its roots in the early subsistence patterns of the five
tribes, since they were dependent on agriculture.

**The Confederacy in the Seventeenth Century.** The Great Peace was
spread by warfare. Warfare was visited on any tribe who did not accept the
wampum belts of peace. In one week in March, 1649, as French Jesuit priests
attested, the Five Nations essentially wiped out the Huron. Nine months
later, the Petun people of western Michigan suffered the same fate. The Erie
tribe, who outnumbered the Iroquois in population, were the next to fall.
Those who were not killed were adopted; the Erie tribe ceased to exist. By
1700 the Five Nations, numbering fewer than thirty thousand people, were
the political masters of an area from the Ottawa River in Canada south to
the Cumberland in Tennessee and from Maine west to Lake Michigan. This
hegemony remained in force for another 150 years.

The Five Nations of the Iroquois wrote a crucial chapter in American
history. In the year 1609 Samuel de Champlain, a French fur trader and
explorer, accompanied a war party of Huron and Algonquin on an expedi-
tion to the lake that now bears his name. Met by a war party of Mohawk who
had never before encountered a musket, Champlain single-handedly killed
three Mohawks with his firearms, scaring the others away in bewilderment
and fear. This humiliation made the Mohawk doggedly hate the French from
that time on. Within a few years, Five Nation Iroquois were purchasing guns
from Dutch and English traders. The Hudson and Mohawk river valleys
were opened to the English; the French were locked out. The subsequent
British dominance in the New World was made easier by the political and
military power of the Iroquois Confederacy and their hatred of the French.
The opening of the frontier moved with the Iroquois and their conquering
ways, not with the English or French. The Iroquois stood at a pivotal point
and controlled the keys to the interior of the continent.

Following the year 1690, the Iroquois Confederacy developed a level of
unity and cooperation that allowed them to capitalize on their pivotal
position. They learned to play the various European traders one against the
other in ways most beneficial to the Iroquois, and they followed a policy of
independent neutrality with diplomatic artistry.

Colonial delegates from the Americas traveled to Albany to learn from
the Iroquois. The longhouse sachems urged the colonists to form assemblies
and meet to discuss common interests. In 1749 Benjamin Franklin asked, if
Iroquois savages could govern themselves with such skill, how much better
could the civilized English colonists do? In 1754 the first great intercolonial
conference was held at Albany, and Iroquois delegates were in attendance.
Iroquois power in the eighteenth century reached the highest point of any Indian nation in North America. Yet the great orator chiefs who held the respect of all who negotiated with them had no personal wealth to display in the manner of the Europeans. “The chiefs are generally the poorest among them,” wrote a Dutch pastor in Albany in 1640, “for instead of their receiving from the common people, they are obliged to give.”

**Origins, Warfare, and Religious Life.** The Iroquois are a prime example of a group whose culture has a well-established pedigree. Archaeological evidence suggests a long period of occupancy in New York State in a cultural continuum of a thousand to fifteen hundred years. A subsistence model culture called Owasco preceded the Iroquois, and its influences are reflected in Iroquois legends and in the design of Iroquois personal clay pipes. The Iroquois carried the highly distinctive Owasco clay pipe designs to another step with more skillful carving and more elaboration in bowl shape. Owasco was preceded by the mound-building cultures of the Hopewell era (Hopewell burial attitudes were reflected in later Huron attitudes toward the dead). By 1400 c.e., proto-Iroquois villages existed, and by 1600 the culture was distinctive to the level that the people referred to themselves as Haudenosaunee.

The Iroquoian speakers of the Eastern Woodlands seemed always to be in a state of war. Before the establishment of the League of Five Nations, war was a ritual, a means of advancing individual or group prestige. Wars were fought primarily for revenge, and such warfare had degenerated into unavoidable ongoing feuds by the time of the emergence of the principles of the Peacemaker (perhaps around 1570). After the establishment of the confederacy, which ended intertribal blood feuds and instead established a spiritual reason for warrior societies, wars became conquests to expand hunting grounds and dominate neighbors—to “make women of them” if they did not accept participation in the confederacy.

The foundation of the Iroquois confederacy was the fireplace, composed of a mother and her children. Each hearth was a part of a larger owachira, a related or extended family traced through the mother. Two or more owachiras made a clan, and eight clans made a tribe.

Religious life was highly organized and included a priesthood of three men and three women who supervised the keeping of the faith. Even though the Iroquois are most noted for their strongly defined and impressive governing organization in which politics dovetailed with complex matrilineal associations, the Five Nations are also well known for their elaborate religious practices. Their cosmology was well defined, and their mythology was more detailed than the origin stories in the Bible. Anthropomorphic deities and complex ceremonies as well as a highly developed
Theology using impersonal spiritual power have not, even to this day, entirely disappeared. As with all the religious practices indigenous to North America, curing was a central part of the religious life day to day. The Iroquois also had a profound sense of the psychology of the soul and used dreams to communicate with the spirits. The mythological base of the league organization and curing societies formed a stable and traditional charter which has resulted in continuity among the Iroquois to this day despite the overwhelming influx of the Europeans.

**The American Revolution to the Present.** Iroquois power and strength as a confederacy grew until the American Revolution, when the tribes were divided in their allegiances to the British and the Americans. The westernmost tribes of the league were assaulted, burned out, and chased into Canada by General Sullivan’s campaign of 1777. George Washington ordered the invasion of Iroquois land in order to seize land with which to pay both his troops and the Dutch bankers who were financing the revolution at that time. The effects of the American Revolution ended the military power of the Iroquois Confederacy.

The Iroquois, despite conflict and contact with European influences from the earliest times, have retained their social being and many of their cultural practices, including kinship and ceremonial ties. Midwinter ceremonies are still practiced, along with green corn and harvest thanksgiving ceremonies. Condolence songs are still sung when the maple sap flows. The firm base of the People of the Longhouse persists to this day and is still a viable model for the future.

Glenn J. Schiffman

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**Bibliography**


Juaneño

**CULTURE AREA:** California  
**LANGUAGE GROUP:** Takic  
**PRIMARY LOCATION:** San Juan and San Mateo river drainages, California  
**POPULATION SIZE:** 1,565 (1990 U.S. Census)

The Juaneño were river-oriented bands or tribelets living in sedentary, self-sufficient, autonomous villages of conical subterranean houses thatched with bark or tules. They exercised control over territorial rights and resources, living northwest of the Luiseño. Their subsistence was based on hunting, trapping, gathering, collecting, and fishing, with acorns and seeds constituting more than half of their food. The first European contact with the Juaneño was by the Gaspar de Portolá expedition in 1769. In 1776, the San Juan Capistrano Mission was established among the Juaneño. In 1834, the missions were secularized, causing revolts against Mexican rancheros by Indians who were treated like serfs. Indian groups became dispersed and, despite continuing strife, many individuals became wage-earners. When Anglo-Americans entered California, even more Indians lost control of their land. Reservations at La Jolla, Pala, Potrero, and Yapiche were established in 1875. By the 1960’s, many Juaneño had been graduated from college and begun to work as professionals and in skilled labor. Numerous religions are currently practiced, and only a few elders speak the tribe’s language or follow traditional beliefs.

Kalapuya

**CULTURE AREA:** Northwest Coast  
**LANGUAGE GROUP:** Kalapuyan  
**PRIMARY LOCATION:** Willamette River, Oregon  
**POPULATION SIZE:** 50 (1990 U.S. Census)
The patrilineal, socially stratified Kalapuya (or Calapooya) people comprised approximately thirteen autonomous tribes, each with dialectic differences. Subsistence was mainly from camas and other seeds, nuts, roots, and tubers, supplemented by hunting and trapping. The Kalapuya occupied multifamily dwellings in permanent villages during the winter, and temporary shelters in spring, summer, and fall. Chieftainship was probably passed on from father to son.

First contact with European Americans occurred in 1812 with Donald McKenzie of the Pacific Fur Company and continued until the 1840’s with fur traders, missionaries, and settlers, who introduced various debilitating diseases, including malaria. In 1855 treaties embracing all the Kalapuya were enacted; most of the Kalapuya were resettled on the Grande Ronde Reservation, where many Kalapuya intermarried with other groups.

In 1956 the Grande Ronde Reservation was terminated by the federal government. Indians living there reorganized themselves as the Confederated Tribes of Grande Ronde in 1974; in 1975, they incorporated as a non-profit organization.

Kalispel

CULTURE AREA: Plateau
LANGUAGE GROUP: Salishan
PRIMARY LOCATION: Idaho, Montana
POPULATION SIZE: 210 (1990 U.S. Census)

The Kalispel, also known as the Pend d’Oreille, belong to the Plateau tribes, with their land base covering part of the Columbia River basin. Their location in northern Idaho and western Montana placed them on the eastern boundaries of the Plateau tribes. As European American contact pushed the Plains Indians farther west, the Kalispel were also affected; they were pushed farther west by tribes such as the Blackfoot.

The Kalispel comprised two groups: the Upper Pend d’Oreille, or Upper Kalispel, who lived below Flathead Lake in northwestern Montana, and the Lower Pend d’Oreille, or Lower Kalispel, who occupied areas along the Clark Fork River and Pend Oreille Lake in northern Idaho. The Kalispel had contact with other tribes throughout the area, including the Spokane, Kutenai, and Flathead. Their economy depended on gathering roots and berries and on fishing. Unlike tribes such as the Nez Perce, whose culture greatly changed with use of horses and firearms (they began to hunt buf-
falo), the Kalispel continued to rely on traditional food sources and live a traditional Plateau lifestyle.

Initial Kalispel contact with European Americans began with fur traders. In the early 1820’s, Alexander Ross of the Hudson’s Bay Company managed the Flathead House (near present-day Missoula, Montana) and traded with the Kalispel, Flathead, Kutenai, and Nez Perce. Further contact with European Americans occurred with the arrival of Jesuit missionaries. Similar to the Flathead, who welcomed the arrival of the “Black Robes,” the Kalispel (both Upper and Lower) gave a kind reception to the Jesuits. According to legend, by the time a missionary arrived at the Lower Kalispel camp in 1842, the people already were well-versed in Christianity, having sent one of their members the previous year to the Flathead tribe to learn the faith. Many of the Upper Kalispel were later baptized. In 1844, St. Ignatius Mission was established among the Kalispel.

Traffic across their area increased, and by 1845 settlers had begun moving into the territory. In July, 1855, Washington Territorial Governor and Territorial Superintendent of Indian Affairs Isaac I. Stevens met with the Flathead, Kalispel, and Kutenai on the Hell Gate River to negotiate a treaty. In the final Hell Gate Treaty, the tribes ceded 25,000 acres to the federal government, and the Flathead chief, Victor, became head of the combined tribes. The three tribes were to be removed to the Jocko or Flathead Reservation, which covered 1,280,000 acres, near Flathead Lake. Two problems ensued. First, of the Kalispel tribe, only the Upper Kalispel signed the treaty; the Lower Kalispel were unable to travel to the negotiations because of the Yakima War. Later, most would not move to the Flathead Reservation. Second, the Flathead tribe split over the issue of removal, and many of its members remained in the Bitterroot Valley for almost forty years before accepting removal.
For the Upper Kalispel who conceded their claims and consented to removal, life during the first years on the Flathead Reservation was very poor and very difficult. In more recent times, the situation has improved; the reservation now derives income from tourist activities, timber, grazing leases, and a hydropower lease. The tribes have also been successful with several claims filed with the Indian Claims Commission. Under the Indian Reorganization Act, the tribes organized in 1935 and later became known as the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes of the Flathead Reservation.

The Lower Kalispel who refused to move to the Flathead Reservation continued to live in the area surrounding Lake Pend Oreille and the Pend Oreille River. White settlement in the area persisted. Finally, in 1914, the remaining members of the Lower Kalispel were granted a reservation of almost 5,000 acres on the Pend Oreille River. The tribe organized in 1939 and is known as the Kalispel Indian Community, Kalispel Reservation. Their numbers are very small, and the economy is limited. Income is derived from grazing leases and some industry. The tribe has been successful in its claims with the Indian Claims Commission for lost territory.

Kamia

**Culture area:** California  
**Language group:** Yuman  
**Primary location:** Coastal area of the west Baja and California border  
**Population:** 1,640 (1990 U.S. Census)

The Kamia include the Tipai and Ipai. The Ipai spoke a northern dialect and the Tipai a southern dialect—both being autonomous, semi-nomadic bands with thirty exogamous, localized patrilineal clans. Though bands controlled communal land, springs were always available to anyone.

The Kamia were greatly influenced from 1769 to 1821 by Spanish Franciscan and Dominican missionaries. Initially, the Tipai-Ipai resisted conversion and missionization. By 1779, however, many had adapted to mission life. In 1834, Mexico secularized all Spanish missions, with half the land going to Indians. This policy failed, however, as the Indians were treated as serfs. In 1875, the first Tipai-Ipai reservation was established. Many Indians continued to labor in mines and on ranches, and to relocate to urban settings.

By 1968, the Tipai-Ipai had twelve reservations, sharing the Pala Reservation with Takic speakers. Despite religious factionalism, Roman Catholicism is the dominant faith. Some aspects of traditional life are still followed.
The Kansa, or Kaw, tribe, along with the Osage, Quapaw, Omaha, and Ponca, form the Dhegiha branch of the Siouan language family. The Kansa language was most similar to the Osage tongue. A relatively small tribe, the Kansa people numbered about 1,500 in 1700; by 1905 they were reduced to around 200 people, of whom only about 90 were full-bloods. Their population has rebounded considerably since then.

Tribal Name and Origin. In the sixteenth century, the Kansas were living in western Missouri and eastern Kansas, at the confluence of the Missouri and Kaw (Kansas) rivers. The origin of the name Kansa is not clear, but it was probably first used by the Spanish and then by the French, as they came in contact with this group. When Juan de Oñate traveled northeast from what is now New Mexico in 1601, he encountered a group which he called the Escansquez, meaning “those who stir up trouble.” Indeed, the Kansa Nation developed a reputation for belligerence in subsequent centuries. Yet the word Escanjaques was spoken by these Indians themselves as they made a sign of peace with their hands on their breasts. In the late seventeenth century, Father Jacques Marquette and other French explorers were using the spellings “Kansa(s)” and “Kanse(s).” There is also a tradition that this root word designates “wind people” or “people of the south wind,” stressing their geographic location in the sixteenth century and after in a region known for powerful winds.

The Kansa people called themselves Hutanga, meaning “by the edge of the shore,” relating to their possible origins well before the sixteenth century near the Atlantic Ocean. Kansa legends support this history. From that origin well east of the Mississippi some time before 1600, the Kansa people moved west along with others of the Dhegiha linguistic group. A major separation of these Dhegiha relatives occurred at the mouth of the Ohio River, with the Quapaws (meaning “the downstream people”) journeying down the Mississippi River and the Omahas (“those going against the wind or current”) ascending the river. The remaining groups (Kansa, Ponca, and Osage) followed the Mississippi to the mouth of the Missouri near present-day St. Louis. The Osages remained in the lower Missouri Valley in and around the river valley which bears their name, while the Poncas traveled
farther north along the Missouri. The Kansas settled around the confluence of the Kansas (or Kaw) and Missouri rivers. They were in the lower Kansas Valley when the Spanish and French made their first contacts with them.

**Contact with Europeans and Americans.** Spanish contact was slight, but French relations with the Kansa tribe were significant, lasting more than a century. By the late seventeenth century, French traders had established a fairly regularized trading relationship with the Kansa, bringing them into the fur trade. Hence, they were exposed regularly to French trade goods as well as French people and culture for some time before the Kansas and Missouri valley areas became American territory. Up to the 1850’s, French fur trading families maintained a presence in Kansa territory to pursue the lucrative trade with this industrious tribe. French missionaries also attempted to leave their mark on these people starting in the 1720’s at Forts Bourgmont and Cavagnial, established by the French in the early 1700’s to pursue the fur trade with the Kansa and Osage tribes.

By the 1820’s, there was a significant métis (French for “mixed-blood”) community living in the lower Kansas (Kaw) Valley, a product of intermarriage between the Kansas and the French. This group spoke French as well as the Kansa language and practiced Roman Catholicism. They were accepted by neither Kansa society nor the emerging Anglo-American community encroaching on Kansa territory by that time. The U.S. government arranged differential land grants to the two groups in an 1825 treaty, the outcome of which was the pitting of the “half-bloods” and “full-bloods” against each other. Another outcome of this 1825 treaty was that the Kansa tribe ceded all of their lands in Missouri in exchange for the land grants (2 million acres) in eastern Kansas.

By 1846, another treaty ceded all those 2 million acres and sent both groups of Kansa descendants to a 265,000-acre reservation on the Neosho River farther southwest in Kansas. With very little success, Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian missionaries attempted to Christianize the Kansa people at a mission on the Neosho and later in Indian Territory (now Oklahoma), where the Kansa people moved in 1873. From that point on, the métis and full-blood Kansas were undifferentiated by the U.S. government. The Kansa reservation in Oklahoma was allotted in severalty (parceled out to individual families) in 1902, and consequently the tribe was no longer recognized by the U.S. government as a legal entity. By the late twentieth century, however, there was a movement to revive cultural awareness and preserve the Kansa tribal heritage.

**Traditional Culture.** The Kansa Nation was divided culturally into sixteen clans. Each clan included several extended families, some reckoned matrilineally, some patrilineally. Villages chose leaders who represented
them in tribal-level council meetings, and war “chiefs” were chosen on an ad hoc basis. Kansa villages consisted of anywhere from 80 to 130 earthlodges, each holding an extended family and arranged according to clans.

The Kansas were traditionally matrilocal, in that a married couple would live with the wife’s family and the oldest woman of an extended family was the head of each household. Women owned the round or oval wood-framed earthlodges, which were anywhere from 30 to 60 feet in diameter, depending on the size of the family. Women also controlled crop lands, as they were the farmers. Cultivating corn, beans, pumpkins, and other crops, women also gathered prairie potatoes and made much of the clothing. Men hunted a variety of game, but as time went on, buffalo became the primary concern, not only for their plentiful meat but also for hides used in making clothing and for trade with the French (and later the Americans). When French forts were in operation along the Missouri River, these Europeans traded with the Kansa people not only for buffalo hides and beaver furs but also for agricultural produce. The Kansas were industrious and successful hunters and farmers. Many of their descendants still farm in eastern Oklahoma.

Gretchen L. Green

Bibliography

Karankawa

**Culture area:** Southeast
**Language group:** Karankawa
**Primary location:** East coast of Mexico north of Tamaulipas, south Texas coast
Over the centuries the Karankawa people developed a lifeway measured by the land and the gulf upon which they depended. They lived amid riches in terms of game and fish, and they cultivated foodstuffs. They moved in dugouts or skiffs on seasonal rotation from the river valleys to the bay inlets along the coast, ranging from West Galveston Bay on the north to the Laguna Madre south of the Rio Grande. The Karankawa never exceeded ten thousand people.

Over thousands of years they nurtured a knowledge of the animals, the plants, the earth, and the sea, upon all of which their existence depended. Karankawa knowledge was passed carefully from one generation to the next. The Karankawa fished the bays and inlets from their dugout canoes, exploiting redfish, snapper, flounder, and green sea turtle; they gathered sea bird eggs and shellfish. They hunted buffalo and deer as well as smaller game, and they cultivated blackberry bushes, arrowroot, and potatoes and collected pecans, acorns, and prickly pear.

The Karankawa were spiritually centered people. People paused no matter what they were doing as the sun disappeared behind the horizon. They stood observing the sunset as a system of beauty of which they were a part. Formal celebrations were held at the time of the full moon, and they involved the use of “black drink” or yaupon tea. Music was made with song and instruments—gourd rattles, carved wooden rasps, and cedar flutes. Their sense of being included the marshes, bays, salt flats, brush, and dunes as they established patterns of sustainable behavior in the ecosystem. Karankawa people understood the changes that form the design of the coastal land and the borders of the gulf.

The site of their villages was always close to the shore or bluff. They bathed every day in the salt water, and they used shark’s oil as protection against mosquitoes. The people were tall, and most were in excellent physical condition. They lived in structures made of woven mats of cane, tanned skins, and hides that covered a structurally sound framework of willow and oak resting on foundations of oyster shell. These structures sheltered the Karankawa from the winds and the rains of fall and winter.

In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the Karankawa maneuvered diplomatically between the French and the Spanish. The mission Espíritu Santa de Zúñiga was founded in 1722 specifically to influence the Karankawa, but this effort failed within a few years. Some Karankawa people did seek the protection of other missions in the late eighteenth century. Early in the nineteenth century, the Karankawa began to face the Anglo-Americans who moved into the region. Pressure increased until they migrated from Texas south of the Rio Grande into the state of Tamaulipas, Mexico, where they sought sanctuary.
The Karok Indians occupied the northwestern corner of California. They subsisted by fishing, hunting, and gathering; tobacco was the only plant cultivated. The Karok used nets, harpoons, and clubs to catch salmon and other fish. Tribesmen used dogs, decoys, bows and arrows, and snares to hunt large animals such as deer and elk. Surplus meat was dried on scaffolds for winter use. Acorns, bulbs, seeds, and nuts were gathered and ground into flour.

Rectangular, semi-subterranean, single-family homes were constructed with cedar planks; they had small low doorways and stone porches. Men wore buckskin breechclouts or went naked; women wore deerskin skirts. Both wore fur capes and snowshoes during the winter.

The Karok placed great importance on acquiring and retaining wealth. Riches were in the form of shells, obsidian blades, and woodpecker scalps. The wealthiest person in the group also held the most respect and prestige. Dances were performed to ensure good fishing and hunting, as well as to cure sick children. These ceremonies included displays of wealth and religious rites performed by priests. Everyday life was filled with taboos, and rituals were performed regularly to fend off illness and bad luck. Shamans were usually women, who used herbal medicines or orally sucked out the “pain” that was causing the illness.
In the early 1800’s, Hudson’s Bay Company traders were the first white people to make contact with the Karok. In the 1850’s, gold miners flooded into Karok territory and violent clashes ensued. Whites burned most of the Indian towns, and the Karok fled to the mountains.

In the late nineteenth century, mining prospects died out and many whites left. A number of half-white children were left behind. In the 1870’s, many Karoks participated in the Ghost Dance religion. Ghost Dancers believed that the dances and rituals they performed would bring back dead Indians and a more traditional way of life. No reservations were set aside for Karok Indians, but several moved to Scott Valley, a Shasta reservation.

Kaska

Culture area: Subarctic
Language group: Athapaskan
Primary location: North-central British Columbia, southern Yukon Territory
Population size: 705 (Statistics Canada, based on 1991 census)

The Kaska were territorially divided into two bands, the Upper Laird and the Dease River. They had matriarchal moieties (Wolf and Crow). The household was the main socioeconomic unit, relying mostly upon fishing, supplemented with hunting, trapping, and late-summer gathering. Trade goods were transported, according to season and terrain, by toboggans, snowshoes, dugouts, bark canoes, and mooseskin boats.

European American contact with the Kaska was established in the 1820’s by the Hudson’s Bay Company, primarily for fur trading—which, with the introduction of disease, brought numerous cultural changes. In 1873, gold miners first encroached upon Kaska territory. In 1897-1898, the route to the Klondike crossed their land. Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries also brought about significant cultural changes, and by 1945 all Kaska were nominally Roman Catholic. The greatest sustained change came in 1942 with construction of the Alaskan Highway. The Kaska now have essentially a cash economy, supported by seasonal employment with fishing and guiding services that cater to hunting parties.
Kawaiisu

**CULTURE AREA:** Great Basin  
**LANGUAGE GROUP:** Kawaiisu  
**PRIMARY LOCATION:** Sierra Nevada, Piute, and Tehachapi mountains, California

As hunters and gatherers, the Kawaiisu were omnivorous in their diet, though deer meat was a favored food. They collected and stored a wide variety of roots, tubers, nuts, berries, and seeds. Acorns were stored in granaries; before eating, the tannic acid was removed by leaching. Most animals were hunted or trapped, and fishing, though minimal, supplemented their diet.

In 1776, Francisco Garcé became the first European to record contact with the Kawaiisu; John Frémont traversed their region in 1844. By the early 1850’s, farmers, trappers, and stockmen occupied Kawaiisu territory, along with prospectors—all of whose activities led to ongoing conflict. In 1863, after reports of an intertribal grouping of Indians, a contingent of soldiers under Captain Moses McLaughlin killed thirty-five unarmed Indians. The introduction of disease also reduced the Kawaiisu population, from an estimated 500 to about 150 by 1910. Anthropologists believe that, by 1960, all aspects of tribal life were gone. In the 1990 U.S. Census, only two people identified themselves as Kawaiisu.

Kichai

**CULTURE AREA:** Plains  
**LANGUAGE GROUP:** Caddoan  
**PRIMARY LOCATION:** Oklahoma

The Kichai (also spelled Kitsei), a branch of the Caddoan family, lived in what is now Texas, Oklahoma, and Kansas. The Caddo tribes had inhabited the southern Great Plains for thousands of years. “Caddo” is a shortened form of *Kadohadacho* (“real chiefs”). The Caddo, the most culturally advanced peoples of the southern Plains, lived in round thatched houses in permanent villages. They were skilled agriculturalists as well as expert hunters, and they were known for their beautiful pottery and weaving. *Kitsash*, the name the Kichai had for themselves, means “going in wet
sand”; the Pawnee called them “water turtles.” Their first recorded contact with whites was in 1701, when they encountered the French in eastern Louisiana. They remained friendly with the French from that time. Throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, their population decreased as they fell victim to new diseases carried by the Spanish, French, and British and as they fought with European and Mexican invaders. In 1855, they were assigned by the United States to a small reservation on the Brazos River. Three years later, they were pushed aside and killed in large numbers by Texans who wanted their land. The Kichai fled north to Oklahoma and merged with the Wichita; they were absorbed by that tribe and lost their own identity. The last speaker of the Kichai language died in the 1930’s.

Kickapoo

**Culture area:** Northeast  
**Language group:** Algonquian  
**Primary location:** Kansas, Mexico, Oklahoma  
**Population size:** 3,577 in U.S. (1990 U.S. Census); estimated 400-500 in Mexico

Kickapoo comes from the Indian *Kiwegapaw*, meaning “He stands about,” or “He moves about, standing now here, now there.”  

The Kickapoo lived originally in eastern Michigan with the Sauk and Fox, with whom they were most closely related culturally, ethnically, and linguistically, out of the twenty-some Algonquian tribes living in this geographic area. The Kickapoo first appear in historical accounts in the late 1660’s, at which time their population was about three thousand.  

The Kickapoo lived in fixed villages during the spring and summer, when their economy was primarily agricultural. They grew crops of corn, beans, and squash and gathered roots and berries. During the autumn and winter they were nomadic, hunting animals, especially buffalo, across the Mississippi River. The Kickapoo lived in oval-shaped houses with frameworks made from green saplings and covered with bark or cattail mats. Each house was built with a smoke hole in the roof, and the door always faced east. The principal Kickapoo crafts were woodworking and pottery. They were known for their wood cradleboards, ladles, and bowls.  

The Kickapoo were organized into clans, or *gens*. Marriage was always outside one’s *gen*, and children belonged to the *gen* of their father. The
Kickapoo had a rich mythology, centering on their belief in a cosmic substance that pervaded nature and was given special reverence. Their supreme being was Kichihiata, who lived in the sky and created earth and everything on it. Other spirits existed in earthly objects, as well as throughout the universe. Dogs were given particular significance and were sacrificed to the spirits. Their cultural hero was Wisaka, and their great cosmic myth focused on the death of Wisaka’s younger brother. To him were credited all of life’s good things and the hope of life in the spirit world after death, which was presided over by the younger brother. The dead were buried in village graveyards with their feet pointed west, toward the land of the dead. Priests conducted the religious life of the Kickapoo. The most important ceremony and feast was a week-long event in spring that centered on opening and restoring sacred bundles.

Although originating in eastern Michigan, the Kickapoo had been driven by the Iroquois and Sioux west into Wisconsin by the mid-1600’s, where they had their first contacts with whites, the French. Unlike other Algonquian tribes, the Kickapoo were extremely conservative and independent in their attitudes toward the French and later toward the British and Americans. Their history is one of resistance to any attempts by whites to acculturate them politically, economically, or religiously.

After being driven out of their native home by the Iroquois and Sioux, the Kickapoo formed a powerful confederacy with the Fox and Mascouten tribes and waged effective warfare against the French, Iroquois, and Sioux. Around 1716, the Kickapoo turned on the Illinois Confederacy to their south, and by 1765 they occupied Illinois lands. Through the late 1700’s and early 1800’s, their history was characterized by a series of shifting alliances with the French, British, Spanish, Americans, and other Indian tribes.

The inexorable European American movement westward resulted in government pressure on the Kickapoo to leave their lands and move farther west, to Kansas and Missouri, which they did by 1834. Over the next thirty years, difficulties with squatters and questionable appropriation of their land by government treaties resulted in a small band of disaffected Kickapoo migrating to Mexico in 1838, where they were joined by another band in 1863, becoming known as the Mexican Kickapoo. Because of their depredations against Texans in cross-border raids, however, the U.S. government attempted to persuade these Kickapoo through warfare and negotiation to return to the United States. A number did, settling in Kansas and Oklahoma. The Kickapoo in Missouri eventually settled in Kansas. The modern Kickapoo reside on reservations in Kansas, Oklahoma, and Mexico.

The Kickapoo gave up their warlike ways and became successful farmers. All along, however, the chiefs and headmen worked hard to resist the
cultural, social, and religious influences of the white culture. The pride and spirit of being a Kickapoo were instilled in the tribe. A course of conciliation with whites only when it was necessary to do so in order to survive was adopted. The Kickapoo have been remarkably successful in adhering to their old ways. As a result, the Kickapoo have retained their proud and fierce independence. Among modern Indian tribes, the Kickapoo culture is perhaps the purest of all Indian cultures.

Laurence Miller

Kiowa

Cultural area: Plains
Language group: Kiowa-Tanoan (Uto-Aztecan)
Primary location: Oklahoma
Population size: 9,421 (1990 U.S. Census)

The Kiowas, whose language is related to the Rio Grande Pueblo Indians, originally lived in western Montana. The earliest Kiowa villages in this area date to the early 1600’s. The Kiowas (Kiowa means “main people”) moved a century later to the Yellowstone River region in eastern Montana and eventually settled in the Black Hills of South Dakota. Here they traded with the Mandans, learned how to use horses, and began hunting buffalo. They also became noted for their military exploits and organized their tribe into military societies. As nomadic hunters they followed buffalo herds, lived in tipis, worshiped a sun god (Taimay), and performed the Sun Dance. Unlike other Plains tribes, however, Kiowas did not allow violence or self-torture during performance of the eight-day Sun Dance ceremony. Kiowa warriors fasted, prayed, exchanged sacred medicine bundles, and did penance but did not mutilate their bodies with knives or spears as did the Mandans.

Kiowas frequently fought wars against Caddos, Utes, Apaches, Arapahos, Cheyennes, and other Plains tribes. Among the Kiowa, membership in the warrior society called the “Principal Dogs,” or “Ten Bravest,” was highly sought after and esteemed. Only ten warriors who had repeatedly demonstrated the greatest bravery in battle could belong. The leader of the Principal Dogs wore a long sash over his shoulder when going into battle. When the fighting began he got off his horse, anchored his sash to the ground with his spear, and stood at that spot, shouting encouragement to his comrades. He could not leave his post until another Principal Dog pulled his sash from the ground.
In the 1780’s the Sioux drove the Kiowas from the Black Hills, and they moved farther south into Nebraska, Kansas, and northern Oklahoma. The American explorers Meriwether Lewis and William Clark reported meeting Kiowas along the North Platte River in 1805. Comanche Indians living in the areas originally fought off the Kiowas, but the two eventually formed an alliance that lasted into the twentieth century. In their new homeland, the Kiowas continued to hunt buffalo and raid their enemies, chiefly the Apaches and Cheyennes, taking horses and territory. Peace accords were reached in the 1830’s when new enemies appeared: American pioneers and traders on the Santa Fe and Butterfield trails. In the “Kiowa Wars” of the 1830’s and 1840’s, Plains Indians fought together against whites moving through the region on wagon trains or cattle drives. The Great Plains were not yet the destination of these migrants, because many saw the region as too empty, hot, and dry to support any type of agriculture, and called it the Great American Desert. They simply moved through the Plains heading for California and Oregon, which had more hospitable climates.

These views changed after the Civil War, however, when the Plains were considered ready for settlement because of the introduction of railroads. This postwar movement of white settlers into the center of Indian country led to another series of wars in the 1870’s. The Kiowas debated how to deal with this new intrusion. Kicking Bird and Little Mountain, two principal chiefs, wanted peace, but Satank (Sitting Bear) and Satanta (White Bear), leader of the Principal Dogs, called for war. Satanta led several raids into Texas, and the Red River War of 1874-1875 began. The war faction killed Kicking Bird when he continued to oppose violent conflict. Satanta became chief but was captured by George Armstrong Custer’s cavalry forces and sentenced to prison. In 1878 he took his own life, jumping from a prison hospital window in Huntsville, Texas. Other Kiowa leaders suffered similar violent deaths, Satank was shot while trying to escape from the Fort Sill,
Oklahoma, prison, and Sky Walker, the Kiowa religious leader, died in a Florida prison. Most of these Kiowa warriors were buried at Fort Sill in a cemetery referred to as the “Indian Arlington.”

By 1878 most of the Kiowas had submitted to living on a reservation in southeastern Oklahoma. The modern tribe has its headquarters in Caddo County and survives by raising cattle, farming, and leasing oil rights to their land. Kiowa artworks are on display at the Southern Plains Indian Museum and Craft Center in Anadarko. Perhaps the most famous living Kiowa is N. Scott Momaday, a novelist and professor of comparative literature, who won a Pulitzer Prize in 1969 for his novel *House Made of Dawn* (1968), a sensitive portrayal of a Native American in conflict between traditional ways of life and modern culture.

*Leslie V. Tischauser*

**Klamath**

**Culture Area:** Northwest Coast  
**Language Group:** Lutuanian  
**Primary Location:** Oregon  
**Population Size:** 3,097 (1990 U.S. Census)

Approximately ten thousand years ago, the ancestors of the Klamath and the Modoc moved into an area encircled by the Great Basin to the east, the Cascades to the west, the central Plateau to the north, and the present-day California border. Because of these natural boundaries, the Klamath remained isolated from European Americans longer than many neighboring tribes. Klamath culture remained intact into the 1800’s, and when trapper Peter Skene Ogden met the Klamath in 1826, he noted that they owned one horse. Early Klamath population figures are estimated at about a thousand.

Because their food came principally from the water, the Klamath did not require or use the horse as other tribes did for hunting, although by the mid-nineteenth century the Klamath used the horse and gun to raid other tribes. Traditionally Klamath culture followed a seasonal cycle; spring, summer, and fall were devoted to gathering roots and berries and securing a year’s catch of fish. One of the staples of the Klamath diet was a pond lily seed, the wokas, which was gathered in the marshes in August. Another staple was fish, including suckers, salmon, and trout, caught in the spring runs. Fishing persisted into the winter, although the winter catch was limited.
By late fall, the Klamath began building their winter settlement, which generally already had some permanent buildings. Because the climate could be harsh (with up to several feet of snow), the Klamath built semi-subterranean earthlodges, sometimes up to 4 feet deep. They lived in these for the winter and relied on whatever provisions they had stored.

The clothing of the Klamath differed from that of their neighbors on the Columbia Plateau. Men and women wore skirts made of fibers and wore basketry caps. Buckskin was not worn until the nineteenth century. The Klamath also practiced tattooing, flattening the heads of infants, and the wearing of a dentalium through the nose. The tribe with which they had the most contact before the nineteenth century was the Modoc, who spoke a similar language. The Klamath were more influenced by Pacific Northwest culture than were the Modoc, who were closer to their southern neighbors.

By the mid-nineteenth century, the horse and gun were integrated into Klamath society. Contact with European Americans increased as whites crossed Klamath country on their way to the gold fields in Northern California; some settled in the region. The Klamath tried to sustain peaceful relations with the white settlers, and there were several instances where the Klamath punished their own for committing offenses against whites. The land that the Klamath occupied, however, was wanted for white settlement. In 1864 the Klamath signed a treaty with the federal government; in exchange for their land, they were awarded a reservation of 1,104,847 acres, the Klamath Agency, located in present-day south-central Oregon. The government planned to transform the Klamath into self-sufficient farmers once they were removed to the reservation.

By the twentieth century, their economy included ranching and some business; many incomes were supplemented by or derived from timber revenues. A small number practiced farming. In the early twentieth century, several claims were filed and won regarding boundary disputes. Tribal government consisted of a general council. In the early 1950's a movement for termination gained support. (The tribe had earlier rejected the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act.) By 1954, termination was finalized, and each Klamath enrolled in the tribe was allotted $43,500 in exchange for the sale of reservation land to the federal government. Termination meant the end of tribal status. For many Klamath, termination introduced more problems, as there were no plans for their future. Many were the victims of enterprising and unscrupulous entrepreneurs. After years of effort, tribal status was regained in 1991.
Klikitat

**Culture areas:** Northwest Coast, Plateau  
**Language group:** Sahaptian  
**Primary location:** Washington State

Before contact with European Americans, the Cayuse had pushed the Klikitats west into south-central Washington, the area with which they have come to be traditionally associated. After the migration west, the Klikitats divided into two groups. The Western Klikitats continued past the Cascade Mountains into southwestern Washington and integrated with the Cowlitzes. The Eastern Klikitats lived on the north side of the Columbia River, along its tributaries, including the Klikitat, Lewis, and White Salmon rivers, in south-central Washington.

The Klikitats followed the nomadic lifestyle common to the Mid-Columbia Indians, and their subsistence patterns were a cycle of rich salmon fishing in the spring followed by the gathering of roots and berries in the summer and fall. The hunting of game supplemented their diet. The narrows at The Dalles on the Columbia River was one of the prized fishing locations. Even before contact, fishing rights were passed down from father to son, with the most powerful families claiming the locations where the salmon could be obtained most easily.

Because The Dalles was known for its plentiful catches, the area surrounding it became a popular trading post. Summer berry picking in the foothills of Mount Adams followed, and the Klikitats gathered huckleberries, which were either eaten raw, boiled, dried, or smoked. Roots were another staple, and the Klikitats dug for the camas root with a digging stick as well as digging wild carrots, onions, celery, and parsley. All the food sources—fish, berries, and roots—were preserved for the upcoming winter months. In addition to preserving the food, the women made beautiful baskets and became known for their skill.

Contact with European Americans began in the early 1800’s with the Lewis and Clark expedition, followed by fur traders. Because of their location on the Columbia River, the Klikitats undoubtedly interacted with the fur traders considerably, which might explain their subsequent reputation as traders. In 1825 the Hudson’s Bay Company established Fort Vancouver on the Columbia River. Company officials asked some of the Klikitats to move to the fort and act as hunters for members living at the fort. By the 1840’s, Klikitats had moved into the Willamette Valley, which had been occupied by the Kalapuyas. As more and more settlers moved into the area,
pressure mounted for the Klikitats to leave. Not all of their relations with the American settlers were unfriendly, as some of the Klikitats served the Americans in the Rogue Wars of the 1850’s.

In 1855, Washington territorial governor Isaac Stevens held the Walla Walla Council with many of the Plateau tribes. The Klikitats were subsumed under the leadership of Kamiakin, the appointed Yakima chief. The Klikitats had always interacted closely with the Yakimas, as was noted by Lieutenant George Gibbs, who participated in a railroad survey in the Columbia Basin. Kamiakin represented fourteen signatory tribes, including the Klikitats, and the Yakima Treaty that he signed (although he claimed that he did not sign the treaty with the intention of relinquishing land) allowed for the creation of the Yakima Reservation, with a land base of 1,250,000 acres. Dissatisfied with the treaty, many Klikitats joined Kamiakin in the Yakima War of 1855 and the Cascade War of 1856. Part of the Klikitat discontent stemmed from the loss of their identity, although one of the first chiefs on the Yakima Reservation was White Swan, a Klikitat.

After 1856, many of the Klikitats moved to the Yakima Reservation and took part in such federal policies as the General Allotment Act of 1887. In 1935, the Confederated Tribes of the Yakima Reservation organized. The government consists of a general council and a Yakima tribal council. A few Klikitats still live near traditional fishing locations on the Klikitat and White Salmon rivers and continue to fish at some twenty sites along the Klikitat River.

Koyukon

**Culture area:** Subarctic  
**Language group:** Athapaskan  
**Primary location:** Central Alaska

The Koyukon tribe is a subgroup of the Athapaskan family, living in small villages along the Yukon and Kuyokuk rivers in central Alaska. Actual population figures are sketchy, because census figures are notoriously inaccurate in these remote areas, but there are probably three or four hundred people who consider themselves Koyukons. The Athapaskans probably migrated from Siberia over the land bridge that existed on what is now the Bering Strait sometime during the last Ice Age, between ten thousand and twenty-five thousand years ago, and may have been the first humans to arrive in North America.
Koyukons were not known by white Americans until the 1890’s, when the Klondike gold rush brought many prospectors into the area. Even then, the natives lived in widely separated tiny villages, and there was little intercourse between the two groups. The native culture was largely untouched, and the land was never taken from the Koyukons until the 1980’s, when much of it became the Yukon Flats National Monument. Nearing the end of the twentieth century, the villages had few white residents, most of whom were teachers and other government workers.

Koyukons generally live in log cabins heated by wood stoves. Except in the schools, electricity is rare; it is provided by local generators, which are extremely unreliable because of the intensely cold winters. Telephone service is by satellite. There are no roads to any Koyukon village. English is the working language for most young Koyukons, though some of the older people still speak the native language, and tribal ceremonies are still held in that language.

The villages have a very loose style of government, with an elected chief whose main function is to act as a liaison with the federal and state governments. Children are taught in one-room schoolhouses, with high school available only in Fairbanks or Fort Yukon, neither of which has a significant Koyukon population.

Kutchin

**Culture areas:** Arctic, Subarctic  
**Language group:** Athapaskan  
**Primary location:** Northeastern Alaska, northwestern Yukon  
**Population size:** 1,995 in Canada (Statistics Canada, based on 1991 census); estimated 600 in Alaska

The Kutchin are the largest subgroup of the northern Athapaskan family of tribes. They live mostly in small villages along the major rivers of Alaska and the Yukon, although many have migrated to the cities, principally Fairbanks, in search of a more viable lifestyle.

The largest concentration of Kutchin is in the Alaskan village of Fort Yukon. The rest are scattered around Alaska and the Yukon. Their numbers are impossible to determine accurately, as few fill out the census forms they are sent. Fort Yukon is the only village with a road system, and this system does not extend outside the village. Transportation among the villages is primarily by boat in the summer and dogsled in the winter, although there
are airstrips in the villages, and small planes make daily landings, bringing mail and supplies ordered from Fairbanks.

The Kutchin language and lifestyle appear to be losing ground to white culture, though this may change as the movement toward Indian pride in heritage spreads. Fort Yukon has several stores and a reliable electricity supply. Elsewhere, people live in log cabins, trade mostly by barter, and eat a diet largely composed of moose and salmon.

The Kutchins’ first major encounters with white people occurred during the Alaskan gold rush of the 1890’s, but except in Fort Yukon, which has a significant white population, the effects have been minimal. In the smaller villages, the native culture still survives alongside the white, Christian culture that has been imported.

**Kutenai**

**Culture area:** Plateau  
**Language group:** Kutenai  
**Primary location:** Washington State, British Columbia  
**Population size:** 643 in U.S. (1990 U.S. Census); 565 in Canada (Statistics Canada, based on 1991 census)

The Kutenai (also spelled “Kootenai” and “Kootenay”) lived in southeastern British Columbia and northern Montana and Idaho. Their distinct language places them in a linguistic family of their own. In prehistoric times, they lived east of the Rocky Mountains, but they were driven westward by traditional enemies, the Blackfoot. The tribe was from early times divided into two groups speaking different dialects: the Upper Kutenai, of the upper Kootenay (Kutenai) and Columbia rivers, and the Lower Kutenai, of the Lower Kootenay River. They were a nomadic people, traveling widely in search of buffalo. Known to be unusually tall, they were skilled in canoe building and in raising horses.

Because they constantly moved about, there was no central government or chief; rather, each band had its own leader and council of elders. They worshiped the sun and expected their dead to some day meet the living at Pend Oreille Lake. The Kutenai, because of their isolated location, were among the last of the American Indian tribes to be contacted by whites. In fact, the Lower Kutenai were so isolated that they were still using stone tools in the late nineteenth century. Even into the twentieth century, they led relatively peaceful and unhampered lives. By the end of the twentieth
century, the Kutenai were no longer nomadic, but lived in wood frame houses and relied mostly on wage labor for their living.

**Kwakiutl**

**Culture area:** Northwest Coast  
**Language group:** Wakashan  
**Primary location:** British Columbia  
**Population size:** 4,120 (Statistics Canada, based on 1991 census)

The Kwakiutl Indians inhabited much of the northwestern coast of British Columbia. The tribe was divided into three groups geographically and had a religion that was centered on guardian spirits. They were famous for potlatch festivals in which status was obtained by extravagant gift giving. Kwakiutl villages were composed of wooden multifamily dwellings, and the main occupation of their inhabitants was fishing. Most modern Kwakiutl are found in various reserves (reservations) throughout British Columbia.

**Tribal History.** The Kwakiutl Indians, whose name means “beach on the other side of the river,” occupied part of Vancouver Island and the British Columbia coast between Bute Inlet and Douglas Channel. They formed three groups called the Haisla, the Heiltsuk, and the Kwakiutl proper (Southern Kwakiutl), and they spoke variants of the Wakashan Indian language. Their known history has large gaps in it; however, it is well known that their primary occupation was fishing and that they depended upon the sea for most needs. Like the other tribes of the region, the Kwakiutl were excellent craftsmen with wood, making beautiful totem poles, elaborate ceremonial masks, and highly advanced canoes. After 1780, the year of the first visits by British and American traders, the Kwakiutl obtained steel tools and became even more adept craftsmen.

**Traditional Lifeways.** The Kwakiutl were organized into a number of autonomous bands whose social organization included chiefs, nobles, commoners, and slaves, interrelated by complex rules. The minimal social unit in a band was an extended family, or *numaym*, wherein descent was patrilineal; the matrilineal Haisla were the exception. Haisla matrilineal descent was patterned after that of the neighboring Tsimshian, who influenced them greatly. Rights, property, dances, and religious position were parcelled out to Kwakiutl according to their lines of descent.
The Kwakiutl religion was based on guardian spirits whose aid could be obtained by appropriate prayer and fasting by either men or women. The different guardian spirits divided numaym members into secret societies (such as Cannibals, Warriors, and Grizzlies), each of which had special dances and ceremonies. The most famous of the Kwakiutl ceremonies was the potlatch. These ceremonies of gift giving were common to many tribes of the Northwest Coast region. The Kwakiutl were noted for the elaborate nature of their potlatches, in which the giver might practically beggar himself through the bestowing of gifts. The potlatches were celebrated to commemorate marriages, important births and deaths, the naming of heirs, and the initiation of members into secret societies. At death, Kwakiutl were either cremated or buried. Burial was in caves, in trees, or (in the case of the very rich) in canoes.

Kwakiutl villages were orderly collections of plank houses made from the red cedar tree, whose wood is straight and easy to work with simple tools. The highly decorated Kwakiutl houses looked and were shaped somewhat like barns. Most houses in a village were each occupied by all the members of a given numaym; however, some village houses were used only for religious ceremonies. The Kwakiutl, who were great fishermen, fished and traveled in large, well-designed dugout sailing canoes, also made from red cedar logs. They also used the canoes in warfare with various neighboring tribes.

The Kwakiutl tribal economy was based mostly on fishing for salmon and, to a lesser extent, cod, halibut, herring, and hunting seals. Fishing was carried out with harpoons, nets, weirs, and many other kinds of sophisticated equipment. The Kwakiutl also hunted some deer and moose with bows and arrows. The vegetable foods of the Kwakiutl included seaweed, roots, and berries gathered by the women of the tribe. The Kwakiutl made fine clothing from bark, animal skins, wool, and dog hair.

Modern Life. Nineteenth century Christian missionaries attempted to convert the Kwakiutl, who held on to their tribal beliefs strongly. To speed Kwakiutl absorption into mainstream Canadian life, the government outlawed potlatches in the early twentieth century. The modern Kwakiutl live on various reserves throughout British Columbia. Many modern Kwakiutl have retained their language and customs, especially in giving elegant funeral potlatches. Modern Kwakiutl are often fishermen.
Lake

**Culture Area:** Plateau  
**Language Group:** Salishan  
**Primary Location:** Colville Reservation, Washington State

The Lake, also called Senijextee, were a branch of the Salishan family. They lived along the Columbia, Kettle, and Kootenay rivers in Washington and in the Arrow Lakes area of British Columbia, Canada, which gave them their name. Their dialect was very similar to that of another Salishan tribe, the Okanagan. Evidence suggests they migrated to Washington from Montana and Idaho in prehistoric times. The Lake lived in villages of varying size, in bands or groups of families. They dressed in wool blankets and fur robes. Because they relied on hunting and fishing—salmon was a chief staple of their diet—as well as on gathering roots and berries, they were forced to move throughout the year to find food in different seasons. This prevented the villages from growing and developing as political or social centers.

The Lake do not seem to have relied on agriculture. They were skilled in building canoes, but the rapids of the rivers along which they lived were so treacherous that most traveling was done on foot. The introduction of new diseases from Europe and changing economic conditions brought about a great decline in the numbers of surviving Lake. During the twentieth century, most of the remaining Lake Indians in the United States lived on the Colville Reservation in Washington, to which the Lake had been assigned in 1872. By the 1970’s, there were no identified Lake in Canada.

Lenni Lenape

**Culture Area:** Northeast  
**Language Group:** Algonquian  
**Primary Location:** Oklahoma  
**Population Size:** 9,321 in U.S. (“Delaware,” 1990 U.S. Census); 590 in Canada (Statistics Canada, based on 1991 census)

The Lenni Lenape were the first tribe encountered by the European explorers who landed in the area of what is now northern Delaware, New Jersey, and southeastern New York.
The name “Lenape” has been ascribed various meanings: “a male of our kind,” “our men,” “men of the same nation,” “common,” “ordinary,” or “real” people. “Lenni Lenape” is redundant, as if to say, “the common, ordinary people.” They are sometimes referred to as the Delawares, which is not an Indian word at all; the early English settlers, who had difficulty pronouncing Indian names, were responsible for this term. In August of 1610, Sir Samuel Argall, captain of the ship *Discovery*, sailed into the bay, which he later named De la Warre Bay in honor of Sir Thomas West, third Lord De la Warre, who was governor of the Virginia colony. The Indians who lived along the shore of the bay and the banks of the river that fed into it were called the De la Warres, later shortened to Delawares.

**Subtribes.** Before the arrival of the Europeans, the Lenape lived in small villages containing only twenty-five or thirty people. Scholars are not sure of the total Lenape population before the coming of the Europeans; the usual estimates range from eight to twelve thousand people.

The early Dutch, Swedish, and English explorers soon realized that the Lenape could not simply be lumped together as one unified group. There were separate groups or bands scattered along the major waterways. One main division was the Minsi (“men of the stony country”), which included the Esophus, Tappan, Haverstraw, Canarsee, and Hackensack, among others, who lived in the area of what is now northern New Jersey, Manhattan Island, and the lower Hudson River valley. The Unami (“fishermen”), which included the Raritan, Navesink, and Mantaes, lived in central New Jersey and along the Atlantic coast. The Unalachtigo (“people living near the ocean”) were found along the coast in present-day Delaware and southern New Jersey. Along the upper Delaware River valley lived the Minisinks and other small, unnamed Indian bands. These groups differed greatly in their language, religious beliefs, and culture; in fact, the Unami dialect of the Delaware language was so different from the Minsi that they could barely understand each other.

**Political Organization.** The individual tribes did not form a single Indian nation because the Lenape villages functioned as separate political units. Each village was governed by at least two chiefs, a council, and the residents of the village. One chief, who either inherited or was elected to the position, held authority in times of peace, and his power was limited by the council and the village at large. His main function was to preside over meetings and ceremonies, direct hunting drives, and mediate disputes. The chief was usually no wealthier than his neighbors, as the Lenape practiced a communal way of life in which all members of the tribe shared equally. The second chief was a war chief, who was appointed because of his skills in war. With a war’s end, the peace chief resumed his limited authority. This
system of government gave all members of the tribe considerable personal liberty and great equality of wealth.

**Methods of Subsistence.** The early Lenapes were primarily hunters and fishermen, pursuing bear, elk, deer, beaver, and muskrat. Their weapons consisted of spears made of wood or bone with a stone point. Fish were caught with nets, lines, or spears. Later, as their life became more sedentary, they began to produce articles of clay pottery. The women of the tribe engaged in agriculture and food gathering as villages became more permanent. Corn was the primary crop, which was ground into corn meal. They also grew squash, beans, and tobacco, and learned how to preserve food for future use. Meat was dried and cured, and ground corn and beans were placed in earthen pits and covered with bark or leaves. Fish was either dried in the sun or smoked. Many of the Lenape agricultural practices and food preservation methods were later adopted by European colonists.

**Village Life.** The largest and most permanent villages were usually located along major rivers or other large bodies of water. They were moved from time to time when the soil was depleted, as the Lenape were unaware of methods of crop rotation. For shelter they built simple, circular structures constructed of curved saplings lashed together with hickory twigs or hemp and covered with strips of bark. A hole was left in the center of the structure to allow smoke from the inside fire to exit. In the northern parts of New Jersey, they built longhouses in which several families would live.

The Lenape wore simple clothing made from deer, elk, beaver, bear, fox, and raccoon skins. Children wore little or no clothing in summer. Both men and women wore jewelry fashioned from shark’s teeth, bear claws, or shells, and for warfare and festive occasions they painted their bodies with paints made from minerals, berries, roots, and bark.

On land they traveled on foot, and for water transportation they built dugout canoes fashioned from felled trees. A fire was started in the middle of the log, and the charred pieces were slowly removed with stone axes.

**European Contact.** Beginning with the arrival of the explorer Giovanni da Verrazano in 1524, the Lenape had increasing contact with the Europeans. With the arrival of the Dutch and English, competition for trading with the settlers among tribes became fierce. The Lenape highly valued the articles brought from Europe, especially textiles, guns, metal tools, and jewelry.

Unfortunately, an unanticipated consequence of contact and trade with the Europeans was the introduction of two deadly commodities: alcohol and disease. The Lenapes had never known any form of alcoholic beverage, and they quickly developed a craving for beer, rum, and brandy. Alcohol was frequently abused, and many European traders took advantage of the
Indians’ weakness regarding alcohol, offering them strong drink during trading encounters and then cheating them out of their money.

The Europeans also unwittingly transmitted diseases for which the Lenape had no natural immunity: smallpox, typhus, influenza, venereal diseases, and malaria. These sicknesses were so severe among the natives that they sometimes wiped out whole communities. During the colonial period, there were also epidemics of measles, chicken pox, and scarlet fever which dramatically reduced their numbers.

Social Life. The average Lenape family had from four to six children, but infant mortality was very high. Newborn children were wrapped in animal skins, which were fastened to a cradleboard by three braided strips; one went over the baby’s forehead, one went over the arms, and one secured the legs. While the mother was working in the fields, the cradleboard and the baby were hung on the branch of a tree. At an early age, boys were instructed in the techniques of hunting, war, and woodcraft, while girls were trained in planting and cultivating crops as well as housekeeping duties.

Because their life expectancy was not very long, boys were considered ready for marriage at seventeen or eighteen, once they had proved that they possessed the necessary hunting skills to provide for a family. Girls were eligible for marriage once they became sexually mature, at around thirteen or fourteen years of age. Marriages were usually arranged by parents, with some consent of the couple allowed. There was little ceremony involved. In some cases, a man would simply ask a woman if she wanted to live with him, and if she agreed the tribe considered them to be married.

Death was considered to be caused by evil spirits. Burial rites were simple, the body being placed in a shallow pit lined with bark. Food, clothing, tobacco pipes, and clay pots were often placed with the corpse for use by the deceased in the next life.

Religious Beliefs. Like most Native Americans, the Lenape were a deeply religious people. Unlike the European settlers, whose Christian beliefs taught them that God favored them over other creatures, the Lenape believed that they were an integral part of the natural world. They also firmly believed in an afterlife. The soul, they thought, left the body at the time of death but remained nearby for several days, consuming the food left at the grave site. Then it departed to the land of the spirits, a pleasant place where one met one’s deceased relatives and had plenty of food and good hunting.

The Lenape worshiped many gods, with a supreme being, Manito, at the head. Manito created the earth and everything on it. Lesser gods served as his agents; in addition, almost all plants and animals were considered to contain supernatural spirits. Communication with the gods was through
prayers and offerings. Lenape tribes also had shamans who specialized in curing illnesses or foretelling the future. Since illness was attributed to evil spirits entering the body, it was the job of the shamans to scare the spirits away. A shaman was considered a special member of the tribe, and his secrets were passed on only to a legal descendant or a close and trusted friend. There is some evidence that a special house was constructed in some villages for the exorcism of disease.

In the early years of contact with Europeans, Lenape religion was relatively unaffected. The settlers considered the Indians to be godless, and some religious groups, most notably the Moravians, attempted to learn the Lenape language and convert them to Christianity. A few did convert, but they often quickly went back to their native beliefs; Christian sermons did not make sense within their worldview, and Christian practices simply did not fit into their way of life. Perhaps the only lasting effect of Christianity upon Lenape religion was the emergence of an annual ceremony celebrating the harvest. A “big house,” a bark-covered structure about 40 feet long and 25 feet wide was constructed exclusively for this purpose. For twelve nights in mid-October, sacred fires were maintained at each entrance, and the interior was decorated with twelve posts with faces carved on them to represent the twelve gods who occupied the heavens. A cooking fire burned in the center, and deer meat was hung from a pole or tree, before which prayers were said to aid the hunters. Other prayers gave thanks for a bountiful harvest.

Relocation. The Lenape were the dominant tribe in the East until about 1720. As the white settlers continued to arrive, the Indians were gradually crowded out. The settlers had cleared many of the forests for farming, thus driving away the deer, bear, and wild turkeys. They dammed the rivers to power their mills, disrupting the annual spawning runs of fish. With these drastic changes, the traditional Lenape way of life was destroyed. Those who remained began to sell their remaining lands to the eager colonists and move across the Delaware to the west, never to return.

The Unalachtigo were the first to depart, around 1725, relocating to northern New York State. They were followed by the Minsi around 1742, who settled for a time in southeastern Pennsylvania and later in Ohio and Indiana. Some crossed Lake Erie into Canada, while others went to the area around the Kansas and Missouri rivers. In 1867, many Lenapes moved into the Indian Territory in what is now Oklahoma and were incorporated into the Cherokee tribe. A few went to Green Bay, Wisconsin, where they remained for many years.

Raymond Frey
Bibliography

Lillooet

**Culture area:** Plateau  
**Language group:** Salishan  
**Primary location:** Southwestern British Columbia  
**Population size:** 2,570 (Statistics Canada, based on 1991 census)

The Lillooet, a branch of the Salishan family, lived in the vicinity of the Lillooet and Fraser rivers in southwestern British Columbia. They were divided into the Upper and Lower Lillooet, and each division was composed of several named bands. The name means “wild onion” and was at first applied only to the Lower Lillooet. The Upper Lillooet called themselves Stla’tlum, the meaning of which is unknown.
The Lilooet lived in small villages, each representing one clan. Their primary source of food was fish, especially salmon, which they caught with spears, nets, and traps. They also hunted bear, beaver, rabbit, raccoon, squirrel, and mountain goat. Men were the primary hunters, while women worked to preserve the meat and to gather berries and food from the wild. They made good use of the animals they hunted, using the skins for clothing, quills for ornamentation, and wool and hair for weaving cloth. Their homes were often made of logs or wood planks, and housed four to eight families. Other villages had circular earthlodges with warming earth berms for winter and mat houses for summer. In the front of a house there was likely to be a totem pole, featuring the clan’s totem. Lilooets had sustained contact with white traders from about 1809, when explorer Simon Fraser and his party first traveled through their land. The Lilooet traded heavily with whites as well as with their tribal neighbors.

After gold was discovered in the area in 1858, they encountered many white miners, maintaining mostly friendly relations with them. They fought at times with their neighbors, especially the Thompsons. In 1863, a great epidemic of smallpox hit the area and killed many people; the Lilooet lost many members to the disease. Shortly afterward, they were afflicted by a famine that further reduced their numbers. Near the end of the twentieth century many still lived on traditional territory, on several small reserves, and were making their living by wood cutting and other forms of wage labor.

Luiseño

**Culture area:** California  
**Language group:** Takic  
**Primary location:** Southern California (southern Los Angeles to Newport Beach and inland)  
**Population size:** 2,694 (1990 U.S. Census)
The Luiseño are among the Takic-speaking tribal groups of the Uto-Aztecan language family in Southern California. Like a number of other California groups (including the Gabrielino, Fernandeño, and Juaneño) the name by which they are known refers to the Spanish mission established in their territory; in their case, it was the San Luis Rey mission.

The Luiseño developed in a different cultural direction from those of their northern neighbors, the Gabrielino and Fernandeño, from about 1400 C.E. One of the most notable additions to the material culture of the Luiseño was pottery, clearly an influence of more southern tribal groups. The Luiseño were a conservative group who generally pursued an isolationist policy in relations with their neighbors. According to Lowell John Bean and Florence Shipek, four major aspects of the Luiseño culture are known:

- an extensive social class structure that extended into carefully observed property ownership and closely guarded borders, often carefully marked;
- a ruling family, interrelated among ruling families of the other villages; the use of hallucinogenic plants in religious ceremony; and the use of sand paintings and other religious rituals involved with recognition of Chingichngish, seen by the Luiseño as a vengeful, godlike figure.
- Acorns and other seeds were the major food source for the Luiseño, who ground and cooked them in the form of mush. Like other Southern California tribes, the Luiseño also created baskets. The men wore ear and nose ornaments.
- Among the Luiseño there was a hereditary chief, who had an assistant; the chief conducted negotiations in peace and war and economic matters. He was advised by a council of religious leaders who were involved in the cult of Chingichngish.

There is no Luiseño reservation, and most modern Luiseño live in southern Los Angeles and Orange counties, California.

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**Lumbee**

**Culture Area:** Southeast  
**Language Group:** Siouan (?)  
**Primary Location:** North Carolina  
**Population Size:** 48,444 (1990 U.S. Census)

The origins of the Lumbee Indians are obscure. When they first attracted the serious attention of their white neighbors in the early 1900’s, they were already English-speaking small farmers living largely in Robeson
County, North Carolina. At one time, it was believed that they descended from Croatan Indians who had absorbed the survivors of Sir Walter Raleigh’s “lost colony.” Some Lumbees have claimed descent from the Cherokees and Tuscaroras. Most likely, however, they are descendants of Siouan-speaking Cheraw Indians who inhabited southeastern North Carolina in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. General use of the name Lumbee (from the Lumber River) dates only from 1953; previously, the Lumbees were referred to as Croatans, Indians of Robeson County, or, derisively, as “Scuffletonians.”

Lumbee history has been a struggle to preserve an Indian identity. In 1835, North Carolina classified them as “free people of color.” (Many white Carolinians believed them as much African as Indian in background.) When the state attempted to draft Lumbees as laborers during the Civil War, armed resistance led by Henry Berry Lowry resulted. After the war, North Carolina began to recognize the Lumbees as Indians, establishing schools and a college for them. Under the Jim Crow system of racial segregation, North Carolina Indians occupied a third category distinct from whites and blacks.

Lumbee assertion of Indian identity continued into the twentieth century. In 1958, the Lumbees gained national attention when they forcibly broke up a Ku Klux Klan rally. In 1968 the Lumbee Regional Development Association was organized, serving as a tribal government as well as an economic development agency. Rural poverty remained a major tribal problem, prompting many to move to cities, especially Baltimore. Lumbees also became increasingly active in pan-Indian activities. Federal recognition became a goal. (The Lumbees had no treaty relationship with the United States government.) While an act of Congress did take formal notice of the Lumbees as an Indian tribe, a 1987 petition for full federal recognition was not successful.

**Lummi**

**Culture area:** Northwest Coast  
**Language group:** Salishan  
**Primary location:** Washington State  
**Population size:** 2,956 (1990 U.S. Census)

In their homeland of the San Juan Islands and adjacent mainland in northern Puget Sound, the Lummi people traditionally spoke a dialect of
Coast Salish which was also spoken by the Songish people of southern Vancouver Island. Their economy was based on sockeye salmon, caught in nets from canoes, and herring, codfish, dog salmon, humpback salmon, and silver salmon caught with traps, weirs, hooks, dip nets, and spears. Ducks were also caught in underwater nets, and clams and crabs were gathered along the shorelines. In addition, the Lummis occasionally hunted and trapped beaver, otter, muskrat, and bear. Camas bulbs and other roots were dug and cooked in rock-lined pits to add variety to the diet. Plentiful berries also added to the variety of foods.

Cedar was used for many purposes, such as building the large extended family longhouses in which Lummi people lived in their permanent coast-line villages. Cedar was also used to make huge dugout canoes, the bark used for clothing, baskets, and other uses. The Lummis traded and inter-married with tribes as far north as the Fraser River and as far south as the White River. Warfare occasionally disrupted peaceful relations, making palisades in front of their villages necessary. In 1827, a Hudson’s Bay Company post invaded the region, and by the 1850’s, settlers were also intruding on the Lummi homeland. Disease, unscrupulous trading, and alcoholism, as well as the cession of most of Lummi territory to the United States government, took their toll on this proud nation. Nevertheless, the Lummi population was higher in 1980 than it had been in the 1790’s. The Lummi Reservation near Bellingham, Washington, was home to about 2,500 Lummi people in the late twentieth century. The Lummis have experienced a cultural renaissance by reviving many traditional cultural and spiritual celebrations. They have also embarked on a pioneering self-government project, giving them independence from the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs. In the 1980’s, the tribal government set up an ambitious aquaculture project to preserve salmon, oysters, trout, and other marine species.

Mahican

**Culture Area:** Northeast  
**Language Group:** Algonquian  
**Primary Location:** Hudson River valley (New York State), Wisconsin, Saskatchewan, Oklahoma  
**Population Size:** 2,069 ("Stockbridge," 1990 U.S. Census)

The Mahican were Algonquian-speaking people closely related to the Delaware or Lenni Lenape and very strongly influenced by the Mo-
hawk. They lived on both sides of the Hudson River and in northern New York nearly to Lake Champlain. When the Iroquois Confederacy became an allied military force after 1650, and Dutch and English settlers began moving into the lower Hudson River valley, the Mahican were pushed first east of the Hudson and then onto settlements in western Massachusetts near present-day Stockbridge.

Mahican, translated as “People of the Wolf,” are easily confused with the Mohegan, also of Delaware lineage, who lived in the Connecticut and lower Hudson River area. (It is not certain which tribe James Fenimore Cooper was referring to in his 1826 novel *The Last of the Mohicans.*)

White encroachment and the Iroquois alliance forced many Mahican in the early 1800’s to migrate south into Pennsylvania and then down the Ohio River. Some migrants continued with other Delaware tribes into Oklahoma, while others went north through the straits of Mackinaw into Canada.

Mahican who stayed behind became associated with the Stockbridge Indians. Educated in white mission schools, many assimilated into white culture. During the revolutionary war, Stockbridge Indian men in high percentages joined the American army, influenced in part by the Iroquois alliance with the British.

History’s most famous Mahican was John W. Quinney (Quinequan, 1797-1855). He was instrumental in purchasing Menominee land in Wisconsin to secure the survival of the remnants of the Mahican. Quinney also created a constitution for his people and resisted American citizenship for his tribe, that they might better preserve their heritage. He served as grand sachem from 1852 until his death.

A beaded coat on display in the Milwaukee Museum shows craftsmanship and design patterns closely related to northeast Algonquian-speaking Narragansett people. There is no visible Iroquois influence. The Mahicans had three clans: Bear, Wolf, and Turtle. The office of sachem was hereditary. The sachem was assisted by councillors called Hero, Owl, and Runner, indicating lineage to the Delaware. Mahican lived in longhouses and were matrilineal. Their lifestyle was identical to the way of life of Eastern Woodland natives.

**Bibliography**


Maidu

**Culture Area:** California  
**Language Group:** Maiduan  
**Primary Location:** Northern California  
**Population Size:** 2,271 (1990 U.S. Census)

Maidu Indians occupied a large portion of northeastern California. They hunted, gathered, and fished for subsistence. Women and children gathered acorns, grass seed, roots, nuts, and berries. Surplus foodstuffs were dried, ground into flour, and stored in baskets. The Maidu used nets to catch salmon and other fish. Surplus fish were dried whole and ground into a powder that was eaten dry. They hunted deer, bear, elk, rabbit, and geese with bows and arrows, spears, and hunting dogs. Extra meat was dried for winter usage. Fishing and hunting lands were owned by the entire tribe.

Because of the warm climate, the Maidu wore very little clothing. Men might wear deerskin breechclouts or nothing at all; women wore apron skirts decorated with tassels made from the same material. Fur robes and snowshoes were worn in winter. Maidu lived in dome-shaped, semi-subterranean, earth-covered dwellings that housed two to three families. During the summer, flat-roofed shade shelters were constructed with oak branches.

The Maidu believed that mysterious powers and spirits surrounded their world, and superstitions abounded. They depended on their shamans’ mysterious powers and ability to speak to the spirit world. Tribal shamans oversaw political meetings, directed ceremonies, and cured the ill.

European explorers originally came through Maidu territory in the first half of the nineteenth century. A few Hudson’s Bay Company trappers later worked in the area. Gold miners came in the mid-1850’s and hired local Indians at low wages. As soon as white settlers permanently moved onto Maidu lands, food became scarce and the Indians raided local farms for livestock. Violent skirmishes between Maidu and settlers resulted.

In 1863, soldiers forced 461 Indians onto Round Valley Reservation. During the two-week journey, thirty-two Maidu died. Through the twentieth century, Maidu Indians experienced very high unemployment and poor education, housing, health, and sanitary conditions. At the same time, there...
was renewed interest in traditional values and increased pride in Maidu heritage.

Makah

**Culture Area:** Northwest Coast  
**Language Group:** Chinookan  
**Primary Location:** Washington State  
**Population Size:** 1,597 (1990 U.S. Census)

Living on the northwestern tip of the Olympic Peninsula of present-day Washington State, the Makah were one of twenty-eight tribes of Native Americans living along 1,400 miles of coast from Northern California to southeastern Alaska who collectively formed the Northwest Coast Native American culture area. The Makah were bordered on the west by the Pacific Ocean, to the north by the Strait of Juan de Fuca, to the east by the Klallam tribe, and on the south by the Quileute/Hoh. Although Makah origins are unclear, anthropologists believe ancestors of the Makah were living in the same area ten thousand years ago.

About the time of the arrival of Christopher Columbus, the Makah were part of a thriving culture and society. At this time, a Makah village at Ozette was covered in an enormous mudslide. In 1966, Washington State University anthropologists began excavating the site. This natural disaster perfectly preserved thousands of artifacts including several wooden longhouses, harpoons, whale lances, and various wooden artworks such as totem carvings. This find is now preserved at Neah Bay, Washington, at the Makah Cultural and Research Center. Dale Croes and Eric Blinman have written about a more recent find at the Hoko River, believed to be a twenty-five-hundred-year-old fishing camp.

When Europeans arrived after 1775 and docked at Makah settlements, they found a people who were willing trade partners and had an abundance of goods to trade. The Makah had little to no agriculture, but they were probably among the wealthiest tribes in North America. There was such an abundance of food in the Pacific Northwest that the Makah needed to hunt, fish, and gather only from May through September. This provided them with plenty to eat and enough surplus to trade for externally produced goods, both with other tribes and with European merchants.

The region’s climate, which is moderate and wet, yielded food in abundance. Salmon, trout, cod, halibut, herring, whales, sea lions, sea otters,
clams, mussels, sea urchins, seaweed, berries, bird eggs, deer, elk, bear,
wolves, mountain goats, and beavers were some, but not all, of the available
resources.

Perhaps the greatest excitement in the Makah cyclical calendar of events
involved the whale hunt. When a whale was seen near the coast, the men
would jump into cedar or redwood dugout canoes and chase it. On the bow,
the chief harpooner (a position passed down from father to son), who held
a musselshell-bladed 18-foot harpoon with attached buoys, stood ready to
throw. Once the whale tired and died, the canoes would pull the mammal
back to shore, where the village would make use of every part of the catch
(meat, oil, and bones).

Although anthropologists have generally considered agriculture a pre-
requisite for a sophisticated civilization, the complexity of the Makah cul-
ture emerges when one examines a few of the Makah rituals, beliefs, and
ways of life. The Makah believed that the salmon were gods who lived

Circa 1895 photograph of a Makah fishing village on Tatoosh Island, showing the contrast between a traditional plank house and adopted European American styles. (National Archives)
during the winter in houses under the sea but who sacrificed themselves each year to humans. An elaborate ceremony surrounded the year’s first catch of salmon, and the Makah were careful to throw the salmon bones back into the water to ensure a return of the fish the following year.

The Makah had a strict social division based on wealth and rank. A combination of material ownership and birth determined one’s position in the village. Sometimes, though not often, a lower-class person could wield great influence, perhaps as a shaman (man or woman) who was believed to possess great magical powers.

Several families lived within the long wooden houses, which always faced the sea; the highest in rank would receive the premium sleeping and storage space near the back wall of the house. The wealthiest Makah would periodically host potlatches, extended feasts intended to impress neighbors and reinforce the host’s status in the society. Often, many guests were invited and gifts were given liberally. At these potlatches, private and exclusive songs might be performed which would signify and reinforce the rank of the performer and his or her family.

The Makah represent the wealth, trade, and social structuring present among Northwest Coast Indians before the arrival of the Europeans and exemplify the efforts of Native American groups to preserve the heritage of their ancestors.

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**Maliseet**

*Culture area:* Northeast  
*Language group:* Maleseet-Passamaquoddy  
*Primary location:* New Brunswick, Quebec, Maine  
*Population size:* 1,705 in Canada (Statistics Canada, based on 1991 census); 900 in U.S. (1990 U.S. Census)

The Maliseet (also spelled Malecite) include both the Passamaquoddy and the Natick peoples. The Passamaquoddy settlement patterns were maritime, whereas the Natick were oriented along inland waterways with an emphasis on land-mammal hunting. Both had extended family organization. Chieftainship was patrilineal. Birchbark was utilized for implements, housing, canoes, and other utilitarian products. Hunting and trapping of moose and deer and other animals was supplemented by saltwater and freshwater fishing. Periodic boat excursions were made to neighboring islands for shellfish, lobsters, clams, and seals.
In 1604, Samuel de Champlain visited and described the inhabitants at the mouth of the Saint John River. Relations with the French were friendly; they were less so with the British, who issued land grants to non-Indians. Many Maliseet moved to the Kingsclear and Tobique reservations. Other reservations were established as population increased. By the 1900’s, assimilation had increased, and more Indians were living off-reservation. The 1960’s and 1970’s saw a revitalization of traditional knowledge and language, a reduction of factionalism, nonprofit tribal corporations, and an increase in college graduates.

Manahoac

**CULTURE AREA:** Southeast  
**LANGUAGE GROUP:** Algonquian  
**PRIMARY LOCATION:** Potomac and North Anna rivers, Maryland/Virginia

Little is recorded about the river-oriented Manahoac tribe, who had a diversified subsistence base that included horticulture, hunting, trapping, fishing, and gathering of nuts, seeds, roots, and tubers. They wintered in permanent villages that were part of the Manahoac Confederacy, and there may have been seven tribes. They warred with the Iroquois and Powhatan and maintained an allegiance with the Monacan. Eventually the Manahoac were forced from their territory by the Susquehanna in the mid-seventeenth century.

John Smith was probably the first European American to observe the Manahoac. Thomas Jefferson, in 1801, said that he had found some of the Manahoac living on the Rappahannock River, but he probably had observed the Hassinunga, a tribe of the Manahoac Confederacy. Disease, combined with continual warfare, brought the Manahoac to ethnographic extinction; by the late colonial period, the Manahoac were no longer a distinct tribe.

Mandan

**CULTURE AREA:** Plains  
**LANGUAGE GROUP:** Siouan  
**PRIMARY LOCATION:** North Dakota  
**POPULATION SIZE:** 1,207 (1990 U.S. Census)
The Mandan, a branch of the Siouan-speaking people, migrated from their original homes along the Ohio River to the northern Great Plains in the early 1400’s. Since then they lived in the region around the Big Bend of the Missouri River.

**Traditional Culture.** Mandans were called the “Prairie People” by other Indians. They lived in permanent villages and grew corn, beans, squash, and tobacco. Once a year hunting parties went into the prairies in search of buffalo, which, until the introduction of horses in the 1750’s, were killed by warriors on foot driving the buffalo off high cliffs. After learning how to use horses, Mandan warriors went out more frequently on these hunts, but killing methods did not change. Huge graveyards of buffalo bones have been found at the bottom of killing cliffs in North Dakota and eastern Montana. The Mandan depended on the buffalo for food, clothing, and shelter.

Mandan religious beliefs centered on a sun god and the yearly Sun Dance. Warriors performed the dance twice, before and then after the buffalo hunt. The eight-day ceremony included self-torture and mutilation. The event’s chief sponsor, the Okipa (or Okeepa) maker, gave away large quantities of his wealth and was required to suffer more extreme tortures than anyone else. The ceremony began with a fast. Then volunteers were brought into a sacred lodge and hung from leather thongs inserted into their arms and chests. The warriors who withstood the most pain without crying out were considered the bravest. After the torture they ran around the lodge with buffalo skulls tied on ropes attached under the skin of their legs. Most men did this only once in their lives as part of an initiation ceremony, but others—holy men and great warriors—underwent this test of endurance many times. Warriors gained power (Hopini) from this torture, and the more often it was endured the mightier they became. Young warriors often fasted and suffered until they had visions of a guardian spirit (manitou), who would become a personal god and guardian. This spirit could be called upon for strength and protection until the day the warrior died.

Power also was gained through being kind to old people, participating in religious rituals (including frequent fasts), learning the ancient language of the gods, being generous, and inviting an older man to have sexual relations with one’s wife. The older man’s power would be passed on to the wife, who would then pass it on to her husband. (This misunderstood practice caused much confusion among white merchants and fur traders, who accused Mandans of being totally immoral.)

Mandan villages each had a sacred bundle, containing items such as a buffalo skin and pipe that belonged to Good Furred Robe (an important god), a fox skin headdress, some white sage, a pair of moccasins, a clay pot,
the heads of several blackbirds and a duck, and various food items grown in village gardens. This bundle was brought out only on certain important religious occasions and was handed down intact from one generation to the next. Individual warriors kept their own bundles, also brought out only on holy days, which contained items considered sacred by them. These bundles were normally transferred to the eldest son upon the death of the father.

Post-contact Life. Mandans first made contact with whites, mainly French fur trappers, in the mid-1700’s. It was not until 1837, when the American Fur Company established a trading post along the Missouri River at Fort Clark, that a permanent relationship developed. Only a few months after the building of Fort Clark, a serious smallpox epidemic broke out. This disease, brought in by white merchants, killed thousands of Mandan people. The population, estimated at nine thousand in 1750, fell to less than two hundred after the devastation. The smell of dead bodies became so noxious that Fort Clark had to be abandoned temporarily. Two years later, many of the remaining Mandan villagers were slaughtered during a Sioux attack. After the killing, Sioux warriors burned the entire Mandan camp to the ground.

In 1874 a government census found 241 Mandans living in North Dakota. Most were moved to a reservation, where they lived on land allotments provided by the General Allotment Act (Dawes Severalty Act) of 1887 and tried to survive on corn and beans. Few full-blood Mandans can still be found, as there has been considerable intermarriage with Sioux and Chippewa (Ojibwa) residents of the Fort Berthold Reservation.

Leslie V. Tischauser

Massachusetts

**Culture area:** Northeast  
**Language group:** Algonquian  
**Primary location:** Massachusetts

The word “Massachusetts” meant “at the great hill.” The Massachusetts tribe (from whom the state gets its name) inhabited a coastal region centered on Massachusetts Bay. To the north, across the Charles River, was the Pawtucket tribe. To the south were the Wampanoag, with the boundary near modern Marshfield. Like other Algonquian-speaking peoples of southern New England, the Massachusetts were horticulturists subsisting principally on the corn, beans, and squash raised by the women. Men hunted game to provide meat, and both sexes joined in collecting the rich harvest
Captain John Smith reported that in 1614 the Massachusett occupied thirty villages. The villages had several hundred inhabitants who lived in bark-covered wigwams. Each wigwam typically housed two or more nuclear families. A sachem ruled over each village, advised by a small council made up of men who had earned the rank of pniːːʃə through success in warfare and other deeds. A chief sachem held a tenuous but traditionally defined authority over the entire nation.

The Massachusett were traditionally considered to number three thousand warriors, implying an overall population of twelve thousand to fifteen thousand, but even before European settlement Old World diseases to which the Indians had no immunity began their ravages. From 1617 to 1619 an epidemic of European origin struck, killing more than half the Massachusetts. A 1633 outbreak of smallpox destroyed many of the survivors. By 1674, there remained only a tenth of the original number (three hundred warriors). By that date, much of the remnant population, largely Christian converts, lived in several villages of so-called “praying Indians.” Natick, near Boston, was the largest and most enduring of these. During King Philip’s War of 1675-1676, these villages were dispersed, as both pagan Indians and suspicious Englishmen attacked the Christian Massachusett. Many of the survivors took refuge with other Indians in the region, and by the nineteenth century the Massachusett had ceased to exist as a separate people.

**Mattaponi**

**Culture area:** Northeast  
**Language group:** Algonquian  
**Primary location:** Virginia  
**Population size:** 490 (1990 U.S. Census)

The Mattaponi, a small tribe of the Algonquian family, lived on the river of the same name in Virginia. Along with other tribes, they were members of the Powhatan Confederacy. In 1608, the British explorer John Smith visited their village and found about one hundred members. He included the tribe, which he spelled *Mattapanient*, on his map of the area. In 1781, Thomas Jefferson visited the Mattaponi, recording the visit in his *Notes on Virginia* (1825). They were closely related to the Pamunkey, another Powhatan tribe. By 1900, the Mattaponi and Pamunkey were living side by side.
on reservations, intermarrying freely but maintaining continuity as tribes, as they had for more than three hundred years.

In the twentieth century, a small number of people—probably all of mixed blood—still claimed the name Mattaponi. They worked at hunting, trapping, and fishing, although state game laws now forbade several traditional methods. The state of Virginia funded a shad hatchery on the Mattaponi Reservation, which was run by the Indians. Women still made honeysuckle-stem baskets in the late twentieth century, and the tribe was run by an elected chief and his council of elders. Most Mattaponi were Baptists and attended the Mattaponi Indian Baptist Church, established in 1931. The reservation school was closed by the state in 1966, causing some concern at the time that traditional ways would not be passed to the next generation.

Mattole

**Culture area:** California

**Language group:** Athapaskan

**Primary location:** West of Trinity River to Pacific Ocean

**Population size:** 62 (1990 U.S. Census)

Though linguistically and territorially contiguous, the groups referred to collectively as Mattole—consisting of the Nongatl, Lassik, Sinkyone, and Wailaki—were autonomous. They maintained trade of differential resources. Where possible, villages were on a river. Vertical-slab, conical houses were built. The Mattole’s main food was acorns and other nuts and seeds, supplemented by hunting, trapping, fishing, and gathering of numerous roots and tubers. The Sinkyone exploited sea mammals. Anadromous fish were important for winter food and trade.

By 1853, these groups had interacted with European Americans. They were assigned to reservations in the Round Valley and to the Smith River reservations. Armed conflict continued between the Indians and settlers, lumbermen, miners, and government agents, which, along with introduced disease, reduced the indigenous populations. This conflict was exacerbated by the settlers’ forbidding the Indians to practice controlled burning and by a general misuse of the land and resources by non-Indians. Many modern Mattole people live and work off the reservations, and some are involved with traditional lifestyle and religious revitalization.
Maya

**Culture area:** Mesoamerica  
**Language group:** Mayan  
**Primary location:** Central America, Southern Mexico

Mayas inhabited southern Mexico and most of Central America. The heart of their territory was centered in the present Mexican state of Chiapas and the Yucatán peninsula, and the countries of Belize, Honduras, and Guatemala.

**Origins.** The origin of the Maya is unknown, although some believe their roots were in the Petén region of Guatemala, where old and relatively crude ceremonial centers have been discovered. Others locate their roots more northerly, in the Olmec region of Mexico, because of traces of Olmec culture seen in the Maya dot-and-bar calendar system and in ceremonial centers with their early round mud pyramids.

One reason that so much mystery surrounds such a relatively advanced civilization as the Maya is that Bishop Diego de Landa, in his fervor to convert these indigenous people, seen as savage pagans, publicly burned almost all hieroglyphic records of Maya history and religion in 1552. Hundreds of idols, inscribed stelae, and altar stones were also destroyed. Ironically, however, Landa is credited with providing the single best source of information about the Maya: His book on the Maya included not only details of their life but also some explanation of their calendar, which contained two main cycles, one of 260 days and the other of 365 days.

The only three Maya hieroglyphic texts known to have survived are named after the places where they are preserved. These are the Codex Dresdensis in Dresden, Germany; the Codex Peresianus in Paris, France; and the Codex Cortesianus in Madrid, Spain. In addition to these, a number of stelae also exist; however, not all Maya hieroglyphics have been deciphered. A few later textual records, or books, also exist. The *Popol Vuh* was written by the Quiche Mayas in historical times using letters of Spanish script. It deals primarily with the story of creation. The *Books of Chilam Balam* are mythological histories of the Maya, and the *Annals of the Cakchiquels* presents a genealogical history of the Cakchiquels and relates the events of the Spanish conquest. In all these works, religion and myth are intertwined with factual history.

**History.** Scholars who study Maya history have divided it into three major periods. The Formative period (1800 B.C.E.-100 B.C.E.) was characterized by the gradual development of complex ceremonial centers, monu-
mental architecture, hieroglyphic writing, calendrics, social stratification, trade networks, and city states. The Classic period (200 C.E.-900 C.E.) saw the maturation of the above, resulting in large, powerful ceremonial centers, ritual and solar calendrical systems, large agricultural bureaucracies, and often violent competition between ceremonial centers. This period is sometimes referred to as the “Old Empire.” The Post-Classic period (1000 C.E.-conquest) was a time of renaissance in the northern, or Yucatán, region under Toltec influence. Religious compulsion was largely replaced by military concerns, resulting in secular government gaining ascendance over religious leadership. This period is sometimes referred to as the “New Empire.”

In reality, the Maya never formed an empire, since there was no dominant capital city or single ruler. Rather, there was a loose federation of city-centers bound together by similarities of culture and religion under the control of religious leaders. These priest-rulers, who maintained power by virtue of their superior education and knowledge of the supernatural, shared common interests and concerns. Under their leadership Maya civilization witnessed extraordinary achievements in fine arts, architecture, engineering, astronomy, mathematics, and hieroglyphic writing. Two accomplishments deserving special mention were the development of the mathematical concept of zero and a calendar which was more accurate than the Gregorian calendar introduced in Europe in 1582. These accomplishments enabled Mayas to record the dates of important events accurately on Katun stones, or stelae, every twenty years.

Building was a constant part of Maya life. Ceremonial centers were built, rebuilt, and enlarged. These centers typically included one or more pyramids with a temple on top, a paved courtyard or plaza, and a number of low stone buildings. Often there was a ball court where a game was played utilizing a small hard rubber ball, leather hip pads, and stone rings on the walls. The marketplace was set up, especially on important ceremonial days, near the temple-pyramid. These ceremonial centers were ruled by a largely hereditary class of priest-aristocrats who had almost a total monopoly on education, wealth, and power. The great Maya centers of Tikal, Uaxactun, Palenque, and Copan experienced long dynasties of priest-rulers. Copan, one of the longest-lived dynasties, had sixteen rulers. One, Smoke Imix, ruled for sixty-seven years.

Around 800 C.E., Maya civilization in the southern lowlands began to decline; it had virtually collapsed by 900. Maya civilization continued to flourish in Yucatán. Possible explanations for the demise in the southern area include natural causes, such as disease, soil exhaustion, or change of climate, as well as social causes, such as continued warfare or the loss of
control by the priest-aristocracy. Whatever the reasons, the result was the end of the classic indigenous cultures in Mesoamerica.

The conquest of the Maya by the Spanish began around 1524 and ended with the defeat of five thousand Itzás at Lake Petén Itzá in 1697 by Martín de Ursua. During these years some fierce battles took place, but the Maya were unsuccessful in defending their land against the invaders from Spain. Meanwhile, Spanish soldiers under the command of Francisco de Montejo subdued the Maya in Yucatán, where they were aided by a prophecy which had foretold the coming of white men with beards. Because of the efforts of missionaries such as Fray Andrés de Avendano y Layola, who learned their history, culture, and language, the Maya were converted to Christianity, thus fulfilling another of their prophecies: “All moons, all years, all days, all winds take their course and pass away.”

Religion. Religion was at the heart of Maya life. Religious ceremonies controlled the activities of the seasons and the growth of crops. Religion was also the driving force in the development of science and art. The Maya universe contained an array of divinities who controlled every aspect of nature. Each day of the week was regarded as a god whose behavior could be divined through the use of an intricate calendar system. Mathematics and astronomy were important to the divinations and astrology that were basic elements of their religious beliefs. At birth, children were taken to priests who predicted the future of the baby with the aid of astrological charts and sacred books. They also identified the specific god to whom the child would owe lifelong devotion based on the exact time and date of birth. A perpetual round of sacrificial ceremonies, prayers, fasting, and incense burning was required to please the gods. The elevated status and power of priests was thus ensured. The gods also required human blood. Accordingly, human sacrifices were offered, as was self-mutilation. Priests and other pious individuals pierced their tongues, earlobes, and genitals in order to draw blood and thereby please the gods.

According to the Chilam Balam, one of their sacred books, the earth was flat with four sides, each with its own color: white for north, yellow for south, red for east, and black for west. The color of the center was green. Four gods upheld the sky, and on each side there was a sacred ceiba, or wild cottonwood tree. In the center stood a giant green ceiba with its roots in the underworld and its branches in the upperworld. Surrounding the earth were thirteen heavens and nine hells. The heavens were ordered in six ascending and six descending steps, with the seventh at the top. Similarly, the nine hells were arranged in four descending and four ascending steps, with the fifth at the bottom. This structure of the universe is reflected in the form of the stepped pyramids crowned with temples. They served as the
link between heaven and earth, with the priests as mediators.

In another sacred book, the *Popol Vuh*, the story of creation is recorded. The gods inhabited a dark world when they decided to create humankind. First they created men from mud, but they were soft and pliable, without mind or soul. The gods destroyed these men. Men were created a second time from wood, but they were stiff and inflexible without mind or soul, unable to remember their creator. Most of these were destroyed by a flood of fiery rain, while those who survived were changed into monkeys. The gods created men a third time. Four men were formed from the dough of white and yellow corn. They possessed intelligence and wisdom, but these powers were limited so they would be less than gods. Next, four women were created to be wives for the men. After the humans multiplied in the world of darkness the gods created the Morning Star, Icoquih, which precedes the sun. Then the sun arose and humankind rejoiced. Maya tradition locates the birthplace of the gods and man in the Usamacinta Valley in the region near Palenque.

Although the Mayas recognized and served a multitude of gods, not all were of equal rank. Belief in the Feathered Serpent god was shared with other indigenous people of Mesoamerica. This god, commonly known as Quetzalcóatl by the Aztecs, was called Kukulcan by the Mayas, among whom it became one of the most important deities.

**Art and Architecture.** Mayas have been called the Greeks of the New World not only because of their level of civilization but also because of the development of their art and architecture. Both art and architecture were ancillary to religion. Artists painted murals in bright colors recording selected aspects of Maya life. These paintings, as well as stone carvings and vase decorations, often show priests as they receive offerings, give orders, or pass judgments. Artists also worked in stucco and formed large plaster masks of rulers which symbolized the institution of kingship. Mosaic jade masks and small busts were also made of important individuals.

Works of art which are particularly noteworthy are the sarcophagus lid for the ruler Pacal, which was found in a hidden chamber at Palenque, and the large carved jaguar throne found in a sealed chamber at Chichén Itzá. The lid was carved in bas-relief on a single 12-foot slab of limestone. It depicts the cosmos at the time of Pacal’s death, including his image and a large cosmic tree decorated with jewels, mirrors, bloodletting bowls, dragons, bones, and a celestial bird on top. The gaping jaws of the underworld await at the bottom in the form of two huge skeletal dragons joined at the chin. At Chichén Itzá the throne carved in the form of a jaguar was discovered in the Temple of Kukulcan. It was painted bright red, with eyes of jade and fangs of flint. The spots on its coat were made of inlaid jade disks.
Certain symbols or images appear repeatedly in Maya art and architecture. These include the jaguar, earth-dragon or crocodile, screech owl, bat, rattlesnake, snail, and butterfly. These and other animal forms served as guardian spirits and were found in the sacred calendar. Not all art was dedicated to religious purposes, however; common people and daily activities were also represented, especially on pottery and clay figures.

Professional musicians also flourished. A wide array of musical instruments was used, including wooden drums, hollow tortoise-shell drums, reed flutes, bone whistles, clay whistles, long wooden trumpets, conch shell trumpets, and rattles. Music was utilized for battles, celebrations, and funeral processions.

Maya architecture was among the most impressive in the New World. The use of cut stones made their structures strong and durable, able to survive the passage of centuries. They were often monumental in scale. They built pyramids topped with temples which soared more than 200 feet in the air, a ball court the size of a football field, a 320-foot-long building on the top of a hill, a stone arch 20 feet high, a four-story stone tower, and a building with scores of stone columns which supported a vaulted stone roof. They also built celestial observatories, water reservoirs, and irrigation systems.

Common architectural features include majestic temples topped with stone combs, the use of corbeled roof vaults or the “false arch,” carvings on the facades and lintels of stone structures, steep-sided pyramids crowned with temples, and paved courtyards. It was customary to cover older structures such as pyramids or courtyards with new ones. At the end of the Classic Period, some architectural changes occurred in Yucatán. Pyramids were smaller, stone combs on the top of temples were smaller, and ornamental figures on facades became more abstract designs.

Although the traditional culture of the Maya gradually disappeared, there are still an estimated 3.2 million people who speak the Mayan language.

Philip E. Lampe

Bibliography


Menominee

**CULTURE AREA:** Northeast  
**LANGUAGE GROUP:** Algonquian  
**PRIMARY LOCATION:** Great Lakes region  
**POPULATION SIZE:** 7,543 (1990 U.S. Census)

The Menominees belong to the large family of indigenous people called the Algonquians. They occupied the Great Lakes region since before recorded history. They were travelers and traders, visiting distant clans in their birchbark canoes. Today there is a Menominee reservation on the Wolf River in northeastern Wisconsin.

**Culture.** Menominee culture resulted from environmental experience, clan and tribal oral histories, and information gathered via the tribe’s network of water and land trails. Intertribal marriage gained acceptance to maintain extended family units, while diminishing the chances for in-breeding among the original clans. The earliest French explorers and trappers reported the Menominees to be “gentle of spirit,” although they boasted of their warlike exploits and supernatural adventures. A rigidly defined social system required strict adherence to gender roles and various customs. There were some positions, such as war chief, that could be achieved only by men, but most were open to women. Menominees have traditionally been a matriarchy. The Menominees prized individual rights for all people, including children. This belief precluded punishment for disobeying social rules.

The numeral 4 was considered to be sacred by the tribe; its sacredness may be surmised as having come from the four directions—crucial for navigation on water. Prayers are repeated four times, sometimes to each of the four directions. The Signing of the Cross taught by the French Roman Catholic missionaries, with four points on the body, may have coincidentally created a powerful inducement for religious conversion. Early priests had no initial trouble converting Menominees to Roman Catholicism. The Menominees did not believe in one omnipotent being, but in several levels of gods, encompassing humor and even violence. Menominees who sought to improve their spiritual luck prayed to many different deities and performed many rituals. Tribal members belonged to many societies in a poly-religious blend of science, superstition, and stoicism.

There were once witches and sorcerers among the people, but they were not thought to be evil. Magic as well as medicine was thought to be neutral, but there were inevitably some who wished harm to others. These people
would “witch” the target with incantations and a bundle made of herbs and minerals that was referred to as a “witch bag.” These animal-hide pouches were reputed to be fed the released human energy occurring upon death and other misery. The Serpent Cult, a secret society which celebrated the commission of evil, was once a potent force within some clans.

**Geography.** The Menominees trace their beginnings to a village near the mouth of the Menominee River. During the early colonial era, the French documented the tribal range, which was bordered by the Milwaukee River to the south, the Mississippi River to the west, and Lakes Superior, Huron, and Michigan to the north and east. This territory encompassed ten million acres. The predominant geography is small lakes, interconnected with rivers, and large stands of timber. There was surface copper that was considered a source of tribal wealth.

The tribe made four types of snowshoes, each named after a clan, to deal with the heavy snowfalls of the region, but the Menominees were primarily a water people. A significant part of their diet was derived from shallow waters. Living near waterways eased transportation problems and allowed a sense of community. It was proximity to navigable waterways that brought the tribe to European attention as early as 1634.

**Tribal History.** The birthplace of the tribe can be traced through its oral history. The present city of Menominee, Michigan, was once known as Mini’ Kani, the source of the Menominees. According to their legends, the Great Mystery permitted a Giant White Bear with a copper-colored tail to emerge from an underground den as the first man and establish the village. This village established by the White Bear became home to the Bear Clan. Each clan and village had its own chief, but all were subordinate to the Bear Clan. There were several original clans, including the Beaver, the Wolf, and the Eagle. The Menominees spread to other rivers that drain into Lake Michigan. There were reputed to be more than thirty major Menominee villages on the shores of Lakes Michigan, Huron, and Superior, with another center of population near Detroit.

Rivers provided an abundance of sturgeon and wild rice to eat. The dependence on wild rice, in fact, provided the name for the tribe. The Algonquian word for wild rice was *manomin*; hence an eater of wild rice became *Manominee*, now generally spelled Menominee. Rivers provided freshwater mussels, fowl, and other game besides the staple of wild rice. Only war could bring famine.

A trail network maintained by Potawatomis and protected by Menominees existed from present-day Detroit to St. Louis, and from the north around Lake Superior south to Chicago. Both white and Indian groups used the same trade routes and sites for their cities.
European Contact. Menominee involvement in world politics began in 1608. Their list of allies began with the French, the first white people they had seen; then the English, who bought their allegiance with gifts of firearms and alcohol; and finally, the Americans, who were glad to get their military help. Since the first treaty with the Americans, there have been Menomines who served in all U.S. wars.

Menomines inadvertently became enemies of the Iroquois, hence the English, after French interference. In 1608 near the north shore of Lake Superior, the governor general of New France, Samuel de Champlain, and two other white companions, accompanied by an exploratory force of Algonquian people, encountered an Iroquois party. The battle was decided by the French use of matchlock rifles. This united the Iroquois tribes in a war that spread to involve the entire Great Lakes region. Constant fear of attack on the waterways, which were primary trade routes, spread to involve the entire St. Lawrence drainage system. This interrupted the fledgling fur-trading industry. By 1611 the Iroquois, who were well armed, spread war to all waterways except Lakes Superior and Michigan. Menomines provided refuge to fellow Algonquians, a fact which created a population explosion that had dire consequences through the eighteenth century.

The first official meeting between France, represented by Jean Nicolet, and Menomines took place at Mini' Kani in 1634, with a signed pledge of peace. With the hope of profits from the fur trade, the French planned for the exploitation of their New France territory. The Menomines formed an instant market for costly goods. The price for a matchlock rifle from the French was a stack of furs piled alongside the weapon. The low price paid for pelts placed the Great Lakes ecosystem in distress while keeping the growing number of inhabitants virtually unarmed. Thus, France interceded and protected the tribe from the better-armed Iroquois.

There was no further Menominee involvement with the French until 1661, when Me’dort des Grosilliers and Pierre Esprit Radisson entered the main village of Mini’ Kani and were amazed at the amount of fish and game in the region. Another Frenchman, Father Jerome Lalemont, explored Lake Superior and found nearly pure lead mines, fist-sized copper nodules, and veins of turquoise and amethyst.

Sometime after this contact of 1661 there occurred a great war, noted by Claude Allouez in 1670. He stated that he found the tribe almost exterminated. When Jacques Marquette visited in 1673 and recorded the use of wild rice by the tribe, however, he made no mention of recent war. It is probable that the Sturgeon War occurred in the spring of 1669 or 1670. This large battle took place in a village on the Menominee River after the erection of a dam prevented the sturgeon from moving upriver. The combatants may
possibly have been Chippewa, yet they could have been another band of Menominees. Whoever was involved, the reason as remembered by tribal elders was stress on the environment from the swelling population. It was 1682 before a coalition of Algonquians, including many Menominees, decisively thwarted the English and Iroquois in two separate actions at Chicago and near the Illinois River near Utica, Illinois.

**The Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries.** The English sought the friendship of the Menominees after the French departure. With gifts, the English were able to maintain an alliance against the Americans. Although not friends with the English, Menominees kept their agreements. In the War of 1812, the tribe victoriously fought the Americans at Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, and on the island of Mackinac, Michigan.

During the Civil War the tribe responded with many volunteers. At the Battle of Petersburg, Company K, consisting of Wisconsin infantry volunteers, suffered eleven Menominee wounded, nine killed in action, seven dead in prison camp, and two released from prison camp because of illness (they later died). The company was on duty at Washington, D.C., during the trial and execution of the conspirators in the Abraham Lincoln assassination.

After a treaty with the Americans in 1856, the tribe lived on 235,000 acres. The fur trade had finally collapsed, and they were forced to log their beloved forest. The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) built a sawmill in 1908 and managed the resources. The tribe sued the bureau for mismanagement in 1934 and finally won its suit in 1951.

A 1952 report from BIA Commissioner Dillon Myer issued instructions to tribes for a step-by-step withdrawal of the BIA from their affairs. In 1954, President Dwight Eisenhower signed the Menominee Termination Act, effective on May 1, 1961. A 1965 survey reported that there were 2,526 Menominee County residents, 57 percent of whom were under nineteen years of age. Social problems and economic instability were epidemic. The Menominee Restoration Act of December, 1973, returned the tribe to federally recognized status.

Beginning in the late 1980’s, the tribe created a new school district, including a community college. Indian gaming in the 1990’s provided enough revenue for social programs and investment. In 1992, the reservation comprised 222,552 acres and had a population of 3,182 American Indians. The median age was 21.4 years old; 48.7 percent were high school graduates, and 74 percent of persons sixteen to nineteen years old were enrolled in school.

*Thomas F. Weso*
American Indian Tribes

Bibliography


Methow

**Culture area:** Plateau  
**Language group:** Salishan  
**Primary location:** Colville Reservation, Washington State

The Methow, a branch of the Salishan family, lived along the Methow River and Chelan Lake in eastern Washington. A detached band, the Chilowhist, spent the winters on the Okanogan River. The Methow were related to another group called the Moses Columbia band. The name they called themselves is not known. “Methow” (pronounced Met how) was given them by whites, after their location. Evidence suggests they migrated to Washington from Montana and Idaho in prehistoric times. The Methow
lived in villages of varying size. Because they relied on hunting and fishing—salmon was a chief staple of their diet—as well as on gathering roots and berries, they were forced to move throughout the year to find food in different seasons. This prevented the villages from growing and developing as political or social centers.

The Methow do not seem to have relied on agriculture. They were skilled with horses and used them in their travels after food. Generally, Salishan tribes enjoyed relatively peaceful lives and were involved in no protracted struggles with their neighbors. In the late nineteenth century, the Methow were pushed out by whites who wanted their land. They were resettled on the Colville Reservation in Washington in 1872. By the end of the twentieth century, the Methow lived very much like their non-Indian neighbors and made their living by raising cattle, farming, and logging.

**Miami**

**CULTURE AREA:** Northeast  
**LANGUAGE GROUP:** Algonquian  
**PRIMARY LOCATION:** Oklahoma, Indiana  
**POPULATION SIZE:** 4,477 (1990 U.S. Census)

The Miami occupied the Green Bay, Wisconsin, region in the seventeenth century but later migrated to the southern end of Lake Michigan. The name “Miami” is most probably derived from the Ojibwa word *oumanik*, “people of the peninsula.”

The tribe had a fairly sophisticated political structure, based largely on the clan system. Each Miami belonged to his or her father’s clan. Clan chiefs in each village made up a council that ruled the community. Village councils sent delegates to band councils, which in turn sent chiefs to a tribal council.

The Midewiwin, or Grand Medicine Society, was a hallmark of tribal life. It consisted of priests noted for their special curing powers. Other Miami shamans used roots and herbs to combat disease. According to most accounts, the sun was the principal deity for the Miami and was called the “Master of Life.”

Miami villages consisted of pole-frame houses covered by rush mats. Each village usually had a large council house for council meetings and ceremonies. The tribe was famed for its superior strains of corn; the Miami also grew melons, squash, beans, and pumpkins. Buffalo were hunted once a year.
Originally, the Miami consisted of six separate bands: Atchatchakangouen, Kilatika, Mengakonkia, Pepicokia, Wea, and Piankashaw. The first three united into the Miami proper, and the Pepicokia were absorbed by the Wea and Piankashaw. The Wea and the Piankashaw were separate entities from the Miami, and they were politically independent by 1818, the year they set up separate tribal councils.

During the eighteenth century, the Miami in Michigan migrated to the headwaters of the Maumee in Ohio. Similarly, the Wea and Piankashaw moved to the Wabash region of Indiana. In the late eighteenth century, the tribe fought a valiant battle to save their lands from the tide of white settlement.

The Miami war chief Michikinikwa, known to the white people as Little Turtle, led a coalition of Miami, Shawnee, Potawatomi, and others against United States troops. Little Turtle’s warriors gained a major victory over General Arthur St. Clair on November 4, 1791. The Americans lost 647 dead and 217 wounded in the battle, one of the worst defeats the United States Army ever suffered at the hands of the Indians.

The Indian triumph was short-lived. Little Turtle and Shawnee leader Blue Jacket were decisively defeated at the Battle of Fallen Timbers in 1794.
By the Treaty of Greenville in 1795, the Indians ceded most of Ohio and a slice of Indiana to the United States.

Between 1832 and 1840, the Miami moved to Kansas, where they were given reservations. Following a separate course, the Wea and Piankashaw joined the Peoria. Both the Peoria and the Miami settled in Indian Territory (now Oklahoma) in 1867. Most of their descendants live in Ottawa County, Oklahoma. A few members of the Miami tribe managed to avoid removal to the south and stayed in their original homelands. Their descendants, mostly of mixed ancestry, live around Peru, Indiana.

Micmac

**Culture area:** Northeast
**Language group:** Algonquian
**Primary location:** Maritime Provinces, Quebec
**Population size:** 14,625 in Canada (Statistics Canada, based on 1991 census); 2,765 in U.S. (1990 U.S. Census)

The Micmac, a branch of the Algonquian family, lived a migratory life in Nova Scotia, northern New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island. Their name, from their own language, means “allies.” The Micmac were divided into several clans, each with its own chief and identifying symbol. These symbols were tattooed onto members’ bodies, painted on canoes and snowshoes, and used as ornaments on clothing and jewelry.

During the winter, the Micmac lived inland in small groups in the forest; they hunted moose, caribou, and porcupine. In warmer weather, they moved in groups of two hundred or more to the seashore and fished, hunted seals, and gathered shellfish. They made cone-shaped wigwams and canoes from birchbark, wooden bowls and bows, and stone or bone weapons and tools. They also made beautiful baskets and porcupine-quill embroidery. They had a rich tradition of impressive rituals—for marriage, death, installation of chiefs, and passage to adulthood. They also enjoyed games, including an indigenous form of football.

The Micmac welcomed white visitors—traders and missionaries—from the first. They accepted Christianity from the Jesuits and traded and intermarried with the French colonists. They were strong allies of the French, and they fought with the French and English to eradicate the Beothuk Indians of Newfoundland in the late eighteenth century. This close association with whites, however, was in many ways costly to the Micmac. A third of their
population was killed by typhus in 1746. They lost their traditional religious beliefs; they adopted agriculture as a means of livelihood perhaps more reliable than hunting; they stopped practicing their traditional crafts; and they intermarried so freely that it is doubtful whether any pure-blooded Micmac were left by the mid-twentieth century. By 1970, many men were employed in “high steel,” and government scholarships enabled Micmac men and women to learn skilled trades. At the end of the century, the Micmac were poor but generally no poorer than other people in the Maritime Provinces.

Mimbres

**DATE:** 1000-1150
**LOCATION:** Central Arizona
**CULTURES AFFECTED:** Western Pueblo tribes

The Mimbres culture, especially Classic Mimbres, represents a localized florescence of Mogollon culture in the Mimbres Valley of the central highlands of Arizona between 1000 and 1150 C.E. During this time there was a rapid growth in local population size together with the establishment of several large pueblos that each housed several hundred people. Mimbres is best known for its beautiful black-on-white ceramic bowls, decorated with designs of people and animals. Unfortunately, unscrupulous collectors and looters have practically obliterated existing Mimbres sites in their attempts to recover prehistoric art objects. These activities have silenced the archaeological record with respect to many questions about Mimbres culture.

Most of the known pueblos in the Mimbres Valley, such as the Swarts and Mattocks ruins, are quite large, with 60 to 125 rooms. These were constructed of mud and stone masonry walls that were coated with mud plaster on the interior. Rooms were rectangular and were roofed with wooden beams. They usually contained storage bins, wall niches, fireplaces, and benches. Burials were often made under the floors of pueblo rooms that had been abandoned as living quarters. In some instances, however, graves were covered with stone or clay, and the rooms presumably continued to be used. Grave offerings consisted of tools, precious stones, jewelry, and decorated pottery vessels. The Swarts site was organized into two large house blocks of about sixty rooms each, some built on two levels. Its population is estimated to have been 175 people or thirty-five families during the Mimbres phase.
The Mimbres people were agricultural, with a subsistence system based on the rainfall cultivation of maize, beans, squash, sunflowers, cotton, and other domesticated plants. Wild foods continued to be an important part of the diet. Hunting in upland regions and fishing in rivers supplemented the diet with animal protein, while nuts and seeds were collected during periods of seasonal abundance. Evidence for Mimbres ceremonialism is found on painted vessels from burials. Practices included the use of prayer sticks, elaborate tablita-style headdresses and masks, and shrines. Costumes and ornaments were made with turquoise and exotic feathers, such as those from parrots and macaws.

The most distinctive pottery type of Classic Mimbres is called Mimbres black-on-white. Jar and bowl forms are known. These were decorated with both geometric and highly stylized naturalistic designs. The former include arrangements of hatched and solid triangles, scrolls, zigzags, and frets in black and white. The latter, especially as executed on the interior surfaces of open, hemispherical bowls, are among the most striking of indigenous American art traditions. The center of the bowl was utilized as a visual focal point, in which were painted representational designs. These include depictions of humans and animals in a wide variety of attitudes. Representations of deer, sheep, birds, fish, rabbits, frogs, and even insects were utilized.

A large number of the paintings on Mimbres vessels portray scenes from both daily and ceremonial life. There are depictions of hunting, fishing, and gathering wood. There are also representations of childbirth, dances, game playing, and even human sacrifice. Interestingly, the majority of these painted bowls have been “killed” through the ceremonial puncturing of the vessel bottom. This may have been done in order to release a spiritual essence of the artifact prior to its deposition as a burial offering.

**Mississippian**

**DATE:** 900-1540
**PRIMARY LOCATION:** Midwestern and southeastern North America
**CULTURES AFFECTED:** Caddo, Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, Natchez, Pawnee

The Mississippian tradition was a widespread cultural phenomenon that affected peoples of the vast Missouri-Mississippi drainage and neighboring regions of the Midwest and southeastern United States between 900 C.E. and the arrival of the first Spanish expedition by Hernando de Soto in
1539-1540. Also known as the “temple mound” period, the Mississippian tradition was characterized by the presence of sedentary, village societies with marked social ranking whose agricultural economies were characterized by a strong reliance on the cultivation of maize and whose technology included shell-tempered pottery. Large Mississippian settlements, such as Cahokia, Etowah, and Moundville, were dominated by the presence of massive, pyramidal mounds of earth that served as the bases for temples and residences of powerful individuals. The term “Mississippian” has been applied to a wide variety of sites and complexes, and the culture was by no means uniform.

The Mississippian people were accomplished at a variety of crafts. Among them was the manufacture of elaborate ceramic vessels, often bearing symbolic decorations. A distinctive class of vessels are those sculpted to look like trophy heads taken in warfare. Ground stone objects included elaborate pipes and ceremonial axes. From a number of sites, most notably the Spiro Mound in eastern Oklahoma, come beautiful shell gorgets, carved with representations of warriors, snakes, and esoteric symbols. Cold-hammer metallurgy was used to manufacture copper sheet-metal portraits and representations of warriors.

The religious life of the Mississippian included the observation of celestial events, such as the summer and winter solstices, and occasional human sacrifice. Toward the end of the period, a phenomenon called the “Southern Cult” is manifest in the production and trade of ceremonial objects decorated with symbols such as hands with eyes, crosses, and snakes as well as depictions of individuals dressed in bird costumes holding severed human heads. Some archaeologists have suggested that these are related to ceremonial traditions from Mesoamerica.

The Mississippian tradition came to an end as a result of a variety of stresses. The most significant of these was the introduction of European diseases and the subsequent devastation of native populations by fatal epidemics in the sixteenth century. Problems such as malnutrition and internecine warfare were present long before the arrival of the Spanish, however, resulting in the decline and abandonment of large sites such as Cahokia generations before European contact. The legacy of complex Mississippian societies continued into the historic period among tribes such as the Creeks.
The Missouri occupied villages on the Missouri River near present-day northwest Saline County, Missouri. They were related linguistically to the Winnebagos, Otos, and Iowas. Their semisedentary lifestyle combined hunting and gathering with horticultural activities. When not hunting large game such as deer and buffalo, they inhabited settlements—especially in the spring and fall—to tend to agricultural duties, woodworking, and pottery. While once a strong tribe, they were gradually weakened with their westward movement because of divisions and wars.

Oral traditions trace the origins of the Missouri to the area of the Great Lakes near Green Bay, Wisconsin. Before the period of European contact in this area, there lived a group of Indians called the Hotonga, or “fish eaters.” The Hotonga divided at Green Bay, and the group that remained there became known as the Winnebago. The ones who left went to the confluence of the Mississippi and Iowa rivers. Here a further division took place: The Iowa remained there, and those who continued on to the confluence of the Missouri and Grand rivers became the Missouri. A final split produced the Oto, who traveled farther up the Missouri River. The Missouri, after a war with the Osage, separated again; a part went to live with the Iowa, and another group followed the Oto.

The Missouri were first known to have been in contact with French fur traders in 1673, when they were contacted by Jacques Marquette. Thereafter, they made treaties, traded, and intermarried with the French from Detroit to St. Louis until the 1820’s, the time of Missouri statehood. They made a peace treaty with the United States on June 24, 1817. Between the time of contact and statehood, the Missouri suffered devastating tribal attacks by the Sauk and Fox as well as a series of epidemics. The remaining Missouri had combined with the Oto by 1829, forming the Oto-Missouri tribe. All of their lands, except for the reservation at Big Blue River, Nebraska, were ceded to the government by 1855. The descendants of this group continue to exist on reservation land in Oklahoma.
Miwok

Culture area: California
Language group: Miwok-Costanoan
Primary location: Western central California
Population size: 3,381 (1990 U.S. Census)

Miwok Indians lived in western central California. They are divided into three groups: the Lake, Eastern, and Coast Miwok. Miwok Indians hunted, gathered, fished, and traded for food. Both men and women fished using nets, baskets, spears, and their bare hands. Men used bows and arrows to kill waterfowl and large game such as deer, elk, and bear. Surplus meat and fish were mixed with salt and dried for winter use. Men and women made baskets which were used in ceremonies as well as for gathering, storing, and preparing food. The Miwok harvested numerous types of acorns, nuts, berries, roots, and other vegetation for food, medicine, and basketweaving materials.

The Miwok Indians lived in large, permanent multifamily homes covered with brush, leaves, tule, and dirt. A basket was set over the small doorway opening at night. Women wore deerskin apron skirts and men wore loincloths of the same material. Animal skins were cut into strips and sewn together for winter robes.

The shaman was the tribal doctor as well as a ceremonial and religious leader. There were two kinds of shaman: power (or singing) shamans and sucking shamans. Sucking shamans sucked on the skin to extract foreign bodies that were believed to cause illness. Power shamans danced and prayed to guardian spirits for cures. Many superstitions and taboos were observed to ensure health and good luck.

In 1595, Spanish explorers met the Coast Miwok. In the early 1800’s, missions were established and Miwok Indians were forcibly taken there for conversion. Many ran away but were captured and returned by Spanish soldiers. Disease epidemics and warfare with the Spanish decimated and weakened the tribe. When white settlers arrived in California, hostilities were aimed at the ranchers. In 1850, federal troops from Sonoma killed a large number of Miwok. In the early 1900’s, the federal government purchased land for a small reservation. Many Miwoks found seasonal work on local ranches.
The Mixtec people shared a common language and a distinctive Mesoamerican culture. Unlike many Mesoamerican societies, there was never a Mixtec empire with a capital city. Rather, numerous, small, politically independent kingdoms characterized the Mixtec political landscape. Each kingdom was headed by its own prestigious royal dynasty, centered in its own town boasting public buildings, temples, ball courts, hieroglyphic writing, luxurious royal residences, and elaborate tombs. The mountaintop sites of Monte Negro, Yucuñudahui, and Huamelulpan are examples of such royal centers in the Mixteca Alta.

The social system was one of the most rigidly hierarchical in Mesoamerica, with clear class divisions between nobility and commoners as well as ranked divisions within each of these broad classes. Mixtec royalty were among those in Mesoamerica who claimed (possibly fictional) descent from the Toltec of Central Mexico. A small but professional military helped maintain social order and was sometimes used for territorial expansion at the expense of neighboring Mixtec kingdoms. Agricultural produce (maize, beans, and squash) and crafts were extracted from the commoners as tribute.

The Mixtec were divided into three principal groups. The most northerly group inhabited the Mixteca Baja, a series of hot, humid valleys descending toward the Gulf Lowlands. Kingdoms within the Mixteca Baja flourished from 600 to 900 C.E., after the decline of Teotihuacán and Monte Albán and before the rise of Tula. A second Mixtec group, the Mixteca de la Costa, occupied the Pacific coastal lowlands of Oaxaca state, where cacao (chocolate bean), a valuable trade item, was grown. The third group lived in the Mixteca Alta, the cold, high mountains and upland valleys west of Oaxaca. The Mixteca Alta lies near the Zapotec Valley of Oaxaca, and this group had the closest relationship with the Zapotec kingdoms, especially in the Late Postclassic period (after 1200 C.E.), when the Mixtec expanded and royal intermarriage was common.

The Mixtec were highly skilled craftworkers. Elaborate luxury goods were produced for the Mixtec nobility and for trade with the elite of other regions. Gold and silver were worked with amber, turquoise, jade, pearl, jet, coral, and shell to produce exquisite necklaces, bracelets, and ear and nose...
ornaments. Craftworkers producing such luxury goods and working with such valuable materials may themselves have been part of the nobility.

The Mixtec developed their own unique script. In addition to stone slabs, the Mixtec wrote codices—books with accordion-shaped paper pages with elaborately painted pictures in vivid colors. The codices contain genealogical and historical records as well as religious information related to Mixtec deities and divination. Although the Mixtec script resembles Mesoamerican script symbols in general, it remains only partially deciphered.

Beginning in the late 1400’s, most Mixtec kingdoms fell prey to the powerful and expanding Aztec empire. Less than twenty-five years later, the Mixtec kingdoms again fell prey to the Spanish. An estimated 260,000 people still speak Mixtecan languages.

Mobile

**Culture area:** Southeast  
**Language group:** Muskogean  
**Primary location:** Choctaw Bluff on the Alabama River

Despite extensive historical data on the Mobile, there is little prehistoric information. In 1540, Hernando de Soto first fought with the Mobile, who were under the leadership of their chief, Tuscaloosa, who rallied his people and neighboring groups to oppose the Spanish successfully.

Later, many Mobile moved south to Mobile Bay, where the French encountered them in 1700. The Mobile appealed to the French for protection from their traditional enemies, and in 1708 they were settled near Fort Louis, along with the Tohome. French Roman Catholic missionaries were relatively successful in Christianizing the Mobile, who were absorbed into the Choctaw Nation. By 1758 there remained fewer than two hundred Mobile.

In addition to their own language, the Mobile spoke a so-called Mobilian lingua franca, or trade language, which actually was a corrupted Choctaw jargon used by most tribes from Florida to Louisiana, and north along the Mississippi.
**Modoc**

**Culture area:** Plateau (some authorities indicate Great Basin)

**Language group:** Klamath-Modoc

**Primary location:** Northern California, southwestern Oregon, Oklahoma

**Population size:** 574 (1990 U.S. Census)

Modoc, California's northeasternmost county, is named for a Native American tribe whose ancestors arrived in that area not later than 6100 b.c.e. By that date, the Modoc (which means “southerner”) also inhabited the nearby Tule Lake region (presently in Siskiyou County, California), as well as south-central Oregon’s Klamath Lake and Lower Klamath Lake region. Archaeological discoveries in the Surprise Valley of northeastern California, as well as near Oregon’s Klamath lakes, indicate the occupancy of large semi-subterranean lodges (or pit houses), suggesting old, well-established societies that were at least partially sedentary. Around 2500 b.c.e., however, the appearance of brush wickiup housing, denoting adaptations to a less settled life, suggests changes in Klamath-Modoc cultural conditions or a shift in the ranges of the Modoc.

Generally, the Klamath-Modoc were hunter-gatherers; that is, they specialized in fishing, fowling, and plant gathering, particularly along lake shores. Their legacy of artifacts consists of leaf-shaped and large side-notched projectile points, which at later dates changed to smaller, notched and barbed arrowheads. Mortars and pestles, knives, scrapers, twined basketry, and sagebrush sandals have also been found in abundance, although the archaeological record for relatively more recent ancient times has been destroyed by modern relic collectors.

Since the Modoc inhabited a relatively isolated region of rich grasslands and lava beds, unlike other Plateau tribes they remained relatively unaffected by extensions of the nineteenth century European mining frontier and the ruthless search for gold and other precious metals that characterized it. Nevertheless, trouble began in the early 1860’s when Modoc grasslands began attracting white ranchers who were eager to clear Indians from their path. Under pressure from the ranchers, the federal government negotiated a treaty with the Modoc in 1864 that resulted in the Modocs’ movement to a reservation north of Tule Lake. Whatever advantages the treaty brought to white ranchers, it brought little solace to the Modoc, for they were obliged to share the reservation with the Klamath tribe among whom, despite their language affinities, the Modoc were both culturally alien and badly outnumbered.
Faced with these disabilities, Captain Jack (Kintpuash), a Modoc leader, encouraged his people to return to their original homes around Tule Lake, an area that in the meantime had been occupied by white settlers who were panicked by the Indians’ reappearance. Initial efforts by whites to persuade Captain Jack to remove his people to the reservation once again failed. The appointment in 1869 of Alfred B. Meacham, a staunch Oregon Republican and a reformer, as superintendent of Oregon’s Indian affairs, soon resulted in the Modocs’ reluctant return to the reservation. There, faced once again with the hostilities of the Klamath as well as with pressures from other Indian agents, the Modoc for a second time left the reservation and returned to their homeland.

By 1872, federal efforts to force the Modoc back to the reservation brought on the Modoc War. For a year, the military campaign against the Modoc proved an embarrassing stalemate to federal troops led by General Edward R. S. Canby, whom Captain Jack treacherously murdered during peace parleys. Simultaneously, the war deeply divided the Modoc themselves. Confronted in the aftermath of Canby’s murder with national outrage and intensified federal military operations, the Modocs swiftly surrendered. Captain Jack and three associates were hanged. The surviving 153 Modocs were exiled under the aegis of the Department of Interior to Okla-
homa Indian Territory, where subsequently they farmed peacefully. In 1909, those who remained were given the option of returning to Oregon’s Klamath reservation.

The Modocs’ contacts with whites proved disastrous. The Bureau of Indian Affairs counted four thousand Modocs in 1873. By 1994, between three hundred and five hundred of their descendants lived near Chiloquin, Oregon, and a few hundred more in Oklahoma (the 1990 U.S. Census gave the Modoc population as 574). In 1986, through the Modoc tribe of Oklahoma, the tribe was restored to direct federal recognition and government-to-government relations with the United States. The Modoc’s rich cultural tradition lives on in its myths about K Mukamch, the ancient creator, and Loon Woman.

Clifton K. Yearley

Mogollon

DATE: 200 B.C.E.-1000 C.E.
LOCATION: Arizona, New Mexico
Cultures affected: Western Pueblo tribes

The Mogollon tradition represents the emergence and florescence of agricultural village life in central and eastern Arizona and western New Mexico, especially in mountainous, highland regions. It begins with the appearance of pottery and ends with the transition from pit house villages to a Western Pueblo settlement pattern. Definitions of the Mogollon cultural sequence have become very complex with the proliferation of regionalized phases, and there is a lack of agreement on a generalized nomenclature.

Excavations at Tularosa Cave and Bat Cave (New Mexico) have provided evidence for the local development of the Mogollon tradition from Archaic period Cochise cultures, signaled by the emergence of pottery and increased sedentation. The timing of this transition is still poorly understood, and interpretations of dates for the beginning of ceramics in the Mogollon region range from 600 B.C.E. to 200 C.E., with most scholars favoring the later date. The earliest Mogollon pottery is plain, with a red wash or slip. Red-on-brown and black-on-white styles appear around 650 C.E., with a red-on-white type appearing around 800.

Early Mogollon villages were situated on mesas and high ridges, close to cultivable alluvial valleys, possibly for defensive purposes. The earliest dwellings were pit houses with central posts and circular or D-shaped layouts, entered via sloping ramps. Over time, these became more rectan-
gular in shape. In the final Mogollon phase before the transition to the Western Pueblo tradition (circa 800-1000), pit houses were often lined with stone masonry and occasionally had roof entries instead of inclined ramps. Typical Mogollon villages were small, averaging about six to eight houses, although larger examples may have had as many as fifty dwellings. At larger villages, especially large pit houses were used for ceremonial rather than residential functions, and some scholars have identified these as “great kivas.”

Mogollon farming was based on the use of rainfall rather than irrigation, as with the Hohokam tradition. Given the proximity of highland forest regions, hunting remained an important adjunct to Mogollon agriculture. Typical subsistence technology included digging sticks, milling stones, bows and arrows, fine baskets, and pottery.

By the year 1000, the Mogollon tradition had given way to that of the Western Pueblo pattern of aboveground, multiroomed structures with great kivas (subterranean ceremonial structures with circular plans). As population density grew, reaching a peak in the late thirteenth century, populations in the northern Mogollon area coalesced into large pueblos such as Point of Pines, Kinishba, and Grasshopper. To the south, in the Mimbres Valley, the Mogollon tradition evolved into the Mimbres phase (1100-1150), characterized by large pueblos of several hundred inhabitants and beautiful black-on-white Mimbres pottery. This was followed by the Animas phase (1150-1300), during which the southern pueblos had close ties to cultures such as that of Casas Grandes in Chihuahua, Mexico.

Casas Grandes, also known as Paquimé, was a large pueblo occupied between 1060 and 1350 C.E. At its height, the site had a central core of sixteen hundred rooms and an estimated population of twenty-two hundred people. There is abundant evidence at Casas Grandes for craft specialization, especially in the working of marine shell. The people of this site engaged in long-distance trade with Mesoamerican cultures to the south, exchanging painted pottery and turquoise for marine shells, macaws, and exotic bird feathers.

**Mohawk**

**Culture area:** Northeast  
**Language group:** Iroquoian  
**Primary location:** Northern New York State, Ontario, Quebec  
**Population size:** 15,490 in U.S. (1990 U.S. Census); 9,305 in Canada (Statistics Canada, based on 1991 census)
The Mohawks, the easternmost tribe of the Iroquois Confederacy, originally called themselves Kanienkehaga, the “flint people.” Among the most warlike of the eastern Indians, the Mohawks in prehistoric times fought with all their neighbors, both fellow Iroquoian Indians and the Algonquians living to the east of them. They, according to legend, were the source of the idea of the Iroquois Confederacy. It vastly reduced the amount of intertribal warfare among the Iroquois of New York State, though not that with their non-Iroquois neighbors.

According to legend, two men of peace, Deganawida and Hiawatha came to the Mohawks and convinced them to spearhead a proposal of peace among the tribes in what is now New York State. It took a considerable amount of persuasive argument, but eventually the Seneca, the Oneida, the Cayuga, and (most reluctantly) the Onondaga agreed to join in a confederacy. The tribes of the confederacy retained total independence in internal affairs, but “foreign relations” were to be conducted by a council composed of the chiefs of all the tribes. The confederacy was probably founded between 1400 and 1600.

Hiawatha, again according to legend, was also responsible for introducing wampum to the Mohawks and, through them, to the other tribes of the confederacy. Hiawatha persuaded the Mohawks to use monetary compensation, to be paid in wampum, instead of the blood feud to compensate the family of the victims of murder. This practice helped materially to reduce the murder rate among the Iroquois.

Iroquois society was matrilineal. The sachems, or tribal leaders, were selected by otianders, the matriarchs of the tribe. The organizational system of the Iroquois was the clan system, each of which had a natural figurehead, such as a wolf or an eagle. The strength of the clans was maintained through the practice of adoption; that is, Indians captured in war were adopted by the captor, becoming an integral member of the adopting clan.

Mohawk leader Joseph Brant urged the Iroquois to side with the British in the American Revolution. (Library of Congress)
The Mohawks were a very religious people, attributing success in the harvest or in warfare to the invisible spirits of nature. As agriculture spread among them, they began holding feasts to commemorate the harvest of squash, beans, and corn. The Green Corn Festival celebrated the corn harvest.

The Mohawks were the “Keepers of the Eastern Door of the Lodge” of the Iroquois Confederacy. As such, they were the first to become involved with the European settlers. They were allied with the Dutch and the English and were, except for brief intervals (especially during the first half of the eighteenth century), at war with the French in Canada. They aided the British during the American Revolution.

Following the American Revolution, the new American government concluded the Treaty of Fort Stanwix (1784) with the Mohawks. This treaty eliminated almost all Mohawk land claims in New York State, and most of the Mohawks retreated to Canada, where the British offered them a reservation on the Grand River. A few Mohawks remained in New York, many on the St. Regis Reservation along the shores of the St. Lawrence River.

In 1802, under pressure from the U.S. government, the Mohawks agreed to adopt a “democratic” system of government for the tribe, with first three, later twelve, elected “trustees.” This system persists to this day, but alongside it has grown a revival of the old system under which tribal leaders are selected by the matriarchs of the tribe. The Mohawks have become known for their skills in high-rise steel construction, and many are employed in building modern skyscrapers.

Mohegan

**Culture area:** Northeast  
**Language group:** Algonquian  
**Primary location:** Connecticut  
**Population size:** 674 (1990 U.S. Census)

The Mohegans occupied the Thames River valley and its tributaries in Connecticut. Originally, they were part of the Pequot Nation, but they formed their own separate entity in the early seventeenth century. Their original name before the division, “Pequot,” means “destroyers,” while the name “Mohegan” means “wolf.”

The Mohegan lived in palisaded villages, with bark houses clustered around an open area for games and gatherings. Women planted corn and
beans, while men hunted deer and other wild game. Their chiefs were called “sachems.”

No tribe in the Northeast has been the subject of so much confusion and so many differing interpretations as the Mohegan. Part of the confusion stems from James Fenimore Cooper’s famed novel *The Last of the Mohicans*, published in 1826. The author was from New York, and he probably patterned his Indians after the Mahican of that region, an entirely separate tribe. Cooper spelled the name “Mohican,” and the Connecticut Mohegan’s name was sometimes spelled in that way. Cooper made the confusion worse by naming one of his characters “Uncas,” the name of a real-life Mohegan subchief.

It was the sachem Uncas who led the Mohegans in their split with the Pequots. A figure of controversy, Uncas generally remained an ally of the English. In fact, the Mohegans joined the English in the Pequot War of 1637, a conflict that led to the virtual destruction of the Pequot tribe.

There is also some debate over when Uncas finally severed the Mohegan’s connection with the Pequot. He married a daughter of Sassacus, a prominent Pequot chief, but a rebellion against Sassacus led to Uncas’ defeat and banishment. The Mohegans escaped destruction in King Philip’s War of 1675-1677, thanks largely to their alliance with the English. In 1721, the Mohegan still owned 4,000 acres of the Thames Valley, though it had been reduced to 2,300 by 1850.

The tribe entered into a long and steady decline. Some Mohegans left New England and settled in the Oneida region of New York, while others migrated to Wisconsin, where a small reservation was created in 1832. In 1861, Connecticut took over many unoccupied Mohegan lands. Though descendants have scattered all over the country, the Mohegan never entirely abandoned their ancestral enclaves around Uncasville, Connecticut. The Uncasville region boasts a Mohegan church and the Fort Shantok Point burial grounds, where members of the tribe are interred. The Mohegans could not stand the pressure of the dominant white culture and eventually assimilated. Extensive intermarriage produced a population that is mainly of mixed ancestry.

**Mojave**

**CULTURE AREA:** Southwest  
**LANGUAGE GROUP:** Yuman  
**PRIMARY LOCATION:** Lower Colorado River  
**POPULATION SIZE:** 1,386 (1990 U.S. Census)
The name Mojave comes from a native word meaning “three mountains.” These people have lived along the lower Colorado River since the 1100’s. The early people had sprawling encampments scattered throughout the valley near cultivable land, and their mud-covered houses were above the floodplain on low rises. Most of the year the Mojave slept under flat-topped shades (ramadas), using the houses in winter months.

The Mojave considered themselves one nation and one territory, regardless of the location of the residence. They had loosely defined bands and local groups. Warfare was common, and in war they presented a united front. The hereditary tribal chief was expected to look after the welfare of the tribe and exert a moral influence.

Farming was the principal occupation, and maize was the chief crop. Other products included beans, pumpkins, and melons. The diet was supplemented by fishing, hunting, and wild plants, especially the mesquite bean and screwbean. The men cleared the land, planted, and cultivated, while women did most of the harvesting. Soil fertility depended on the silt deposited by yearly flooding of the Colorado River.

Dreams were the most important part of the Mojave religion; it was believed that special skills, talents, and success in life depended on dreams. Ordinary dreams were considered to be omens; the few individuals who had great dreams became the leaders.

The traditional Mojave culture had mostly vanished by the early 1970’s as the people became assimilated into American culture. Pride in tribal identity remained, but the old way of life had gone, the language was being forgotten, and much intermarriage had occurred. The last hereditary chief died in 1947.

The Colorado River Reservation, with 225,995 acres, was established in 1865, and Fort Mojave in 1880. In 1940, part of the reservation was taken for Parker Dam and its reservoir. The acreage in the early 1990’s was 22,820. Both reservations are shared with other tribes. The present tribal offices are in Needles, California.

Mojave boy photographed around 1903. (Library of Congress)
Molala

**Culture area:** Plateau  
**Language group:** Molale (Penutian)  
**Primary location:** Oregon  
**Population size:** 14 (Molala, 1990 U.S. Census)

The Molala (or Molale), a poorly recorded tribe, lived in the interior of Washington and Oregon. Their language, while related to that of the Cayuse, was quite distinct. Cayuse tradition suggests that the Molala once lived with them on the Deschutes River but that the two tribes were driven apart and to the west by hostile neighbors. “Molala” is the name of a creek in the Willamette Valley, which a Molala band occupied by joining with the Klikitat to drive out its former inhabitants. Other bands settled on the Umpqua and Rogue rivers to the north. The Molala were greatly feared because they raided neighboring tribes to capture people as slaves. In 1855, the Molala joined with a number of other Willamette Valley tribes in two treaties. They agreed to give up their lands and move with other small tribal groups to a reservation. Many moved to the Grande Ronde Reservation in Oregon, where they adopted European American clothing and customs. They intermarried freely with other tribes and were considered by official enumerators to have been absorbed by other tribes. In 1881, as many as twenty Molala were living outside the reservation in the Cascade Mountains. In 1964 the tribes of the reservation formed the Confederated Tribes of Grande Ronde. The 1990 U.S. Census listed the Grande Ronde tribal population as 1,230.

Moneton

**Culture area:** Northeast  
**Language group:** Siouan  
**Primary location:** West Virginia

The Moneton, a branch of the Siouan family, lived in West Virginia. As is the case for many of the eastern Sioux, there is no information about the Moneton language. Evidence suggests they lived in matrilineal clans and that they conducted harsh initiation ceremonies. They wore long hair and tattoos—decorations which set them clearly apart from their Iroquoian
neighbors. Probably the Sioux had been in what is now the southeastern United States for hundreds or even thousands of years before the first Europeans arrived. Scholars have struggled to learn about the prehistoric migrations of the Sioux, but without much success. What is clear from oral tradition and the records of early white settlers is that through the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries the southeastern Sioux suffered greatly. Constant attack by Iroquoians and the introduction of new diseases by Europeans decimated the tribes. Many people fled and disappeared from record, while others were absorbed into other tribes; many died. In 1671, the Moneton were visited by the trader Thomas Batts. Three years later they were visited again by Gabriel Arthur, who reported finding them living in “a great town.” They were not heard of again and are assumed to have united with Siouan groups in the Piedmont region of Virginia.

**Montagnais**

**Culture area:** Northeast  
**Language group:** Algonquian (Cree)  
**Primary location:** Labrador Peninsula, Newfoundland, Quebec provinces  
**Population size:** 12,025 (combined Montagnais/Naskapi population, Statistics Canada, based on 1991 census)

The Montagnais have resided north of the St. Lawrence River on the Labrador Peninsula since before Europeans arrived in North America. Living to their southwest is a culturally and linguistically related but distinct group, the Attikamek, who were decimated by smallpox and Iroquois warriors late in the seventeenth century and seem to have been confused with the Tête de Boule until the 1970’s, when the Attikamek name was revived concurrent with rising Attikamek political awareness. Both the Montagnais and Attikamek lived by hunting, trapping, and fishing prior to the Europeans’ arrival as well as by fur trading afterward. Both were organized in bands loosely tied by marriage and proximity and, in the seventeenth century, by the Iroquois threat. The Labrador Peninsula had abundant game, and the residents were well adapted to it, moving seasonally with what the environment provided. They transported themselves and supplies in canoes during summer and by snowshoes and toboggans in winter. The basic traveling unit was a band of three to four families (fifteen to twenty people), typically led by older men with practical knowledge or
religious charisma rather than by a formal or elected chief. Band membership could easily change if a need arose. One effect of the advent of trading posts in the region was an evolution toward bands associating with trading posts and defining band hunting territories. Marriages became opportunities for alliances between families with neighboring hunting territories.

European influences on the Montagnais and Attikamek were limited primarily to the fur trade until the mid-nineteenth century, when the area was invaded by loggers, and the early twentieth century, when there was railroad and dam construction. White hunters and trappers, combined with the construction projects, reduced fur-bearing animals and forced Montagnais into wage employment, which, along with local schools, interrupted seasonal migrations. World War II drew away the loggers, opening jobs for residents of the Weymontachingue reserve. The traditional conical lodges housing fifteen to twenty people were replaced with prefabricated houses. Montagnais religious practices have been influenced by Christianity but still include the shaking tent rite, various feasts, and ceremonial drumming. Religion is very personal, with some individuals gaining considerable power and becoming shamans—men or women with especially close relations with spirits and able to influence people’s health or success in hunting. Despite the increasing presence of non-Indians, the Montagnais and the Attikamek retain their identity.

### Montauk Confederacy

**Tribes affected:** Corchaug, Manhasset, Massapequa, Matinecock, Merrick, Montauk, Nesaquake, Patchogue (Poospatuck), Rockaway, Secatogue, Setauket, Shinnecock, Unquachog

**Culture area:** Northeast

**Language group:** Algonquian

**Primary location:** Central and eastern Long Island

The Montauk Confederacy was formed as a protective league against mainland tribes, primarily the Pequot and Narragansett. All of its member groups shared essentially the same culture patterns and language. Thus, they may have been loosely connected elements of one group or tribe. The Montauk were the most powerful and controlled the others. Montauk may mean “fortified place.”

The Montauk subsisted on plant, land, and sea animals. Food cultivation required a complex and frequent pattern of seasonal shifting of residences,
from the summer fields to the deep forests in the winter. A trade network linking regional and adjacent groups was also developed. Trading with Europeans began in the sixteenth century.

The tribes lived in villages of small circular houses holding two families during the temperate seasons. In winter they lived in large longhouses that held forty to fifty people. Villages were relocated when the supply of firewood was depleted.

Each village was presided over by a hereditary chief or sachem. Sachems had limited power and always made decisions in consultation with a council of “great men.” Women also held respected positions. Quahawan, the sister of Nowedonah and Paygratasuck, Shinnecock and Manhassett sachems, became a Shinnecock sachem around 1667. The confederacy was presided over by the Montauk sachem, the grand sachem or great chief. Wyandanck (mid-seventeenth century), brother of the above three named sachems, was the most famous leader of the confederacy.

The confederacy population was about six thousand in 1600. Because of white diseases, alcoholism, and raids, numbers rapidly declined. Around 1788 most of the one hundred or so remaining members joined the Brother-ton Indians in New York and moved with them to the Oneida reservation in Wisconsin about 1833. The handful of remaining Montauk and Shinnecock, the last representatives of the Long Island tribes, preserved tribal organization into the nineteenth century. Their last hereditary grand sachem, David Pharaoh, died about 1875. The old customs and native language were lost soon thereafter.

Limited hunting, fishing, crop cultivation, and sale of craft items on the 400-acre Shinnecock Reservation provided subsistence. Limited financial support from New York State and off-reservation, low-wage jobs provided additional income. The encroachment of suburbia and tourists wanting to see “real Indians” rekindled an interest in traditional tribal customs and dress, self-respect, and group pride beginning in the 1900’s. Renewed interest in tribal incorporation occurred in the 1930’s. Intertribal associations, such as the Algonquin Council of Indian Tribes (1926), were formed. The Shinnecock are represented by an elected council in their dealings with New York State.

Mountain

**Culture area:** Subarctic  
**Language group:** Northeastern Athapaskan  
**Primary location:** Mackenzie Mountains, Northwest Territories, Canada
The Mountain Indians, commonly associated with the Goat Indians, lived in semi-permanent winter camps in the mountains. They depended on hunting moose, Dall sheep, woodland caribou—and trapping of ground squirrels—for subsistence and utilitarian by-products. Some fishing was done. Mooseskin boats were essential to river travel and trading, particularly after European Canadian contact. As a composite band, Mountain people had much knowledge of their terrain and good mobility. They sometimes faced starvation, which reduced their number, as did internal feuds and hostilities with the Yukon peoples.

Canadian trappers and traders knew of the Mountain Indians as early as 1789, but it was not until 1822 that they interacted with them. The building of Fort Simpson in 1822, and Fort Norman in 1823, brought sustained European contact and trading with many Mountain Indians. The introduction of influenza and measles reduced their population. The signing of Treaty 11 in 1921 created a chief and council who represented their people at Fort Norman. Most modern Mountain employment is local, with some involvement in Canadian government programs. The Mountain population has been estimated to be between 100 and 150.

Muckleshoot

**Culture area:** Northwest Coast  
**Language group:** Salishan  
**Primary location:** White and Green rivers, Washington  
**Population size:** 985 (1990 U.S. Census)

The Muckleshoot comprised four separate territorial groups: Sekamish, Skopamish, Smulkamis, and Dothliuk. They had complex ceremonialism, part of which regulated their yearly pattern of moving to obtain subsistence, which was basically maritime and riverine in orientation. They had guardian-spirit beliefs and used shamans for curing, making predictions, and maintaining social control. Decisions were by group consensus and advice of elders.

The Muckleshoot Reservation was established in 1857 by executive order after an 1855-1856 war, but many did not move to the reservation. In the early 1880's the Indian Shaker Church was established as a reaction against the U.S. government's “peace policy” of 1869, which had favored Roman Catholic missionaries among the Muckleshoot.
The modern Muckleshoot have established their own business enterprises, planning department, tribal government, and school system on the reservation. In the late 1970’s the Muckleshoot sued for damages created by diversion of water from the reservation and its fishery by a hydroelectric plant. There exist several reservation programs for revitalizing myth, art, and language.

**Multnomah**

*Culture area:* Northwest Coast  
*Language group:* Chinookan  
*Primary location:* Sauvie Island and Columbia River, Oregon

The Multnomah, living in a densely populated stretch of riverside villages, were composed of ten separate territorial bands, situated between the Clackamas to the south and the Cathlamet to the north. Their stratified society was based on ocean and river harvesting as well as hunting and trapping on land. They had well-developed trading relations within the region. Chinookan jargon was a lingua franca (trade language) on the Northwest Coast and along the Columbia River.

The first European American contact was probably by John Boit and Robert Gray in 1792, but by the time of first contact, the Multnomah population had already been drastically reduced by epidemics, particularly smallpox. Population reduction and the effects of trade created demographic changes for the Multnomah and other groups, causing the merging of certain groups. Some Multnomah lived on the Grande Ronde Reservation along with the Clackamas, and some lived off-reservation in the Willamette Valley.

**Nabedache**

*Culture area:* Southwest  
*Language group:* Caddoan  
*Primary location:* Oklahoma

The Nabedache were the westernmost of the nine tribes of the Hasinai Confederacy in East Texas, linguistically related to the Caddo. Their
homeland was west of the Neches River; they lived in scattered rancherias, farming and hunting.

During the two Spanish occupations (1690-1693 and 1716-1821), missions were established for the Nabedache. They refused to Hispanize, however, maintaining good but reserved relations with the Spanish. They retained their own culture and independence. Between the 1750’s and 1799 the Nabedache were the dominant tribe among the Hasinai. Leaders Bigotes, or Sauto (to 1778), and Baltasar Bigotes (post-1778) interacted with the Spanish regarding French trade, war with the Apache, and relations with the Comanche and other tribes to the west. In 1800 they were faced with Indian and American encroachment and the effects of disease. Within seven years they were reduced to 120 people.

During the period of the Texas Republic (1836-1845), their fortunes waned further. They were forced into central Texas, where they faced hostile Comanche raiders and Texans. Under U.S. control after 1846, the Nabedache were removed to Oklahoma in 1859. The Nabedache survived the Civil War and, after 1870, entered a period of peace and stability. Today they are listed under Hasinai and Caddo but are governed by their own tribal government.

### Nanticoke

**Culture area:** Northeast  
**Language group:** Algonquian  
**Primary location:** Delaware, New Jersey  
**Population size:** 1,471 (1990 U.S. Census)

The Nanticoke originally inhabited the eastern shore of Chesapeake Bay along the Nanticoke River in Maryland. Culturally, they were closely associated with surrounding Algonquian-speaking groups such as the Conoys. Unfortunately, only a few details survive about traditional lifeways. Men hunted and fished, and women practiced maize horticulture. The Nanticoke were adept at the production of shell beads for peake (wampum) and at the processing of furs. A hereditary chief ruled over several villages and, with elders, formed an upper social stratum. Individuals traced their ancestry through women. The Nanticoke buried their dead in ossuaries (mass graves) after lengthy interment in aboveground mortuary structures.

Sustained contact with white settlers began after 1608. By the early eighteenth century, the Nanticoke had suffered greatly from disease and from harassment by colonists. To lessen conflicts, they agreed to live on two
reservations along the Nanticoke, known as Broad Creek and Chicacoan. This greatly reduced their territory and limited their ability to support themselves. During this period, the Nanticoke became tributaries of the powerful Five Nations of the Iroquois of New York.

By the mid-1700’s, because of further interference by colonists, the Nanticoke petitioned the Iroquois for protection. Several hundred migrated to Iroquois territory in Pennsylvania before regrouping at Ottsiningo, near present-day Binghamton, New York. By then, they had merged with the Conoys. After the American Revolution they moved west, finally settling in Oklahoma, where they became identified with and absorbed into the Delaware (Lenni Lenape) tribe.

By the 1760’s, the Nanticoke who remained in Maryland had abandoned their land. In the succeeding years, they settled with members of local tribes on Indian River Hundred near Millsboro, Delaware. In 1903, after many attempts, they gained official recognition as Nanticoke Indians from the state. The formation of the Nanticoke Indian Association furthered tribal causes during the twentieth century. A separate organization, known as the Nanticoke-Lenni Lenape Indians of New Jersey, developed in 1978 near Bridgeton, New Jersey, where members of the two tribes had settled. Both organizations strive to preserve community history, revive traditional ways, and educate the public through museums and annual pow-wows.

Narragansett

**Culture area:** Northeast  
**Language group:** Algonquian  
**Primary location:** Rhode Island  
**Population size:** 2,456 (1990 U.S. Census)

The Narragansett were a powerful tribe of southern New England. They spoke an Algonquian language, and their territory encompassed much of present-day Rhode Island. Recent estimates suggest that there may have been as many as sixteen thousand Narragansetts in 1600. The name “Narragansett” is usually translated “at the narrow point of land.”

Narragansett culture and lifeways were similar to those of other tribes in the region. They were adept at agriculture, regularly planting corn, beans, squash, and sunflowers. The diet was supplemented by hunting and trapping. The wigwam, a circular shelter of bent poles covered with bark, was the typical dwelling.
Sachems (chiefs) wielded authority in Narragansett society, aided by councilors, usually warriors of distinction. Powwows were also important, healers with great spiritual powers. First white contact came with Giovanni da Verrazano in 1524, though permanent white settlement did not come until a century later.

In 1616-1617, a devastating plague (probably smallpox) decimated neighboring tribes, but the Narragansett were spared. The Narragansett warred with their neighbors and dominated such tribes as the Wampanoags. In 1633 the plague, long delayed, finally struck the Narragansett, killing at least seven hundred.

White-Narragansett relations were cordial at first; Rhode Island founder Roger Williams championed Indian land rights. Yet though the Narragansett helped the English in the Pequot War of 1637, the colonists were suspicious of their allies; they were also hungry for more land.

When King Philip’s War broke out in 1675, the Narragansett maintained neutrality, though they sheltered Wampanoag women and children. When the English demanded the surrender of the Wampanoag fugitives, Narragansett sachem Canonchet refused. The English assembled the largest colonial army up to that time—a thousand men—and launched a surprise attack on the Narragansett. On December 19, 1675, the English assaulted a large Narragansett fort near present-day Kingston, Rhode Island. The resulting battle, called the Great Swamp Fight, was one of the bloodiest of the war. At least six hundred Narragansett were killed, and three hundred were taken prisoner. Most of the Indian casualties were women and children.

King Philip’s War destroyed the Narragansett as a distinct tribal entity. Some survivors joined the Niantic, and in time the combination was called Narragansett. A reservation was established in Rhode Island. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, assimilation seemed the only alternative to extinction. The last full-blooded Narragansett died in the nineteenth century, and the language died out about that time as well.

In 1880, the Narragansett were detribalized and their reservation sold. Though the remaining people were of mixed Indian-white-black blood, and the culture was virtually dead, some measure of Narragansett identity survived. Beginning in the 1920’s, pan-Indianism caused the embers of the Narragansett heritage to flare again.

The culture was revived, and activists such as Ella Thomas Sekatau and Eric Thomas Sekatau managed to secure federal recognition of the tribe in 1983. In 1978, as part of the Rhode Island Indian Claims settlement, the state gave the Narragansett 1,800 acres of wooded public and private land that was once part of tribal territory. Every year, the tribe holds an Annual August Meeting.
Naskapi

**Culture area:** Subarctic  
**Language group:** Algonquian  
**Primary location:** Labrador Peninsula  
**Population size:** 12,025 (combined Montagnais/Naskapi population, Statistics Canada, based on 1991 census)

The Naskapi, closely associated with the East Cree and Montagnais, lived in semipermanent winter villages in rectangular, split-log lodges. During the rest of the year, temporary hide-covered conical dwellings were used during the subsistence round, which focused upon hunting and trapping caribou, moose, and Dall’s sheep. Nearly every species of bird was also hunted. Watercraft were usually made of birchbark, although some moose-skin boats were utilized, mostly for load transportation.

The first sustained European Canadian contact was with the trapper-traders of the Hudson’s Bay Company, who introduced considerable change to aboriginal settlement patterns, subsistence orientation, and eventually to the Naskapi religion. The once highly mobile Naskapi developed ties to trading posts and became dependent on the exchange of furs for trade goods.

The traditional self-sufficient Naskapi culture no longer exists; Naskapis are dependent on the European Canadian market economy, and most earn a living by wage employment. They are served by government schools and health programs.

Natchez

**Culture area:** Southeast  
**Language group:** Natchez  
**Primary location:** Natchez, Mississippi  
**Population size:** 98 (1990 U.S. Census)

Natchez social complexity fascinated early explorers of the Mississippi River as well as later ethnographers and archaeologists. For this reason, much has been written on these Native Americans.

The Natchez occupied an area east of the Mississippi River, centered at modern Natchez, Mississippi. They raised corn, beans, squash, and other
crops in addition to hunting, fishing, and gathering wild plants. The agricultural surplus permitted a sedentary lifestyle, and their villages impressed European visitors, as did the lavish material culture, both of which were complemented by an elaborate sociopolitical system. Natchez social organization was hierarchical, with numerous low-level positions overseen by the tribal leader, known as the Great Sun. The Great Sun controlled events during peaceful times; however, he relinquished command to a male relative (brother or uncle) in times of war. These ruling titles were inherited, and visitors remarked upon the elaborate funerary rituals (including human sacrifice and burial in mounds) which accompanied the death of one of the leaders.

European contact was initiated with René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle’s visit of 1682. By the early 1700’s, a French priest was residing in their midst (Jean François Buisson de Saint-Cosme, who was later killed by the Chitimacha), and they received regular visits from Jesuits and other dignitaries, such as Pierre LeMoyne, Sieur d’Iberville in 1700, and Penicaud in 1704, all of whom wrote of their experiences. By 1713, a French trading post was established among the Natchez. After some minor social unrest, Fort Rosalie was constructed in approximately 1716 to demonstrate French dominion.

During the mid-1720’s, two minor uprisings occurred among the Natchez. In both cases, the French overpowered them and reinforced their control. The major Natchez Revolt of 1729, however, resulted in many deaths among both the French and the Natchez, and this sealed the fate of the remaining Natchez; the French were determined to quell the insurrection forcefully. By 1731, approximately four hundred Natchez were enslaved and sent to the Caribbean colonies, while the remainder escaped to seek refuge among the Chickasaw, some ultimately joining the Creek or the Cherokee. Ultimately, the remaining Natchez took part in the enforced migrations of 1830-1839 known as the Trail of Tears. The last speakers of the Natchez language died in the 1940’s in Oklahoma. In 1990, fewer than one hundred people identified themselves as Natchez.

Nauset

**Culture Area:** Northeast  
**Language Group:** Algonquian  
**Primary Location:** Cape Cod, Massachusetts
The Nauset, a branch of the Algonquian family, lived on Cape Cod in Massachusetts. The meaning of their name is not known; they were also commonly known as Cape Indians. They were related to or controlled by the Wampanoag (“eastern people”). Evidence suggests they had lived in the area for thousands of years. Because of their coastal location, they probably came into contact with white traders and navigators very early. In 1614, seven Nauset were kidnapped and sold into slavery by Captain Thomas Hunt of England. They were also visited early in the century by the French explorer Samuel de Champlain.

For the most part, the Nauset were friendly with English settlers in the area, and many adopted Christianity. Most stayed friendly even through King Philip’s War between the settlers and Indians, and some went so far as to aid the white settlers. The Nauset lived in permanent villages and ate a diet of fish and seafood as well as maize, beans, and pumpkins. They cooked food in clay pots, stirred it with wooden utensils, and created beautiful woven fabrics and leather goods. In 1622, the Nauset shared corn and beans with starving Plymouth colonists. In 1617, they escaped the great pestilence that killed many Indians along the East Coast, but around 1710 they lost many people to fever. By 1802, only two Nauset were still alive.

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**Navajo**

**Culture area:** Southwest  
**Language group:** Athapaskan  
**Primary location:** Northeastern Arizona, northwestern New Mexico, southern Utah  
**Population size:** 219,198 (1990 U.S. Census)

There has been disagreement among scholars regarding when the ancient ancestors of the Navajo (or Navaho) migrated to North America. Some believe that they came in a relatively recent migration across the Bering Strait, about three thousand years ago. The linguistic designation of the main group is Na-Dene. This grouping contains several subgroups, the largest of which is Athapaskan. These hunting and gathering peoples, who once occupied Alaska and northwestern Canada, also began moving south. How and why the Athapaskans migrated into the Southwest is still a matter of discussion among scholars. As they did, they called themselves Diné (the people). The Navajo and their linguistic cousins, the Apache, reached the Southwest sometime in the mid-fourteenth century, with the Navajo occu-
pying the area of the Gobernador and Largo tributaries of the San Juan River some 75 miles north of Santa Fe. This became the traditional homeland, the Dinetah, which means “among the people” in the Navajo language.

Prehistory. Anthropologists have pointed out a major difference between the Puebloans and the Navajo in prehistory. By the time the Navajo arrived in the Southwest, the Puebloans had been there for centuries and were firmly committed to the traditions of their ancestors, one of which was putting the good of the group or village as a whole above that of the individual. The Navajo, on the other hand, considered the individual to be of primary importance. They were also not as resistant to change as the Puebloans were.

The first Navajo in the Southwest were organized into fairly small groups, each with a headman whose duties consisted of leading his people to places where water, game, and wild grains and berries were plentiful. As they tended to move with the seasons, following the game, they built semipermanent circular wooden dwellings called hogans. Excavation of several prehistoric hogan sites has established that the Navajo were in the area at least as early as 1540.

Most scholars agree that the Navajo were greatly influenced by the culture of the Puebloans, which they recognized as more advanced than their own. Many Navajo myths and folk tales portray the Puebloans as sophisticated, rich, and powerful. Apparently, the Navajo were especially impressed by Pueblo religion and the complexity and power of its ceremonials, which surpassed anything in their own culture at the time. Their first rudimentary efforts at agriculture were also inspired by the Puebloans.

The Spanish-Mexican Period. The first Spanish colonists in northern New Mexico, who came with Don Juan de Oñate in 1598, recorded that many raids on their settlements were carried out by “Apache or Apachean”
peoples. In 1626, Fray Zárata Salmerón was the first to designate the Navajo as a specific Apachean group. By this time the Navajo had become a large and powerful tribe, whose various bands were led by both war and peace chieftains. They traded with and raided both the Puebloans and the Spanish settlers equally. As the numbers of the Spanish colonists increased, they became more demanding and cruel, especially to the Puebloans, attacking and burning the pueblos and killing or enslaving the people. As a consequence, the Puebloans began to encourage Navajo and Apache raids on the Spanish. By the mid-seventeenth century, the Spanish effort to convert all the Indians to Christianity had driven both the Puebloans and Navajo to conduct their own religious rituals in secret.

**Navajo-Pueblo Contact.** After the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 and the Spanish reconquest of 1692, many Puebloans fled north to the San Juan River area, which brought about greater contact with the Navajo. It has been established that, as a result of this interaction, the Navajo continued to learn much from the Puebloans: more sophisticated agricultural practices, styles of architecture, manufacturing techniques, and art forms such as weaving and improved pottery-making. Pueblo and Navajo ceremonial articles have been found in the same caches in the upper San Juan, establishing that Navajo religious practices were also greatly influenced by the Puebloans.

In the last decade of the seventeenth century, in the upper reaches of the San Juan, the Navajo and some of the Pueblo refugees built both open clusters of hogans and small masonry pueblos (pueblitos) consisting of fewer than six rooms each. Then, moving south into the Gobernador and Largo canyons, they built large masonry compounds and pueblitos, where they lived by hunting and gathering, herding, and dry farming. By the end of the century, they had acquired horses, cattle, sheep, and goats by trading with or raiding the Spaniards. In the next fifty years or so, they moved into Chaco Canyon and the Big Bead Mesa area, and then into Canyon de Chelly in northeastern Arizona.

Although the first bands of Navajo to reach the Southwest had been patrilineal, the close contact with the Puebloans in the late seventeenth century led the Navajo to adopt a matrilineal system of descent, with matrilocal residence, a characteristic they have retained into the modern period. The Navajo also adapted the Puebloan idea of clans into their own cultural pattern.

**1700-1845.** Throughout the eighteenth century, the Navajo continued their raids on Spanish communities and the Puebloans in the Rio Grande Valley, greatly aided by their acquisition of the horse. As many scholars have pointed out, the Navajo considered these raids to be an economic pursuit rather than war, and they were therefore never as anxious to drive
the Spanish out as the Puebloans were. Although the Navajo in the Mount Taylor region rejected the Spanish attempt of 1745 to establish missions among them, for example, they remained friendly to the Spanish. On the other hand, Spanish and Mexican reports on the Navajo in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were contained largely in official government documents and therefore dealt mostly with warfare, describing countless Navajo raids and Spanish or Mexican reprisals.

The fact that the horse gave the Navajo greater mobility, increasing their range for hunting, raiding, and trading, has led some to think that the Navajo reverted to nomadism, which was not the case at all. The horse made the Navajo more mobile, but that mobility was confined, in almost all cases, to specific areas where a family might build one or more houses which would serve as fixed centers of family life. With these centers as a permanent base, some family members might follow the sheep herds from their summer to winter grazing lands or go off to hunt or trade while others remained behind to tend the crops. The fact that clan names are almost always place names as well also reinforces the fact that Navajo nomadism in the historic period is largely a myth.

Sheep and goats were also important to the growth of the Navajo population, providing not only a more dependable food supply but also a renewable source of trade goods, such as raw wool and woolen textiles, that could be exchanged for other necessities.

The U.S. Period. When the United States took possession of the southwestern territories from Mexico in 1846, General S. W. Kearny, arriving with his armies in August of that year, declared that he would stop all Indian raids. After a military expedition against the Navajo in November, 1846, Colonel A. W. Doniphan signed a treaty with thirteen Navajo leaders, among whom were Zarcillos Largos, Antonio Sandoval, and Narbono. This was only the first of many treaties into which the United States entered with local headmen in the mistaken belief that they were tribal “chiefs” who could speak for the entire Navajo Nation. Thus, when these treaties were broken by Navajo from groups not led by the signers, United States authorities, completely misunderstanding Navajo social and political organization, concluded that the Navajo were without honor and could not be trusted. In an attempt to control the Navajo, the United States mounted numerous campaigns against them and built military posts in their territory.

With the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861 and the resultant decrease in U.S. troop strength in the Southwest, both the Navajo and Apache took advantage of the opportunity to increase their raids on settlers and Puebloans. The government reacted by adopting a merciless policy of resettlement developed by General James Carleton. In June, 1863, Colonel Kit
Carson was sent into Navajo country to order the Navajo to surrender at Fort Defiance in Arizona. Many fled and were pursued, and many were killed in the fighting which followed. In the end, however, Carson did not subdue the Navajo by military actions but by destroying their crops and livestock, the economic basis of their lives. Finally, on March 6, 1864, twenty-four hundred people, thirty wagons, four hundred horses, and three thousand sheep and goats began the “Long Walk” of 300 miles to Fort Sumner in eastern New Mexico. In April, thirty-five hundred more Navajo were forced to make the same trek. Ultimately, more than eight thousand Navajo and four hundred Mescalero Apache were held in captivity at Bosque Redondo Reservation, just outside the fort. Several thousand Navajo avoided capture by hiding in the Grand Canyon, on the top of Black Mesa, north of the San Juan River, and in other inaccessible areas of Navajo country.

The Return Home. Now totally impoverished and not understanding their group captivity and the loss of their freedom to roam where they pleased, the Navajo suffered greatly from humiliation and homesickness, illness from an alien diet and bad water, and new diseases caught from their captors. Many died.

Finally, the United States government admitted that the resettlement had been a horrible mistake, and Carleton’s despotic regime was ended in the fall of 1866. Custody of the Navajo was given to the Bureau of Indian Affairs in January of 1867. Late in 1868, after the signing of a treaty which created a 3.5-million-acre reservation for the Navajo within their old territory, they were allowed to return home. Although this was only a small part of their previous holdings, the Navajo were happy to be going back. They soon found that their troubles were far from over, however, as they struggled to make a living in a land that had been devastated by Carleton and Carson. All their homes had been razed, they had no livestock, and their fields had been destroyed. Fort Wingate and Fort Defiance served as distribution centers for the rations which the government eventually agreed to issue to help them, but there were many delays and shortages.

More stable conditions were finally established, however, and the Navajo enjoyed a short period of prosperity and growth. About 1870, the first schools promised in the Treaty of 1868 were established, although with mixed results. Some of these boarding schools were run more like reformatories than schools and produced graduates who were prepared neither for life in white society nor life back on the reservation. In the 1880’s, the building of the railroad across New Mexico and Arizona brought new problems to the Navajo in the form of liquor, diseases, and economic exploitation. They were forced to give up much of their best range land and
water to the railroads in exchange for less desirable areas. Since 1868, the most persistent factor of Navajo life has been the struggle with whites for land. From time to time, the Navajo reservation has been extended, from the original 3.5 million acres to about 15 million acres located in an area bounded on the northeast by the Continental Divide, on the southeast by the Rio Puerco, on the south by the San Jose and Puerco rivers, on the west by the Little Colorado and Colorado rivers, and on the north by the San Juan River. The area contains more spectacular scenery than good farming and grazing land; thus, increases in land holdings have never kept pace with the needs of the people, who depend upon sheep and cattle as the basis of their economy.

The Twentieth Century. The Navajo population increased from an estimated twelve thousand to thirty-five thousand by 1930, the beginning of the so-called stock reduction period. (The first attempts at stock reduction had actually begun in the 1920’s, when the Navajo were told that they would not be given new grazing lands through congressional approval of boundary extensions until they had reduced the number of horses on the reservation.) In 1930, Indian Service foresters reported that the Navajo range was seriously overgrazed and that land erosion was an immediate problem. When the government instituted a stock reduction program, the Navajo equated it with the destruction of their culture because it affected not only their economic life but also their religious life. Sheep were essential to their entire ceremonial process, being used to pay the medicine men and to feed the large crowds who assembled for many days at a time for each ceremonial. Navajo resistance to and governmental insistence upon stock reduction caused additional misunderstanding and bitterness between the Navajo and non-Indians for many years.

The twentieth century has also seen the discovery of oil, uranium, and coal on the Navajo Reservation. It was the discovery of this mineral wealth that prompted the creation of the Navajo Tribal Council in 1938 as a major governing body authorized to decide how these new resources could be put to the best use. Prior to that, the only entity that represented the interest of all the Navajo was the Business Council, which first met in 1923. The Business Council consisted of three influential men, including Henry Chee Dodge. Dodge, an intelligent, well-educated man with great leadership abilities, helped guide the Navajo for more than seventy years.

As many scholars have observed, World War II marked the beginning of the modern Navajo world. As thousands of Navajo who served in the armed forces or were recruited to work in defense industries were exposed to life beyond the reservation for the first time, they realized that formal education and more consistent economic development were necessary for their sur-
vival. Consequently, they built a system of public schools across the Navajo Nation and, utilizing funds from the Navajo-Hopi Long Range Rehabilitation Program, provided highways and other programs to improve their economic development. Their industrial and commercial enterprises include those involving the arts and crafts; timber, oil, and gas production; power plants, and a parks and recreation department with a corps of Navajo Rangers. The center of their tribal government is housed in an attractive complex of buildings in Window Rock, Arizona.

Until recently, the Navajo did not live in groups large enough to be called villages or towns; they settled in smaller family groups in desirable locations dispersed throughout the reservation. In their matrilineal society, the grandmother is the central person in the family, and the children belong to her clan. Since it is taboo for a Navajo man to look upon or socialize with his mother-in-law, a woman and her husband do not live with the wife’s mother but have their home nearby so that mother, daughter, and grandchildren can spend much time together. The typical Navajo dwelling is still the hogan, which is round or hexagonal and built of logs and adobe, with an air vent in the center of the roof.

Navajo mother and child photographed by Ansel Adams at Canyon de Chelly, Arizona. (National Archives)
Among the Navajo, ownership of property is individual, so that wife and husband have their own to do with as they choose. The wife usually owns the house and has her own crops and livestock, which she and the children tend. Additionally, the money she makes from her pottery and weaving is hers to keep. The husband has income from his own livestock and crops, plus whatever money he earns from his jewelry making or any other kinds of employment. It is he who represents the family at ceremonials and other public functions.

**Weaving and Silversmithing.** Traditionally, it is the women who make the pottery and weave the textiles. The earliest Navajo weavings were woolen wearing blankets, made on an upright loom which was adapted from one used by the Puebloans to weave their own cotton textiles. After the establishment of trading posts on the reservation in the early 1870’s, the traders persuaded the Navajo to weave heavier textiles which could serve as rugs, having discovered that there was a market for these in the eastern United States. At the time, Turkish carpets were very popular with eastern buyers but were fairly expensive, so Turkish designs had been reproduced on linoleum—a less costly floor covering. Each trader provided the weavers in his area with samples of different Turkish designs on linoleum, declaring that he would henceforth buy nothing from them but rugs woven in these patterns. The Navajo weavers made their own adaptations from these designs, which have since evolved into the beautiful and exquisite Navajo rug of the present day.

Navajo men have always excelled in silversmithing and have led the way in the overall development of this art in the Southwest. The first smith was Atsidi Sani, who learned to work iron from a Mexican smith around 1850. He made knife blades, bits, and bridle, which he sold to earn his living. During the Bosque Redondo captivity, he taught other Navajo to work with iron, copper, and brass. After returning home, Atsidi Sani learned to work silver from the same Mexican smith and then taught his sons and other Navajo. The forms and the decorative styles originated by the Navajo have been adopted by other tribes, but Navajo silver has remained the most widely known and is the badge of distinction among the Navajo themselves.

LouAnn Faris Culley

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Neutral

**Culture area:** Northeast  
**Language group:** Iroquoian  
**Primary location:** West of Lake Ontario

A large sedentary tribe occupying palisaded villages north of Lake Erie and west of Lake Ontario in the early 1600’s, the Neutral tribe was closely related to the Huron and other Iroquoian tribes. Like these other tribes, they were organized into matrilineal clans and lived matrilocally in female-headed, extended-family longhouses and had an economy based on tobacco, corn, beans, and squash. These crops were produced by the women; men hunted and fished to round out this healthy diet. There were about fifteen thousand Neutral people by the early 1600’s. A major economic boon to these people was their monopoly on a regional supply of flint near Lake Erie. Perhaps because of this singular access to an important trade commodity, they remained neutral in the rivalry between the Hurons and the Iroquois, hence the name given to them by the French. The Hurons called them Attiwandaron, or “people who speak a language slightly different from ours.”

Despite their monopoly on an important trade item, the Neutrals were prevented from trading directly with the French by the Hurons, who wanted to preserve their middleman role between tribes to their west and the French. In addition, despite the Neutrals’ neutrality in the battle for control of trade between the Hurons and the Iroquois, the Iroquois attacked and destroyed them as a nation along with the Huron, Erie, and Tobacco tribes in 1650-1651. A few Neutrals survived as refugees along with the Hurons in the area around Lake Huron (later migrating to Quebec), but most were absorbed into Iroquois tribes by being adopted into Iroquois families by clan mothers.

Nez Perce

**Culture area:** Plateau  
**Language group:** Sahaptin (in Sahaptian language family)  
**Primary location:** Idaho  
**Population size:** 4,113 (1990 U.S. Census)
Nez Perce is the French name (meaning “pierced nose”) for one of the Sahaptin tribes located in what became Idaho. The term seems to be a misnomer, since few if any members of this Native American tribe actually pierced their noses.

The Nez Perce were the largest and most powerful component of the Sahaptin. “Sahaptin” (also spelled Shahaptin) is a collective term for a group of Indian tribes that share linguistic commonalities. All Sahaptian languages are of Penutian stock. The Sahaptin, as a collective group, inhabited an area which later became southeastern Washington, west-central Idaho, and northeastern Oregon. The Sahaptin may be divided into two major groupings, the western tribes (Molala, Tenino, and Yakima), and the eastern tribes (Nez Perce, Palouse, Cayuse, and Umatilla). The eastern and western groups differ culturally. The western Sahaptin constitute a loose tribal confederation and are generally pacifistic. The eastern tribes marry intertribally, share stronger intertribal relations, and tend to be more warlike than their western counterparts.

The Nez Perce themselves originally thrived along the lower Snake River and along its tributaries in what is now central and western Idaho, northwestern Oregon, and southeastern Washington. The staple food of the Nez Perce was dried salmon and other fish, as the Columbia River is the greatest producer of freshwater salmon in the world. In addition, their diet consisted of berries, roots, and small game, as well as deer and elk. Housing consisted of both square houses and long A-frame communal sleeping rooms that could house up to thirty families and were approximately 150 feet in length. This living style, in addition to other customs and conventions of the Nez Perce, was influenced by the Plains Indians; the Nez Perce were one of the easternmost Sahaptin tribes.

During the eighteenth century the Nez Perce became more involved in intertribal affairs, including wars with Plains tribes. This was attributable especially to the introduction of the horse around 1730. As a result, the Nez Perce participated in more distant hunting expeditions and in trade with Plains tribes beyond the Rockies. Frequently, the Nez Perce allied themselves with such groups as other Sahaptin tribes and the Umatilla, Cayuse, Walla Walla, Flathead, Spokane, and Coeur d’Alene. At various times, the enemies of the Nez Perce included the Blackfoot, Shoshone, Bannock, Crow, and Gros Ventre. Along with a greater frequency of warfare there were ushered in subsequent cultural adaptations such as war dances, equine tactics and maneuvers, and the introduction of the tipi.

The Nez Perce are particularly known for their selective breeding of horses to produce better stock. This resulted in raids upon the Nez Perce from Plains tribes so that they could improve their own herds. This selective
Joseph the Younger was chief of the Nez Perce during the turbulent 1870's, when he tried to lead his people to Canada to avoid confinement on a U.S. reservation.

(National Archives)
breeding facilitated more distant intertribal relations of which the Nez Perce became a dominating force.

The first contact with European explorers and settlers in the early nineteenth century evidently affected the Nez Perce. Shortly after the expeditions of Meriwether Lewis and William Clark between 1810-1815, traders and fur trappers flocked to the region of the Nez Perce. Later, missionaries began their influx. During the 1820’s and 1830’s, the Nez Perce themselves engaged in fur trading. This prolonged contact with foreigners contributed to epidemics among the Nez Perce, whose numbers dropped to under two thousand by 1850. This was a marked reduction in population compared with the early nineteenth century census yielding a population estimate of six thousand for the Nez Perce.

In 1855 the Nez Perce, along with other Sahaptin tribes, were pressured to sign a treaty which entitled them to a reservation consisting of various parts of their former ancestral land. Several reservations were formed for the Sahaptin peoples: Nez Perce Reservation, Colville Reservation, Yakín Reservation, Umatilla Reservation, and Warm Springs Reservation, plus other smaller reservations. Tribes were frequently broken up and collected indiscriminately when placed on reservations. It is difficult to distinguish among modern Sahaptín tribal groups or determine the ancestral traditions that were original to each.

The Nez Perce condition considerably worsened in 1860 with the discovery of gold in the Salmon and Clearwater rivers. This event led to a redrawning of reservation boundaries in 1863 by U.S. commissioners. With the loss of the Wallowa and Grande valleys, the acreage of the Nez Perce Reservation was reduced by an estimated three-fourths. There was an enormous influx of miners, settlers, and homesteaders into the area.

A period of increasing hostility and intolerance culminated in the Nez Perce War of 1877. A militant band of Nez Perce—numbering between 250 and 450—led by Chief Joseph and Looking Glass resisted U.S. Army attempts to force them onto reservation land. The Nez Perce resistance held off five thousand U.S. military troops, headed by General Oliver O. Howard, for five months. On October 5, 1877, Chief Joseph surrendered to the U.S. forces, with each side having suffered approximately 250 casualties. The 1877 surrender took place near the Montana-Canada border. The Nez Perce were subsequently sent to the Indian Territory of Oklahoma, where many perished from malaria.

In the 1970's the Nez Perce Reservation in Idaho consisted of a total population of fifteen hundred to seventeen hundred. The reservation comprised 34,000 acres of tribal land and 53,000 acres of land for individual use. Many of the surviving Nez Perce have left the Idaho reservation to join the
general U.S. populace. On the reservation, cultural traditions such as ceremonial dances and ceremonies of the Seven Drums Society are still observed. As mentioned above, the existing reservations containing Sahaptin peoples are somewhat syncretized, since many tribes were incorporated by force into the various reservations, not necessarily according to tribal distinctions.

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Bibliography


Niantic

**CULTURE AREA:** Northeast  
**LANGUAGE GROUP:** Algonquian  
**PRIMARY LOCATION:** Connecticut, Rhode Island

The Niantic, a branch of the Algonquian family, lived on the coasts of Rhode Island and Connecticut. Their name means “at a point of land on an estuary.” Evidence suggests they had lived in the area for thousands of years. They lived in permanent villages and ate a diet of fish and seafood as well as maize, beans, and pumpkins. They cooked food in clay pots, stirring it with wooden utensils, and created beautiful woven fabrics, splint baskets, and leather goods. Their houses, called wigwams, were made on a bent and lashed pole framework; in later years they often included European furniture. During the sixteenth century, the tribe was divided into the Eastern
Niantic and the Western Niantic by a series of Pequot attacks. The Western Niantic, who numbered about 600 in 1600, lived on the coast between the Connecticut River and Niantic Bay. This land was much desired by white settlers, who continually tried to take it. After their population was decimated by a series of epidemics in 1616-1619, the Western Niantic were all but wiped out by the Pequot War in 1637. Those who survived became subjects of the Mohegan. Since the nineteenth century, no one has claimed Western Niantic as his or her tribal identity. The Eastern Niantic merged with the Narragansett in the 1670’s. Population counts after the merger treated the two tribes as one group.

**Nipissing**

**Culture area:** Northeast  
**Language group:** Algonquian  
**Primary location:** Ontario

The Nipissing, a branch of the Algonquian family, were so named because the French found them in 1613 living on the shores of Lake Nipissing in Ontario, Canada. The name means “little-water people.” From the first contact with French missionaries, the Nipissing were friendly with them. They accepted Christianity but without giving up their traditional shamanism. They had steady contact with British traders after 1610 but remained allies of the French through the French and Indian War. The Nipissing lived in permanent villages along the lake, traveling throughout the fall to gather food. They grew a few crops, but fished in southern waters and traded with Cree neighbors to the north. Chiefs were elected from a group of eligible males. The Nipissing had great skill as jugglers. Reliable population counts are unavailable. Their numbers were small through recorded history. Many were killed by Iroquois attackers in the middle of the seventeenth century, and at various times groups moved away and disappeared from record. In the late nineteenth century, the last known group of Nipissing were living with other Algonquians at Lake of Two Mountains in Quebec. When the church and its records burned in 1877, the last register of Nipissing families was destroyed. Probably Nipissing descendants are included among recent counts for other tribes, but no separate population figures for the Nipissing are recorded.
Nipmuck

**CULTURE AREA:** Northeast  
**LANGUAGE GROUP:** Eastern Algonquian  
**PRIMARY LOCATION:** Central Massachusetts  
**POPULATION SIZE:** 376 (1990 U.S. Census)

The Nipmucks relied upon moose, deer, black bear, and numerous fur-bearing mammals for food and utilitarian by-products. Smaller animals, such as the hare, squirrel, weasel, and rabbit were trapped and snared, as were certain birds. Stream fishing and the gathering of roots, berries, and nuts, which stored well, supplemented the Nipmuck diet. Birchbark and willow were used extensively for containers, dwellings, and sundry other products. Winter travel was by snowshoe and toboggan. Permanent villages exercised control over an area’s resources and territory, particularly its sugar groves.

The first European American contact was with the Pilgrims at Plymouth Rock. Though little is recorded, by 1674 the New England Mission had converted some Nipmucks to Christianity. In 1675, however, many Nipmucks fought against the colonists in King Philip’s War, with many then fleeing to Canada or to tribes on the Hudson River. Their population was estimated to be five hundred in 1600 but had declined in 1910 to eighty-one, largely because of European American diseases, conflict with settlers, and low birthrates.

Nisqually

**CULTURE AREA:** Northwest Coast  
**LANGUAGE GROUP:** Salishan  
**PRIMARY LOCATION:** Washington State  
**POPULATION SIZE:** 447 (1990 U.S. Census)

The socially stratified Nisqually lived in permanent winter villages of split-planked rectangular houses. They were dependent upon both marine and land resources for food, practiced a definite yearly subsistence round of travel, and observed a strict division of labor.

The 1850 Donation Act of Oregon allowed settlers to acquire and settle on lands belonging to the Nisqually and others. The 1855 treaties of Point No Point, Point Elliott, and Medicine Creek reserved small tracts of land that eventually became reservations, including the Nisqually Reservation.
Chief Leschi, who incited unrest among numerous groups, refused to accept the 1855 Medicine Creek Treaty. The U.S. Army occupied and eventually expropriated two-thirds of the Nisqually Reservation in 1917, forcing some inhabitants to relocate on other reservations. Other tribes lost valuable waterfront property to the expanding city of Tacoma. Many Nisqually live on the Chehalis Reservation, along with some Clallam, Muckleshoot, Quinault, and Chehalis.

Nooksack

**Culture area:** Northwest Coast  
**Language group:** Salishan  
**Primary location:** Washington State  
**Population size:** 840 (1990 U.S. Census)

The Nooksack were a little-known tribe of the Central Coast Salish, who once had close socioeconomic relations with the contiguous Upriver and Downriver Halkomelem. All the twenty permanent winter villages were river-oriented for travel and subsistence. Sea mammals were prized, along with eulachon, for oil. Land animals were hunted and trapped by men, whereas women gathered and collected roots, tubers, berries, fruits, and nuts.

The peoples of the Strait of Juan de Fuca were first contacted in 1787 by Charles Barkley, and in 1808 Simon Fraser of the North West Company charted the river which now bears his name. By 1811 land-based fur traders established themselves at the mouth of the Columbia, bringing considerable change to the Nooksack. By the 1870’s and 1880’s some Nooksack acquired homesteads in the Nooksack Valley, but considerable damage was done to salmon fishing—by 1900 there were at least seventy canneries at the mouth of the Columbia River.

Nootka

**Culture area:** Northwest Coast  
**Language group:** Wakashan  
**Primary location:** West coast of Vancouver Island  
**Population size:** 4,325 (Statistics Canada, based on 1991 census)
The Nootka tribe may be an isolated representative of early Mongoloid hunters and fishers. The Nootka and the Nitinat subtribe are referred to as the “West Coast People.” They have increasingly disliked appellations imposed by outsiders, however (Nootka is a white name), and since 1980 they have referred to themselves as “Nuu-chah-nulth.”

At the first contact with Europeans in 1778, the Nootkans numbered about nine thousand to ten thousand and lived in twenty-five villages of different sizes along two hundred miles of coastline. The Nootka were a technologically capable people who were skilled hunters, fishers, and whalers. Land animals were a secondary food source. They amassed an abundance of food, which permitted lavish ceremonial feasts (convivial social gatherings) and potlatches. The potlatches allowed the host to distribute surplus wealth and gain honor status.

There was a highest-ranking chief for all the Nootka villages, a position obtained through titles and wealth. Maquinna and Wickanninish of the Clayoquot subdivision were two powerful chieftains. (Chiefs acted more as representatives of the various villages than as absolute rulers.)

Social and political life centered on the extended family, which lived together. The extended family cooperated to meet its needs and to amass wealth and status. Slaves were also kept. The family was presided over by a hereditary (patrilineal) chief. Although the extended family unit was autonomous, a number of families often wintered together, sometimes forming confederacies.

The spirit world was very much a part of Nootkan culture, and Nootkans often prayed for power to the Four Chiefs of Above, Horizon, Land, and Underseas. Two major ceremonies were the Wolf Ritual, to initiate a son or young relative, and the Doctoring Ritual, to help sick people.

A combination of disease, warfare, and integration into the white-controlled commercial economy caused a significant decline in population beginning
in the late 1700’s. A population low of 1,605 occurred in 1939, but numbers have gradually and steadily increased since then. The Nootkans’ integration into the commercial economy capitalized on their native ways. They supplied furs, dogfish oil, seal pelts, and curios as well as becoming involved in commercial fishing and logging.

In 1871 the Nootkans became part of the Canadian Indian reserve system; missionary work began in 1875. By 1900 about 60 percent were at least nominally converted. During the 1960’s and 1970’s a pan-Nootkan or independence movement developed in order to establish a positive identity, control Nootkan affairs, and act as a counterpoint to assimilation into Canadian society. From the 1930’s to 1958 the Nootkans belonged to the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia. In 1958 they formed their own organization, the West Coast Allied Tribes, later changed to the West Coast District Council, then to the Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council. A primary goal has been to obtain recognition of aboriginal land titles and to pursue land claims settlements.

Nottaway

**Culture Area:** Northeast

**Language Group:** Iroquoian

**Primary Location:** Virginia

The Nottaway, a branch of the Iroquoian family, lived in southeastern Virginia on the Nottaway River. They called themselves Cheroenhaka but were known to the Algonquians as Mangoac and Nadowa ("adders," a common name for non-Algonquian neighbors). They lived in permanent villages and maintained little contact between villages. They lived mainly by growing crops but were also skilled hunters and gatherers. Corn was the most important crop, and women and girls seem to have done most of the field work. The Nottaway dialect was similar to that of the Tuscarora, the largest of the early Iroquoian tribes of the Virginia-North Carolina coastal plain. The Nottaway were not much affected at first by the expanding of the Jamestown colony in the seventeenth century. As trade grew after 1650, however, and as a major trade route passed through Nottaway lands, tensions increased. In the aftermath of Bacon’s Rebellion in 1677, the Nottaway and their neighbors became subject to the dominance of the Virginia colonists. Through the next century they were pushed onto smaller and smaller allotments of land. They intermarried with free blacks and adopted
European ways of life. In 1824 the Virginia legislature officially voted to terminate legal tribal status for the Nottaway. They tried for many years to maintain their identity and lasted longer than many of their neighbors, but intermarriage and geographical displacement made it impossible. William Lamb, the last person claiming Nottaway identity, died in 1963.

Ocaneechi

**Culture area:** Southeast  
**Language group:** Siouan  
**Primary location:** Virginia, North Carolina

The small tribe of river-oriented Ocaneechi were horticulturalists about which little is known ethnographically. They had two chiefs, one who presided over warfare, and the other over matters concerning planting and hunting. Their so-called tribal symbol was a serpent. They are first recorded in 1670 as inhabiting a large island in the Roanoke River. Apparently, they later established and maintained close socioeconomic relations with the Tutelo and the Saponi, who shared the same language and who settled on two adjacent islands. In 1676, the Conestoga sought protection from the Ocaneechi against the English and Iroquois, but later the Conestoga attempted to dispose of their benefactors and were driven away. In time, after continual conflict with the Iroquois and Virginians, the Ocaneechi left their island and settled in North Carolina.

Ofo

**Culture area:** Southeast  
**Language group:** Siouan  
**Primary location:** Mississippi

Beginning in 1673, under pressure from the Iroquois, a Siouan tribe of eight villages moved in successive stages from the area of the upper Ohio River to land located on the Yazoo River in Mississippi. They were known as the Ofogoula (translated by some as “Dog People” and by others simply as “People”), Ofo (a contraction of Ofogoula), and Mosopelea. The first historical reference to the Ofo, in 1699, refers to a village of Ofogoulas
among six river villages. In 1721, a mixed village of Ofogoulas and Curoas, consisting of approximately 250 persons, was reported.

In 1729, the Natchez Revolt against the French occurred; the Ofo refused to participate, moved south, and became allies of the French. In 1739, they joined the French in attacking the Chickasaw, and in 1764, they participated in a French attack on an English convoy on the Mississippi River. Many of the Ofo were killed. In 1784, a dozen or so were found with the Tunica Indians in a village on the Mississippi, eight miles north of Point Coupée. Following 1784, no mention is made of the Ofo in books. In 1908, the last surviving Ofo speaker was discovered. The woman, named Rosa Pierrette, had been taught the language by her grandmother, and all other remaining members of the Ofo tribe had died when she was young. She was interviewed, and she confirmed the name of the tribe and many of its cultural practices. She also provided a substantial amount of the Ofo language, enough to enable the publication in 1912 of an Ofo dictionary by the Smithsonian Institution.

Ojibwa

**Culture Area:** Northeast  
**Language Group:** Algonquian  
**Primary Location:** Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan, upper Great Lakes area, southern Ontario  
**Population Size:** 103,826 in U.S. (1990 U.S. Census); 76,335 in Canada (Statistics Canada, based on 1991 census)

The Ojibwa, ancestors of the modern Chippewa, Ojibwa, Mississauga, and Saulteaux, resided along the eastern shore of Georgian Bay, the north shore of Lake Huron, and west onto Michigan’s Upper Peninsula before European contact. Changing residence with the seasons, they depended on hunting, fishing, and trading. The Ojibwas’ basic sociopolitical units were small bands that traveled after game. No overall political organization united the bands. In the early 1600’s, the Ojibwa encountered Samuel de Champlain, Jesuit missionaries, and *coureurs de bois* (French trappers).

After 1650, the Ojibwa suffered setbacks from Iroquois raiders and their number declined substantially; however, they recovered before the century ended and pushed their way south, actively involved in the fur trade. Antoine Laumet de Lamothe Cadillac helped draw the Ojibwa south by establishing Detroit in 1701. One effect of the fur trade was growth in band
populations and concentrations around trading posts; another was expansion of the band leader’s authority and the evolution of leader into a hereditary position. The Ojibwa joined Pontiac in his war against the British in 1763.

In the late 1700’s, Ojibwa began ceding land to the British and then to the Americans in the 1800’s. Between the 1820’s and 1860’s, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota Ojibwa ceded much of their lands and were confined to small reservations; only a small number acquiesced to being removed to Kansas. Through the nineteenth century, non-Indians acquired and exhausted many of the natural resources upon which the Ojibwa traditionally depended. Between 1820 and 1840, some Ojibwa adjusted by becoming farmers, raising hay, wheat, oats, peas, Indian corn, and potatoes, and keeping livestock; others found wage opportunities in the lumber industries.

Ojibwas adapted in many ways to the changing world during the nineteenth century. They integrated Victorian fashions with traditional dress of buckskin breechcloth, leggings, and moccasins, sold native-made goods to non-Indians, and built log cabins to replace the dome-shaped wigwam covered with birchbark and cattail matting. Still, many continued to draw a living from what they gathered and continued to construct wooden utensils, birchbark containers, canoes, and cedar cradleboards.

**Traditional Society.** Status was earned in Ojibwa society through success as warriors, civil leaders, or shamans. Marriages were usually monogamous; polygyny was acceptable but rare. Individuals belonged to clans which were exogamous and patrilineal—children were born into their father’s clan and could not marry another of the same clan. Clan rules remain important into the twenty-first century. Children are highly valued, and child rearing was traditionally permissive. Fathers prepared sons, and mothers prepared daughters for adulthood. The most significant event in a
child’s life came at puberty, with boys making a vision quest for a guardian spirit. It was not expected, but girls could also have a vision at this phase. Kinship continues to be a strong binding force in Ojibwa society.

According to the Ojibwa religion, spirits reside in most things and places, and a supreme spirit presides over all. One can satisfy spirits with offerings to avoid suffering the consequences of offending them. Dreams are interpreted as revelations from the spirits. The Midewiwin, or Medicine Dance, existed before the Drum Dance and peyote cult were introduced around the beginning of the twentieth century.

**Twentieth Century.** The most significant change to occur in the twentieth century was the move to urban centers. The Depression struck the Ojibwa hard because they were already poor, but World War II offered economic opportunities as factories turned to war production, drawing Ojibwa away from their homes and into the cities. The trend continued under the federal government’s relocation policies during the 1950’s. During the 1960’s and 1970’s, many Ojibwas were involved in Indian activism and began to demand that the state and federal governments uphold the treaties they had signed. Many Ojibwa continue to be involved in gaining federal recognition in order to benefit from the promises made to their predecessors.

_Sean O’Neill_

**Bibliography**


Okanagan

**Culture area:** Plateau

**Language group:** Salishan

**Primary location:** British Columbia, Washington State

**Population size:** 2,275 in Canada (Statistics Canada, based on 1991 census); smaller population in U.S.

Initially the Okanagan (also spelled “Okanogan” and “Okana-gon”) comprised two groups, the Northern Okanagan and Southern Okanagan (also known as the Sinkaietk). The Northern Okanagan lived near the Canadian boundary in the present province of British Columbia, and the Southern Okanagan inhabited the area around the Okanagan River, a tributary of the Columbia River, in north-central Washington.

The Southern Okanagan practiced the culture of the Plateau tribes, and their interaction with coastal tribes was minimal. The Okanagan followed a seasonal cycle. In the winter they lived in permanent camps, some in subterranean housing but most in a long mat lodge. A few lived in tipis. During the winter, they depended on the resources they had collected during the spring, summer, and fall, supplemented by whatever they could hunt or fish. Their principal food source was salmon, but deer were also important to their diet.

With the coming of spring, the gathering of food began to replenish the exhausted winter supply and the tribe became mobile, breaking up into different groups. One of the first activities was fishing for suckers, followed by steelhead trout. The most important fishing, however, took place in the summer salmon camps. Weirs were built to aid the capture of large catches. The salmon that were caught were either dried or frozen. All the available salmon were taken, and the old women of the camp would even pick up the dead salmon that had spawned and prepare them. Almost the entire salmon would be used, including the head.
Another food source was the variety of available roots and berries. Camps were established to gather the camas root, along with the numerous berries, including huckleberries, red or orange foam berries, and serviceberries. By fall, the Okanagan hunted deer, from which they used not only the meat but also the skins for clothing. Preparations were under way for winter camp by late fall.

Other aspects of Okanagan culture included a shaman and a dream cult. Aboriginal culture persisted throughout the nineteenth century, and although the horse probably was introduced by the 1840’s, it did not appear to have much effect on Okanagan culture. The Okanagan traded with the Hudson’s Bay Company in the nineteenth century, which is probably how they acquired the horse.

Unlike many of the other Plateau tribes, the Okanagan did not enter into a treaty with the United States government until 1891—and this treaty was never ratified. In addition to the fur traders, their contacts with European Americans were through Roman Catholic missionaries, miners, and settlers. The Okanagan did not fight in any of the major Plateau wars with the whites, such as the Yakima War. They were unhappy, however, with the creation of the Moses Reservation in the 1860’s; it was located on their land, but it only lasted until 1884. Upon termination of the reservation, many Okanagans remained in the area. Others lived in the area of the Colville Reservation, which also included traditional Okanagan land. The Colville Reservation was first established in 1872 and became a home to the descendants of the Southern Okanagan, Colville, Sinkiuse, Senijextee, Nez Perce, Methow, Entiat, Nespelem, Sanpoil, Wenatchi, and Palouse. Its official governing body is the Business Council of the Colville Reservation.

Numerous claims have been filed by Salish and other Northwest tribes with the federal government for compensation regarding land and fishing rights. One of the claims dates back to the 1891 treaty, which was never ratified, in which the Okanagan were one of the tribes that agreed to cede 1.5 million acres for $1.5 million. An additional payment was awarded. Other claims concern lost fishing rights with the construction of dams, such as the Grand Coulee. The present-day economy derives revenue from timber and gambling.

Old Copper culture

**Date:** c. 3000-700 B.C.E.

**Location:** Wisconsin, Upper Peninsula of Michigan

**Culture Affected:** Late Archaic
Approximately 3000 B.C.E., there appeared in the region from the Great Lakes to New York State and in the St. Lawrence River valley a culture known as Lake Forest Late Archaic. Within that cultural tradition, there was a subtradition known as Old Copper. In a few areas of the world, native outcroppings of relatively pure copper occur at or near the surface of the earth. One of those areas includes the Brule River basin of northeast Wisconsin, the Keweenaw Peninsula of Michigan, and part of the northern shore of Lake Superior and its Isle Royale.

Approximately 3000 B.C.E., natives of that area began to exploit these natural copper resources and a wide variety of western Lake Forest peoples continued to use those resources for more than two thousand years, and even to some extent until the arrival of white fur-traders in the area after 1650 C.E. The copper was used to make a wide variety of items. These included axe and adze blades, gouges, ulus (curved blade knives), wood-splitting wedges, and many types of awls. Fishhooks and gorges, and even gaffs for landing the catch, have also been found. Most common in the early period were the socketed and tanged spearheads and arrow points and barbed harpoons of a hunting culture. Though made of a very different and usually superior material, these copper items bear a striking resemblance to the slate tools of the Lake Forest peoples. It is almost certain that the lifestyles of the groups were very similar.

The Old Copper peoples learned to quarry the relatively pure copper sheets and nuggets from under moderately thin layers of soil. They then heated the copper, just as stone was sometimes heated prior to chipping. The copper then would be hammered into the shapes desired. Since many of the recovered designs are quite delicate, the technical ability of the Old Copper metal workers must have been quite skillful. Finally, the material would be annealed—slowly cooled, probably in water to increase strength and reduce brittleness.

The Old Copper culture exhibited one of the best evidences of transition from the Late Archaic period to the Early Woodland after 2000 B.C.E. Burial practices became much more elaborate, including a characteristic use of red ochre to cover the burial materials. This type of burial spread throughout the eastern United States, including into the celebrated Adena area of Ohio. Copper axes and adzes became common burial items, and thousands of copper beads indicate personal decoration was quite important. These copper items were spread throughout the eastern Woodlands areas by trade routes that dominated that society. When the copper items appeared outside the immediate Old Copper area, they were highly prized, and the appearance of copper burial items is one of the best indications of the social prominence of the person being buried.
After about 700 B.C.E., the amounts of readily available copper decreased and the Old Copper subculture disappeared. Some items, however, were still being made of copper when the French fur traders first reached the Lake Superior area in the 1650’s.

Olmec

**Culture Area:** Mesoamerica  
**Language Group:** Olmecan  
**Primary Location:** Southeastern Mexico

The Olmecs flourished between 1200 and 400 B.C.E. in the humid tropical lowlands of what is now the state of Veracruz in southeastern Mexico. The name “Olmec” was given arbitrarily to these ancient people by twentieth century archaeologists. It means “the people of rubber” in Nahuatl, the language of the Aztecs. The Olmecs were probably the first true civilization of ancient Mexico. Olmec culture spread throughout Mesoamerica, a region that includes southern Mexico and parts of Central America, and had great influence on later civilizations. Unrecognized before the middle of the twentieth century, the first evidence of Olmec culture was uncovered by José María Melgar in 1862. He found a gigantic carved stone head with features similar to those of Africans. It took nearly one hundred years, however, and many more discoveries of large and small artifacts, to convince archaeologists that this was a distinct and original culture.

While the large stone heads, measuring as much as 10 feet in height and weighing up to 20 tons, have sparked theories of African contact with prehistoric America, there is no consensus on their purpose or their meaning. Other, smaller statues depict individuals with different features, and the image most often found is that of a creature half jaguar and half human.

Although the land was fertile (the staple of the Olmec diet was maize), evidence suggests that the population was relatively small and not clustered into true cities. Archaeological remains show, instead, ceremonial centers, where conical-shaped pyramids and burial mounds were located. The Olmecs may have performed human sacrifices to a jaguar deity who was seen as a creation god. There is also evidence of a fire god as well as an early form of the Feathered Serpent deity that would play such an important role among later indigenous populations.

One of the most startling discoveries associated with the Olmecs was a system of mathematical symbols. Archaeologists had believed that the
“long count” calendar, based on counting time from a base year, was developed by the Maya. In 1939, however, Matthew Stirling discovered a recorded date that was centuries earlier than the Maya, showing that the Olmecs had first developed this method of counting years. Using a bar for five, dots for ones, and a shell symbol for zero, the Olmecs had a numerical system that could go into the thousands. The Olmecs also produced an early form of hieroglyphic writing. One hundred and eighty-two symbols have been identified as having some form of specific meaning.

The spread of Olmec culture in art, religion, writing, and mathematics throughout coastal regions and into Central America has led to the belief that the Olmecs created the “mother civilization” of the region. Nevertheless, arguments persist as to whether the Olmecs conquered and controlled an empire or whether trade and other contacts spread their accomplishments.

Omaha

**Culture area:** Plains  
**Language group:** Siouan  
**Primary location:** Nebraska, Iowa  
**Population size:** 4,143 (1990 U.S. Census)

The Omaha moved from the eastern forests to the Missouri River between Iowa and Nebraska shortly before their first contact with European Americans. They became part-time buffalo hunters but clung to their Woodland agricultural practices as well. The Sioux and Pawnee were their most consistent enemies, and the Ponca were their closest relatives and allies. Their relationships with whites were often strained, but they were never at war with the colonial powers or with the United States. They have recently reclaimed their most sacred tribal symbols from the museums in which they were placed in the late nineteenth century.

**Early History and Traditional Lifestyle.** The Omaha lived in the forests of eastern North America with four related tribes until around 1500, at which time the tribes moved west to the Mississippi and Missouri rivers. The Omaha became established on the Missouri near Omaha, Nebraska, probably pushing the Arikara north in the process.

They continued to grow corn, beans, squash, and other vegetables in the river’s flood plain, but also moved into the Plains twice a year (spring and autumn) to hunt buffalo. Buffalo provided many of the tribe’s needs: meat;
hides for robes, clothing and tipi covers; shoulder blades for hoes; and more. The Omaha lived in earthlodges in their villages along the river, but in tipis while hunting buffalo. Dogs pulling travois carried their belongings in migrations across the Plains until the Omaha obtained horses in the middle of the eighteenth century.

The Omaha hunted over most of Nebraska. There they encountered Sioux or Pawnee hunting parties, with whom they often fought over hunting rights. Each of those tribes occasionally attacked the Omahas’ earth-lodge villages as well. The Ponca were usually allied with the Omaha against the Sioux and Pawnee. Occasionally, the Ponca joined the Sioux against the Omaha, or Pawnee and Omaha hunted together, reversing the more common relationships.

The social and spiritual life of the Omaha was more or less typical of Plains Indians. Men hunted, butchered, made and decorated their shields, bows and arrows, and fought to defend the tribe. Women cooked, preserved meat and other foods for future use, gardened, made and decorated clothes and tipi covers, and raised the tipi at a new campsite and took it down in preparation for a move. Both sexes participated in building the earthlodges.

To the Omaha, all aspects of nature were sacred and part of a vast network of natural interactions, with which they interacted through elaborate rituals and symbols. They did not develop the Sun Dance, which nearly every other Plains tribe practiced, but had other dances and ceremonies. A sacred pole and white buffalo robe were the tribe’s most important spiritual symbols. Each of the two main divisions of the tribe, the earth people and sky people, had a sacred pipe.

The vision quest, in which a young man fasted in the wilderness hoping for a spiritual experience to give him special power, was a part of growing up for most Omaha boys. Men belonged to warrior societies, some of which were made up of men who had similar vision quest experiences. For most societies, however, eligibility depended on age, bravery, and service. At one time, Omaha chiefs were determined by hereditary lineages, but this changed to the more typical Plains system of choosing chiefs according to the criteria above.

**Transition and Modern Life.** The Omaha were never at war with the United States. They agreed to a series of treaties that eventually left them with a small reservation in Nebraska and Iowa. Their transition to the agricultural context of reservation life was probably easier than that of other Plains tribes, because they were part-time farmers before the accompanying restrictions were imposed. They share many of the problems of Indian tribes throughout the country, however—lack of education, poverty, and loss of native culture.
In the last half of the twentieth century, the Omaha have initiated several efforts to overcome these problems. They have regained possession of their sacred pole and sacred white buffalo robe, and have taken steps to preserve the Omaha language. They have sued the United States to recover a small portion of tribal land. Not every effort can be expected to succeed, but these and other efforts indicate the determination of the Omaha to maintain their culture and improve conditions for tribal members.

Carl W. Hoagstrom

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Oneida

**Culture area:** Northeast  
**Language group:** Iroquoian  
**Primary location:** New York State, Ontario, Wisconsin  
**Population size:** 11,564 in U.S. (1990 U.S. Census); estimated 5,000 in Canada

One of the five (later six) tribes of the Iroquois Confederacy, the Oneidas were ancestrally located between the Onondagas to their west and the Mohawks to their east in what is now central New York State. Their language is very similar to other Iroquois languages; the name “Oneida” means “people of the standing stone.” The Oneidas were at times overshadowed by the larger Onondaga and Mohawk tribes, and they attempted to rectify this imbalance at times in the Grand Council of the Confederacy when it met at Onondaga. The Oneidas held nine of the fifty seats in the Grand Council. Like all other Iroquois tribes, they adhered to a matrilineal clan system in which the matron of each clan appointed the sachem (chief) for each clan. The sachem participated in political activity at both the local and confederacy levels. The three Oneida clans are the Turtle, Bear, and Wolf clans.

Oneida society was traditionally matrilocal in that a marrying couple would live with the wife’s family in her extended-family longhouse. A longhouse was made of poles or saplings as a frame, with the walls filled in with bark. These dwellings could be up to 70 feet long and could house up to thirty people or more. There were anywhere from ten to fifty longhouses in a village. Particularly after contact with Europeans, the villages were female-oriented places, as the men were often traveling for purposes of hunting, fishing, trading, and warfare. Women were the main breadwinners, growing and harvesting corn, beans, and squash, the staples of Iroquoian horticulture. The ceremonial cycle of Oneida (Iroquois) life made
plain this orientation toward horticulture: the Maple Sugar Festival, the Green Corn Ceremony, the Strawberry Festival, the Harvest Festival, and the Midwinter Festival framed the religious year.

Increased contact with the French, Dutch, and English in the 1600’s meant that Oneida society changed greatly. In addition to the escalation of warfare over the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, disease epidemics took their toll on the Oneida people. They numbered about one thousand in 1677 but probably had much greater numbers before European contact. The patterns of warfare changed during the American Revolution when most of the Oneidas broke with the rest of the confederacy and sided with the Americans. Following this war, the Oneidas assumed that they would be able to retain their homeland, but they were increasingly marginalized by the U.S. government, which tried to convince them to move to Kansas. This was unsuccessful, but one faction of Oneidas did purchase a tract of land in Wisconsin and moved there in the 1820’s. Others moved to Ontario and resided on an Oneida reserve on the Thames River near the Six Nations reserve, and still others moved to the Six Nations reserve itself. All the Oneidas—in Ontario, New York, and Wisconsin—have seen their landholdings dwindle at the hands of various governments and land speculators. The Ontario and New York Oneidas have remained more traditional than their Wisconsin counterparts. They still have matron-appointed sachemships and include some fluent Oneida speakers. Many of the traditional ceremonies, along with newer ones incorporated in the Handsome Lake religion (Longhouse religion), are still practiced. Oneidas living at the Six Nations reserve and on the Onondaga reservation in New York are minorities within these larger communities. The tiny remaining Oneida reservation in the ancestral homeland east of Syracuse, New York, is the site
of the first tribal casino to open with the sanction of the New York state government, made possible partly because of a land claims case won by the Oneida tribe.

Oneota

**DATE:** c. 800-1500  
**LOCATION:** Upper Mississippi River valley  
**CULTURES AFFECTED:** Early Iowa, Missouri, Oto, Winnebago; later Osage, Sioux

The Oneota are considered both a people and a cultural tradition. This tradition appears to have developed from the Late Woodland or Upper Mississippian tradition by times variously given as 400 to 800 C.E. The sites identified as emergent Oneota are located in Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Illinois, but later sites occur in Iowa, Missouri, North Dakota, Indiana, and the near corner of Michigan. The society was a mixture of hunter-gatherer and agricultural, with permanently established villages and houses. The houses, usually of wattle and daub construction with sod roofs, were single-family dwellings only 6- or 8-feet square in the early settlements; but some of the later ones featured longhouses as much as 90 feet in length. A late site near Cahokia, Illinois (a few miles from East St. Louis), had some twelve to fifteen hundred inhabitants and appears to have been a center for barter with other tribes. This was the exception, however; most villages had only one or two hundred residents, although they spread out to as much as a hundred acres in cultivated area.

The artifacts most often used to distinguish the Oneota tradition from others are their pottery vessels, which are smooth and globular with handles in pairs (when present), and with the upper half of the vessel decorated with line patterns of various sorts. Stone artifacts are found also: scrapers, drills, knives, and characteristic small, unnotched projectile points. Animal bones were used for needles, beads, fishhooks, and flint flakers, with scapulas of elk and buffalo serving as hoes. Some metal was used, mostly for personal ornaments.

The Oneota appear to have had extensive contact with surrounding Indian groups, including the trade already mentioned. At some time after 1400 or 1500 C.E., when written history in the European style commences, the account of the Oneota becomes that of the individual tribes in the Upper Mississippi area.
Onondaga

**CULTURE AREA:** Northeast  
**LANGUAGE GROUP:** Iroquoian  
**PRIMARY LOCATION:** New York State, Ontario  
**POPULATION SIZE:** 1,500 in U.S. (1990 U.S. Census); estimated 3,000 in Canada

In the Onondaga language, the name “Onondaga” means “people of the hill”; the main Onondaga village was on a hill southeast of present-day Syracuse, New York. The Onondaga tribe was the geographically central tribe of the Five (later Six) Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy. The capital of the confederacy was therefore at this main Onondaga village, and the Onondagas were the Keepers of the Council Fire of the confederacy. The main speaker of the council was always an Onondaga, as was the keeper of the council wampum. The Great Council of the Confederacy, which met each autumn and in emergency situations, was composed of fifty sachems (chiefs) from the five tribes. The Onondaga held fourteen of these hereditarily chosen sachemships, more than any other tribe. These rules were set down some time before European contact (estimates vary widely, from the 1300’s to the 1500’s) by the founders of the Iroquois League or Confederacy, Hiawatha and Deganawida.

The Onondaga tribe was organized into matrilineal clans: Wolf, Bear, Beaver, Turtle, Deer, Eagle, and Heron. Clan sachems were appointed by the clan matrons, the senior women of each clan. The Onondagas were also matrilocal, in that a marrying couple would live with the wife’s family in an extended-family longhouse made of poles and bark. Each longhouse accommodated up to thirty people, and there could be from twenty to fifty longhouses in a village. The Onondaga population around 1600 was probably more than two thousand.

While men hunted for game and practiced warfare and trade at great distances, Onondaga women tended the fields adjacent to their villages, carrying on the main economic subsistence of the community. Corn, beans, and squash, along with sunflowers and tobacco, were the main crops grown by the women. The seasonal cycle of religious ceremonies reflected the importance of agriculture to the Onondagas: the Maple Sugar Festival, the Strawberry Festival, the Green Corn Ceremony, the Harvest Festival, and the Midwinter Ceremonies.

The Onondagas, along with the other Iroquois tribes, became involved in a spiral of warfare and imperialism in the seventeenth century which did
not end until the war of the American Revolution. In the latter conflict, the vast majority of them, including the Onondagas, sided with the British and lost most of their ancestral lands across New York State. The Onondagas did manage to retain a reservation southeast of present-day Syracuse, but many Onondagas settled instead on the Six Nations reserve along the Grand River in what is now Ontario, Canada. Many who remained in what is now New York State were living at Buffalo Creek, a predominantly Seneca community. Eventually, most Onondagas at Buffalo Creek made their way back to the Onondaga reservation near Syracuse.

The issue of rightful location of the seat of the Iroquois Confederacy became one of great contention among the Iroquois; the Grand River Onondagas claimed that the seat was at their Six Nations reserve, but the Buffalo Creek community also claimed the seat. The Buffalo Creek group acceded to the group at the Onondaga reservation, but a conflict still exists between the Onondagas (and all Iroquois) of the Grand River (Canadian) reserve and the Onondagas in their ancient homeland as to which council fire is the legitimate one.

The New York Onondagas still use the traditional method of deciding political leadership; the matrons of each clan appoint leaders. They are involved in ongoing negotiations with New York State and the federal government over sovereignty issues. The Canadian Onondagas are split into two governmental factions, traditional and elected leadership, and the Canadian government recognizes only the latter. The Onondaga language is still spoken by many older tribal members, and children learn it in school. Some adhere to Christian denominations, but at least a quarter of Onondaga people in both Ontario and New York practice the traditional Iroquois religion, the Longhouse religion, which is a mix of pre-contact belief systems and Christian ideas institutionalized by the prophet Handsome Lake in the early nineteenth century.

Osage

**Culture area:** Plains  
**Language group:** Siouan (Dhegiha)  
**Primary location:** Oklahoma  
**Population size:** 9,527 (1990 U.S. Census)

The Osage are one of five tribes in the Dhegiha group of the Siouan linguistic family. Osage is a French corruption of the tribal name Wa-
At the time of first white contact, the Osage lived primarily in western Missouri. Tribal legend and archaeological evidence suggest, however, that the ancient Osage lived east of the Mississippi River.

**Traditional Life.** Among early Plains tribes (before the introduction of the horse), the Osage held high rank. Although they depended heavily on the buffalo, the Osage also developed a strong agricultural base; they relied on dogs as beasts of burden before the horse. Their villages were permanent. Their lodges were wood frames covered with woven mats or bark, and they ranged from 36 to 100 feet long. As buffalo grew scarce in the Mississippi Valley, bands were forced to extend hunting trips farther onto the Plains.

The Osage comprised two divisions (moieties): the Tzisho, or Sky People, and the Hunkah, or Land People. These moieties were then divided into twenty-one clans, with each person inheriting his or her father’s clan. The chief of the Tzisho division was the peace chief, while the war chief came from the Hunkah. Since the early nineteenth century, there also existed three political groups: the Great Osage, the Little Osage, and the Arkansas Osage. In marriage, spouses were required to be from opposite moieties, and a man who married an oldest daughter also held marriage rights to his wife’s younger sisters, a form of polygamy. The Osage believed in a supernatural life force, Wakonda, which they believed resided in all things. Shamans provided religious leadership, although there also existed a religious society to which both men and women belonged. Physically, the Osage have been a noticeably tall tribe; they often adorned themselves with tattoos.

**History.** The first recorded contact with the Osage was by French explorers Father Jacques Marquette and Louis Jolliet (1673). The French subsequently established a lucrative trade and a strong alliance with the Osage. Trade made the Osage a significant force among Plains tribes. The Osage recognized their strategic position in the Plains trade as middlemen and as gatekeepers to the region and were persistent in protecting that advantage. Trade rivalry existed within the tribe, however, and ultimately caused factionalism. In the mid-1790’s, trader Auguste Chouteau established a post on the Arkansas River in Oklahoma and persuaded a large faction to locate there permanently, thus creating the Arkansas Band.

In 1808, the Osage ceded the northern half of Arkansas and most of Missouri to the United States, and the Great and Little Osage bands moved to the Neosho River in Kansas. This area became the center of tribal life. As the government removed eastern tribes to Indian Territory, however, clashes between the Osage and removed Cherokee over hunting rights to the region escalated into a long, bloody war. United States agent William Lovely finally convinced the Osage to cede the region to the Cherokee in 1817. Still, hostilities continued, including one of the bloodiest Indian battles in Okla-
homa history, the battle of Claremore Mound.

By 1825, the Osage had ceded all their lands to the United States through treaties and were given a reservation (in present-day southern Kansas) in Indian Territory. During this time, Protestant missionaries established among the Osage some of the first missions and schools in the region, though later they were replaced by Roman Catholic missionaries.

After the outbreak of the Civil War, Confederate commissioner Albert Pike was able to secure the allegiance of many Osage to the south, though many sided with the Union as well. This factionalism created tension among tribal members, already suffering from the ravages of white guerrilla raiders. After the war, the Union used the tribe’s Confederate allegiance to secure large land cessions through Reconstruction treaties. Ultimately, the Osage were forced to sell all their lands to the government and use the proceeds to purchase a new reservation in the eastern end of the Cherokee Outlet (all of present-day Osage County, Oklahoma).

The post-Civil War years were hard on the tribe, bringing a nearly 50 percent decline in the tribe’s population because of poor medical aid and a scarcity of food and clothing. The buffalo were gone, and the land given the Osage was the poorest in Indian Territory for agriculture. The range-cattle industry of the 1880’s, however, offered some economic relief for the tribe; they leased grazing rights to cattlemen. Some very lucrative oil and gas deposits were then discovered under the barren Osage lands. The royalties received from the leases on these resources catapulted the Osage from an impoverished to an indulgent lifestyle and have since provided the financial foundation of the Osage Nation. Because of their shrewd leasing arrangements, the Osage have become one of the wealthiest of Indian nations on a per capita basis.
Modern Life. Osage interests are governed by an eight-member tribal council, along with the principal chief and assistant chief, with the ever-present supervision of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The Osage Agency, located at Pawhuska, Oklahoma, is unlike other agencies in Oklahoma in that all expenses accrued are paid with tribal funds. One of the biggest issues the tribe has had to confront in the twentieth century has been tribal membership: The tribe’s wealth has made citizenship in the nation an enticing relationship. Because of the wealth that oil brought to the tribe, the name Osage was once synonymous with profligate spending. Wealth also brought conflict, and many tribal members have been torn between modernity and traditional ways. Ultimately, the tribe realized the necessity of moderation, and in that light the oil industry has given the tribe economic independence and great advantages in educational and societal matters. Even with the wealth and modernity which have threatened to eradicate the traditional Osage ways, the tribe has retained interest in its culture, arts, crafts, and language.

S. Matthew Despain

Bibliography

Oto

**Culture area:** Plains  
**Language group:** Siouan  
**Primary location:** Oklahoma  
**Population size:** 1,840 ("Otoe-Missouria," 1990 U.S. Census)

Oto (or Otoe) tradition indicates that these people lived at one time with the Missouri, Iowa, and Winnebago tribes somewhere in the upper Great Lakes region. Probably pushed by other tribes squeezed from the east, they began moving west and south, perhaps in the 1500’s, leaving the Winnebago in the Green Bay, Wisconsin, area, and the Iowa people at the confluence of the Mississippi and Iowa rivers. The Oto and Missouri continued south along the Mississippi and west along the Missouri until reaching the confluence of the Missouri and Grand rivers. At this point there was a conflict between the two groups involving a romantic relationship between the Missouri chief’s daughter and the Oto chief’s son. Consequently, the Oto continued west along the Missouri while the Missouri people remained. This conflict explains the Oto tribal name, originating from the Chiwere word *wahtohtata*, meaning “lovers” or “lechers.” (The Oto and Missouri shared the Chiwere language with the Iowa.)

In the late 1600’s, the Otos lived in what is now the state of Iowa, on the Upper Iowa and the Blue Earth rivers, but they were not numerous. Their population at that point was probably about 800. For most of the eighteenth century, they lived further west, along the Platte River near its mouth at the Missouri River. The Otos benefited from trade with the French and later the Americans, but they were also devastated by disease and warfare brought by these outsiders. Their rivals in warfare were mainly the Pawnees, Mesquakies (Fox), and Sauks. The Pawnees at times dominated the Otos militarily.

By 1829, the Otos and Missouris had merged, both having suffered greatly, and having had their populations shrink, from smallpox and other diseases. The following decades were difficult, as they and other beleaguered tribes fought for scant food resources. By 1854, the Oto-Missouris (or Otoe-Missourianis) had ceded all of their lands to the United States and moved to a reservation on the Big Blue River, near the Kansas and Nebraska territories. Eventually, one faction split off and moved to Indian Territory (Oklahoma) in 1880. A decade later the rest followed them. In 1907, the Oklahoma reservation was allotted to individual tribal members.
Oto culture of the prereservation era reflected an adaptation to a Plains environment from the eastern woodlands. While women cultivated corn, beans, squash, and melons in the bottomlands along the rivers, men spent much time hunting. Major buffalo hunts were carried on in the spring and fall, with deer, turkey, raccoon, and rabbit hunting occupying other times. While on hunting trips, the Otos stored their food in underground bell-shaped caches and used skin tipis for shelter. Their villages, however, were quite substantial. Depending on the population of a village, there were forty to seventy earthlodges 30 to 40 feet in diameter. Each lodge had a heavy wooden framework filled in with brush and grass and covered with an outer layer of earth or clay. Villages were divided socially into ten clans, each clan representing several related extended households. Oto society was patrilineal (one belonged to one’s father’s clan), but the lodges and all other household property were owned by the women. Different clans were responsible for various seasonal celebrations or leadership for particular hunts, and clan chiefs, war chiefs, and spiritual leaders were hereditarily chosen. Curing societies and dance societies such as the Medicine Lodge and the Buffalo Doctors Lodge specialized in particular ceremonies necessary for communication with the spiritual world. Mourning practices were highly ritualized, sometimes involving the killing of a horse so that the deceased person could ride to the afterlife.

Although loss of their homeland and reservation has resulted in some acculturation, the Oto-Missouri tribe still has some tribally owned land in Oklahoma and holds ceremonies and traditional dances each year. Oto-Missouri children started, in the 1970’s, learning their Chiwere language in school, with the aid of a published grammar of the Chiwere language.

**Ottawa**

**Culture area:** Northeast  
**Language group:** Algonquian  
**Primary location:** Michigan, Oklahoma; Ontario, Canada  
**Population size:** 7,522 in U.S. (1990 U.S. Census); estimated 3,500 in Canada

The Ottawa, members of the Algonquian language group, came from north of the Great Lakes with the Chippewa (Ojibwa) and Potawatomi; they formed the Council of Three Tribes. By the 1600’s, the tribes had separated, with the Ottawa controlling the northern shore of Lake Huron
and Manitoulin Island in the lake and the other two tribes settling farther south and west. “Ottawa” means “to trade” in Algonquian, and tribal members controlled commerce in furs, skins, corn, sunflower oil, tobacco, roots, and herbs among the Native American tribes in the northern Great Lakes region before the coming of Europeans. They were famous for the quality of their birchbark canoes and their abilities as businessmen.

The Ottawa were skilled hunters and fishermen, though in the harsh winter months they had to eat bark to survive. Women gathered blueberries and strawberries and tapped trees for maple syrup while the men hunted. Samuel de Champlain, the French explorer, made contact with the Ottawa in 1615, and he reported that they tattooed their bodies, painted their faces, pierced their noses, and had very long hair. They hunted mostly deer and small game with bows and arrows, and they wore no clothes in warm weather, although in the winter they put on buffalo robes. Jean Nicolet, a French trader, met the Ottawa in 1635 and exchanged guns and powder for furs. The Ottawa lived in small villages in bark- and skin-covered homes.
They divided into four bands, named after the places they lived: the Kis-kakon, the Outaouae Sinago, the Sable, and the Nassawaketon. Traditional Ottawa religion stressed belief in a spirit world governed by Manitou, the “Great Spirit.”

Contact with the French eventually led to displacement and disaster for the Ottawa. In 1649 and again in 1660, the Iroquois from New York attacked in Michigan and southern Canada as they sought expansion of their trade empire. After this attack, the Ottawa retreated to the area of Green Bay, Wisconsin, where they remained until 1670 when, under French protection, they returned to the Lake Huron region. Ten years later, the Ottawa moved again, this time to Mackinaw Island and St. Ignace, Michigan, where they joined temporarily with the Huron and were converted to Christianity. A smaller band moved south to the southeastern shore of Lake Michigan where they remained until 1769, when they moved again after warring against the British.

A key event in Ottawa history took place in 1720 with the birth of the great chief Pontiac. Little is known of his early life. During the French and Indian War (1756-1763), Pontiac led the combined forces of Ottawa, Chippewa, and Potawatomi in the battle against British occupation of the Great Lakes region. When the French surrendered, he organized a “conspiracy” to continue the war against the British. Pontiac assembled a large force of Indians in a siege of Detroit, the main British outpost in the west, that lasted from May to December, 1763. Influenced by the “Delaware Prophet,” a holy man who claimed direct contact with the Manitou, Pontiac called for a return to traditional Indian lifestyles and a rejection of white trade goods, except for guns. The siege ended, however, after traitors told the British of the Indians’ plan of attack and a supply ship managed to reach Detroit with food and ammunition. Over two thousand settlers and Indians died during the “conspiracy,” which the British blamed on the French. Pontiac escaped and went to Illinois, where he was killed in 1769 by a Peoria Indian, probably in the pay of the British.

In 1831, tribal leaders accepted lands in Kansas under provisions of the Indian Removal Act. Fifteen years later, however, this cession became more valuable to white farmers, and the Ottawa ceded them back to the United States in exchange for land in Indian Territory (Oklahoma). Only a few Ottawa moved to this new reservation, and many others returned to Michigan. By 1910, more than twenty-four hundred of the 2,717 members of the tribe resided in Michigan, and not on reservations. Of the Ottawa population of the early 1990’s, more than half lived in Michigan, three thousand lived in Ontario, and fewer than five hundred lived on the Oklahoma reservation. Many made their livings as farmworkers, sawmill laborers, and
fishing guides. The Ottawa of Ontario still spoke the tribe’s language, though it had largely disappeared among American-born tribal members.

Leslie V. Tischauser

Paiute, Northern

**CULTURE AREA:** Great Basin  
**LANGUAGE GROUP:** Uto-Aztecan  
**PRIMARY LOCATION:** Nevada, California  
**POPULATION SIZE:** 11,142 (total Paiute population, 1990 U.S. Census)

The Northern Paiute, or Paviotso, a branch of the Shoshonean division of the Uto-Aztecan language group, originally occupied the far western region of Nevada, the southeastern part of Oregon, and the far eastern fringes of central California. “Paviotso” is actually a derogatory Shoshone word meaning “root digger,” so members of the tribe prefer to be called Paiute, which means “pure water.” The Southern Paiute spoke the same language but inhabited the deserts of northern Arizona and western Utah and had little contact with their northern brothers.

**Traditional Lifeways.** The Northern Paiute fished, hunted deer, antelope, and bighorn sheep, and gathered piñon nuts. During harsh winters, the women dug plant roots to eat (the derivation of the name Paviotso). In winter, the Paiute lived in grass-covered, cone-shaped structures that had a smokehole at the top. In summer, they moved outside and lived in areas surrounded by trees to protect them from the hot winds. Usually no more than fifty persons, or three or four families, lived in each campsite, with the winter homes widely scattered. In the summer, women wore aprons of rabbit skins, but changed to buckskin dresses in the winter. Men wore rabbit skin shirts in the hot months and buckskin leggings when it started to get cold.

The eldest males usually made key decisions, though each village had a “headman” who enforced law and order. Paiute religion stressed belief in a world inhabited by many spirits. These spirits could be found almost everywhere in nature: in animals, plants, stones, water, the sun, moon, thunder, and stars. Individuals prayed to these spirits for help in hunting and food gathering. These supernatural powers gave orders that had to be followed, such as how to divide the remains of a hunted animal, or who to marry. Failure to follow these instructions could be punished by sickness, misfortune, or death. Contact with the spirits could be sought by anyone. Usually a seeker had to visit a dark and dangerous cave or spend the night...
on a remote mountaintop to get the spirit’s attention, but if contact was made the seeker would receive great powers to heal sicknesses or become a successful hunter. If a Paiute obeyed the spirits, upon death his soul would be rewarded by being taken to another world filled with dancing, food, and gambling.

**Post-contact Life.** The Paiute acquired horses sometime in the early 1700’s, although they did not make contact with whites until 1804, when a few Paiute hunters came upon the Lewis and Clark expedition exploring the Louisiana Purchase. In 1827, an expedition led by the famous explorer Jedediah Smith began trading furs for guns in western Nevada. In the 1830’s and 1840’s, thousands of white settlers poured through the region on their way to gold strikes in California and farms in Oregon. They brought chaos with them as their wagons, horses, and cattle destroyed meager food supplies in the Great Basin. In response, Paiute bands attacked the wagon trains and killed dozens of migrants. Not until after the Civil War did U.S. Army forces “pacify” the territory by killing hundreds of Indians.

Government officials established a reservation in Oregon in 1874, but thousands of Paiutes refused to go. They did not want to become farmers, especially on land that was almost desert. Many Paiutes became ranch hands, cowboys, and sheepherders for area whites. Paiute women worked as housekeepers or servants. In 1887, a Paiute holy man named Wovoka (“the Cutter”) had a vision which he described to Indians throughout the Great Basin and beyond: If Indians could dance for five nights and listen to the drums, the fish and wildlife would return, dead Indians would rise
from their graves, and whites would disappear from the earth. This “Ghost Dance” movement had spread all the way to Wounded Knee, South Dakota, by the winter of 1890. It led to the last great massacre in Indian history, when army troops killed more than two hundred men, women, and children who were trying to dance whites out of the world.

In the 1930’s, cattle ranching became the most important economic activity on the reservation. Paiutes either leased their land to whites or tried to raise their own herds. Paiute cowboys have a reputation for being excellent horsemen and dedicated workers. Most Paiutes do not live on the reservations in Nevada and Oregon, preferring to find jobs for themselves on the cattle and sheep ranches in the area.

Leslie V. Tischauser

Paiute, Southern

CULTURE AREA: Southwest
LANGUAGE GROUP: Uto-Aztecan
PRIMARY LOCATION: Northwestern Arizona, southern Nevada, southwestern Utah
POPULATION SIZE: 11,142 (total Paiute population, 1990 U.S. Census)

The Southern Paiutes belong to the Numic-speaking group of the Shoshonean branch of the Uto-Aztecan family. They call themselves nuwu, which literally means "human being." The Paiutes spread across the Great Basin into the northern portion of the southwestern United States around 1000 c.e., replacing prehistoric Pueblo-like peoples who had inhabited the region. Similarities in agricultural production and pottery making indicate that the Southern Paiutes must have learned much from the Pueblos they replaced. Defensive structures and artifacts dated at mid-twelfth century suggest that strife may have existed between the groups, causing the Pueblos to flee the region and allowing the Paiutes to expand their territory eastward. By the eighteenth century the Paiutes were living in a great crescentic region from southeastern Utah to northeastern Arizona to the deserts of Southern California and Nevada.

Aboriginal Paiute Culture. During their aboriginal period the Paiutes were primarily gatherers of wild plants, roots, berries, and seeds, supplemented by some hunting of rabbits, deer, mountain sheep, and some insects and lizards. Farming was severely limited and included only corn, beans, and squash. During this early period the Paiutes traded with nearby tribes including the Hopi, Havasupai, Walapai, and Mojave. There is evidence to
suggest that these groups existed peaceably with one another.

It is doubtful that the Paiutes had any tribal/political organization binding them into one nation during aboriginal times. Shortages of food and water forced the dispersion of the Paiutes into small family groups. Occasionally, larger social groups came together to harvest piñon nuts or to hunt for rabbits; however, these groups remained together only until the task was completed, then dispersed again. Political or social leadership is evident in the form of praise given to a respected person, a good hunter, or a great dance leader. Religious and other cultural developments were severely limited among the Paiutes because they spent virtually all of their time searching for food and pursuing the other necessities for survival.

Their tools included bow and arrows, hunting nets, seed beaters, gathering baskets, flint knives, digging sticks, and flat grinding stones. Their clothes consisted of rabbit-skin robes, bark or hide aprons, and sandals or moccasins. Their dwellings were rudimentary, constructed mainly of grass, sticks, and mud. Every aspect of their development manifests of the Paiutes' marginal subsistence pattern.

**European Contact.** The Southern Paiutes, historically, were one of the last Indian groups to have sustained contact with whites. While other southwestern groups experienced early contact with the Spanish, the Paiutes’ first contact was with the Dominguez-Escalante expedition of 1776. The Spanish explorers described the Paiutes as the lowliest of peoples, destitute and degraded. The Spanish had a number of significant effects upon the Paiute peoples. The spread of horses to neighboring tribes facilitated trade with such tribes as the Ute and Navajo. The most devastating effect was the beginning of slave trading in the Southwest. Small Paiute bands were prey to Ute and Navajo raiding parties in which they would steal children, especially young girls, and trade them to the Spanish for goods. In some instances, the Paiutes would trade their own children to the Utes for horses (which they would later kill and use for food) or other necessary goods. This slave trade led to a severe depopulation of the Paiutes but also led to their acquisition of material goods such as horses, guns, knives, tipis, kettles, and dogs. This trade persisted well into the nineteenth century, when the Mormons, under Brigham Young, caused it to end.

During the first half of the nineteenth century the Paiutes also came into contact with fur trappers and explorers because of their position along the
Old Spanish Trail. Notable among these were Jedediah Smith, Peter Skene Ogden, James Ohio Pattie, and John C. Frémont. These men, too, were critical of Paiute culture and wrote degradingly of them as savages. Indian-white contacts intensified greatly when the Mormons began to settle in southern Utah in 1850. John D. Lee was the church’s recorder and wrote extensively of the Paiute Indians. He seemed much less critical of their nature than were the Spaniards or the trappers. Relations between Paiutes and Mormons were generally peaceful and respectful. Although the Mormons subscribed to many of the stereotypes of Indians as lazy, thieving, and savage, because of their theological beliefs they also believed that they had the responsibility to teach the Paiutes to be civilized. The Mormons taught the Paiutes farming and other useful skills. Because of their ever-increasing contact with whites and their low immunity to European diseases, the Paiutes were struck heavily by measles and smallpox. A smallpox epidemic in which hundreds died was recorded in 1877.

**Modern Movements and Civilization.** In 1873 the Bureau of Indian Affairs sent a special commission, headed by John Wesley Powell, to Utah to suggest the removal of the Southern Paiutes away from the white settlements. They had recommended removal of the Paiutes to the Uintah reservation in northeastern Utah, but because of the Paiutes’ animosity with the Utes it was decided to create the Moapa Reservation in Nevada. Many groups resisted and tried to subsist in their old ways, but the expansion of white farming and grazing made this impossible. The bureau’s concern for Paiute welfare also expanded into issuing cattle to the Indians because they could not survive solely on farming. The Paiutes later became fine ranchers.

Other reservations, closer to their traditional lands, were later created by the bureau; among them were the Shivwits reserve in 1891, near Santa Clara, Utah, and the Kaibab reserve in northern Arizona, near Fredonia, in 1907. Many Paiutes, however, unaided by the federal government, were given assistance and protection by nearby Mormon settlements. Drastic changes were taking place among the Paiutes in different degrees depending on contact with whites. Some adopted white culture readily, while others resisted and became hostile. Many smaller family groups formed large bands for the first time in an effort to stop the white intrusion. The Kaibab, Moapa, and Shivwits were among the most notable of these newly formed bands.

Southern Paiute children began attending federal day schools in the 1890’s, and some have attended colleges and universities in Arizona, Utah, New Mexico, and California. During the first half of the twentieth century the Paiutes simply existed and continued to be dependent on the charity of the Mormons and others around them; however, three pivotal events oc-
curred that improved the circumstances of the Paiutes. In 1946 the Paiutes filed suit against the federal government for their lands that had been unlawfully taken. The issue was hotly debated, and finally, in 1970, the Paiutes were awarded a settlement, bringing needed money into the reservations. Second, in 1951, the Paiutes established their official constitution and bylaws “to improve our civilization.” This allowed them to elect a tribal council and to have a more secure land base. Finally, in 1957, the Southern Paiutes were voluntarily terminated from federal control. In these reforms, the Kaibab band has been the most progressive.

Income-producing opportunities are scarce on the reservation. The tribal chairman is the only paid employee of the tribe, and the federal government employs only a few people for maintenance purposes. Most obtain part-time work at locally white-owned ranches. Most of the cultural traditions of the early periods are remembered only by a few older individuals, and the majority of the children do not hear their native language spoken at home. Nevertheless, the Paiutes’ continued survival is a direct result of their successful attempt to join together their voices and fight for survival.

Robert E. Fleming

Bibliography
Paleo-Indian

**Date:** 10,000-7500 B.C.E.

**Location:** North, Middle, and South America

**Cultures affected:** Pancultural

There is artifactual evidence of human occupation throughout the Americas by Paleo-Indians by 9500 B.C.E. They hunted large Pleistocene (Ice Age) animals. The Paleo-Indian fluted points were finely made spear points chipped on both sides, with a distinctive flute removed from the base on both sides. The fluted points were hafted to the end of a spear. Spears were thrown with the aid of a spear thrower, or “atlatl,” which increased the throwing distance.

The Paleo-Indian period is divided into the Early Paleo-Indian period, consisting of the Clovis tradition (9500-9000 B.C.E.) and the Folsom tradition (9000-8000 B.C.E.), and the Late Paleo-Indian tradition. The Clovis tradition is named for the discovery site of Clovis, New Mexico, and their environmental adaptation focused on hunting Pleistocene mammoths and mastodons. The Folsom tradition, named for the Folsom site in New Mexico, emphasized the hunting of extinct bison, *Bison antiquus*. Clovis points are relatively large, with a flute that extends only part way from the base toward the point tip, whereas Folsom points are smaller and have a flute that extends almost to the point tip. Late Paleo-Indian points lack the distinctive flute of the earlier periods. The adaptation of the Late Paleo-Indian people was more regionally diversified, as reflected in their greater variety of point styles. The Paleo-Indian tradition is marked by fluted points as found at such sites as Clovis, Folsom, Lindenmeier, Olsen-Chubbuck, and Casper in the western United States; Debert, Bullbrook, Shoop, Parkhill, Udora, and Sandy Ridge in the Northeast; Ladyville, Turrialba, and Los Tapiales in Middle America; and Monte Verde in South America.

The Paleo-Indians were descendants of hunting people who followed Pleistocene animals across the land bridge, Beringia, from Asia. At various times during the Pleistocene period when the glaciers advanced, the sea level was lowered, providing the opportunity for people to travel from...
Siberia to Alaska. During the late Pleistocene, Beringia consisted of a 1,000-kilometer (600-mile) land bridge between 75,000 and 40,000 B.C.E. and between about 23,000 and 12,000 B.C.E. Once in Alaska, early humans were blocked from southward travel by the Laurentide ice sheet to the east and the Cordilleran ice sheet to the west. The occurrence of Paleo-Indian artifacts in the continental United States by 9500 B.C.E. indicates that people were able to penetrate the ice barrier, either by a Pacific coast route or through the “ice-free corridor” between the ice sheets. With the extinction of more than thirty genera of animals at the end of the Pleistocene (associated with the climatic changes and, in some instances, perhaps related to Paleo-Indian hunting overkill), people changed their subsistence adaptations to emphasize hunting smaller animals and collecting wild plants throughout the Americas in what is termed the Archaic tradition.

**Palouse**

**CULTURE AREA:** Plateau  
**LANGUAGE GROUP:** Sahaptian  
**PRIMARY LOCATION:** Washington State

Traditionally the Palouse lived along the lower Snake River and its tributaries, including the Palouse River. The Palouse are considered a Plateau tribe. They organized into three independent groups and lived in villages during the winter months in wooden houses.

Similar to other Columbia Basin Indians, their economy depended on salmon fishing in the Columbia River, gathering roots (such as the camas) and berries, and hunting. The area in which they lived was arid and flat, broken by steppes. Hunting increased in importance after the horse was introduced in the mid-1700’s. The Palouse became excellent horsemen, and their economy expanded to include horse trading in the early nineteenth century. Their first European American contact was with the Lewis and Clark expedition in 1804, followed by fur traders exploring the area in the early 1800’s.

Friction with whites began almost immediately and persisted throughout Palouse history. Of any of the Plateau tribes, the Palouse were the most resistant to U.S. government plans to resettle them on reservations. In one of their initial contacts with fur traders, one of their members was found guilty of stealing from a Pacific Fur Company manager. For this crime the thief was executed, much to the horror of the Palouse and nearby Nez Perce.
After the incident, the Palouse and Nez Perce kept their distance from the traders. Further contact with white people was inevitable as white settlers sought to settle eastern Washington and Oregon. In 1855, Washington Territorial Governor Isaac Stevens held the Walla Walla Council to negotiate with tribes throughout the Columbia Plateau. Stevens wanted to confine the Indians to a limited area and open the region to homesteaders. During the treaty negotiations, the Palouse tribe was considered part of the Yakimas. The council was concluded with the Yakima Treaty. The treaty was signed by Kamiakin, who was chosen Yakima headman by Stevens; it included the Palouse as being one of the signatories who made up the Confederated Tribes of the Yakima Indian Reservation. Kamiakin claimed that he never signed the treaty. The Palouse also had their own representative, Koo-lat-toosa, again appointed by Stevens to act as chief.

Dissatisfied with the treaty, the Palouse joined in the Yakima War, led by Kamiakin, who was part Palouse. Despite defeat in 1856, the Palouse refused to move to the reservation and occupied their ancestral lands, located between the Nez Perce, Umatilla, and Yakima reservations. White settlers, however, wanted the land, and the Palouse population, which had dwindled to less than two hundred, still posed a threat. Some members of the tribe, remembering the Yakima War, did move to either the Yakima, Nez Perce, Warm Springs, or Umatilla reservations, while others remained off the reservation.

In 1863, problems ensued when gold was discovered in the Clearwater River on the Nez Perce reservation. Trying to stave off a gold rush, the government negotiated the Lapwai Treaty with the Nez Perce, in which the Nez Perce ceded more land. Although the nearby Palouse did not sign the treaty, the federal government insisted that they follow treaty provisions. Thus the Palouse were treated as a subtribe of the Nez Perce. Part of the Nez Perce (about one-third), however, did not abide by the treaty and lived off the reservation in the Wallowa Valley. By the 1870's, white settlers wanted these lands as well, and in 1877, the army ordered Nez Perce Chief Joseph and his tribe to return to the Nez Perce reservation. While moving to the reservation, hostilities occurred and several whites were killed. Chief Joseph and his band of eight hundred, which included a small number of Palouse, fled to Montana and tried to reach Canada. The army defeated them, however, and the remaining Nez Perce and Palouse were forced to move to Oklahoma Territory and finally to the Colville Reservation. The Palouse tribe has no official population figures; many Palouse Indians undoubtedly intermarried with surrounding tribes and have thus kept their ancestry alive.
Pamlico

**Culture area:** Southeast  
**Language group:** Algonquian  
**Primary location:** Pamlico River, North Carolina

Though there are numerous references to this tribe, little is known about them. The Pamlico were horticulturalists whose subsistence base consisted essentially of maize, beans, squash, and a wide variety of cultivated foods, supplemented by men’s hunting, trapping, and fishing. Women dug roots and gathered berries and nuts, some of which were dried for winter storage.

The first mention of the Pamlico was by the Raleigh colonists in 1585, who called them Pomouik. The population of the Pamlico was estimated to be nearly one thousand in 1600. The Pamlico suffered a devastating smallpox epidemic in 1696 that left only seventy-five survivors, who by 1710 were living in a single village. In 1711, the Pamlico participated in the Tuscarora War, at the end of which the Tuscarora, under treaty with the English, agreed to exterminate the remaining Pamlico. Those not killed were incorporated as slaves by the victorious Tuscarora.

Passamaquody

**Culture area:** Northeast  
**Language group:** Algonquian  
**Primary location:** Maine  
**Population size:** 2,398 (1990 U.S. Census)

The Passamaquody tribe has many similarities to the Abenaki tribes of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, and southern Quebec. All these tribes referred to themselves as Wabanaki.

The first contact with Europeans occurred in the late 1400’s, when English, Scandinavian, Spanish, and French fishermen discovered the great quantities of cod along the Maine coast. Giovanni da Verrazano left the first written descriptions of the Maine natives in 1524. Both the English and the French tried to colonize the area, and the contact with new people brought devastating epidemics of smallpox and other diseases to the natives.

Fur trading changed the traditional life by introducing guns, alcohol, and new religions. Many Native Americans converted to Roman Catholi-
cism and were sympathetic toward the French and supported the colonists during the American Revolution. The Passamaquoddy tribe was one of three Maine groups who remained in their original land, although for economic reasons they ceded more than a million acres of it to Massachusetts by treaty in 1794.

The Passamaquoddy followed the traditional lifestyle of the Abenaki. They had summer fishing villages and moved to northern hunting territory in the fall and late winter months. Winter clothing included skin leggings and a long cloak of beaver fur with sleeves tied on separately, with fur-lined moccasins or boots and tapered snow shoes. Traditional utensils and lightweight canoes were made from waterproof, durable, white birch bark. Ash provided the material for splint baskets, later an important item in trade. Beads made of quahog shell were woven into decorative items of clothing and also used for currency and in treaty negotiations.

It was not until 1980 that the Passamaquoddy and their Maine neighbors, the Penobscot, were recognized as a tribe by the federal government and became eligible to receive health and welfare services. The Maine Indian Claims Settlement Act in 1980 established an $81.5 million fund for the tribes, which has been used to repurchase 300,000 acres of land, to work toward economic independence through such businesses as a blueberry farm, and to preserve culture with school education and a radio station.

Patayan

**Date:** c. 500-1600

**Location:** Western Arizona, southeastern California, northern Baja California

**Cultures affected:** Havasupai, Mojave, Yuman language groups

Patayan, as a designation for the ancestors of the Yuman-speaking peoples of the Colorado River Basin from the Grand Canyon to the Gulf of California, along with the surrounding upland areas, first appeared in the 1930’s, when a familiar division of prehistoric Southwest cultures emerged: Anasazi, Hohokam, Mogollon, and Patayan. Since the 1950’s, there has been support for an overall designation of Hakataya, with Patayan to be restricted to the upland regions of Arizona and Laquish to be used for the lower Colorado Basin area. Some scholars, however, continue to use Patayan as an overall designation.

The key to understanding the Patayan is their extremely dry and rugged country, which receives less than ten inches of rain a year. The terrain is
rocky with sparse vegetation. It was the most difficult terrain of any of the southwestern cultures, and one of the most difficult in America for a hunting, gathering, and marginally farming people.

Culturally, the Patayan had certain common traits, including a predominance of hunting and gathering. There is considerable evidence that the Patayan peoples, particularly in their Patayan I phase (up to 1100 C.E.), remained almost as nomadic as their desert culture ancestors or their Great Basin cultural relatives to the north. They used stone-lined roasting pits for food preparation, sealed vessels for food storage, percussion-flaked choppers, mortars and pestles (which are found in great numbers), and circular rock shelters of a type of construction known as jacal (but not pueblo-like apartment structures). They almost all cremated their dead, though some burials are known.

One of the most identifiable characteristics was the use of ceramics that were finished by paddle and anvil technique, and were of varying colors resulting from uncontrolled firing, with no further decoration. The most typical was a buffware jar with tapered chimney neck and a rounded Colorado shoulder. Only the northeastern area near the Grand Canyon showed any gray coloration from anoxic firing of the clay, which was common among other southwestern cultures.
Certainly the most possibilities for economic advances were found in the lower Colorado River basin, where inundation (flooding) irrigation was used to produce a much stronger agricultural base. The tidal bores of the river regularly caused problems, however. Because the Gulf of California is a long narrow body of water, a combination of high tides and southern winds could drive a twenty-foot high wall of water up the river almost to the Grand Canyon before modern breakwaters prevented the problem. Though the roar, similar to a locomotive, gave ample warning to evacuate to the hills, crops, homes and cultural items often were washed away.

Linguistic evidence indicates that the modern Yuman-speaking peoples of the Colorado basin are direct descendants of the Patayan. Along with the Pueblo to the east, the Patayan-Yuman represent one of the longest-term sequences of one people in one area in the United States.

Patwin

**Culture area:** California  
**Language group:** Wintun (Penutian)  
**Primary location:** From Suisun Bay to Little Snow Creek, California

The patrilineal Patwin were divided by territory into Hill and River Patwin, whose villages were always located on streams. A single village constituted a tribelet. They had a diversified subsistence base that included fishing, hunting, trapping, gathering, and collecting. Though they had four types of structures, all were earth-covered and semi-subterranean, with either circular or elliptical ground plans; each housed several families. Their sweathouses were also subterranean. They had numerous rites of intensification, but rituals of particular importance were the Kuksu and Hesi cult systems. The Kuksu cult, in all its ritual complexity, may in fact have originated among the Patwin.

Prior to 1800, there were numerous Spanish missionary accounts and vital statistics concerning the Patwin. After coming into contact with European Americans, they became serfs and a valuable labor force to Mexicans. Several Indian leaders arose in opposition, forming alliances with other Indian groups. The Patwin suffered greatly from epidemics and conflict with settlers, miners, and the military; eventually they were forced onto reservations. The decline in Patwin population and ethnographic identity continued into the twentieth century, and by 1972 the Bureau of Indian Affairs could locate only eleven people who claimed Patwin ancestry.
Pawnee

**Culture area:** Plains  
**Language group:** Caddoan  
**Primary location:** Oklahoma  
**Population size:** 2,892 (1990 U.S. Census)

Early accounts indicate that the Skidi Pawnees, as early as 1600, first came into the region that would become known as Nebraska from the south. Their previous home was a “place where sugarcane grew,” possibly in the lower Mississippi Valley. It was not until the eighteenth century that other Pawnees entered the Nebraska region to join the Skidi. The Pawnees’ northernmost extension was into South Dakota.

By about the 1760’s, a situation that would dominate Pawnee existence for a full century began: warfare with Siouan tribes over hunting in many of the same areas. Many experts believe that, had it not been for their continual struggles against the Sioux, the Pawnees would not have had a single name describing them as “one.” Their tradition usually emphasizes separate exploits by key groups: the Skidis, Chaisis, Kitkehahkis, and Pitahauerats. Common cultural elements, however, mark the Pawnees. Well-known religious symbols included the star deities—the Morning and Evening Stars—whose daughter was betrothed to the son of Sun and Moon, called “Closed Man.” This couple was instructed by four gods whose special knowledge (in lodge building and ceremonies) was passed on to all Pawnee tribes.

In 1749-1750, French traders arranged a peace between the main Plains tribes, allowing them to penetrate Pawnee territory. Wider trade relations increased Pawnee access to guns, at least until the French and Indian War (between the English and French) ended with France’s defeat in 1763. Thereafter, the Pawnees lost their dominance in Kansas and reconcentrated farther north along the Platte River in Nebraska. After the late 1760’s, three tribes (the Grand Pawnees, the Kitkehahkis, and the Pitahauerats) began attacking their Skidi predecessors in this area. By the time the expedition of Meriwether Lewis and William Clark followed the Platte River (in 1804), they found that the Skidis had become increasingly subordinate to the Grand Pawnees.

Inevitably, the entire area inhabited by the Pawnees and Sioux attracted the attention of American military outposts (specifically at Fort Atkinson, near Omaha). In 1825 the Pawnees signed a fateful treaty promising safety for settlers along the Santa Fe Trail in return for (undefined) “benefits and
acts of kindness” from the U.S. government. When what were assumed to
be Pawnee raids continued, chances of more forceful intervention by Wash-
ington policy makers mounted.

Escalation grew from the government’s post-1830 decision to relocate
eastern tribes into the vast open areas west of the Missouri. Before long,
newly relocated tribes such as the Delawares and Shawnees clashed with
the Pawnees over hunting grounds. Warfare was “settled” only temporarily
by the signing, in 1833, of a treaty giving up Pawnee claims to territories
south of the Platte. By the 1833 treaty, the Pawnees received paltry payment
($1,600) and were promised a twelve-year annuity of goods and cash plus
“advantages” (such as agricultural instruction and the construction of mill
sites) for agreeing to settle in the North Platte Loup Fork area. Soon after-
ward, missionaries and traders arrived in the area to settle Fort William
(later Fort Laramie). American officials intended to bring Oglala Sioux
elements from the Black Hills into this “neutral” zone—a move that inevi-
tably heightened hostilities with the Pawnees along the North Platte.

After this turning point, Pawnee prospects for an independent existence
deprecated steadily. Increasingly they found that they could not survive with-
out the government annuity promised (but not always given) in 1833. Worse
still, the Pawnees suffered defeats dealt them by the Great Sioux between
1842 and 1846 and were driven to refuges south of the Platte. There they
became so destitute that they sold the best land they occupied for the
construction of Fort Kearney.
It was not until four years after the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 that a special Pawnee treaty was ratified by Congress. This treaty determined that the Pawnees were to return north to resettle Loup Fork as a Pawnee Indian reservation with government aid. As late as 1865, President Abraham Lincoln’s Pawnee Agent, Benjamin Lushbaugh, tried to obtain congressional money to help resolve pressures affecting Pawnee security. A so-called great peace treaty of 1868, however, apparently only helped their Sioux enemies to obtain guns and press toward Loup Fork.

Rather than continue to commit Indian Agency funds to help Pawnees on Loup Fork, policy makers decided to move them again—this time to undeveloped Indian territory farther west. By 1874 the movement to a new reservation had begun. The area reserved was west of the Arkansas River in what became Oklahoma. Although some two thousand Pawnees were relocated in the 1870’s, by the 1890’s there were only about eight hundred left. In the meantime, their agency had been combined with that of the Ponca and Oto tribes.

The sad state of Pawnee marginality was to continue until, under the Roosevelt administration in 1932, special attention was given to their case. In the June, 1936, Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act, they were allowed to elect their own tribal council. It was not until 1957, however, that Pawnees gained effective rights to use lands on their reservation as they saw fit. Receipt of federal partial payment for lands taken away from them nearly a century earlier came in 1964. Four years later, actual ownership of their reservation lands was turned over. From the middle of the 1970’s the Pawnees began to register gains, partially as a result of the Indian Self-Determination Act of 1975, partly because of the dynamic leadership of Council Chairman Thomas Chapman.

Byron D. Cannon

Pennacook

Culture area: Northeast
Language group: Algonquian
Primary location: New Hampshire

The Pennacook are part of the western branch of the Abenaki family. Their name means “bottom of the hill,” and they encompass a number of Algonquian-speaking bands, seventeen tribes of which were united as the Pennacook Confederacy by their best-known leader, Passaconaway, in the early seventeenth century. In 1614, there may have been as many as
twelve thousand people in thirty villages along the Merrimack River.

In 1675, their chief, Wanalancet, led the Pennacook deep into the woods to avoid becoming involved in King Philip’s War. In 1689, the last chief of the Pennacook, Kankamagus (also known as John Hawkins), under threat of Mohawk attack, led the tribe north. Many tribespeople joined French mission villages in Canada (such as St. Francis), where their tribal identity was lost. Metallak, said to be the last of the Pennacook, returned to the United States and died in New Hampshire in 1848.

In the summer, family groups lived together in sturdy bark-covered, domed, rectangular longhouses with separate fires for each family. As many as sixty people lived in a house. In hunting seasons, smaller groups lived in conical moveable wigwams.

Religious beliefs and traditions, handed down by oral tradition to those who now identify themselves as descendants of the Pennacook and other New Hampshire Abenaki, had led to conflicts between state officials and the 2,134 Native Americans (1990 census figure) living in New Hampshire. Burial sites are protected by federal law. Early Abenaki custom, however, was to bury the dead in unmarked sites near their homes; thus, all former homesites are considered sacred burial sites. The state has generally not recognized these claims. There is no reservation land in New Hampshire.

Penobscot

Culture area: Northeast
Language group: Algonquian
Primary location: Maine
Population size: 2,173 (1990 U.S. Census)

The Penobscot, of the eastern branch of the Abenaki family, whose name means “the rocky place,” live along the river and the bay that bear their name on the Maine coast.

Tradition says that prophesies foretold the coming of white men who would bring a time of trouble because of their desire for the land. Unlike some other Abenaki groups that gave up their New England homelands and migrated north under pressure from white settlers, the Penobscot remained in their original area. During the American Revolution, the Penobscot helped turn back the British, and Chief Joseph Orono was rewarded with a visit to Boston and Newport, Rhode Island.
Their traditional lifestyle began to die out in the early 1800’s, as over-hunting and increased lumbering diminished the profitable fur trade and traditional game hunting. The Great Miramicki Fire in 1825 destroyed much of the Maine woodland; disease also took its toll on the tribe. Under economic and political pressure, the Penobscot sold much of their land. The last lifetime chief was Joseph Atteau, chosen in 1858, who is mentioned as a guide by Henry David Thoreau in his book *The Maine Woods* (1864).

By the beginning of the twentieth century, many of the Penobscot lived in poverty and isolation on an island in the river near Old Town. The state granted Indians voting privileges only in 1954—the last state to do so. In 1965, Maine became the first state to establish a Department of Indian Affairs, and in 1980 a long legal battle resulted in the Maine Indian Claims Settlement Act, which allocated $81.5 million to the Penobscot and two other Maine tribes. The money has been used to purchase land, improve housing and schools, and build a factory and a gambling casino to provide employment. About a quarter of the population lives on reservation land, where the schools teach traditional arts and language.

**Pequot**

*Culture area:* Northeast  
*Language group:* Algonquian  
*Primary location:* Connecticut  
*Population size:* 536 (1990 U.S. Census)

In the early seventeenth century, the Pequot, probably numbering about thirteen thousand persons, occupied a territory on the lower Thames River in present-day Connecticut. The Pequot were a horticultural people, subsisting chiefly on corn, beans, and squash raised by the women. Men hunted to supplement these foods, and both sexes harvested the rich resources of fish and shellfish available nearby. There were two large, fortified villages with about seventy wigwams each, several smaller, unfortified ones, and a number of scattered hamlets. Sassacus, who became chief sachem in 1634, lived in the principal village, Weinshauks, in present-day Groton. The chief sachem, chosen from a chiefly lineage or family, exercised a limited, traditional authority through persuasion and influence rather than through direct power. Each subsidiary village had one or more local sachems. There were said to be twenty-six lesser sachems under Sassacus. This no doubt included those of conquered, tributary peoples. Considered
the most warlike tribe in southern New England, the Pequot had forced a number of small tribes in the valley of the lower Connecticut and on Long Island to become their tributaries.

In 1633, a smallpox epidemic ravaged the region, reducing Pequot numbers to about three thousand. The severe population loss among the tribes of the lower Connecticut River encouraged English settlers from Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay colonies to move into the area, disrupting native political arrangements. This, along with trade rivalries and attribution to the Pequot of the murder of several English traders, precipitated the Pequot War of 1636-1637. Crushed in that war, many of the one thousand to fifteen hundred Pequot survivors were divided among the colonists’ Indian allies. Others found a haven with distant tribes, and for some years the Pequot were forbidden to have an independent existence. In time, several small villages were permitted to reconstitute themselves. Their modern descendants, largely assimilated and no longer speaking the Pequot language, occupy two small reservations: Mashantucket, in Ledyard, and Paucatuck (or Lantern Hill), at North Stonington, Connecticut.
Petun

**Culture area:** Northeast  
**Language group:** Iroquoian  
**Primary location:** South of Georgian Bay

Located just west of the Hurons, the Petun Nation (also known as the Tobacco tribe) were very closely related culturally and linguistically to the Hurons, particularly the Attignaouantan band. Tionontati was the name for them in the Attignaouantan language, meaning “people of the place where the hills are.” The other distinctive geographic feature of the Petun region was its microclimate, which made possible the cultivation of highly specialized varieties of tobacco. The neighboring Hurons were not able to grow tobacco in this fashion; therefore, the Petun people had an economic advantage.

The basis of the Petun economy, however, was rooted in corn, beans, and squash grown by the women of the tribe. Men hunted and fished to complement these products, and fruit was gathered for variety. In all other ways, including village habitation, matrilineal and matrilocal longhouse dwelling, dress, and spiritual practices, the Petun seem to have been highly similar to the Huron peoples. In one respect they differed slightly, in that they divided their tribe into two groups, the Deer and the Wolves.

Population figures for the Petun tribe are difficult to discern, since the French often grouped them together with the Hurons. They may have numbered as many as eight thousand before contact with these Europeans. The French Jesuits set up missions to the Tobacco people in the 1630’s, and smallpox epidemics reduced the population, probably to about three thousand. The Petun people were caught in the Huron-Iroquois rivalry, and after the Iroquois destroyed Huronia in 1649-1651, some Huron survivors took refuge among the Petuns, only to come under attack again when the Iroquois subsequently turned their wrath on the Petun nation. The few surviving Petuns and Hurons who were not adopted into Iroquois families traveled further north and west after 1652. A few of them later journeyed to the St. Lawrence Valley with Jesuits, but others remained in the Michigan-Wisconsin area and eventually, by about 1870, acquired lands in Indian Territory, now Oklahoma. In the twentieth century, the Wyandot tribe of Oklahoma included some people who were partly of Petun ancestry, but their ancestors were absorbed into the Huron-Wyandot group and are not distinguishable from them.
Pima

**Culture Area:** Southwest

**Language Group:** Piman (Uto-Aztecan)

**Primary Location:** South-central Arizona

**Population Size:** 14,431 (1990 U.S. Census)

Although direct evidence is inconclusive, many scholars believe that the Pimas (or Akimel O’odham) are descended from the prehistoric Ho-hokam people of the Southwest. The Pimas developed extensive canals and dams for their farmlands, and they were considered the best farmers of all Arizona tribes. The missionary Eusebio Kino in 1687 introduced new crops, including barley and wheat, to the Pimas and supplied them with cattle and sheep. A century later, in 1793, the Pimas numbered about four thousand and resided in seven villages near the Gila River. They grew cotton, corn, melons, and pumpkins, and they traded their spun and woven cotton cloth to the Mexicans to the south.

In the 1840’s the Maricopa tribe, seeking to avoid hostilities with other tribes, took refuge among the Pima and have remained with them ever since. The Pimas came under United States jurisdiction in 1853, when the Gadsden Purchase ended Mexican rule. The United States introduced the reservation system in the 1870’s. In 1990, Pima and Maricopa tribes continued to occupy the Gila River and Salt River reservations of 427,807 acres near Phoenix, Arizona.

The Gila River Farmers Association was organized in the 1930’s to deal with federal government water issues. The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 led the Pimas to exercise powers of self-government. The Gila River Pima community established a seventeen-member tribal council as its central governing body and voted for a governor and lieutenant governor every three years. A tribal constitution, adopted in 1960, dictates procedures for the election of these officers. The council members, from seven political districts based on population, are elected to serve staggered terms. The council meets twice a month. The standing committees include committees on economic development, natural resources, government and management, health and social issues, and education.

The majority of Pimas live and work in their reservation communities in schools, government agencies, a tribal hospital, and stores.
The Plano tradition, dating 8000 and 5000 B.C.E., represents the last period of the hunting of now-extinct large Pleistocene mammals, especially giant bison, in North America. It is preceded by the Clovis (9500 to 9000 B.C.E.) and the Folsom (9000 to 8200 B.C.E.) periods, although Folsom and Plano are usually discussed together. Sites of this tradition are found over a wide area of North America, ranging from Alaska to Texas.

While Clovis peoples hunted mammoth, Folsom/Plano subsistence was oriented toward the pursuit of the now-extinct giant longhorn bison (Bison antiquus and Bison occidentalis) and later the modern Bison bison. Folsom/Plano cultures are known from occasional campsites and a large number of kill sites marked by beds of bison bone with stone artifacts. Tool technology was characterized by a wide variety of projectile point and knife styles used for killing and butchering. Folsom points, marked by a broad channel scar that runs most of the length of the point, belong to the fluted-point tradition that begins with Clovis. Plano cultures are associated with several unfluted styles, among them Plainview/Firstview, Eden, Scottsbluff, Claypool, Milnesand, Agate Basin, San Jon, and Angostura.

Plano Lifeways. The Folsom/Plano peoples ranged across the Great Plains in small, nomadic groups that followed seasonal rounds conditioned by the migration of bison herds. On these migrations, they took advantage of several sources for fine-grained, knappable stone. This material was used to manufacture points, knives, scrapers, and other tools, many of which required a high degree of skill in pressure flaking. Bison hunting, although likely to have included single-animal kills, was made very productive through the employment of mass-kill techniques. These included driving animals over cliffs or into natural traps, such as ditches and arroyos, box canyons, stream channels, and crescent-shaped sand dunes, and then killing them with spears. These techniques would have required the participation of more than a single family and would have provided enough meat and hides for several bands. Animal resources such as skins, meat, bone, and marrow were efficiently utilized, often with very little waste.

Plano Archaeological Sites. Plano campsites tend to be situated on knolls or hills from which watering holes and bison herds could be observed. Lindenmeier is the largest known camp associated with the Folsom
culture. It was located on the banks of a marshy lake in northeastern Colorado, now buried under sediments. Excavations revealed remains of hearths with broken tools and discarded bones that have been dated to approximately 9000 B.C.E. Bison bones were the most numerous, but bones of wolf, coyote, fox, hare, rabbit, turtle, deer, and antelope were also present. The large collection of stone tools included more than 250 Folsom points. The site appears to have been occupied by at least two different groups, based on differences in the size of projectile points and the fact that some were made of obsidian from a source in New Mexico, whereas others were made of material from Wyoming. The wide range of raw materials utilized by Folsom/Plano peoples suggests that they were covering vast distances in cyclical migrations.

The Olsen-Chubbuck site, in eastern Colorado near the Kansas state line, provides an example of a large-scale bison kill. At around 8200 B.C.E., almost two hundred bison (*Bison occidentalis*) were trapped when they were stampeded down a steep hillside into a narrow arroyo. The age of the animals, which included calves, yearlings, and bison of both sexes, suggests that the kill took place in the spring. The composition of piles of bones indicates that the animals were butchered in a consistent pattern, beginning with skinning and removal of hump meat and proceeding from the front to the hindquarters of the animals. Among the tools used were Firstview (Plainview) points, knives, scrapers, and cobbles to break bones for the extraction of marrow. Some of the chert used to make tools came from sources in Texas, supporting models for the seasonal migrations of Folsom/Plano peoples across a wide geographical range.

The Casper site in central Wyoming provides evidence for the slaughter of a small herd of bison around 6000 B.C.E. The animals were driven into the central concavity of a parabolic sand dune, where they were killed and butchered. The predominance of young animals in this bone bed suggests a degree of selectivity in the size of animals taken. Butchering was done efficiently, with deliberate stacking of bones. At the Hawken site in the Bighorn Basin of northeastern Wyoming, bison were killed when small herds were driven upstream into an increasingly narrow, steep-sided arroyo until they were wedged against one another and trapped at its box canyon terminus, where they were killed by hunters with spears. The Horner site, also in northeastern Wyoming, has evidence of two bison kills spaced approximately a thousand years apart. Bison may have been corralled with drive lines; excavator George Frison suggests the practice of frozen caching of partially butchered carcasses for utilization at different times.

**Plano Technology.** In general, Folsom/Plano populations practiced a more sophisticated use of natural resources than did their predecessors.
They covered much greater geographical ranges, probably moving with seasonal migrations of bison herds, and took advantage of several different sources of lithic materials. In addition to improvements in stone tool manufacture, there were significant technological advances in the ways that animals were slaughtered, butchered, and utilized. The wide variety of projectile point styles suggests the gradual emergence of distinct cultural groups whose identities became strengthened through periodic episodes of cooperative hunting.

The Plano tradition comes to an end with the decline of populations of giant bison, probably precipitated by climatic changes that reduced the size and range of their modern descendants for several thousand years. Patterns that evolved from Plano, however, continued for thousands of years. The hunting of bison remained one of the most important strategies for survival in the Plains until the destruction of large herds by European settlers in the nineteenth century.

John Hoopes

Bibliography

Pomo

CULTURE AREA: California
LANGUAGE GROUP: Hokan
PRIMARY LOCATION: Clear Lake, Northern California
POPULATION SIZE: 4,766 (1990 U.S. Census)
The Pomo Indians are one of the many California native groups who shared traits with a wide variety of hunter-gatherer tribes in the California area. In 1770, the number of Pomo was estimated at 8,000, which had dropped to 1,143 by the 1930 census. Pomo Indian traditional areas include Cleone Duncan’s Point and inland as far as the Clear Lake (Stony Creek) area, north of the San Francisco Bay.

California Indians generally are not to be understood as “tribes,” but rather as small “tribal groups” of a hundred persons at most. These groups, usually not permanent, surrounded a centrally recognized permanent village. The Pomo shared many common cultural traits with other village communities up and down the California coast as far south as the beginnings of the great Mexican tribal groups, where the appearance of pottery and other traditionally Mexican native arts in the region of Southern California signals a mixing of cultures on a spectrum approaching the great civilization centers of central and southern Mexico.

Pomo people are most noted for their distribution of shells as a kind of currency exchange. They also developed basketry to perhaps the highest art form among all the California tribal groupings, incorporating styles and designs that mark Pomo artistry in a manner that is clear even to those not widely familiar with California basketry. Because of their residency near Clear Lake, the Pomo also developed canoes, the use of the single-blade paddle, and the use of balsa rafts.

As with other California tribal groupings, shamanism was practiced among the Pomo as a healing and supernatural art. Pomo ceremonial life is also noted for the use of sweatlodges, heated by direct fire rather than by steam (steam was absent throughout California tribal use of sweatlodges). Of particular interest with regard to Pomo religion is the Maru Cult, a religious ceremony of ritual and dancing that is a direct descendant of the influence of the Ghost Dance of 1870 on the Pomo people. The Maru Cult rituals are still observed among many modern Pomo members.

In terms of family life, the Pomo practiced the purchase of brides as an essential aspect of matrimony. There was no recognized “chief” in Pomo tradition, but rather a leadership of recognized male leaders of the settlements.

Bibliography
Ponca

**Culture area:** Plains  
**Language group:** Siouan  
**Primary location:** Nebraska, Oklahoma  
**Population size:** 2,913 (1990 U.S. Census)

The Ponca were Plains Indians who retained aspects of the culture of the woodlands from which they entered the Plains. Their closest relatives and associates were the Omaha; their relationships with the Sioux and Pawnee were always stormy. They were generally friendly with European Americans. Their chief Standing Bear forced a court ruling extending the personal liberties guaranteed by the Constitution to Indians.

**Early History and Traditional Lifestyle.** Sometime between 1200 and 1500, the Ponca entered the Plains from the Ohio River valley. They eventually settled along the Niobrara River in northeast Nebraska, where they lived in earthlodges and farmed the river’s floodplain as they had in the eastern woodlands. In spring and early summer, and again in autumn, they moved into the Plains, where they lived in tipis and hunted buffalo as Plains Indians. The Ponca obtained horses in the mid-1700’s and extended their hunting range beyond the Black Hills of South Dakota.

Ponca society and religion were much like those of other Plains Indians. Men hunted and waged war; women cooked, gardened, and made clothes and tipi covers. The women also took down the tipi before moving and put it up after the move. Unlike many Plains tribes, chief positions were hereditary. As with other Plains tribes, however, the chief had to demonstrate bravery and generosity to maintain a following. Ponca spiritual life included a sacred pipe, tribal medicine bundle, individual medicine bundles, vision quests, warrior societies, and Sun Dances.

The Ponca were always a small tribe and often united with the neighboring Omaha to defend themselves against the Sioux and Pawnee. Occasionally they joined the Sioux in disputes with the Pawnee or Omaha. Most of
their conflicts occurred with the Sioux, who attacked them on their hunting grounds and in their villages. They were never at war with the United States.

Transition and Modern Life. The Ponca position on the Missouri assured them early contact with white explorers and traders. Meriwether Lewis and William Clark spent time with them on their trip to explore the Louisiana Purchase, as did Prince Maximilian zu Wied and Karl Bodmer on their trip up the Missouri. They traded early and extensively with European Americans. The Ponca were hospitable to their visitors and were respected by the explorers and traders.

Despite their friendly attitude toward the European immigrants, the Ponca ultimately were treated no better than other American Indians. In 1858 they were assigned to a reservation within their traditional homeland, but in 1868 the same land was given to the Sioux. Responding to the resultant conflict between the tribes, the government determined to move the Ponca to Indian Territory (Oklahoma), a move the Indians attempted to resist.

In 1877, the Ponca tribe, under Chief White Eagle was forcibly moved. Many died on the trip, and more died in the first years in Oklahoma. In 1879, Chief Standing Bear, determined to bury his dead son in Nebraska, suggested that the tribe return to the Niobrara. Most Poncas, including White Eagle, believed that they would only be forced back to Oklahoma and chose to stay. Nevertheless, Standing Bear and several others moved north, reaching the Omaha reservation near Omaha, Nebraska, where they were arrested by the United States Army.

An editor of an Omaha newspaper, Thomas H. Tibbles, aroused public sentiment with his accounts of the situation. Two lawyers sued the government on behalf of Standing Bear’s right to go where he pleased. The government argued that Indians had no such rights. The judge ruled against the government, and government appeals (eventually to the Supreme Court) were dismissed. The ruling gave Indians the same personal liberties as white Americans. Application of the law was not that simple, but Standing Bear had forced a first legal step in the direction of Indian equality.

The Northern Ponca were eventually given a small reservation, but the General Allotment Act (Dawes Severalty Act) of 1887 gave allotments of reservation property to individual Indians and allowed the “extra” land to be sold to whites. The loss of their tribal land base was devastating to both Ponca subdivisions, but both survived because of their determination to do so. For example, when the government withdrew tribal recognition from the Northern Ponca in 1962, the Ponca returned to the courts of law. Tribal status was restored in 1990. The Ponca continue to struggle with poverty and
undereducation, but their continued existence as a tribe attests their character and determination.

*Carl W. Hoagstrom*

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**Poospatuck**

**Culture area:** Northeast  
**Language group:** Algonquian  
**Primary location:** Long Island, New York  
**Population size:** 264 (1990 U.S. Census)

The Poospatuck, also called Uncachogue, were one of thirteen tribes occupying Long Island, New York, in the seventeenth century. They, along with other Algonquian tribes, had lived in the area for thousands of years. The thirteen tribes made up the Montauk Confederacy, which controlled all of Long Island except the far western end. The chief of the Montauk tribe was considered—by both American Indians and Europeans—the head of all the thirteen tribes. Many scholars, in fact, consider the Montauk Confederacy one tribe and view the thirteen smaller units as clans.

The Poospatuck lived on the eastern half of the island’s south shore. They lived in permanent villages and ate a diet of fish and seafood as well as maize, beans, and pumpkins. Food was cooked in clay pots and stirred with wooden utensils. The Poospatuck created beautiful woven fabrics and leather goods. In the early seventeenth century, the Pequots conquered the Montauk Confederacy. After the Pequots were nearly wiped out in 1637, the Narragansett began to attack the Montauk, forcing them to seek refuge with whites. In 1666, the Poospatuck were granted a reservation on the Forge River. They tried to maintain their traditional life even as their numbers dwindled. The tribe’s last chief, the sachem Elizabeth Joe, died in 1832, but the Poospatuck reservation is still intact and recognized by New York State.

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**Potawatomi**

**Culture area:** Northeast  
**Language group:** Algonquian  
**Primary location:** Oklahoma, Wisconsin  
**Population size:** 16,763 in U.S. (1990 U.S. Census); 85 in Canada (Statistics Canada, based on 1992 census)
The Potawatomi, a tribe of the Algonquian language group, originally came from north of Lake Superior. About 1500 c.e., they migrated south to the eastern shore of Lake Michigan, where they built a dozen villages along the St. Joseph River.

**Traditional Lifeways.** The Potawatomi hunted deer, elk, buffalo, and small game, fished, and gathered berries and nuts. They also planted and harvested corn and squash. Women worked the crops while the men hunted. The Potawatomi moved their villages every ten to twelve years, when the soil became exhausted. The name of the tribe resulted from a misunderstanding by Jean Nicolet, the French fur trapper and explorer who first made contact with the Potawatomi in 1634. He asked his Huron guide, “Who are these people?” The guide misunderstood and answered, “They are making fire,” which sounded like “pota wa tomi” to the Frenchman. They actually called themselves Neshnabek, meaning “the true people,” but the other name stuck.

Traditional Potawatomi religion stressed the power of Wiske, the Master of All Life. Wiske had a twin brother, Chipiyapos, the Destroyer, but the gods looked so much alike people could tell the difference between them only with great difficulty. Potawatomi children began being taught about the difference between good and evil at age twelve, when they went on “vision quests” in the wilderness. Here they walked alone, naked, and without food or drink, praying and meditating. If they were purified by their suffering, a guardian spirit (manitou) would appear to them and lead them to safety. The manitou would protect the youth for the rest of his life.

**Post-contact Life.** In 1641, the first Roman Catholic missionaries appeared and set up a mission at St. Joseph, Michigan, though they met with little success in converting Indians to Christianity. In the 1650’s, the Iroquois of New York attacked all other tribes in Ohio, Michigan, and Indiana, seeking to expand their control of the fur trade. They defeated the Potawatomi, and the “true people” ended up in northern Wisconsin, along Green Bay.

From their new homeland, the Potawatomi became involved again in the fur trade, mainly with the French. Many French traders married Indian women, but the Potawatomi considered children of mixed marriages (called Brules—burned ones—by the natives and Metis—mixed people—by the French) aliens, and refused to let them live in their villages. Full-bloods lived in clans, which included the living, the dead, and the not-yet-born family members.

In the French and Indian War (1754-1763), the Potawatomi attacked British forces as far east as New York and Virginia. In 1755, they acquired horses for the first time, and the horse quickly replaced birchbark canoes as
their major mode of transportation. In 1763, Potawatomi warriors joined in Pontiac’s war against the British, but the Ottawa chief’s rebellion failed and he signed a humiliating peace treaty.

In 1794, the American army defeated another Potawatomi force at the Battle of Fallen Timbers, and the Indians gave up a large amount of land in Ohio and Indiana. In 1807, the “true people” joined Tecumseh in his war to unite all Indians and expel whites from their old homelands, but this fight also ended in failure. As the fur trade declined, tribal leaders found the sale of land to whites at very low prices one method of avoiding absolute poverty. In 1831, under the terms of the Indian Removal Act, the Potawatomi agreed to resettle in Kansas, though only about a half of the tribe’s twenty-seven hundred members actually moved. The others remained in the East and came under state authority, chiefly in Michigan and, later, Wisconsin.

After the Civil War, the “strolling Potawatomis” of northern Wisconsin, so called because they were landless and frequently moved from place to place, moved onto the Menominee reservation. Here they became involved with the Strange Woman religion led by a Dakota who claimed she had had a vision of Christ, who would soon return and restore his people to power and respect. If her followers would beat a giant drum and dance steadily for four days, the whites would fall dead to the earth. This “Dream Dance” is still performed four times a year, but mainly as a tourist attraction. In the twentieth century, the Potawatomi received their own reservation in Wisconsin, and they worked as migrant agricultural workers and basketmakers. The result was increasing poverty and despair. Only the legalization of bingo on tribal land offered any opportunity for economic growth; otherwise jobs and opportunity proved very scarce.

Leslie V. Tischauser

Powhatan Confederacy

The American Indians who encountered the first permanent English colonists at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607 were Powhatans. This was the

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribes Affected:</th>
<th>Chickahominy, Gingaskin, Mattaponi, Nansemond, Nottoway, Pamunkey, Patawomeck (Potomac), Rappahannock, Wey-anoke, Wiccomicos, about twenty others</th>
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<tr>
<td>Culture Area:</td>
<td>Southeast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language Group:</td>
<td>Algonquian</td>
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<td>Primary Location:</td>
<td>Virginia</td>
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Powhatan Confederacy
society to which the famous Pocahontas belonged. The name of the Powhatan can be a source of confusion because it has at least four related but distinct meanings. First, it is applied collectively to those early seventeenth century Virginia tribes that acknowledged the leadership of a paramount chief. After 1607 this chief was generally called Powhatan by the English (though his personal name was Wahunsonacock). Powhatan was also the name of the chief’s native village at the falls of the James River. (The term literally meant “at the falls.”) Finally, the name is applied to the Algonquian dialects spoken by Powhatan’s subjects.

The Powhatan tribes lived in eastern Virginia, between the Potomac River and the south bank of the James River. There were approximately thirty tribes or groups that acknowledged Powhatan’s supremacy. Some of these (such as the Mattaponi, Pamunkey, and Rappahannock) survived into later centuries; most of the others (such as the Patawomecks, Weyanokes, and Wiccomicos) did not.

**Traditional Lifestyle.** By the time of contact with the English, the Powhatans had evolved a settled way of life based on a mixed economy of agriculture and foraging. Powhatan tribes lived in villages located on the many creeks and rivers that fed into Chesapeake Bay. The men hunted and foraged for food, while the women were responsible for planting and harvesting corn and vegetables. The sexes enjoyed greater equality than existed in modern European society. Powhatan society was relatively stratified, with recognized ruling families in each village, as well as priests and military leaders, all ranking above the commoners. The political organization that had evolved by the time of contact was relatively elaborate. Each group had its own chief (or weroance), though all swore allegiance to Powhatan. Individual village chiefs were the lowest tier of authority. Though often styled a confederacy, Powhatan’s polity is more accurately termed a paramount chiefdom because it was based on the sub-
ordination of its member tribes rather than their voluntary association. Powhatan was not an absolute ruler, however, and his power was greater over some tribes than others.

**Contact with the English.** Powhatan’s life was changed forever by the arrival of the English in Virginia in 1607. While Indian assistance in the form of food and knowledge was essential to the colony’s survival, a clash of cultures almost immediately ensued, and conflict became the dominant pattern. Wars were fought with the English in 1610-1613 under Powhatan’s leadership and in 1622-1632 and 1644-1646 under Opechancanough, Powhatan’s younger brother and successor as paramount chief. The second of the wars began with a surprise uprising that killed a quarter of Virginia’s white population. Opechancanough was killed during the last of the wars, and thereafter the paramount chiefdom disintegrated.

An attempt was made, with English encouragement, to resurrect it in the 1670’s under Cockacoeske, queen of the Pamunkeys. By this time, however, the Powhatan tribes that survived preferred dealing with the English on an individual basis. In 1677, treaties were made with the colony of Virginia in which several of the tribes accepted reservations. The Powhatans were clearly a civilization in decline. The combination of wars and disease had reduced their numbers from twelve thousand in 1607 to one thousand in 1700. Over time the Indians became increasingly acculturated. By the mid-eighteenth century, the Powhatan language had died out.

**Modern Struggles.** Despite a decimated population and social disorganization, the Virginia tribes that survived managed to maintain a strong sense of Indian identity. During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, they faced an uphill struggle to preserve it. To many white Virginians, the descendants of the Powhatans did not seem very “Indian”: They spoke English, farmed, and dressed like other Virginians. Moreover, many had intermarried—with blacks as well as whites—in an era of increasing racial consciousness.

The Gingaskin and Nottaway tribes (the latter a non-Algonquian group) agreed to termination in the early nineteenth century, and their reservation lands were divided among themselves. The Pamunkeys and Mattaponis maintained control of their reservation lands, though at times with difficulty. The nonreservation tribes (such as the Rappahannocks, Nansemonds, and Chickahominies) had more problems maintaining separate identities and were not recognized by the state government as Indians. (Since the treaties governing Virginia’s Indians were made long before American independence, the Virginia tribes never entered into a formal relationship with the United States government and lacked federal recognition as Indians.)
Probably the greatest difficulties for Virginia’s Indians came during the era of racial segregation, when state authorities sought to treat Indians as they treated African Americans. Indians resisted, however, often wearing their straight hair long to display their physical distinctiveness. During World Wars I and II, reservation Indians were able to establish their claim to Indian status and thus served in white, rather than black, units.

The twentieth century witnessed a revival among Virginia tribes of Powhatan ancestry. The Pamunkey and Mattaponi continue to maintain their reservations, and nonreservation groups organized and sought formal recognition from the state. By 1990, five such groups had obtained state recognition: the Upper Mattaponi, the United Rappahanock, the Nansemond, the Chickahominy, and the Eastern Chickahominy. Organized legally as corporations, the nonreservation tribes adopted democratic governments that elected councils and chiefs. The reservation tribes by this time also had elected governments, though they limited participation in them to male reservation residents.

William C. Lowe

Bibliography

Pueblo tribes, Eastern

**Tribes affected:** Cochiti, Hano, Isleta, Jemez, Nambe, Pecos, Picuris, Pojoaque, San Felipe, San Ildefonso, San Juan, Sandia, Santa Ana, Santa Clara, Santo Domingo, Taos, Tesuque, Tigua, Zia
The Puebloans say that they have occupied the Southwest from “time immemorial”; indeed, archaeological investigation has proved that they are descended from the prehistoric Anasazi, “the Ancient Ones.” As the Anasazi abandoned their great population centers at Mesa Verde, Chaco Canyon, and Kayenta around the year 1300, they migrated into three main areas, one of which was the Rio Grande Valley in New Mexico. There they built new settlements, which were still occupied at the time of the Spanish entry into the Southwest around 1540; most of these continued to be occupied into the twentieth century.

The indigenous peoples whom the Spaniards encountered were, for the most part, agriculturists with a sedentary, settled lifestyle. They lived in villages consisting of terraced, flat-roofed, communal dwellings of stone and adobe built around a central plaza. The Spaniards called these villages “pueblos” and their occupants “Pueblo Indians,” as distinguished from the nomadic Apache. With more than 25 percent of their yearly food supply provided by their own crops, the Puebloans had been able to develop a stable and organized way of life, with ample time to devote to art and religion.

Contact with the Spanish. The Spaniards came into the Southwest looking for gold but, finding none, settled for declaring it a missionary domain for the Franciscans. They divided the area into districts, each of which was assigned to a Roman Catholic priest. All the pueblos were given Spanish saint names, and the Puebloans were forced to swear allegiance and vassalage to the Spanish crown and the Church. Some Puebloans were driven from their homes so that the Spanish soldiers, priests, and settlers could be housed.

Spanish oppression became more and more unbearable until finally, in 1680, the Puebloans revolted, driving the conquerors back to El Paso del Norte. In 1692, however, General Don Diego de Vargas led his armies back into the territory, successfully recapturing it.

The Mexican Revolution of 1821 put an end to Spanish rule in the Southwest, but little changed for the Puebloans except that they were now designated citizens of the Mexican Republic. In 1846, war broke out between the United States and Mexico, ending in 1848 with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which ceded New Mexico and upper California to the United States. The treaty also obligated the United States to recognize

CULTURE AREA: Southwest
LANGUAGE GROUPS: Keresan, Tanoan
PRIMARY LOCATION: Hopi First Mesa, Rio Grande Valley
POPULATION SIZE: 24,055 (1990 U.S. Census)
Indian rights previously established under Spanish and Mexican rule. In 1849, the Bureau of Indian Affairs sent the first Indian agent to the New Mexico Territory. In the Gadsden Purchase of 1853, the United States acquired more land in the Southwest from Mexico; in 1861, parts of the New Mexico Territory were designated as the Territories of Arizona and Colorado. For decades afterward, titles to Indian lands in these new territories were in question. Most of the pueblos had no documents confirming their Spanish land grants, and land-hungry settlers coming into the area took what they wanted. Beginning in 1856, federal government surveys were made and were later confirmed by the Supreme Court, with the result that many Puebloans were given official title to their lands in 1864. When both New Mexico and Arizona joined the Union in 1912, the Indians became United States citizens but were not granted citizenship by either state until 1948.

**Tiwa-Speaking Pueblos.** The Tanoan language, one of the two major language groups of the Eastern Pueblos, contains three subfamilies or dialects: Tiwa, Tewa, and Towa. The northern Tiwa are the pueblos of Taos and
Picuris, while the southern Tiwa are located to the north and south of Albuquerque in the pueblos of Sandia and Isleta. A fifth Tiwa group, the Tigua, lives at El Paso, Texas.

Taos Pueblo, the northernmost of all those in the Rio Grande Valley, was built around 1700 after the original pueblo, dating several hundred years earlier, was destroyed by fire in the 1690’s. The pueblo consists of two communal structures, Hlauuma (North House) and Hlaukwima (South House), which are located on either side of Taos Creek. The first Spanish contact was made by Pedro de Alvarado in 1540, followed by Juan de Oñate in 1598, who named the pueblo “San Miguel.” The Spaniards built two churches in the pueblo, one in the early seventeenth century and one in the early eighteenth century, both of which were subsequently destroyed (the present church dates from 1847). In 1639, harsh Spanish rule forced the people of Taos to flee to the north, where they built a new pueblo in what is now Scott County, Kansas. Two years later, however, the Spaniards forced them to return to Taos. Their two-year residency among the Plains Indians influenced the dress, the customs, and even the physical makeup of the people of Taos, and for many years Taos was a trading center for the Ute, Apache, and Comanche.

The original pueblo of Picuris dates from around 1250 and was named San Lorenzo by the Spaniards, who built a mission there in 1621. Like Taos, Picuris had its problems with Spanish authority; the governor of Picuris was one of the leaders of the Pueblo Revolt, and after the Spanish reconquest in 1692, the people of Picuris escaped to western Kansas, where they lived until 1706. At that time, weakened by disease and warfare, they returned to their pueblo.

The pueblo of Sandia dates from about 1300. The Spaniards built a mission there in the early seventeenth century (San Francisco), but it was destroyed in the Pueblo Revolt. After the Spaniards destroyed Sandia Pueblo in their attempts at reconquest, the people of Sandia took refuge with the Hopi, building the village of Payupki on the Second Mesa. In 1742, about five hundred people returned to Sandia and built a new pueblo on the site of the old one.

Isleta, with its 210,445 acres, is the largest of all Rio Grande pueblos in terms of area. In the 1600’s, many people from other Tiwa villages came to Isleta to escape Apache raids. At the time of the Pueblo Revolt, Isleta’s population numbered about two thousand people, many of whom were forced to accompany the Spaniards as they fled south to El Paso del Norte. Their descendants, the Tiguas, still live at Ysleta del Sur, about twelve miles south of El Paso, where they built a pueblo arranged around a rectangular plaza. As several scholars have established, the northern Puebloans virtu-
ally disowned the Tiguas because they did not fight the Spaniards in the Pueblo Revolt. As a consequence, the Tiguas have never been allowed to join the Pueblo Conference, although Texas recognized their tribal status by creating the Tigua Indian Reservation in 1967.

**Tewa-Speaking Pueblos.** There are seven Tewa pueblos: San Juan, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, Nambe, Tesuque, and Pojoaque in the Rio Grande Valley, and Hano in Hopi country. The pueblo of San Juan is the largest of the Tewa-speaking pueblos and has been continuously inhabited since 1300. Juan de Oñate designated San Juan as his first capital in 1598 but appropriated the pueblo of Yunqueyunque the following year, sending its inhabitants to live in San Juan. In 1675, when Spanish repression of Pueblo religion reached the point where forty-seven Pueblo leaders were convicted of witchcraft and whipped, Popé, a San Juan medicine man, was among them. It was he who later planned and led the Pueblo Revolt.

The pueblos of Santa Clara and San Ildefonso date from the early fourteenth century. The Spaniards built missions in both pueblos; both were destroyed in the Pueblo Revolt. As the Spaniards attempted to reconquer the area, people from both pueblos took refuge atop nearby Black Mesa but surrendered after a nine-month siege. Most of the Santa Clarans abandoned their pueblo again around 1696 and moved west to the Hopi villages, where they built the pueblo of Hano on First Mesa. By 1702, the Spaniards had repopulated San Ildefonso with other Tewa-speaking people, but the pueblo continued to have serious troubles throughout the eighteenth century: A smallpox epidemic decimated half the population, Spanish repression of Puebloan religion continued, and many witchcraft trials occurred at the pueblo.

The pueblos of Tesuque, Nambe, and Pojoaque, which all date from around 1300, also took part in the Pueblo Revolt after destroying the Spanish mission in each. They joined the other Tewas at Black Mesa but, by the early 1700’s, had returned to their own pueblos. While Tesuque has continued to follow the traditional Puebloan way of life, both Nambe and Pojoaque have more or less ceased to exist as Pueblo communities. Only the kiva at Nambe distinguishes it from any other rural Rio Grande village.

**Jemez Pueblo.** The only Towa-speaking pueblo still in existence is Jemez, located on the Rio Jemez in the Jemez Mountains west of Santa Fe. Hostile toward the Spanish from the outset, the Jemez fostered two rebellions against them even before the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. After the reconquest, the Jemez, retreating to a mesa-top fortress, continued to raid the Spaniards but were defeated in the late 1690’s. Those who escaped Spanish retribution took refuge with the Hopi and the Navajo. By 1703, most of the people had returned to the Jemez Valley and rebuilt their pueblo. In 1838,
when Pecos Pueblo, another Towa-speaking village in the Galisteo Basin, was abandoned, its seventeen residents moved to Jemez Pueblo. Pecos, like all the other Tanoans, originated early in the fourteenth century and had continued as an important center until the early nineteenth century.

The Keresan-Speaking Pueblos. The five extant Keresan-speaking pueblos in the Rio Grande Valley are Cochiti, Santo Domingo, San Felipe, Santa Ana, and Zia. All the original pueblos dated from the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century; in the late sixteenth century, all were visited by the Spaniards, who built missions in each pueblo in the seventeenth century. All the Keres took part in the Pueblo Revolt and in resisting Spanish reconquest in the 1690’s. When Zia Pueblo was attacked and destroyed, six hundred people were killed, and the others were sold into slavery. Some who escaped fled to Jemez but were induced to return a few years later to rebuild at Zia.

The Santo Domingans resisted reconquest by destroying their pueblo in 1692 and joining forces with Jemez Pueblo. When attacked by the Spaniards there in 1694, many fled to Hopi while others, accompanied by some refugees from Cochiti, moved into Acoma territory, where they built the new pueblo of Laguna. Later, some Santo Domingans returned to rebuild on the original site of their own pueblo. All the eastern Keres pueblos are still occupied, with the exception of Santa Ana. A lack of agricultural land and water for irrigation forced most of the people to move to a farming community near Bernalillo, with only a few caretakers remaining in the pueblo. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Cochiti Pueblo served as a refuge for Spanish and Mexican settlers from Apache and Navajo raids.

Pueblo Culture. Pueblo society is communal, with emphasis placed upon the welfare of the entire group, as opposed to that of any one individual. As many scholars have observed, the Puebloans had two highly desirable culture-forming assets: time and space. With time to think matters through carefully and space to see things clearly, they developed a culture that allowed them to enjoy the pleasures of each day to the fullest, without pressure for constant and immediate change. When change was called for, they reflected carefully, discussed it as a group, and then decided on a course of action.

The Puebloans had no written language; they maintained their culture orally, passing down knowledge from one generation to the next, often narrating it through ritual dances and other ceremonies. They have a great reverence for tradition and for truth and would never change or embellish their history for any reason, political or otherwise. As events have had an impact on Pueblo life through the centuries, they have been included in the
history; thus, the Spaniards appear in the ritual stories still being told. The Puebloans, who always relate their history “from the beginning,” share a similar creation belief in which humankind originated in the center of the earth, finally emerging onto the surface through a ceremonial opening known as the sipapu. As they came up into the light, they were divided into different groups that spoke different dialects, and they were sent to make their homes in different regions.

Religion is integrated with all other aspects of Pueblo life; it influences art, crafts, all industries, and the social structure. The fundamental belief underlying the Pueblo religion is that a person must live so that he or she is always in harmony with nature, with nature’s basic rhythm. Other facets of existence have significance only in terms of how they relate to this principal belief. There are ceremonies and rites that are appropriate to each of the seasons—planting, growing, harvesting, and hunting. Many of the motifs that appear in their art are derived from their ceremonial beliefs, and even such mundane activities as the gathering of salt and clay are accompanied by special prayers. Lack of success in any endeavor is not blamed on the spirits but on the person who failed to observe the rituals properly.

The various pueblos have developed some similarities in their social and cultural patterns as they have interacted with one another through the centuries, yet each one is a closely united and distinct entity. Their ceremonies, for example, are similar, but important variations exist.

In each pueblo, authority is divided between religious and secular leaders, and the distinction between the two is carefully maintained. The slate of secular officers that resulted from a decree issued by the Spanish king in 1620 is still in effect: a governor, two lieutenant governors, a sheriff, and the fiscales, positions derived from the office of prosecutor. These officials serve for one year at all but four pueblos, where they serve for two years. The Spanish presented the first secular officers with metal-topped canes inscribed with the Spanish cross as emblems of their authority. When Mexican rule began in 1821, the system was maintained, and the officers were given new canes with silver tops as additional badges of office.

In 1863, Abraham Lincoln rewarded the Puebloans for their neutrality during the Civil War by giving silver-crowned ebony canes inscribed with his signature to all the secular officials, who now had three emblems of office. These canes are still displayed on important ceremonial occasions in most of the pueblos, along with the silver medals decorated with profiles of Lincoln and President Dwight D. Eisenhower made to commemorate the “Republican Centennial, 1863-1960” and the small cherrywood canes with white bronze tops presented to the Puebloans in 1980 in celebration of the Tricentennial of the Pueblo Revolt of 1680.
Division into Moieties. Another major cultural characteristic of the Rio Grande Pueblos is their division into dual ceremonial groups known as moieties. For example, in the pueblos of Cochiti, Jemez, Sandia, San Felipe, Santa Ana, Santo Domingo, and Zia, the moieties are divided into the Turquoise and the Squash. At San Juan, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, Nambe, Pojoaque, Tesuque, and Hano, they are Winter People and Summer People, and at Taos Pueblo they are North and South. A moiety can also be a political division; many pueblos alternate the position of governor annually between the two moieties. A moiety is often mistaken for a clan by outsiders who do not realize that in Pueblo tradition a clan is a group of related persons who trace their matrilineal descent from a common ancestor.

In the dual system of the Tanoan Pueblos, each moiety has its own priest, or cacique—a term of Caribbean origin which was first used by the Spaniards to designate Pueblo religious leaders and was eventually adopted by the Puebloans themselves. In the Tanoan dichotomy, the caciques, who hold office for life, are an important part of the hierarchical form of government of each pueblo. The Keres Pueblos have a somewhat more complicated social structure involving clans, kiva groups, and medicine societies as well as moieties. In these pueblos, a single cacique is responsible for the spiritual well-being of all the people and also appoints those who hold secular offices.

While adhering to their own traditional beliefs, many Puebloans also practice Roman Catholicism; they find no inconsistencies in this, since they are able to keep the two religions separate. Each pueblo still observes the ancient ceremonies and rites, encouraging its young people to participate fully.

Puebloans in the latter half of the twentieth century found themselves plagued by the same economic problems that beset many people in the United States as a whole—such as inadequate land resources, dwindling revenues from agriculture, unemployment, and lack of adequate funding for education and health care—but they must also contend with increasing pressures from the non-Indian world. In spite of this, they continue to retain most of their native culture, being bound together by love of tradition, by common languages, and by their strong religious beliefs.

LouAnn Faris Culley

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**Pueblo tribes, Western**

**Tribe affecting:** Acoma, Hopi, Laguna, Zuni

**Culture area:** Southwest

**Language groups:** Keresan, Tewa, Uto-Aztecan, Zuni

**Primary location:** Southwest

**Population size:** 28,884 (1990 U.S. Census)
The Western Pueblos are considered to be a part of the cultural pattern known as the Desert culture, a migration that extended southward from the Great Basin and covered most of the Southwest, dating the earliest human inhabitants of this region some ten thousand years ago. During this long history, most changes in Pueblo culture have occurred since the time of contact with Europeans, specifically with the Spanish. The Pueblos have managed to control these changes, especially in their ceremonial life, through persistence and protection.

The Pueblo Revolt of 1680. As did most Indians of the Southwest, Pueblo peoples experienced the impact of three Western European cultures: Spanish, Mexican, and Anglo-American. One of the most disruptive qualities of contact for the Pueblos was Western European religion, which was intolerant of competing beliefs and ceremonies. By the middle of the seventeenth century, after almost a hundred years of forced labor and European religion, the Pueblos planned to put an end to the suffering that resulted from Spanish oppression. Aware of the strengths and weaknesses of their adversary, the Pueblo communities decided that a united resistance would be the most successful. Careful planning produced what is generally called the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. Although the Pueblos outnumbered the Spanish, the Spanish had an advantage because of their weaponry.

The Northern Pueblos laid siege to the Spanish capital of Santa Fe, where more than a thousand colonists and missionaries had taken refuge. Other Pueblos, including Acoma, Hopi, and Zuni, contributed to the revolt by killing the Spaniards and missionaries living in or near these pueblos. Spanish houses, churches, church records, and furniture were burned or destroyed. Through the later testimony of captured Indians, it became clear that the leaders of the revolt (Popé among them) wanted to obliterate all representations of Spanish culture and religion. Success of this objective was realized but was short-lived. Don Diego de Vargas reconquered the area in the winter of 1691-1692; all of New Mexico was reconquered by 1696. Faced with a conquer-and-destroy attitude for hundreds of years, it is a testimony to the strength of the people of the Western Pueblos that they survived and retained many of their customs and beliefs.

Although the Acoma, Hopi, Laguna, and Zuni tribes share many similar customs and beliefs, they should be viewed as separate, independent societies.

Acoma. The Pueblos of Acoma and Laguna share the same language, Keresan, and are closely related. Laguna lies about 40 miles west of Albuquerque. Fifteen miles west-southwest of Laguna is Acoma. The word Acoma means “place that always was.” Archaeologists have generally agreed that Acoma has been inhabited at least from 1200 C.E. to the present.
Little is known about the origins of the Acomas, but they claim to have always lived on their mesa.

Acoma, as are most pueblos, is structured by clans that are always matrilineal in descent. A clan comprises all the descendants of a traditional maternal ancestor. Males go to live with the clan of their wife at marriage. The difference between clans and families is that clans are a ceremonial institution of membership. Acoma society is matriarchal; Acoma women own the houses and everything in them, even if an item is brought there by their husbands. Women also have claim to all domestic animals, such as sheep and chickens. Certain ceremonial rights, however, such as entrance into a kiva (ceremonial chamber), are open only to men.

Elections for officials at Acoma are held yearly during the winter solstice. The government consists of a cacique (governor), who nominates those who will run for office. To assist the governor are two lieutenant governors, three war chiefs and their two cooks, and ten principales. Aside from the cacique and the principales, who serve life terms, offices are held for one year.

The cacique sets the date for ceremonies that may vary chronologically—for example, those ceremonies held on the solstices. Rabbit hunts are held before almost all important occasions. Some dances, such as the corn dance, are recreational rather than sacred or ceremonial. Anyone can observe or participate in these dances. The most important communal ceremony is that of the K’atsina (Kachina) dancers. K’atsinas are spirit rainmakers. It is said that in the old days, the K’atsina used to come to the village bringing the people gifts and cheering them when they were sad. There was a great fight between the spirits and the people, however; the spirits refused to come to the village anymore, but they told the people they could wear masks and pretend they were K’atsinas and all would be well; rain would come.

Pottery is the main form of art pursued by the Acomas. It is less durable than Zuni pottery but more various in its designs, which include trees, leaves, birds, flowers, and geometrical patterns. Pottery serves both utilitarian and ceremonial functions and has historically been a cultural indicator of what was acceptable or fashionable.

Potters hold a special place of respect at both Acoma and Laguna. Often, because of the commercial value of Acoma pottery, a potter may be the primary wage earner of the family. Pottery produced for simple household means maintains a special significance because it was made from materials of the earth to support some type of life activity. Observers of Acoma have remarked that a pot has a “conscious existence,” and Wanda Aragon, an Acoma potter, has said that “when you’re finished with a pot you flow life into it and it is given life.”
Regardless of culture, potters produce interpretations that reflect changing values and cultural demands. This may explain the emphasis on pottery at Acoma, a village that has emphasized pottery in its economy more than Laguna. Laguna has three times the population of Acoma, but Acoma has many more potters.

**Laguna.** The Laguna migration to their present village is even more mysterious than that of the Acoma. Tribal traditions and pottery found in ruins can trace Laguna culture back to the last decade of the seventeenth century, but no one can say where they lived before that. There is no reference to the tribe by Spanish historians, who confused them with the Acomas, a tribe having one central village and who spoke the same language as the Lagunas. Many historians date the founding of Laguna between 1697 and 1699 by a combination of settlers from various groups, including Jemez, Santo Domingo, Zia, and a few disgruntled Acoma.

The Lagunas also have a matriarchal, clan-based social structure. They have their own calendar, recognizing twenty-eight days to a moon, but there are no year designations. Events or phenomena are used to keep track of time. According to this calendar, the winter solstice begins the yearly ceremonies. Migration and the journey from the north are recounted in songs. The Keres words for winter solstice are *Kù wa mi Shu ko* (*Kù wa mi*, “south”; *Shu ko*, “corner”) meaning “the south corner time.” There are also K’atsina (Kachina) dances during planting and harvesting seasons, the importance of rain having a significant role at Laguna.

**Hopi.** Rain is of major importance for the Hopis as well. Two general characteristics appear repeatedly in pottery motifs: a respect and desire for rain and a belief in the unity of all life. Pottery making for Hopis, as with most Pueblo communities, is an art that exists in the mind of the potter. There are no permanent patterns set down for design layouts. Sand paintings made on the floors of kivas are derived from clan traditions and, like pottery, the designs are carried only in the memory of the artists.

Hopi society is complex, consisting of thousands of people, each of whom is affiliated with one of thirteen villages. Oraibi, once the largest Hopi village, was one of the most determined to reject religious and political imposition during the time of the Pueblo Revolt. Much later, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Oraibi split occurred. The village divided into two factions, termed “hostiles” and “friendlies” by the United States government. The hostiles resented policies that would forcibly educate their children. The friendlies saw advantages to American education. The disagreement escalated, and the hostiles were forced from the village in September of 1906. Other theories emphasize the importance of internal, social instability in causing the split. Whatever the case, a well-established society had fragmented.
Hopi villages are matrilineal; women own the houses and, therefore, the economy, if they distribute items such as produce from their homes. For ceremonies and politics, men have the most influence, with the major focus of rituals being concentrated in the kiva. These tendencies are generalized, however, and many exceptions occur.

There are several clans among the Hopi, serving as a source of social identity and performing what has become the most important modern function, regulating marriage. The modern government has for the most part become secularized, although some religious overtones still emerge. The board of directors’ meetings can be open or closed and can discuss everything from land disputes to the writing of village history.

**Zuni.** Tribal traditions and history are also a major concern for the Zuni Pueblo. During the 1980’s, the Zunis established their own public school system, which promoted and emphasized Zuni culture. A staff of experts frequently visit classes to explain tribal traditions. Every August there is a tribal fair, including a rodeo, a parade complete with floats, and social dances. The crowning of Miss Zuni takes place during this event; the young woman is not chosen for her beauty, but rather for her knowledge of Zuni culture. She must be fluent in the Zuni language, and she is tested on the history of the tribe, ensuring that the culture will be passed on.
Prior to 1934, members of the government, the Zuni Tribal Council, had been appointed by the Council of High Priests. Since 1934, elections of officers have been open to the tribe, but, ironically, it was not until 1965 that women were able to vote in this matriarchal society.

The present-day Zuni pueblo is settled at the location of the village of Halona wa, one of six villages existing before the eighteenth century. The other five villages were abandoned, probably because of Apache and Navajo raids, diseases introduced at the time of contact, and the Spanish reconquest. The legend of the “Seven Cities of Cibola,” reported to be large, rich cities, may have been based on the six Zuni villages. Hearing of the legend prompted Francisco Vásquez de Coronado to explore the area in 1540. He was disappointed to find some rather poor farmers supplementing their agricultural base with hunting. Spanish chroniclers would later write of the Zuni that “what they worshiped most was water.”

The Zuni language is still the language of social discourse, with most Zunis also being fluent in English. The social structure is similar to that of the other Western Pueblos; it is a matriarchal, clan-based culture. Clan divisions and names of clans at Zuni are reflected among other Pueblos—Eagle, Sun, Badger, Turkey, and so on—with each clan having a specific religious function. Zuni priests act as mediators between the people and the Kachinas, the spirits who bring rain.

Most tribes in the Southwest make and use fetishes, but of all the Pueblos the Zuni have the reputation for being the most skillful at carving them. The purposes for which a fetish may be used varies. There are fetishes for hunting, curing diseases, war, gambling, and initiations. Hunting fetishes are the kind most often seen for sale. The fetish most highly prized by a Zuni is one of the natural concretion bearing resemblance to an animal. Shell, stone, wood, plant, or animal material may be used to carve a fetish; their purpose in assisting humans remains the same, regardless of the material. Fetishes are regarded as living things and must be carefully attended.

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Puyallup

**Culture Area:** Northwest Coast  
**Language Group:** Salishan  
**Primary Location:** Puget Sound basin  
**Population Size:** 1,281 (1990 U.S. Census)

The name Puyallup comes from the Indian name for the Puyallup River, sometimes written pwiya’lap. The Puyallup were one of several tribes collectively called the Southern Coast Salish, living in the Puget Sound basin. The Puyallup lived at the mouth of the Puyallup River and along the neighboring Washington coastline. There were twelve subdivisions and villages; the Steilacoom, for example, lived on Steilacoom Creek and the adjacent beach. The Puyallup were hunters, fishers, and gatherers.

The Puyallup lived in villages in the winter and camps in the summer. A village consisted of large wooden houses occupied by several families. Puyallup society was divided into three social classes: upper-class freeman, lower-class freeman, and slaves. Upper-class Puyallup were from good families, possessed wealth, and had the means to participate in certain ceremonies. The wealthiest male was usually the village headman. The lower class lacked these requisites, and slaves and their descendants were captives of war who were kept by wealthy masters. Each village was closely tied to neighboring villages by means of marriages between prominent families, kinship, mutual use of the same land, and joint participation in various ceremonies. In addition, individual status was determined in part by how well an individual was known in other villages. Within the freeman class was a group of professional warriors. They occasionally led raiding parties for slaves but were primarily called upon to defend their village from attack by outside tribes, primarily the Lekwiltok.

Guardian spirits were a central part of Puyallup life. Every individual ability and accomplishment (such as wealth, war, gambling, and hunting) was facilitated by the appropriate spirit. Training began in childhood so that by age eight a child was able to seek out the appropriate guardian spirit, which came in a vision.

By the 1850’s whites had established settlements on Puyallup land, and in 1854 and 1855 treaties set aside land for the Puyallup near Tacoma, Washington. Their involvement in the white economy (selling furs, fishing and logging commercially, and working in hopyards) became extensive. Attempts to Christianize the Puyallup and minimize the influence of tribal customs were only partially successful. More critically, the Puyallup were
economically exploited by whites. Families sold their allotted reservation land, and by the late 1970’s, the entire Puyallup reservation occupied only 33 acres. This occurred on top of epidemics of smallpox and malaria in the 1850’s which significantly reduced the population.

Puyallup fortunes were reversed, however, beginning in the mid-1960’s. The population had increased significantly, and they were permitted greater control over their own affairs. The Boldt Decision in 1974 reaffirmed the early treaties guaranteeing fishing rights. Tribal members became adept in business management; some established and learned to manage fisheries. They also formed a tribal government with a strong business orientation, which developed a network of stores, marinas, and restaurants on the reservation.

Quapaw

**CULTURE AREA:** Southeast  
**LANGUAGE GROUP:** Siouan  
**PRIMARY LOCATION:** Oklahoma  
**POPULATION SIZE:** 1,538 (1990 U.S. Census)

Unlike many other American Indian tribes, the Quapaws (or Arkansas) have not preserved elaborate traditions explaining their origins. They say only that their Ancient Ones came forth from the water. Because of this, the history of the tribe is difficult to uncover. The Quapaws, or “Downstream People,” migrated from the Ohio Valley to the Arkansas River near where it joins the Mississippi River in the mid-1600’s. Since the Quapaws went downstream, their kindred tribes called them Ugaxpa, or “drifted downstream.” Their principal villages were on the west bank of the Mississippi River in what is now Arkansas. The forests and rivers supplied plenty of berries, game, and other food. They had large, well-tilled fields and cultivated gourds, pumpkins, sunflowers, beans, squash, and corn. Corn was considered the most important agricultural product. They hunted buffalo, which was a substantial part of their diet, and preserved what was not needed immediately for winter.

The focus of Quapaw life was the permanent village, which was actually a cluster of multiple-family dwellings. Their faith played a role in every aspect of tribal life; the central force of the universe was Wah-kon-tah, who was all and in all. They believed in life after death and in a judgment that would lead to a life of joy or perpetual torment. They often traded with the
Caddoes on the Red River and had established a trade route between the two settlements. The manufactured goods of white society, which the people wanted, brought about establishment of trade with eastern tribes who had contact with the Europeans. The first Europeans to encounter the Quapaws were the French explorers Jacques Marquette and Louis Jolliet in 1673. The trading done with whites was ultimately detrimental to the Downstream People; by 1699 smallpox had killed so many that only three hundred warriors remained.

Only a thousand Quapaws were left in 1818 when they ceded 30 million acres to the United States for $4,000 and annuities. A remaining million acres were ceded in 1824. In 1925 the Quapaws moved to the Caddo Reservation in Louisiana, where they were plagued by disease and floods. Most of the tribe left and returned to Arkansas. A treaty in 1833 gave these people land in northwest Oklahoma (then Indian Territory). They scattered during the Civil War, but in the late 1800’s survivors gathered on the reservation in Indian Territory to reestablish tribal life. The Downstream People remained a poor tribe until nickel and zinc were discovered on the reservation in the 1920’s; then they prospered. The population dropped to 236 in 1895 but had risen to 929 in 1980 and 1,538 in 1990. Of those listed in the census as Quapaw, probably no more than 20 percent are more than one-fourth Quapaw, yet the tribe maintains its unique identity.

Quechan

**Culture area:** Southwest  
**Language group:** Yuman  
**Primary location:** Southwestern Arizona, southeastern California  
**Population size:** 1,972 (1990 U.S. Census)

The Quechan, or Yuma, tribe is one of the few that have never been relocated away from their ancestral land. Quechan territory lies around the confluence of the Gila and Colorado rivers. The Quechan came to this area between 1540 and 1700. (Although “Yuma” is essentially synonymous with Quechan, the term “Yuman” applies to a language group and to a number of tribes, including the Quechan, Maricopa, and Cocopa.)

The Quechan derived their subsistence from cultivating the rivers’ floodplains and from gathering wild fruits, nuts, and seeds. A popular wild food was mesquite, which they ground into flour for cakes or fermented to make an intoxicating beverage.
Apart from shamans, the spiritual leaders, there was a *kwaxot*, or civil leader, and a *kwanim*, or war leader. The primary leader was probably the *paipataxan*, or “real person,” who made the majority of decisions about issues that affected the tribe.

The Quechan were occasionally in conflicts with the Cocopa, Maricopa, and Pima. Sometimes the Quechan would ally themselves with the Mojave and Sand Papago (Tohono O’odham) tribes. Attacks were initiated to steal supplies and obtain captives that could be traded for horses and other necessities. In the 1770’s, Europeans and Mexicans attempted to control the area where the Gila and Colorado rivers join by trying to “civilize” the Quechan. Eventually, the Quechan tired of their new allies’ cultural impositions and destroyed the Mexican and European settlements.

In 1852, the United States was able to establish a garrison on a cliff overlooking the rivers. Fort Yuma’s dealings with the Quechan were relatively peaceful. This peace was further ensured when the commander of the fort had a Quechan named Pasqual made “tribal chief.”

Between the 1850’s and the 1900’s, the U.S. government tried to bargain land away from the group, but in 1912, the Fort Yuma Reservation was established, temporarily stabilizing Quechan landholdings. By the 1960’s, however, the Quechans had sold much of their land because of economic stress. They ceased most of their farming activities and became wage earners. They were forced to adopt the federally accepted form of local government called the “tribal council.” After several nonviolent protests in the 1960’s and 1970’s, the U.S. government finally restored 25,000 acres to the Quechan in 1978.

As of 1990, the majority of Quechans lived on this land, working as farmers, laborers, artisans, and craftspeople. They remained closely tied to their land and continued to celebrate many of their traditions.

### Quileute

**Culture Area:** Northwest Coast  
**Language Group:** Chimakuan  
**Primary Location:** Western Washington  
**Population Size:** 580 (1990 U.S. Census)

The Quileute, a maritime people, dwelled in permanent split-cedar-roofed longhouses that accommodated several extended families or even a lineage. They were dependent primarily upon fishing, which was
reflected in their ceremonies, settlement patterns, technology, and mythology. Quileute society was internally stratified with hereditary chiefs, commoners, and slaves. Status was gained through oratory, warfare, birth, and accumulation and redistribution of traditional forms of wealth (usually in the forms of copper, slaves, obsidian blades, pileated red woodpecker scalp capes, and dentalium shells). Kinship was bilateral. Residence tended to be patrilocal. They had a shamanistic religion; polygyny; complex ceremonies, including the potlatch; house and totem pole-raising; rites of passage; and the launching of hollowed red cedar canoes for trading. Raven was a cultural hero, and art was typified by geometric and representational thunderbird-whale motifs.

First European American contact was with the Spanish in 1775 and with the British in 1787. The Quileute signed a reservation treaty in 1855 with Governor Isaac I. Stevens, but through a misunderstanding the Quileute remained in their territory until 252 were removed in 1889 to a one-mile-square reservation at La Push, on the western coast of Washington. In 1893, the remaining 71 inhabitants moved to the Hoh River. In 1882, a school was established at La Push. The syncretic Indian Shaker Church was introduced to the Quileute in 1895.

In 1936, the Quileute adopted a constitution and bylaws, and in 1937 they became an independent and self-governing sovereign people governed by a five-member elected council. Their main sources of income are a fish-buying company, a tourists’ trailer park, a cooperative store, and a fishing gear store that supplies local fishermen and tourists. Many Quileute are self-employed in logging and fishing. There are numerous successful efforts at revitalizing certain aspects of Quileute traditional culture, particularly with the teaching of woodworking skills.

**Quinault**

**Culture area:** Northwest Coast  
**Language group:** Salishan  
**Primary location:** Mouth of the Quinault River, Washington  
**Population size:** 967 (Quinault Reservation, per 1990 U.S. Census); 2,491 (Quinault Nation office at Taholah, Washington, 1994)

The name Quinault (sometimes spelled Quinaielt) is derived from *kwi’nail*, the name of their largest settlement, located at the site of the present-day village of Taholah at the mouth of the Quinault River. The
Quinault are one of several tribes referred to as Southwestern Coast Salish. Traditionally, the Quinault were primarily fishers and hunters and, to a lesser extent, gatherers. Salmon was the basic staple. The Quinault were excellent canoemen, and in their large oceangoing canoes, they were the southernmost coastal tribe to hunt whales.

The Quinault lived in large houses, holding from two to ten families, in about twenty villages. Social class was divided into slave and free, with free divided into nobility and commoners. Nobility consisted of those with inherited status and wealth. The Quinault extensively traded and intermarried with neighboring tribes, and these regional networks also contributed to status. Commoners lacked these perquisites. Slaves were obtained in raids or in trades.

The village leader or chief was chosen by village members from among those males with enough wealth to ensure that some of that wealth could be distributed to others at potlatches. The potlatch in turn served to enhance the leader’s prestige. The leader advised and mediated disputes but otherwise had no prescribed powers.

Religion focused on acquisition of guardian spirits, which were necessary for a successful life. Particular spirits conveyed particular powers to their recipient (such as wealth or success at gambling, curing illness, or whaling). Other important mythical spirits were Misp, creator and caretaker of the world, and Xwoni Xwoni, the trickster buffoon. Salmon were the focus of several taboos and ceremonies.

Whites had established trading settlements in the area by the early 1800’s. In the early 1830’s a malaria epidemic reduced the population from 1,250 (in 1805) to 158 by 1857. In 1855 the Quinault signed the Treaty of Olympia with the United States. They kept a large reservation on the mouth of the Quinault River, where they were subject to the machinations of whites to Christianize them and make them give up their traditional lifestyle and customs.

The reservation economy centered on fishing and government jobs but never provided sufficient employment. It was estimated in 1985 that 30 percent of the adults living there were unemployed. As a result, many have left the reservation permanently to seek employment in urban locations. Beginning in 1907, and over the opposition of the Quinault, Congress authorized allotment of Quinault land to other tribes. By the 1980’s the Quinault Indian Nation was composed of the Quinault and six affiliated tribes. About a third of the 190,000-acre Quinault reservation is owned by non-Indians.
Salinan

**Culture area:** California  
**Language group:** Salinan  
**Primary location:** Monterey and San Luis Obispo counties, California  
**Population size:** 301 (1990 U.S. Census)

Like many other California Indians, the Salinan are not distinguished by political or social organization but rather by language. The term Salinan has been adopted by modern scholars from the Salinas (Spanish for “salty”) River, although others claim that the people’s own name was Ennesen. Three subdivisions have been identified: Antoniaño, after Mission San Antonio (founded 1771), or Kahtritram; Migueleño, after Mission San Miguel (founded 1797), or Tepotrahl; and Playano, after the playa (Spanish for beach), or Lahmkahtrahm.

Europeans first encountered the Salinan, who numbered about three thousand, when Gaspar de Portolá led a Spanish expedition from San Diego in search of Monterey Bay. Based on several records of that expedition that described the Salinan as “docile,” “friendly,” and otherwise amenable, Franciscan missionaries established San Antonio and began the work of replacing native culture with Christianity and other aspects of Spanish culture. The effort was not wholly successful, as a report by the padres in 1814 indicated that many features of Salinan culture (language, diet, even religion) still persisted.

Despite the evidence of cultural survival, the numbers of Salinan at San Antonio and later at San Miguel underwent a steady downward progression. By the time of secularization, around 1834, the approximate population at San Antonio was less than 550 and at San Miguel around 600. Subsequent numbers are difficult to define because enumerators did not always identify Salinans clearly, but they almost certainly show a continued decline. A special survey in 1904 showed only 105 Salinans living in Monterey County and another ten in San Luis Obispo County. The federal roll of 1928 located eleven full Salinans of the San Antonio branch and four from San Miguel, as well as other combinations for a total of thirty-five people with varying degrees of Salinan ancestry. According to an informant in 1987, all pure Salinans had since died. Although some three hundred individuals who claimed to trace partial Salinan origin resided in the area at the time of the 1990 census, no recognized tribal organization has ever existed.

Even in the early twentieth century, when some pure Salinans were still alive to impart sketches of their language to linguists and recollections of
their culture to anthropologists, most scholars conceded that Salinan culture was essentially extinct. Available evidence indicates that the Salinans differed little from other Indians of California. As hunter-gatherers, they consumed a wide variety of animals and plants, especially acorns. While some religious mythology has been recorded—shamans clearly played an important role in Salinan society—their religion seems to have regarded no animal as sacred and thus immune to hunting. The fur of some animals was used for winter blankets, but normal dress was nonexistent for men; women wore a simple apron. Pottery, metallurgy, masonry, and complex religious or political organizations were all unknown. The simplicity of Salinan culture made it highly vulnerable to white cultural conquest and contributed to its early elimination.

**Salish**

**Culture area:** Northwest Coast  
**Language group:** Salishan  
**Primary location:** Northwest Washington State, southwest British Columbia  
**Population size:** 4,455 in U.S. (1990 U.S. Census); 1,900 in Canada ("Straits Salish," Statistics Canada, based on 1991 census)

The term “Salish” refers to a category of Native American languages that are spoken by native peoples based largely in northwestern Washington and southwestern British Columbia, although extending into northern Idaho and Montana with the Flathead (or Inland Salish) tribes, who also speak a Salishan language, and as far north on the Canadian coast as the Bella Coola villages around Dean and Burke channels. The Salish-speaking peoples (whose various dialects have been extensively mapped and studied by Wayne Suttles of Portland State University) extend as far south as the Chinook at the mouth of the Columbia River in Oregon and Washington. There is a major dialect division between the Coastal Salish and the Inland Salish. It is presumed that Salish-speaking people first traveled from inland, down the Fraser River, before spreading out along the coast, where their traditional lands now overlap major urban areas such as the Seattle-Tacoma area of Washington State and Vancouver in British Columbia.

While it is difficult to generalize about a large number of unique groups who share a general linguistic family, it is possible to say that the Coastal Salish developed a strong maritime culture, based on the extensive supplies...
of salmon, halibut, cod, and sea mammals, all of which they harpooned or netted in a variety of ingenious ways. The vast forests of the Pacific Northwest also allowed the Salish (as well as other coastal peoples of the Northwest such as the Tlingit and Haida) to develop artwork in wood and to build large plank-house dwellings. Cedar bark was even developed into a kind of textile, used for clothing. Canoes were another specialty, although the Northwest Coast peoples generally were not seafarers as were the Polynesians or the Scandinavian peoples.

Salish society was typically highly stratified, divided into elite, common, and slavery classes—classes that were maintained by elaborate social rituals and observance of a strict etiquette of behavior, such as marrying within one’s level of society. Salish religious traditions were elaborate, placing particular emphasis on the importance of dreams.

Bibliography
Samish

**Culture area:** Northwest Coast  
**Language group:** Salishan  
**Primary location:** Puget Sound, Washington  
**Population size:** 173 (1990 U.S. Census)

The Samish tribe is linguistically and culturally grouped with the Straits Salish, speaking the Straits dialect of the Coastal Salishan language. They are respected for their skillful carving of canoes, construction of longhouses, gift-giving potlatches, and strong spirituality based on the teachings of the Winter Spirit Dance Ceremony, having preserved their customs and implements during the years of repression by the federal government.

The Samish historically occupied land and maritime sites adjacent to Haro and Rosario Straits, with a sphere of influence extending from the crest of the Cascades down Puget Sound and out to the Pacific Ocean. There are about five hundred tribally enrolled Samish living mainly in the Puget Sound area. Tribal headquarters are located in Anacortes, Washington.

Although documentation shows that more than a hundred Samish men, women, and children were at the Point Elliott treaty grounds in 1854 and that they were included in the initial draft of the treaty, the Samish (and Lummis) were omitted from the final draft. They were therefore denied the land promised in pretreaty talks. Since 1859, the Samish have struggled to correct this injustice and to obtain federal recognition. In 1979 the Bureau of Indian Affairs declared the tribe extinct; however, in 1992, federal judge Thomas Zilly reversed the bureau’s findings and remanded the issue to an administrative law judge on grounds of denial of Fifth Amendment due process rights.

Sanpoil-Nespelem tribes

**Culture area:** Plateau  
**Language group:** Salishan  
**Primary location:** Northeastern Washington

The term Sanpoil is a French corruption of the native name *snupi’lux*, a riverine people who lived at the confluence of the Columbia and San-
American Indian Tribes

Sanpoil-Nespelem tribes

Sanpoil rivers and who have been ethnographically included with the Nespelem. They maintained close social and economic ties with the contiguous Nespelem and Lower Spokane peoples and spoke an Interior Salish dialect that was shared with the Colville, Okanagan, Lake, Nespelem, and Sinkaietk.

**Traditional Lifeways.** The dominant culture features were an annual subsistence round with an emphasis on fishing and root gathering that regulated socioeconomic life and certain religious behaviors. The Sanpoil had specialized fishing technology, mutual exploitation of root grounds and fishing stations, extended trade, leadership through inherited chieftainship and consensus of opinion, a sweathouse complex, vision quest for power and a tutelary (guardian) spirit, animism, shamanism, a midwinter rite of intensification ceremony and world renewal rites, bilateral descent, polygyny, and politically decentralized neolocal residence.

Though the Sanpoil used clay for medicines, cleaning buckskin, and making toys, they had no pottery, using bark and woven fiber burden and storage baskets. Food was cooked in earth ovens, by spit-broiling, or by stone-boiling. Status was gained by oratory abilities, generosity, hunting and utilitarian skills, storytelling, and curing. Social control was achieved through peer pressure, gossip, sorcery, and a well-defined supernatural hierarchy.

**Historic Period.** The estimated aboriginal Sanpoil population of 1,650 (including the Nespelem) was reduced by half in the smallpox epidemic of 1782-1783. Numbers were further reduced in 1846 and again in 1852-1853, from direct contact with European Americans. Major changes to Sanpoil culture were wrought by the introduction of Christianity, European American trade, settler conflict, and the Yakima War of 1855-1858. The Sanpoil, under the spiritual leader Kolaskin, adopted the Dreamer Religion or Prophet Dance, a syncretic nativistic movement that taught a distrust of white teachings and religion. A minority of the Sanpoil remained Roman Catholic, following the devout Chief Barnaby, thereby causing further factionalism.

The Sanpoil population was estimated at 538 with the establishment of the Colville Indian Reservation by executive order of July 2, 1872, when they and twelve other ethnic groups were forced onto the reservation in an area that encompassed some of their aboriginal land. With intrusion by white settlers and gold miners, the northern half of the reservation was reduced by one-half (1,500,000 acres) in 1891.

**Modern Period.** The construction of Grand Coulee Dam in 1935 destroyed salmon fishing and its value as a trade item, thereby destroying the last of their traditional subsistence economy. There are no remaining full-
blooded Sanpoil, and those few of diminished blood degree are members of the Confederated Colville Tribe, with tribal headquarters and a Bureau of Indian Affairs agency south of Nespelem. Main sources of income include tourism, logging, cattle raising, government and tribal employment, and to a lesser extent annual per capita payments and litigation settlements for the loss of aboriginal resource areas and water rights.

Bibliography

**Sarsi**

**CULTURE AREA:** Plains  
**LANGUAGE GROUP:** Athapaskan  
**PRIMARY LOCATION:** Alberta  
**POPULATION SIZE:** 810 (Statistics Canada, based on 1991 census)

The Sarsi (or Sarcee), a branch of the Athapaskan family, lived along the upper Saskatchewan and Athabaska rivers. Their name is from the Blackfoot *sa arsi*, meaning “not good.” At one time, they lived farther north as part of the Beaver tribe, migrating southward by the early eighteenth century. They lived in bands of related families who traveled and hunted together. There was no tribal government; each loosely connected band was headed by a man whose counsel was respected but not necessarily heeded.

They obtained most of their food by hunting, especially for buffalo, which were typically driven over a cliff or into corrals by large groups of men gathered together for that purpose. The buffalo were used for food, clothing, skin tipis, bow strings, bone tools, and other necessities of life.
Women were responsible for making and erecting the buffalo-skin tipis. Most medical care was provided by women, who lacked the knowledge of healing herbs that some other tribes had. Instead, they relied on cauterization for most treatments. Sarsi families consisted of a man and two to four wives, plus several children. Girls were members of their mother’s band, while boys joined their father’s band. Bands came together for ritual events, including Sun Dances.

The Sarsis’ first contact with whites came in the late eighteenth century, when the Hudson’s Bay Company set up trading posts nearby. Contact introduced firearms and horses to the Indians, which in turn escalated their fighting. By the nineteenth century, the Blackfoot and the Sarsi had formed an alliance to defend themselves against the Cree and Assiniboine. The Sarsi suffered great losses from these attacks, and their population was diminished further by smallpox in 1836 and 1870 and by scarlet fever in 1856.

In 1877, the Sarsi signed a treaty with the Canadian government, giving up their lands. They were placed on a reservation near Calgary, Alberta, along with other members of their alliance. In the second half of the twentieth century, they made their living by farming, stock raising, and logging.

### Sauk

**Culture area:** Northeast  
**Language group:** Algonquian  
**Primary location:** Kansas, Oklahoma  
**Population size:** 4,517 (“Sac and Fox,” 1990 U.S. Census)
At the time they first encountered Europeans, the Sauk (also spelled “Sac”) lived in present-day Wisconsin. By the late 1700’s, they were settled in the Mississippi and Rock River valleys of modern Illinois. They are closely related by culture and language to the Kickapoo and Mesquakie (Fox); a formal alliance with the latter lasted from 1733 to 1850 and led the United States government to regard the two as a single “Sac and Fox” tribe.

In the early nineteenth century, the Sauk became divided over attitudes toward the United States. One group, led by Black Hawk, supported the British in the War of 1812 while another party, led by Keokuk, cultivated the Americans. An 1804 treaty sold Sauk lands in Illinois to the United States and led to the tribe’s movement west of the Mississippi. An attempt by some to return to their old lands led to the disastrous Black Hawk War (1832).

After the war, the Sauk people moved increasingly southward. Iowa lands were ceded, and the tribe settled in Kansas. Pressured there by settlers, in 1867 the tribe accepted a reservation in Indian Territory (present-day Oklahoma). In 1891, tribal lands were allotted to individual members and tribal government was effectively dissolved. In the 1930’s, the tribe reorganized as the Sac and Fox tribe of Oklahoma, with an elected chief.

Sekani

Culture area: Subarctic
Language group: Athapaskan
Primary location: Mackenzie (Arctic) drainage, British Columbia
Population size: 630 (Statistics Canada, based on 1991 census)
The four bands of Sekani were primarily hunters of caribou, moose, mountain sheep, and goats and trappers of all fur-bearing animals. Sekani waters were devoid of salmon, but whitefish, trout, and sucker were caught. Winter shelters were conical lodges covered with spruce bark. Summer structures were conical moosehide tents, or windbreaks of hide, bark, or firboughs. Transportation was primarily by foot, but spruce bark canoes were used for spring and summer hunting and—after the Sekani had established contact with whites—for transporting trade furs.

In 1793, Alexander Mackenzie became the first white person to contact the Sekani. Fort Connelly was built in 1826 for trading of furs and other items with the Sekani and other more westerly groups. The Iroquois and other Indians helped the spread of Christianity, which later developed into messianic cults. In 1870, Roman Catholicism was introduced; by 1924, most Sekani were Roman Catholic. The 1861 Omineca gold rush nearly destroyed the Sekani, reducing their population through disease and conflict. The construction of the W. A. C. Bennett Dam in the 1960's flooded great tracts of Sekani land and necessitated the removal of several intact Sekani groups.

Semiahmoo

**Culture area:** Northwest Coast  
**Language group:** Salishan  
**Primary location:** Washington, British Columbia

The sea-oriented Semiahmoo lived in permanent winter dwellings. They maintained close socioeconomic relations with the contiguous Nooksack, Downriver Halkomelem, and other Central Coast Salish tribes. Fish were the main provider of subsistence, especially salmon, which stored well for winter. All methods of fishing were employed. Sea mammals, including the whale, were also taken, usually by harpooning. Land hunting and gathering provided a wide variety of foods and by-products. The Semiahmoo, like all Central Coast Salish, were noted weavers, using down, dog wool, and mountain-goat wool.

The Strait of Juan de Fuca was first discovered in 1787 by the fur trader Charles Barkley, and by 1827 the Hudson's Bay Company established Fort Langley on the Fraser River, which became a major trade center for the region. The Lummi Reservation was established on Semiahmoo territory in 1855 with the signing of the Treaty of Point Elliott. Many thousands of
miners and gold-seekers entered the area when gold was discovered in 1858, creating further deculturation and conflict for the indigenous peoples.

**Seminole**

**Culture area:** Southeast  
**Language group:** Muskogean  
**Primary location:** Florida, Oklahoma  
**Population size:** 13,797 (1990 U.S. Census)

The Seminoles were the last of the major southeastern tribes to evolve. During the eighteenth century, Oconees, Sawoklis and other groups from the Lower Creek (Muskogee) towns in modern Georgia and Alabama moved into northern Florida. The name Seminole, in fact, derived from the Muskogee word *seminola* (which in turn was borrowed from the Spanish *cimarron*), meaning “wild,” and carried the sense of one going to live in an untamed area. The Creeks themselves were a diverse group, and many of those whose descendants became Seminoles sought to escape control by the dominant Muskogees and spoke Hitchiti and other non-Muskogee languages. Others hoped to distance themselves from the growing presence of English colonists in Georgia. The Seminoles also absorbed the remnants of earlier Florida tribes such as the Apalachees and Tocobogas. Lacking a central tribal government, the Seminoles did generally acknowledge a principal chief from the line established by Cowkeeper. Only gradually did the Seminoles acquire a sense of separate identity from their Creek relatives.

**Nineteenth Century.** After the American Revolution, friction developed between the Seminoles and the United States. Many Seminoles continued to look to Britain for protection, and American settlers complained that Seminoles raided their lands and provided a refuge for runaway slaves. There was some truth in the latter charge, for there came to be a substantial black presence among the Seminoles. Some black Seminoles were slaves, while others lived in their own communities. Many Seminoles supported the Red Sticks faction of Creeks in the Creek War (1813-1814). After their defeat by General Andrew Jackson, many Red Sticks joined the Seminoles in Florida. In 1818 Jackson launched an invasion of Florida (the First Seminole War). The Seminoles were defeated and saw their towns in northern Florida destroyed.

After Florida was ceded to the United States in 1819, the Seminoles found themselves on land claimed by their old enemies. In 1823, they agreed
to give up their claim to northern Florida. Soon the government began to pressure the tribe to leave Florida altogether. Federal commissioners obtained the agreement of a few Seminoles to the Treaty of Payne’s Landing in 1832, in which the tribe agreed to remove to Indian Territory (present-day Oklahoma). Seminole leaders, however, regarded the treaty as a fraud. When attempts were made to begin removal in 1835, the Second Seminole War erupted. A protracted guerrilla struggle concluded in 1842, though about five hundred Seminoles evaded removal by taking refuge in the Everglades. Their numbers were halved by the Third Seminole War (1855-1858), which marked the last government attempt at forced removal.

Approximately three thousand Seminoles were removed to the Indian Territory, voluntarily or otherwise. Originally assigned to Creek lands, the Seminoles were reluctant to acknowledge Creek authority. Tension between the two groups also arose over black Seminoles (whom the Creeks regarded as escaped slaves). Eventually, in 1855, the Seminoles were given their own lands farther west. During the Civil War, most of the Oklahoma Seminoles desired to remain neutral. A minority signed an alliance with the Confederacy, however, and at the end of the war, the tribe was forced to give up all of its former land and was given a smaller area purchased from the Creeks (now Seminole County). Seminole slaves were freed and incorporated into the tribe. A new tribal government was organized, with its capital at Wewoka.

Twentieth Century. In 1906 the Seminole government was ended, along with those of other tribes in Indian Territory, and the tribe’s land was allotted among its members, each one receiving 120 acres. A few Seminoles became wealthy when oil was discovered in Seminole County in the 1920’s. Tribal government was reorganized in 1969.
Two hundred or so Seminoles had remained behind in Florida, surviving in small groups and adapting their lifestyle to the Everglades. In the 1890’s, the federal government began to acquire reservation land for them, though it was not until the 1930’s that a majority of Florida Seminoles lived on reservations. In 1957 the tribe organized as the Seminole Tribe of Florida, uniting both Muskogee and Hitchiti speakers. Some of the more traditionalist Hitchiti speakers, however, decided to preserve a separate identity and in 1961 organized as the Miccosukee Tribe of Indians of Florida.

William C. Lowe

Bibliography
The Senecas, members of the Iroquois Confederacy, have resided in western New York from at least the sixteenth century. Traditionally they lived in bark longhouses and traced descent through women. The women owned land, appointed chiefs, and raised maize, beans, and squash. Men were hunters, warriors, traders, and diplomats.

The fur trade and dependence on European goods resulted in competition with the French and other Indians. In 1687 the French destroyed Seneca fields and villages in retaliation for attacks. Afterward, one group of Senecas remained along the Genesee River and another moved west to the Allegany. The Senecas joined the British in the American Revolution and at war’s end found themselves abandoned. Some fled to Canada with other pro-British Iroquois, but most remained in New York. The Fort Stanwix Treaty (1784) imposed conquest conditions, and the Pickering Treaty (1794) defined Seneca boundaries. By 1797 the Senecas retained only 310 square miles in New York.

Demoralized by land speculators and whiskey, the tribe was revitalized in 1799 by the teachings of Handsome Lake, to whom representatives of the Creator had revealed a new way of life combining retention of traditional rituals with a new social structure based on nuclear households and male agriculture. Alcohol and witchcraft were forbidden. Reports of the movement’s success came from Quakers residing with the Senecas.
Fraudulent land deals culminated in the 1838 sale of all remaining Seneca land in New York. With Quaker aid, a compromise treaty was adopted in 1842 by which the Senecas surrendered the reservations at Buffalo Creek and Tonawanda but retained those at Allegany and Cattaraugus. Disputes over annuity distributions led to the abolition of government by chiefs and withdrawal from the confederacy by Allegany and Cattaraugus. They jointly created the Seneca Nation of Indians (SNI) in 1848, adopting a written constitution which established an elected council and executive. The Tonawanda Senecas were able to repurchase part of their reservation in 1857, retaining government by hereditary chiefs and becoming the Tonawanda Band of Senecas.

Railroads crossed Seneca territory, and white villages developed within reservation boundaries, particularly at Allegany. The illegal villages were given congressional sanction in 1875 and reauthorized in 1892 for another century. Extremely low rents caused long-standing resentment among Senecas until the leases were renegotiated in 1992 at fair rates. The construction of Kinzua Dam in the 1960's flooded an additional 10,000 acres at Allegany, leaving only 10,000 for the Senecas and forcing the removal of nearly eight hundred people to two new communities of tract houses. Congressional compensation was used to provide college scholarships and to build government offices, medical clinics, and libraries on each SNI reservation as well as a museum, bowling alley, and sports complex.

By the end of the century many Senecas were Christian, but the Longhouse religion of Handsome Lake remained a strong force. Successful SNI enterprises such as gas stations, mini-marts, and bingo provided employment for many, but conditions at Tonawanda were less favorable. Debates over the advisability of casino gambling polarized the reservations as leaders attempted to address unemployment and financial security issues.
Seri

CULTURE AREA: Mesoamerica
LANGUAGE GROUP: Sonoran
PRIMARY LOCATION: Sonora, Mexico

The Seris are one of the smallest Indian groups in Mexico, numbering about five hundred people, a 90 percent drop from a 1600 estimate of the population. Their homeland was the southern part of the Arizona-Sonora desert along the Gulf of California and on Tiburón Island, where they hunted and fished. They call themselves the Kunkaaah (“Our Great Mother Race”), and six bands constitute the ethnic group.

The Spanish encountered the Seris in the seventeenth century and established missions for them. Given their nomadic lifestyle, however, most refused to join the Jesuit and Franciscan missions and continued raiding Spanish settlements. The seizure of Seri lands after 1748 saw raids continue intermittently through the century.

After Mexican independence, the government sought to resettle the Seris outside of Hermosillo, but trouble continued. In the 1920’s the Seris remained on the margins of society, and the 1930’s saw an economic revival when there was a demand for shark livers. When American sport fishermen discovered the area in the 1950’s, many Seris found jobs as guides for fishermen and anthropologists. Protestant missionaries worked with them. Although the Seris resisted, they are an example of a largely non-Hispanicized group that was finally incorporated into Mexican society.

Serrano

CULTURE AREA: California
LANGUAGE GROUP: Takic
PRIMARY LOCATION: Southern California
POPULATION SIZE: 265 (1990 U.S. Census)

The Serrano tribe occupied a portion of California east of Los Angeles. Serrano is Spanish for “mountaineer” or “highlander.” The Serrano were hunters and gatherers who occasionally fished for subsistence. Women gathered acorns, piñon nuts, roots, bulbs, berries, and cacti fruit in baskets. Surplus materials were sun-dried. Periodically, gathering districts were
burned over to increase plant yields. Men were in charge of hunting large animals, including deer, antelope, and sheep. Large game were trapped and/or shot with the bow and arrow. Smaller animals such as rabbits, rodents, and birds were captured in deadfalls, nets, and snares. Excess meat was dried in the sun for winter use.

Extended families lived in circular-shaped homes covered with tule thatches; village locations were determined by the proximity of water. Clothing was made of deerskin; rabbitskin blankets provided winter warmth. Ceremonial costumes were decorated with feathers.

Shamans were believed to have special psychic powers acquired through dreams. Dreams were enhanced by the use of the datura plant, which was dried and mixed with water to make a tea producing hallucinogenic effects. Serrano shamans were healers. They used herbal medicines or sucked out foreign objects that were believed to cause illness or pain. The Serrano believed in twin gods who created the world as well as various other supernatural beings.

First Indian-white contact probably occurred in the 1770’s when the San Gabriel Mission was established or when Pedro Fage made an expeditionary trip through Serrano territory. These meetings had little effect on the tribe until 1819, when a small mission was built near Redlands. Between 1819 and 1834, many Serranos were forcibly taken into the missions. Not enough Serranos remained behind to retain a native way of life. In the region northeast of San Gorgonio Pass, a small group survived and preserved what little was left of Serrano culture. Throughout the remainder of the twentieth century, most Serranos lived on the Morongo and San Manuel reservations in Southern California. The Serrano continued to participate in native ceremonies and political organizations with other Indian groups.

Shasta

**Culture area:** California  
**Language group:** Shastan  
**Primary location:** Base of Mt. Shasta, Northern California, southern Oregon’s Rogue River valley  
**Population size:** 584 (1990 U.S. Census)

The Shasta people lived around the area of Mt. Shasta in Siskiyou County, Northern California. The Shasta people recognize four groupings: the Klamath River people (Wiruwhitsu), the Scott Valley people (Irvaitsu), the
Shasta Valley people (Ahotireitsu), and the Rogue River people (from Southern Oregon, Ikirukatsu). There are headmen of each of the four groups, but the head of the Oregon group is recognized as the leader overall, and he is often sent for in matters of great urgency. The Shasta are closely related to other Northern California tribal groupings, such as the Karok, Yurok, and Hupa.

The Shasta people were noted for the use of obsidian in the making of knives and arrow points as well as in wood work. They traditionally hunted deer, and, as with many California groups, the acorn provided the main staple for their diet. Acorns were ground to a kind of flour from which various breadlike products were produced. The Shasta also gathered berries. In these cultural traits the Shasta were traditionally very similar to other Klamath River groups.

While mostly a peaceful people, the Shasta would organize war raids on occasions of great tribal importance. Of equal importance, and practiced far more frequently, were elaborate peace negotiations and rituals. The Shasta practiced a form of shamanism to drive away the evil powers of spirits. Women could be shamans as well as men in the Shasta tradition. Other than a great fear of the power of spirits, the Shasta do not have an elaborate religious ideology.

Bibliography

Shawnee

**Culture area:** Northeast

**Language group:** Algonquian

**Primary location:** Oklahoma

**Population size:** 6,179 (1990 U.S. Census)

The Shawnee were a prominent Algonquian-speaking tribe of the Northeast. Their name means “Southerner,” but the tribe moved so much in historical times that the original tribal homeland is somewhat obscure. Most scholars, however, believe that they originally hailed from the Cumberland
River area of Tennessee. Through much of the eighteenth century, the Shawnee homeland was the Muskingum and Scioto River valleys in the Ohio country.

The tribe was divided into five main divisions: Chillikothe, Kispokotha, Piqua, Hathawekela, and Spitotha. There were as many as twelve clans in each division, and descent was traced through the patrilineal family line. Authority was vested in hereditary clan and division chiefs; war chiefs were also important, usually warriors of proven ability.

The basic Shawnee dwelling was the *wegiwia* (wigwam), basically a framework of bent poles covered with elm or birch bark. Women tended corn and other crops, while the men supplemented the diet by hunting and fishing.

The tribe allied themselves with the British during the American Revolution, in part because land-hungry former colonists seemed the greater threat. After the war, American westward settlement increased, and the Shawnee took up the hatchet to protect their lands. They joined a coalition of tribes that managed to inflict two stinging defeats on United States army forces, most notably when General Arthur St. Clair was crushed in 1791. The Indians were defeated at the Battle of Fallen Timbers in 1794, however, and the next year signed the Treaty of Greenville with the United States. Under the provisions of this pact, the Indians were forced to relinquish Ohio and part of Indiana to the victors.

The Shawnee chief Tecumseh led a resurgence of the tribe in the first decade of the nineteenth century. Tecumseh is generally acknowledged as one of the greatest Indians of all time. He condemned the sale of Indian lands to whites, urged abstinence from alcohol, and promoted intertribal unity. Tecumseh’s forces clashed with an American army under General William Henry Harrison at Tippecanoe in 1811. The battle was a draw but was still a check on Tecumseh’s prestige. He joined the British forces during the War
of 1812; his death in battle was a great loss for all Shawnee and all Indians. The Shawnee dispersed during the course of the nineteenth century. One group of Shawnee moved to Missouri and from there to a Kansas reservation. About 1845, scattered Shawnee from Kansas, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas migrated to Oklahoma, where they were collectively known as the Absentee Shawnee. Yet another group settled in Ottawa County, Oklahoma, where they were called the Eastern Shawnee. The main body of Shawnee incorporated with the Cherokee tribe in 1869.

Not all Shawnee made the trek south to Oklahoma. Small groups of Shawnee filtered back and settled in Ohio and Indiana. Their descendants make up the Midwest’s Shawnee Nation United Remnant Band. A milestone was reached when the Shawnee Nation United Remnant Band purchased a 28-acre tract for a sacred ceremonial ground. For the first time, the Shawnee reclaimed a piece of original territory.

Shinnecock

Culture area: Northeast
Language group: Eastern Algonquian
Primary location: Long Island
Population size: 1,522 (1990 U.S. Census)

The Shinnecock, Corchaug, and Montauk formed the Montauk Confederacy, living as horticulturalists in permanent villages of circular, domed, mat-covered houses. They supplemented their main diet of corn, beans, and squash by hunting moose, deer, and other animals in addition to fishing. The Shinnecock traded extensively and used wampum as a badge of office, adornment, and form of wealth.

The 400-acre Shinnecock Reservation, established in 1666, was effectively diminished by the Indians’ renting land to white farmers. Disease reduced the Shinnecock population, and acculturation was enforced by a growing number of non-Indians and increased loss of land, forcing many Shinnecock into a cash economy. Most whaling crews were Indian, and Shinnecock lifeboat crews were well known for saving many lives.

The 1934 Indian Reorganization Act stimulated tribal incorporation and the establishment of various self-help organizations. Many Shinnecocks have now left the reservation for urban centers and university study.
Shoshone

**Culture area:** Great Basin  
**Language group:** Uto-Aztecan  
**Primary location:** California, Idaho, Nevada, Utah, Wyoming  
**Population size:** 9,215 (1990 U.S. Census)

At first European American contact, the Shoshone occupied the area around Death Valley in California, much of Nevada and northwestern Utah (Western Shoshone, including the Panamint), southern Idaho (Northern Shoshone), and western Wyoming (Eastern Shoshone). Culturally and linguistically the three groups form a single unit. The Shoshone were generally at peace with their Uto-Aztecan neighbors—the Utes, Paiutes, and Bannocks—but the Northern and Eastern Shoshone often fought the Blackfoot, Sioux, and Cheyenne when they moved onto the Plain to hunt buffalo. They resisted the invasion of their homeland by European Americans but were eventually settled on reservations and in tribal groupings scattered around their original territory.

**Early History and Traditional Lifestyle.** The origin of the Shoshone and their entry into the Great Basin is not well documented. Prehistoric Indians in the Basin had a lifestyle much like that of the Western Shoshone, but many students of the region believe that the Shoshone did not develop directly from Great Basin ancestors. Instead, they think the Shoshone moved into the Basin from its southwest corner between one thousand and two thousand years ago. They spread north and east, eventually reaching the Great Plains, into which they expanded north into Canada and east beyond the Black Hills. When the Blackfoot, Sioux, Cheyenne, and other tribes moved west from the eastern woodlands, the Shoshone retreated into the region they occupied at the time of contact.

The Shoshone present an excellent example of a people’s versatile and efficient response to their environment. The groups occupying the Great Basin, where no single resource is available in abundance, made use of the many resources that were present in small amounts or were abundant for a time at a particular location. They used plant seeds (grasses, pines) and vegetative parts of plants (especially camas—a type of lily with edible bulbs). They hunted and trapped whatever large (bighorn sheep, deer) and small (rabbits, ground squirrels) game was available, and they fished when they had the opportunity (migrating salmon). Because the environment could not support large populations, they migrated around the Great Basin in small bands using resources as they became available. Because available
forage was insufficient to support large horse herds, they traveled on foot, using dogs as beasts of burden. In winter, several bands gathered near caves from which food, collected and stored there during the summer, could be retrieved.

In contrast, the Northern and Eastern Shoshone who moved into the Plains responded to the availability of an abundant and versatile resource: the buffalo. Because an efficient buffalo hunt required large numbers of people, the buffalo hunters lived in large groups from the spring to the fall. They too used dogs to carry their belongings until the 1720’s, when they obtained horses. The horse made both moving and buffalo hunting more efficient, and it may have made it possible for some Eastern and Northern Shoshone to continue buffalo hunts in the Plains despite the opposition of Blackfoot, Sioux, and Cheyenne. Smaller extended family groups moved to sheltered valleys in the Rocky Mountain foothills for winter, where enough forage could be found for the horses of a small group, but not for larger herds.

The spiritual and social lives of the Plains and Great Basin groups also differed, reflecting different group sizes and environments. Both groups were deeply spiritual, but the Plains Shoshone adopted the complex of dances, warrior societies, and other social and ceremonial activities of Plains Indians. The smaller Great Basin groups had one major ceremonial dance—the round dance—and a less elaborate ceremonial and social structure.

Transition and Modern Life. Except for the Mormons, European Americans initially showed little interest in the barren lands the Shoshone occu-
pied. The discovery of gold and other mineral deposits in the Great Basin eventually brought on the familiar scenario of broken treaties and displaced Indians as European Americans moved westward. As a result, the modern Shoshone struggle with many problems—lack of education, poverty, lack of opportunity, and threats to their culture. They have sued the federal government over water rights, land ownership, improper compensation for past treaties, and storage of nuclear waste on Shoshone land. They have not always won—the deck is somewhat stacked against any tribe arguing for ownership of a large part of a state (Nevada)—but their ability to function well in such battles is further evidence of Shoshone versatility and bodes well for the future of the tribe.

Carl W. Hoagstrom

### Shuswap

**Culture area:** Plateau  
**Language group:** Salishan  
**Primary location:** British Columbia  
**Population size:** 4,920 (Statistics Canada, based on 1991 census)

The Shuswap, a branch of the Salishan family, lived along the Fraser, Thompson, and Columbia rivers in present-day British Columbia. They were the dominant Salishan tribe in the region, holding more land and power than their neighbors—the Lillooet, the Thompson and the Okanagan—with whom they often fought. They called themselves Sequa’pmug or Suxwa’pmux, whose meaning is not known.

The Shuswap were divided into about seven autonomous bands, with their own hereditary chiefs. They owned slaves, whom they acquired in battle or trade. Their staple food was fish, especially salmon, which they caught with spears, nets, and traps. They also hunted bear, beaver, rabbit, raccoon, squirrel, and mountain goat. They made good use of the animals they hunted, using the skins for clothing, quills for ornamentation, and wool and hair for weaving cloth. Their homes were often made of logs or wood planks, and they housed four to eight families. Other villages had rectangular earthlodges with warming earth berms for winter and circular mat houses for summer. Some bands traveled widely throughout the year to search for food. For travel they used bark canoes, snowshoes, and horses.

In the early nineteenth century, the Hudson’s Bay Company established trading posts nearby. The Shuswap traded skins, furs, and food for woven goods, steel weapons and tools, and glass beads. By the middle of the
century, intertribal warfare had faded, but epidemics of measles, smallpox, scarlet fever, and other diseases wiped out large numbers of Shuswap and other Interior Salish peoples. Weakened numbers led to weakened influence. In 1945, in an attempt to force the Canadian government to be more responsive to their needs, the Shuswap joined with the Chilcotin and others to form the British Columbia Interior Confederacy. In the end, the Shuswap managed to hold on to their traditional lands and ways longer than most tribes. In the late 1970’s they were given about 146,000 acres of reserve land in British Columbia, where they continue to maintain some of the old ways.

Siletz

**CULTURE AREA:** Northwest Coast  
**LANGUAGE GROUP:** Salishan  
**PRIMARY LOCATION:** Oregon coast  
**POPULATION SIZE:** 1,554 (1990 U.S. Census)

The Siletz are the band of Salish-speaking Tillamook people who traditionally lived along the river of the same name in northwestern Oregon. This band is generally thought to be the southernmost branch of Salishan peoples in the Northwest Coast culture area.

Before contact with European American peoples, the Siletz existed, as did most of the peoples of the Oregon coast, in a quiet, relatively isolated autonomy. The Siletz lived in bands and villages around the mouth of, and inland along, the Siletz River and were related by close familial and cultural bonds. Their lifestyle was based on fishing, hunting, and gathering of the abundant local maritime, estuarine, riverine, and woodland resources. They are related to the Nehalem, Tillamook Bay, Nestucca, and Neaehesna (Salmon River) peoples.

After contact with colonizing Americans, most native coastal peoples in Oregon were removed to a reservation in upriver Siletz territory around 1855. The Siletz reservation became the home for a wide variety of previously unrelated peoples for many years, and much mixing of languages and cultures occurred. Among the language groups and cultures represented on the Siletz reservation were Athapaskan, Yakonan, Kusan, Takelman, Shastan, and Sahaptian people from all over the coastal northwest. The peoples now identified as the Confederated Tribes of Siletz Indians of Oregon comprise at least twenty-two bands living together in and around what was once the traditional territory of the Siletz peoples alone.
Sinagua

**DATE:** 500-1400  
**LOCATION:** Northern Arizona  
**CULTURES AFFECTED:** Anasazi, Hohokam, Mogollon

The Sinagua culture is known from sites in central Arizona around the Sunset Crater volcano near Flagstaff, Arizona, and in the upper Verde Valley. Its interpretation is complex, and Sinagua has been variously identified as a branch of the Mogollon, Patayan, or Hakataya traditions. In general, Sinagua is representative of a blending of cultural traits through either population movements or the adoption of features from neighboring peoples. This blending is a combination of earlier local traditions with those of neighboring Anasazi, Mogollon, and Hohokam peoples.

Three phases of Sinagua culture have been identified as dating to before major eruptions of Sunset Crater in 1064. These are Cinder Park (500-700), Sunset (700-900), and Río de Flag (900-1064). Sinagua culture shows a strong continuity of styles in ceramics, architecture, settlement patterns, and subsistence strategies through these early phases. Posteruptive phases are the contemporaneous Padre, Angell, and Winona phases (1070-1120), followed by the Elden (1130-1200), Turkey Hill (1200-1300), and Clear Creek (1300-1400) foci. These are marked by increased variation in material culture, including occasional Hohokam elements. After 1400, the Sinagua population declined.

**Sinagua Lifeways.** Information on Sinagua culture comes from several sites, including Tuzigoot and Montezuma Castle. House types of the early phases of Sinagua culture include pit houses with circular to rectangular foundations. The earliest tend to be shallow and round, while later examples were deeper, more rectangular, and lined with timbered walls. Especially large circular pit houses may have had a ceremonial function similar to that of kivas at later sites in the Southwest. Stone-lined pit houses and aboveground masonry constructions appear in the later phases. During the pre-eruption phases of the site, dead were disposed of by cremation. In post-eruption phases, burials were made in pole-covered or recessed graves, with occasional flexed burials beneath the floors of pueblo rooms. Sinagua subsistence was based on maize farming, with evidence for cultivation using both rainfall and irrigation. This was supplemented with hunting and gathering.

The characteristic ceramic ware throughout the Sinagua culture sequence is Alameda Brown, made with crushed stone temper and finished
with a paddle-and-anvil technique. Earlier phases have yielded evidence for occasional Hohokam and Kayenta Anasazi vessels that were probably obtained through trade. Circular ball courts of stone masonry have been identified at a number of later Sinagua sites, and the playing of a ritual ball game is often interpreted as evidence of influence from northern Mesoamerica.

**Volcanic Eruptions and Migrations.** Major eruptions of the Sunset Crater volcano have been documented for the years 1064-1065 and 1066-1067, with evidence for continued episodes of volcanic eruptions for two centuries afterward. Archaeologists had initially argued that the weathering of tephra from these eruptions provided a moisture-conserving mineral mulch and added nutrients to the soil, resulting in a local area of high agricultural fertility. Rainfall farmers who recognized the benefits of rich soils were believed to have colonized the region, resulting in a multicultural occupation that combined Sinagua, Hohokam, Mogollon, and Anasazi peoples. The abandonment of the region after 1400 was attributed to the erosion of volcanic soils, resulting in a decrease in agricultural productivity.

This interpretation has been modified by more recent research that finds little support for either a substantial population increase or significant numbers of non-Sinagua migrants to the area. Hohokam presence in the Sinagua region is limited to a single pit house and associated trash midden at Winona Village that has been interpreted as the residence of a Hohokam trader. While thirteen ball courts in the Sinagua area may represent Hohokam influence, it is possible that these were erected without direct participation by Hohokam peoples. Although the introduction of stone masonry to the Sinagua has been attributed to the Kayenta Anasazi, there is evidence that this was present prior to the period of supposed migrations. Later Sinagua prehistory is now interpreted as a predominantly local process, affected by more extensive contacts with the Hohokam and Anasazi cultures.

Spanish explorers who arrived in the Verde Valley in the sixteenth century encountered the Yuman-speaking Yavapai tribe. Their specific relationship with earlier Sinagua culture remains poorly understood.

*John Hoopes*

### Bibliography


Sioux tribal group

**CULTURE AREA:** Plains  
**LANGUAGE GROUP:** Siouan  
**PRIMARY LOCATION:** Montana, South Dakota, North Dakota, Minnesota, Nebraska, Manitoba, Saskatchewan  
**POPULATION SIZE:** 103,255 in U.S. (1990 U.S. Census); 10,040 in Canada (“Dakota,” Statistics Canada, based on 1991 census)

Sioux is the term popularly used to refer to a northern Plains Indian group most often considered in relation to their material culture—tipis, war bonnets, buffalo hunting, and an equestrian lifestyle. Among the Sioux the people call themselves Dakota or Lakota, terms which mean “friends” or “allies.” Use of the term “Sioux” dates to the seventeenth century, when the Dakota were living in the Great Lakes area. Fur traders, explorers, and Jesuit missionaries heard from the Ojibwa (Chippewa) and Huron of the Nadouwesou tribe, which was much feared. Nadouwesou comes from the Ojibwa term meaning “adders.” This term, shortened and corrupted by French traders, resulted in retention of the last syllable as Sioux. There are three major subgroups of Sioux—the Santee, Yankton, and Teton.

**Origins and Westward Migrations.** The term “Sioux” did not designate a single tribe or national entity but a complex web of bands or tribes that were spread across forested regions of the upper Mississippi, across the prairies of Minnesota and Dakota Territory, and beyond the Missouri River.
on the high plains of Nebraska, North and South Dakota, Wyoming, Montana, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan. A common language was important in defining the Sioux as a nation. Those who spoke a dialect of Dakota considered themselves allies, while all who spoke any other language were considered enemies unless a peace was negotiated. The Sioux did not form a political unit that acted in concert to control tribal areas or enforce tribal laws, but they did share a common language and common philosophy that molded their national culture and shaped their political and social life. By the 1700’s, while still located in the Great Lakes or Woodlands area, the Sioux formed a relatively loose alliance known as the Seven Fireplaces or Oceti Sakowin, consisting of the Mdewakanton (Spirit Lake Village), Wahpekute (Leaf Shooters), Wahpetunwan (Leaf Village), Sisituwan (meaning unknown), Ihanktunwan (End Village), Ihanktunwanna (Little End Village), and Tintatuwan (Prairie Village). These subdivisions were not culturally distinct from one another in their Woodlands home but became more distinct as the people moved westward.

The first four were collectively called Isanti (knife), because these people once lived near a large body of water known to them as Knife Lake. The French later changed “Isanti” to “Santee.” The Santee are the easternmost Sioux and were the last to leave the lake region. They speak the Dakota dialect in which there are no l’s and the d is used.

The Ihanktunwan and Ihanktunwanna have come to be called Yankton and Yanktonais in English, and as a group they are sometimes called the Wiciyela, or “middle people,” because they lived between the Santee and Teton. The Yankton were originally one tribe, but economic factors forced them to divide into two groups as they became more populous. They originally spoke the Nakota dialect, which uses the n in place of the d, although they most commonly speak the Dakota dialect.

The Tintatuwan, or Teton, were the first to move westward onto the prairie. After the move the Teton became so numerous that by the late eighteenth century they in turn divided into seven tribes. This subdivision is also referred to as the Seven Fireplaces, because the Teton’s social and political order replicated the national alliance. By the 1860’s the Teton were most commonly known by the seven tribal names: Sicangu (Burnt Thigh), also known by the French name Brule; Oglala (Scatters Their Own); Sihasapa (Blackfeet, not to be confused with the Algonquian-speaking Blackfeet Indians of Montana and Alberta); Oohenunpa (Two Kettle); Itazipco (Without Bows), also known by the French name Sans Arc; Minneconjou (Planters by the Water); and Hunkpapa (Campers at the End of the Horn). These people collectively refer to themselves as the Lakota, using the l in place of the d.
In the Great Lakes setting the Sioux were semisedentary and had a Woodlands economy based on fishing, hunting and gathering, and some cultivation of corn. By the mid-seventeenth century the Sioux had been pushed westward by enemy tribes, principally the Ojibwa, who obtained guns through the French fur trade. The Teton and middle divisions moved westward to the Great Plains, where they acquired horses and a dependence on the buffalo for food and many material needs such as housing, clothing, and implements. The Middle Sioux settled along the Missouri River, while the Teton pushed farther west into the Black Hills and beyond to the present-day states and provinces of Nebraska, Wyoming, Montana, North and South Dakota, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan. Although they too were pushed westward, the Eastern or Santee Sioux remained essentially Woodland people in territory and culture, settling in the area of southwestern Minnesota and eastern North and South Dakota. By the early nineteenth century, political and cultural differences among the Sioux groups became pronounced, and true Eastern, Middle, and Teton (Western) divisions emerged.

Political and Social Organization. The core of traditional Sioux society was the smallest unit, the extended family, which was a group of relatives living together cooperatively. The next level of organization was the tiyospaye, or “lodge groups.” These were social units often referred to as bands, collections of lodges of related people who were usually guided by a respected elder known as itancan, or headman. The itancan was recognized as a leader by fully living a spiritual existence and demonstrating the values of his people—bravery, fortitude, generosity, and wisdom. The itancan’s was not a permanent position; he served at the will of the people and could be replaced. Groups composed of several tiyospaye, and usually interrelated, were called oyate, meaning “people”; this is commonly understood as a “tribe.” The oyate corresponded to the “fireplaces” of the Seven Fireplaces.

The model of tiyospaye provided the mechanism for maintaining social and political order when the various oyate came together in the large summer encampments during the time of the Sun Dance and buffalo hunts. Councils of adult men represented the will of the people and met to deliberate on all matters pertaining to group welfare. The headmen acted as symbolic fathers to their various tiyospaye and helped provide direction and guidance to the council, composed of younger men. All decision making was by consensus, ensuring that all the people had a voice. No formal voting took place, and those who disagreed with council decisions were free to move and begin their own tiyospaye. Council decisions and social order were enforced by the akicita, or “soldiers lodge,” which saw to it that all
people cooperated for the common good. Membership in the akicita changed with each new encampment, so responsibility and authority for the people’s well-being eventually fell to each male.

This sociopolitical structure of headman, council, and soldier lodge was replicated in every Sioux camp and served to create and maintain social order and cohesion as a people. In this system, group well-being was dominant over individual needs, and at all levels, group harmony was ensured by a government run by consensus.

When European nations, and later the United States, needed to conduct business with Indians, they looked for a single individual or a centralized government rather than dealing with the whole tribal group. Traditional tribal governments that operated by consensus incorporated guards against concentration of power to preserve values of freedom, respect, and harmony. Consensus building is a slow process and simply did not fit the European Americans’ needs or ways of conducting business. Since the time of initial contact, Europeans sought out or appointed one individual with whom to deal—a “chief.” As relations with the tribes changed over the years, both the United States and Canadian governments continued to look for ways to centralize Indian governments, and this tension between centralizing and maintaining tribalism still exists in relations between tribal groups and federal governments.

When Indian people were forced onto reservations in Canada and the United States, the federal governments of both countries attempted to dissolve the traditional governments and to extinguish the languages and spiritual beliefs and practices of the people. It was expected that the people would become Christian, farm, and eventually assimilate into the general population. Still, many of the people continued conducting their business according to more traditional patterns.

Early in the reservation era the various Sioux tribes banded together in councils to work on issues related to illegal seizure of lands and treaty violations. These councils followed traditional patterns; however, they had little success in dealing with the government agents who enforced assimilation policies. These early councils met to discuss matters of importance among the people, to plan social events, and to represent the concerns of their reservation to the federally appointed Indian agents. At all levels council meetings were open, and input from the people was solicited.

Wars, Treaties, and Reservations. The Sioux in both Canada and the United States negotiated treaties and later agreements with the governments beginning in the early 1800’s. Constant broken promises, unresolved issues, and encroachment on tribal lands brought various Sioux divisions into direct conflict with the United States between 1862 and 1877. These
encounters, famous in American history, are known collectively as the Sioux Wars and include such events as the Minnesota Uprising (1862), the war for the Bozeman Trail (1866-1868), the Wagon Box Fight (1867), and the Battle of the Little Bighorn (1876). The Sioux, especially the Teton, who placed greater emphasis on warfare than other Sioux, were the most active in opposing American expansion into their lands. Eventually the depletion of the buffalo herds, relentless attacks by the United States military, and growing numbers of settlers on their land caused many of the Sioux to seek refuge in Canada or settle on reservations in the Dakotas and Nebraska.

Most Sioux in the United States were settled on reservations by 1877, and life was miserable for the people. Prior to the 1870’s, the Sioux had been living well on the basis of a buffalo hunting and trade economy, were rich in horses, had kept numerous tribal enemies in check, and lived in a vast territory. After confinement to the reservation, the Sioux were destitute, stripped of power, and forced to bend to the will of reservation authorities. Government policies were strict and sought to force assimilation by allotment of lands, encouragement in farming, Christianization, and establishment of educational institutions which sought to replace traditional values with mainstream American values; schools for Indian children often removed children from their homes. In order to hasten assimilation, laws were passed restricting traditional religious and social practices. By 1889 the Sioux as a whole were in poor health, starving, and embittered over the loss of millions of acres of the Great Sioux Reservation. In this atmosphere, word
of a revitalization movement known as the Ghost Dance passed among the people. Some Sioux participated in the movement. Although many did not, much government and military attention focused on Sioux involvement with the Ghost Dance. The resulting atmosphere of fear and mistrust culminated in the massacre at Wounded Knee (1890), where more than three hundred Sioux men, women, and children were killed by the Seventh Cavalry.

After Wounded Knee, government policies aimed at assimilation pressed relentlessly forward, and Sioux relations with the federal governments in both Canada and the United States have been marked by tensions involving efforts to end the reservation system and terminate the special legal status of Indians. The Sioux have struggled to maintain their cultural identity, define their reservations as homelands, exercise their sovereignty, and regain illegally seized land, particularly the Black Hills.

**Politics in the Twentieth Century.** In 1920 the Canadian government passed legislation intended to end the reserve system as a way to force assimilation and bow to public demands to acquire Indian lands. Tribal governments were weakened, but some patterns of traditional governance remained and councils were active in opposing government policy.

In 1934, with the passage of the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA), the U.S. government sought to shift its relationship with tribes throughout the country. By 1934 the Bureau of Indian Affairs was directing much of the day-to-day business on the reservations as well as influencing national policy in Indian affairs. The federal government sought to get out of micro-management of reservation affairs by proposing that tribes establish constitutional forms of government and elect officials who would then govern their reservation and make some of the decisions that affected reservation residents on a local level. In actuality, the Bureau of Indian Affairs maintained a strong presence on the reservations. The IRA gave the tribes greater voice in stating opinions, but it did not give them much real power because the Bureau of Indian Affairs reserved the right to approve most tribal decisions, to certify elections, and so on.

The Sioux people living in both Canada and the United States seek to preserve their inherent tribal sovereignty and to preserve the heritage of the Dakota/Lakota/Nakota peoples. The tribes exert sovereignty by pursuing legislation in Congress and Parliament on behalf of tribal members, manage a variety of programs formerly run by the federal governments, establish laws and rules of conduct on the reservation, and invest tribal capital in business ventures. In their governing system, the Sioux tribal nations seek to maintain continuity with the past as they work to preserve and protect the best interests of all the people.
The Sioux population continues to increase, with the largest concentration living in six reservations in South Dakota. Large off-reservation populations of Sioux exist in Rapid City (South Dakota), Denver, Los Angeles, and the San Francisco Bay area. The Sioux are leaders in implementing social and educational reforms and are particularly prominent in their Indian community colleges. Sioux reservations in Canada and the United States actively promote expressions of traditional Sioux culture and values through a wide range of events, arts, and ceremonies.

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**Siuslaw**

- **Culture area:** Northwest Coast
- **Language group:** Yakonan
- **Primary location:** Southwestern Oregon
- **Population size:** 44 (1990 U.S. Census)
The Siuslaw people live in the creek and river bottoms draining into the Siuslaw River along the southern Oregon coast. The temperate maritime rain forest is mild in climate and rich in resources. They are classified as Penutian speakers of Yakonan genetic stock, though such classifications are disputed by some tribal members.

Prior to white contact the Siuslaw lived a relatively isolated lifestyle focused on hunting, gathering, and fishing. Salmon was a primary food source. Large and small game, migratory waterfowl, many kinds of fish, shellfish, and marine mammals, as well as an abundance of plant life, provided them with many other foods. There was no need for farming. Life was relatively simple.

After contact the Siuslaw were rapidly forced to the margins of their environment as white settlers poured into the coastal river valleys in the middle and late 1800’s in search of gold and farmland. They entered into a political confederation with their neighbors to the south, the Lower Umpqua and the Coos, in 1855. In spite of this the Siuslaw were forced to move onto a reservation on the Siletz River.

Their numbers declined, and they became federal wards. They attempted to make treaties in good faith, but their lands were taken over by settlers and their property looted or burned. They lost their property, their way of life, and much of their unique tribal cultural heritage and political legacy. They still endure, though there are only a few families left.

Skagit

**Culture area:** Northwest Coast  
**Language group:** Salishan  
**Primary location:** Washington State  
**Population size:** 1,362 (Skagit, Stillaguamish, Swinomish, 1990 U.S. Census)

The Skagit tribe has always lived along the Skagit River in northwestern Washington State, traditionally in a marine-oriented culture. The tribe was divided into two groups, the Upper and Lower Skagit. The Upper Skagit lived further east, toward the Cascade Mountains, and were more heavily influenced by the culture of Plateau Indians to their east. The Lower Skagit lived near the mouth of the Skagit River at Puget Sound.

The Swinomish people were often grouped together with the Lower Skagit since they lived nearby and spoke very similar dialects of the South-
ern Coast Salish language. They are, however, a separate group. The Kikiallus people are a subdivision of the Lower Skagits and once inhabited two villages south of present-day Mount Vernon, Washington, and adjacent Camano Island. (The Skagit River was formerly named the Kikiallus; the meaning of the word “Skagit” is unknown.) The Stillaguamish people, a related tribe, centuries ago lived in twenty-nine villages along the Stillaguamish, slightly south of the Skagit River. The Stillaguamish had close ties with the Kikiallus people.

All these groups based their economies on salmon and cedar. Living in permanent villages of large cedar plank longhouses and highly organized according to clans, they moved seasonally to follow sources of seafood, living in temporary shelters made of cattail mats. Cedar was used to make canoes, clothing, and baskets as well as tools and ceremonial items. Weaving, berry gathering, clam digging, camas root digging, and (after European contact) potato cultivation were women’s activities. Men hunted for game.

Contact with the English and Spanish changed life for these groups, especially after the establishment of a Hudson’s Bay Company trading post north of Skagit territory in 1827. American settlers started disrupting Skagit lands and lifestyle in the 1850’s and 1860’s, and the Treaty of Point Elliott (signed by the Puget Sound tribes and the U.S. government in 1855) meant the end of tribal recognition for some groups and the loss of much land. Several tribal groups were forced to live on reservations dominated by larger tribes, and as of 1990, the federal government still had not recognized the Kikiallus as a tribe. In 1976, the federal government did recognize the Stillaguamish as a tribe but did not provide for trust land or a land base. The Swinomish reservation is home to the Swinomish proper, along with some Lower Skagits (others of whom live on the Lummi reservation) and Samishes. The Samish tribe is closely related to the Skagit.

Slave

**Culture area:** Subarctic  
**Language group:** Athapaskan  
**Primary location:** Alberta, British Columbia, Yukon Territory  
**Population size:** 5,120 (Statistics Canada, based on 1991 census)

Related to other Athapaskan tribes, the Etchaottine (possibly meaning “people dwelling in the shelter”) were given the name Awokanak, or “Slave,” by their Cree neighbors, and this designation was adopted by
explorers and traders. (The spelling “Slavey” is also used.) Their location may once have extended as far south as Lake Athabasca, but in more recent times they have been located in reserves in the Yukon Territory, British Columbia, and Alberta in Canada.

Tribal governance was informal, with effective organization in independent bands. War leaders were chosen when necessary, and a council of hunters provided direction at other times. The Etchaottine diet consisted primarily of fish and game. Fish were caught with hooks and nets, while snares were used to catch beaver and other game animals. Their food was cooked in vessels of spruce bark or woven spruce roots. Clothing for men and women included shirts, leggings, and moccasins made of skins. Spruce roots were woven into caps for women, and babies were transported in bags made of rabbit fur. Canoes of birch or spruce bark (and, less frequently, of moose hide) enabled the Etchaottine to travel over water; snowshoes and toboggans facilitated overland travel.

Two families might share a fireplace in their summer lodges, although winter cabins were usually large enough only for one family. Etchaottine men were known for showing respect to women and for taking especially good care of the elderly and ill. Burial customs were typical of Subarctic Athapaskans; bodies of the dead were either placed on scaffolds or covered with leaves and snow. The unusually contemptuous name “Slave” derives from the relationship of the Etchaottine with the powerful Cree, who early received weapons from Europeans and used them to encroach on Etchaottine land, dominate the tribe, and turn many of them into captives, either for labor or for sale to other tribes. The name, also used by Europeans, reflects the subservient position of the tribe in its locality. Eventually the Etchaottine found refuge on the islands of the Great Slave Lake. Contact with traders, explorers, and others began in 1789 with the visit of Alexander Mackenzie.

**Snohomish**

**Culture area:** Northwest Coast  
**Language group:** Salishan  
**Primary location:** Lower Snohomish River and south end of Whidbey Island, Washington  
**Population size:** 402 (1990 U.S. Census)
The socioeconomically stratified Snohomish were dependent upon the sea for much of their food. The basic residential group was the permanent winter village. Though warfare was essentially defensive, one could gain status as a warrior. Numerous intergroup socioeconomic ties were sustained by intermarriage.

The first European American contact was in 1792 with George Vancouver, who explored Hood Canal and Puget Sound. Sustained contact commenced in 1827 when Hudson’s Bay Company established Fort Langley on the Fraser River. Introduced ideas and technology brought major changes to the traditional cultures of the area, which had already experienced numerous devastating epidemics. Christian missionary work began in 1839 when Jesuit priests used Chinook jargon to deliver prayers and teach doctrine. During the 1950’s, termination of Indian land and status was successfully opposed by the Inter-Tribal Council of Western Washington.

**Snoqualmie**

**Culture area:** Northwest Coast  
**Language group:** Salishan  
**Primary location:** Snoqualmie River, Washington  
**Population size:** 345 (1990 U.S. Census)

The inland Snoqualmie (including the Skykomish) depended to a large extent upon hunting and gathering, despite their access to saltwater and freshwater fish. Cattails, tules, and shredded cedarbark were used by women to make a variety of utilitarian products. The Snoqualmie lived in permanent winter gable-roofed and shed-roof dwellings, and in temporary structures at other times. The politically autonomous villages had permanent membership. Young men practiced vision quests to acquire a tutelary spirit.

After the arrival of European Americans, little ethnographic information about the Snoqualmie was systematically gathered, and what documentation was done occurred long after depopulation by disease and conflict with settlers. The Treaty of Point Elliott of 1855 called for the cession of land annuity provisions, antislavery, fishing rights, and the eventual removal of Indians living west of the Cascade Mountains.

The nonreservation and unrecognized Snoqualmie, along with the Duwamish, Samish, Snohomish, and Steilacoom, petitioned to be recognized in the 1974 fishery treaty, but Judge George Boldt denied their motion in
1979. Boldt’s decision maintains that the traditional fisheries are protected by the 1854 and 1855 negotiated treaties.

**Sooke**

**Culture area:** Northwest Coast  
**Language group:** Salishan  
**Primary location:** Washington

The Central Coast Salish Sooke (or Sunghees) were a maritime people with bilateral kinship. They lived in large, rectangular split, hand-hewn cedar dwellings in permanent winter villages that cooperated in defense. The Sooke intermarried with adjacent people, particularly the Nitinaht. Their principal food source was the sea; they fished and harpooned sea mammals. During the summer and fall they hunted and gathered numerous types of animals and plants for food and utilitarian products. The major ceremonies were the Spirit Dances, the Secret Society, First Salmon Ceremony, and the Cleansing Ceremonies. Potlatching was staged for certain rites of passage, house erection, canoe launching, and change of status. Young men trained for a vision quest to become shamans and to attain a tutelary spirit. Little is recorded of these people; after 1850 their population was greatly reduced by the influx of gold miners and settlers, who brought disease.

**Spokane**

**Culture area:** Plateau  
**Language group:** Salishan  
**Primary location:** Northeastern Washington State  
**Population size:** 2,118 (1990 U.S. Census)

The Spokane of northeastern Washington spoke a Salishan language shared, in different dialects, with the Coeur d’Alene, Flathead, and Kalispel. They called themselves Spoqe’ind (round head). The subsistence orientation of the three bands of Spokane was culturally reflected by permanent winter villages, specialized fishing technology, a sweathouse complex, shamanism, vision quest, tutelary spirits, the Blue Jay and Midwinter
Ceremonies, leadership through consensus of opinion, modified bilateral descent, and extensive utilization of fish and vegetal products gathered during spring, summer, and fall for winter consumption.

Exploitation of resource areas was further facilitated by intergroup marriage through exogamy, polyglottalism, and established trade relations. Even prior to the introduction of the horse, in the early 1800’s, the Spokane ventured annually onto the Plains to trade and hunt for buffalo.

First mention of the Spokane by white travelers was by Captains Meriwether Lewis and William Clark in 1805 and David Thompson of the Northwest Fur Company, who surveyed the area from 1808 to 1811. Cultural change, however, had already commenced in the early 1700’s with diffusion of European American trade items. The devastating epidemics of 1846 and 1852-1853 created severe population decline. Consequently, the rise of religious nativistic revitalization movements, particularly the Dreamer Cult, modified traditional belief systems. Protestant missionization commenced in 1839 with the establishment of the Tshimakin Mission.

Uncontrolled encroachment by white miners and other settlers ultimately led to warfare with the U.S. Army and to the 1858 military defeat of the Spokane at the battle of Four Lakes by Colonel George Wright, who destroyed Spokane livestock, horses, farms, and crops. As a consequence, a January 18, 1881, executive order set aside 154,898 acres of public land for the establishment of the Spokane Indian Reservation. The Spokane experienced severe deculturation as a result of tribalization, confinement to a reservation, government schooling, a dramatic shift to non-indigenous foods, and the introduction of religious and political factionalism.

A major event that disrupted Spokane access to fish as a primary food source was the 1911 construction of Little Falls Dam. The later construction of Grand Coulee Dam, under the August 30, 1935, New Deal authorization, effectively stopped the annual migration of all salmon to their spawning areas.

The Spokane reservation is organized around an elected tribal council with headquarters, museum, community center, and tribal store located at Wellpinit. Both Protestant and Roman Catholic churches are on the reservation, but not the Indian Shaker or Pentacostal churches. Factions are based on religious affiliation and geographical areas. Dominant modern concerns are issues of legalizing gaming, high unemployment, and ongoing litigation over loss of fishing sites and resource areas. Small per capita payments are generated by land leases and timber sales. In 1989 the Spokane tribe established a successful fish hatchery staffed by enrolled members. Approximately 50 percent of the 2,100 enrolled Spokane live on the reservation.
Bibliography


Squamish

Culture area: Northwest Coast
Language group: Salishan
Primary location: British Columbia
Population size: 2,030 (Statistics Canada, based on 1991 census)

The Squamish were both maritime and river-oriented, living in politically autonomous permanent winter villages with rectangular dwellings of split and hewn cedar. Hunting of land animals and gathering of food plants supplemented a diet of many different fish and sea mammals. Kinship was bilateral with patripotestal authority. Intervillage socioeconomic relations were maintained by trade and marriage. Life was regulated by an annual round of moving to areas, in search of food, according to the season. Concurrently, there were ceremonies of redistribution of resources, known as potlatches.

Charles Barkley probably established contact with the Squamish in 1787; he was followed by land-based fur traders. Fort Langley on the Fraser River was established as a trading post in 1827. Consequently, the drastic effects of introduced disease and forced deculturation demoralized and greatly reduced indigenous populations. By the 1880’s the Indian Shaker Church helped, and continues to help in some cases, to ameliorate cultural deprivation and aid in the curing of some diseases. Modern Squamish work as fishermen, as loggers, and in various skilled labor positions. There have been numerous efforts to revitalize traditional language, myth, and crafts.
Suquamish

**Culture area:** Northwest Coast  
**Language group:** Salishan  
**Primary location:** West side of Puget Sound, Washington  
**Population size:** 726 (1990 U.S. Census)

The Suquamish were typical of Northwest Coast peoples, relying mostly upon marine resources, occupying permanent winter villages, practicing extensive trade and intermarriage, and performing elaborate ceremonies.

The first European American contact was probably in 1792 when George Vancouver explored the region. In 1824 John Work of the Hudson’s Bay Company traversed the area, and in 1827 he established Fort Langley on the Fraser River, which commenced sustained trade within the region. Roman Catholics were the first missionaries, teaching their doctrine in Chinook jargon. The 1846 Treaty of Washington gave the area to the United States, and the 1850 Donation Land Act of Oregon opened the region to settlers. Eventually, most Suquamish settled on the Suquamish Reservation.

The Suquamish Museum was established in 1985; it depicts their history and houses a museum store for selling traditional crafts, mostly cedar boxes, Salish weaving, and basketry. There has been a revival of winter spirit dancing, bone games, and other traditional activities. Tourism and other economic ventures are a significant means of income for the tribe.

Susquehannock

**Culture area:** Northeast  
**Language group:** Iroquoian  
**Primary location:** Pennsylvania  
**Population size:** 125 (1990 U.S. Census)

The Susquehannocks, a member of the Iroquoian language group, are known primarily from seventeenth century historical records and twentieth century archaeological excavations. First mentioned by Captain John Smith in 1608, the Susquehannocks at the time of European contact lived in the lower Susquehanna River valley in southeastern Pennsylvania and northern Maryland. Archaeological evidence suggests that their original
homeland was on the North Branch of the Susquehanna River, in an area north of the Wyoming Valley and south of Binghamton, New York.

Throughout the historical period, the Susquehannocks were in conflict with the Iroquois over questions of trade and hunting rights. In the early seventeenth century the Susquehannocks served as middlemen between European traders and other Indian groups to the north and west, including the Iroquois; when the Iroquois, particularly the Senecas, wanted more direct access to European trade goods, they waged war on the Susquehannocks, forcing them out of their homeland and into the lower Susquehanna River valley. The Susquehannocks were militarily defeated by the Iroquois in 1676 and were forced to resettlement near the Oneidas in New York. Later, allowed to return to southeastern Pennsylvania, they settled near Lancaster, where they became known as the Conestogas.

In December, 1763, white settlers in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, made several unprovoked attacks on Conestoga Indians in an episode known as the “Paxton riots.”

(Commerce of Congress)

Throughout the historic period, the Susquehannocks’ numbers diminished from warfare and disease introduced by Europeans. An estimated population of five thousand in 1600 had been reduced to only twenty persons in 1763 when the last full-blood Susquehannocks were massacred by whites angered by the failure of the Pennsylvania Assembly to make reprisals for attacks by Indians on the western Pennsylvania frontier.
Very little is known about the Susquehannocks other than their role as traders. During the historic period, they lived in palisaded towns along the Susquehanna River, but these towns were probably a response to warfare. Archaeological research suggests that originally the Susquehannocks lived in widely scattered hamlets comprising only a few families. They practiced a mixed economy based on hunting wild animals, gathering wild plants, and shifting cultivation of corn and a few other agricultural products.

Thought to be closely related to the Cayugas, the Susquehannocks are believed to have been quite similar socially to the Iroquois, with a similar division of labor; women did the farming, and men hunted and engaged in war. The Susquehannocks apparently practiced matrilineal kinship, as did other Iroquoian cultures; descent and inheritance were passed through the mother’s line, and women were socially influential. Archaeologically, the Susquehannocks are best known from their burials and their distinctive pottery. In the prehistoric period, the Susquehannocks buried their dead without grave goods in a flexed position in previously dug cache pits. In the seventeenth century, town-dwelling Susquehannocks buried their dead in cemeteries outside the town in specially dug graves; the dead were accompanied by pottery vessels and personal belongings. Susquehannock pottery was made using a paddle-and-anvil (rather than coiled) method; starting with a circular lump of clay, the potter shaped the bowl against the fist with a cord-wrapped paddle. The resulting pottery was incised with patterns around the lip; occasionally human faces were modeled into the lip.

Throughout the historic period, the Susquehannocks were known by a variety of names, including the Conestoga, the Andaste, the Meherrin, and the Minquaas. This variety has led some researchers to speculate that the Susquehannocks were not a distinct tribe but a confederacy of tribes formed in opposition to the Iroquois. There is no evidence to support the confederacy theory, however. It is more likely that the various names arose out of European confusion and the similarities between the Susquehannocks and their Iroquoian neighbors.

**Swallah**

**Culture area:** Northwest Coast  
**Language group:** Salishan  
**Primary location:** Washington
The maritime Swallah had bilateral kinship and lived in permanent winter villages located near water. Some villages were palisaded for protection, as conflict was common between villages. Different types of dugout canoes were used for travel, fishing, and warfare. Major rites were the Spirit Dance, First Salmon Ceremony, Secret Society, and Cleansing Ceremonies. The Swallah potlatch served to recognize status change, redistribution of wealth, house-raising or canoe launching, and hereditary naming. The Swallah had a complex mythology in which Raven and Mink were tricksters. The Swallah maintained considerable social and economic ties with other Central Coast Salish tribes.

The Strait of Juan de Fuca was discovered by Europeans in 1787 by Charles Barkley. British and Spanish explorers visited the area, and by 1811 fur traders had established themselves at the mouth of the Columbia. The 1846 Treaty of Washington divided the Central Coast Salish into British and American regions. Because of disease, indigenous populations had greatly declined since the late 1700’s.

**Tahltan**

**Culture area:** Subarctic  
**Language group:** Athapaskan  
**Primary location:** Subarctic Cordillera, British Columbia  
**Population size:** 1,330 (Statistics Canada, based on 1991 census)

The Tahltan had four named matrilineal clans based on moiety structure. Their society was stratified, with rankings indicated by titles and economic privileges. Winter dwellings were rectangular, roofed with vertical stripped saplings. Subsistence was based on hunting caribou, black and grizzly bear, moose, mountain sheep and goat, and wood buffalo, and on trapping fur-bearing animals. Both men and women joined in fishing. They traded cured hides, leather goods, and babiche for coastal dentalia, copper plates, eulachon oil, slaves, and blankets. Divorce and polygyny were equally rare.

First European American contact with the Tahltan was in 1799 by fur traders, and later gold miners, who introduced numerous changes in land-use patterns, trade relations, and goods. Approximately three-fourths of the Tahltan population died from disease during the nineteenth century. By 1874, white traders had effectively disrupted the previous Tlingit-Tahltan trade relationship, forcing many people to adopt a wage economy. During
World War II, many Taltan men worked on the Alaskan Highway. Currently, the main sources of income are guiding, packing for outfitters and sportsmen, and government employment.

Tanaina

**Culture area:** Subarctic  
**Language group:** Athapaskan  
**Primary location:** Southwestern Alaska  
**Population size:** 490 (1990 U.S. Census)

Tanaina Indians occupied the south-central region of Alaska. Five species of salmon, which made up the basis of Tanaina subsistence, inhabited local lakes. In summer, men used nets, spears, and basket traps to catch fish, which the women split and dried. In autumn, hunters used bows and arrows as well as harpoons to hunt harbor seals. Arrows tipped with copper, antler, or stone were used to kill caribou, sheep, moose, or goats. After entering the fur trade, the Tanaina trapped during the spring and fall.

The Tanaina traveled extensively on lakes and rivers, using birchbark canoes and mooseskin boats. Snowshoes aided winter travel. Tanaina Indians lived in large, multifamily dwellings that housed ten or more families. Both men and women wore long caribou-skin tunics with animal-skin shirts on top. Clothing was decorated with porcupine quills, shells, and ermine tails.

The Tanainan Indians placed great importance on the accumulation and display of wealth. The richest tribesman acted as headman, in charge of the health and welfare of others. He accumulated animal skins, manufactured items, wives, and slaves. Rich men were noted for their generosity. They gave lavish parties, called potlatches, which included large gift-giving ceremonies.

Tanainan religion revolved around shamans, men or women who acted as doctors and priests for the tribe. They were believed to receive their powers—sometimes unwillingly—through dreams and could cast spells both good and bad. The Tanaina also believed in spirits and animals with supernatural powers.

Russian fur traders searching for otter first entered Tanaina territory after 1741. Though they traded with Russian posts, Tanainans were very opposed to the establishment of any permanent settlements. During the first half of the nineteenth century, the Tanaina were struck by a number of
epidemics. Smallpox, tuberculosis, and syphilis killed more than four thousand.

In 1845, Russian Orthodox missionaries arrived and slowly converted the Tanainans. Fur prices fell at the turn of the century, and salmon canneries prevented the Indians from fishing in the most productive streams. Fish and fur-bearing animal populations dwindled. Some natives found jobs in the canneries, and gradually tribesmen became involved in commercial fishing.

Tanana

**CULTURE AREA:** Subarctic  
**LANGUAGE GROUP:** Athapaskan  
**PRIMARY LOCATION:** Alaska  
**POPULATION SIZE:** 349 (1990 U.S. Census)

The Tanana inhabited the southeastern portion of Alaska around the Tanana River, hunting and fishing for their subsistence. The Tananas’ most important food source was caribou—in the fall, tribesmen trapped them against fences, then killed them with lances and arrows. Surplus meat was dried for winter use. In the spring, the Tanana hunted moose, muskrat, and beaver. Beginning in June, whitefish and salmon were caught in nets and cylindrical fishtraps. Women gathered berries and roots and snared marmots and squirrels.

Tanana shelters varied with the seasonal activity. Dome-shaped lodges covered with skins were used in winter camps. Log lean-tos which held two families were used in more temporary camps. Bark-covered huts were constructed in fishing camps. Tanana Indians used birchbark or skin canoes for water transportation. Snowshoes and toboggans pulled by women were used for land travel. Tanana made clothing of tanned caribou decorated with shells and porcupine quills.

Each band had a chief and a “second chief” who, together, owned the caribou fences. The Tanana believed that shamans possessed supernatural powers. Illnesses were attributed to evil spirits which entered the body, and shamans possessed the power to remove them.

The first documented Tanana-white contact occurred around 1875 and was with trader-prospector A. C. Harper. Although non-Indian trade goods had already found their way into the area through Russian trading posts, Tanana Indians primarily traded through intermediaries. Participation in
the fur trade changed annual migration patterns for the Tanana. When this occurred, economic importance shifted from the entire group to the family. In 1886, the discovery of gold brought thousands of non-Indians into Tanana territory. Roads transformed little villages into large towns. Many natives hunted food for miners. The tribe suffered epidemics of measles, influenza, and tuberculosis, which devastated a number of villages. In the 1880’s, Anglican ministers established missions and mission schools, which brought Tanana Indians into more permanent settlements. In 1958, when Alaska became a state, fish and game laws had the net effect of essentially ending old patterns of life and forcing the Tanana into wage-labor jobs.

Tenino

**Culture area:** Plateau  
**Language group:** Sahaptian  
**Primary location:** Oregon

The Tenino (also known as the Warm Springs tribe), a branch of the Sahaptian family, originally occupied the valley of the Des Chutes River in Oregon. As is generally true for the Sahaptian tribes, there is no ethnographic evidence or traditional lore to show where the Tenino lived earlier than their first encounter with white explorers and traders in the early 1800’s. Sahaptian tribes lived in village communities of varying size. Because they relied on hunting and fishing—salmon was a chief staple of their diet—as well as on gathering roots and berries, they were forced to move throughout the year to find food in different seasons. This necessity prevented the villages from growing and developing as political or social centers over time.

Sahaptian tribes do not seem to have relied on agriculture. They were skilled with horses and used them in their travels seeking food. For the most part, Sahaptian tribes dealt peacefully with their neighbors and with white settlers—largely because of the refusal of the Sahaptian to engage in violent retaliation for ill treatment. There is no record of any major battles between the Tenino and whites. Under the terms of the Wasco Treaty of 1855, the Tenino were placed on the Warm Springs Reservation in Oregon, along with the Tyigh and other tribes. Their population as a separate group has not been counted since.
Thompson

**Culture area:** Plateau  
**Language group:** Salishan  
**Primary location:** Southwestern British Columbia  
**Population size:** 3,925 ("Ntlakapamux," Statistics Canada, based on 1991 census)

The Thompson, a large branch of the Salishan, lived along the Fraser, Thompson, and Nicola rivers in southwestern British Columbia. They called themselves Ntlakapamuk, whose meaning is unknown. They lived in scattered villages along the rivers. The Lower Thompson, who lived at the lower end of the Fraser, were divided into several small bands. The Upper Thompson were divided into four bands, the largest of which was the Nicola. These bands, made up of related families, lived mostly independently. Each had a hereditary chief, who had little authority. A central council of older men made decisions for the tribe. The Thompsons’ primary food was fish, especially salmon, which they caught with spears, nets, and traps. Men hunted bear, deer, elk, beaver, and caribou, while women worked to preserve the meat and to gather berries and roots. The Thompsons were skilled at making and using birchbark canoes and snowshoes. They also made beautiful juniper bows and birchbark and cedar root baskets. Their homes in winter were circular pole frame lodges. These were half-buried in the ground for warmth and were entered through the roof. In summer, the Thompson lived in circular mat houses. They also had sweat-houses for ritual use.

Their first contact with whites was probably with Simon Fraser in 1809. Within a decade, the Hudson’s Bay Company established trading posts in the area. The contact and trading was at first beneficial to both sides. When gold miners arrived in 1858, however, tension led to fighting and death. In 1863, the Thompson lost many people to a smallpox epidemic. These pressures caused a decline in population from about five thousand in 1780 to about eighteen hundred in 1906. During the twentieth century, conditions improved, and numbers increased. In the late twentieth century, many were still living in their traditional territory on several reserves. They continued to hunt, fish, and trap but added to their income with new pursuits: farming, the sale of crafts, and wage labor.
Thule

**DATE:** c. 900-1450  
**LOCATION:** Bering Sea, northwestern Alaska, northern Canada, islands of the Beaufort Sea, Labrador, Greenland  
**CULTURES AFFECTED:** Aleut (Atka, Aleut, Unalaska Aleut), Inuit (Eskimo)

Archaeological evidence on the Thule tradition was assembled initially by Therkel Mathiassen, Knud Rasmussen, Henry Collins, Diamond Jenness, and James Ford between 1900 and the mid-1950’s. Their studies, along with later contributions by James L. Giddings, Jr., among others, identified the principal cultural characteristics of the pre-Eskimo Thule tradition and provided it with an accurate historical context. These same archaeologists loosely borrowed the name Thule from the ancient Greek’s designation of the world’s northernmost lands to depict the climactic phase of late prehistoric Inuit development in the subarctic.

Excavations of sites along the Bering Strait have made possible the construction of an eight-stage chronology beginning before 2000 B.C.E. with Okvik and Old Bering Sea cultures—the Arctic small tool tradition—which were superseded by the Birnik, Punuk, and then Thule cultures. From these, in turn, arose both the Prehistoric Recent and Modern Eskimo cultures. Certainly by 900 C.E. a Thule tradition had emerged from Birnik culture in northern Alaska. Composed of an Inuit people originally living along the Bering Strait, the Thule culture was marked by a sophisticated adaptation to Arctic whaling (particularly of the bowhead whale), fishing, and seal, walrus, and caribou hunting.

Artifacts yielded by the excavation of Thule sites across thousands of miles of the subarctic include skillfully crafted, often elegant, harpoon heads, umiaks (skin boats), cutting tools, snow goggles, eating utensils, fishhooks, throwing sticks, bow drills, saws, female fetishes, and the remains of elaborate pit houses, sustaining Robert McGhee’s conclusion that the Thule enjoyed an abundant, secure economy and a quality of life as rich as any other in the nonagricultural and nonindustrial world.

An extended period of climatic warming from the tenth through the fifteenth century presumably allowed Thule culture to spread rapidly eastward (during the same centuries when sustained warming allowed the Norse to move westward into Iceland and then Greenland), doubtless following whales and seals among the relatively ice-free islands and straits of the Beaufort Sea. By the eleventh century, the Thule tradition had extended...
itself 2,600 miles east from its origins in northern Alaska and the Bering Sea islands across subarctic Canada and into Labrador and northwestern Greenland, perhaps overlapping or displacing the indigenous Dorset culture, but more likely filling in areas vacated by the earlier collapse of the Dorset tradition. There is ample archaeological evidence that by the fifteenth century, the Thule had firmly established their culture throughout these eastern coastal regions, where some evidence indicates they encountered the Norse. There, in the east, Thule culture subsequently underwent regional adaptations or tribal specializations, from which sprang the Inuit or Eskimo culture known to historic times.

Tillamook

**Culture area:** Northwest Coast  
**Language group:** Salishan  
**Primary location:** Oregon coast  
**Population size:** 65 (1990 U.S. Census)

Tillamook is a Chinook name which means “people of Nekelim.” It was more often spelled and pronounced “Killamook.” The Tillamook were the principal and probably most powerful tribe on the Oregon coast in the early nineteenth century. They lived along a long coastal strip extending from Tillamook Head (near Seaside) to the Siletz River in Lincoln County.

Their population in the early nineteenth century has been estimated at about twenty-two hundred. The Tillamook lived primarily in numerous small villages built near the mouths of the main rivers that flow into the Pacific. Their economy was one of hunting, fishing, and gathering. Salmon, a variety of plants, shellfish, and both land and water mammals were consumed.

The Tillamook apparently developed an extensive regional trading network. Hides, canoes, and baskets were taken to the Columbia River to trade for or purchase shells, buffalo hides, wapato roots, and other items. Transportation, as well as gathering of seafood, was accomplished primarily by rivergoing and seagoing canoes which could hold from twelve to thirty people.

In addition to traveling between villages and trading, the Tillamook ventured forth to capture slaves. They raided neighboring tribes to the south and sold captured slaves mainly to the northern Clatsop and Chehalis tribes in Washington.
Individual villages were presided over by a chief, a position based on wealth and possession of supernatural powers. Additionally, task leaders occupied an important role in planning and performing various tribal activities. These shamans, headmen, and warriors each had particular areas of expertise (medicine, accumulation of wealth, hunting, war, and slave raiding). These individuals, generally male (although some powerful and important shamans were women), were the high class and elite of the village. Unlike tribal members of lesser status, the elite were polygynous.

Women’s status was based on the status of their family, husband, or guardian. Each shaman sponsored a winter ceremonial dance in order to revitalize his or her powers. Singing, dancing, and the generous proffering of food and gifts over a five- to ten-day period characterized the most elaborate of Tillamook ceremonies.

The Tillamook apparently did not worship any deities. The earth was viewed as all-powerful and judgmental of Tillamook behavior. Much of an individual’s status and prestige was determined by that individual’s ability to form a lifelong relationship with a guardian spirit.

Primarily as a result of disease epidemics in the 1830’s, the population declined precipitously, with populations of twenty-five and ten being reported in the 1910 and 1930 censuses, respectively.

**Timucua**

**Culture area:** Southeast  
**Language group:** Possibly Muskogean or Chibchen-Paezan  
**Primary location:** Northern Florida

The Timucua (or Utina, which means “earth”) is a collective name for early tribes living in northern Florida. The Timucua may have been connected to the Muskogee group, which dominated the southeastern quarter of what would become the United States. First European contact with the Timucua tribes occurred about 1513, when the Spanish explorer Ponce de Leon entered the area, followed by Panfilo de Narvaez in 1528 and Hernando de Soto in 1539. At that time, the Timucua numbered between thirteen thousand and fifteen thousand and lived in large houses in permanent, well-fortified villages. They depended heavily on agriculture and surrounded their villages with extensive cornfields. De Soto was soon followed by French settlers, who gave way again to the Spanish. The Timucua were gradually conquered and converted, although a rebellion is docu-
mented in 1656. Disease and war reduced their numbers severely, so that by 1736 only a few Timucua remained in Volusia County. Those few were probably absorbed by the Seminoles, refugees from other tribes who entered north Florida in the late 1700’s to escape the encroachment of white settlers. No Timucua Indians still remain.

The Timucuas were highly organized, building permanent homes and cultivating large tracts of land. They were most easily distinguished for their practice of tattooing their bodies—the men extensively, the women less so. Like most Southeastern Woodlands tribes, the Timucua women were responsible for planting, cultivating, and preserving the crops, primarily corn, beans, and squash. Although the men helped with major tasks such as clearing land and harvesting, they spent most of their time hunting, fishing, and warring.

Women were also important in the social structure of these tribes. Most southeastern Indians followed a clan system, a loose organization of family groups. Membership followed the mother’s line, and status in a clan depended on the mother’s connections. Women were responsible for the corn crop, important not only as a dietary staple but also as part of the religious symbolism of the tribe. The most significant and universally observed communal celebration, the Green Corn Dance, was a ceremony of forgiveness, purification, and thanksgiving that usually involved the entire tribe.

**Tiou**

_Culture area:_ Southeast  
_Language group:_ Tunica  
_Primary location:_ Yazoo River, Mississippi

Nothing is known of the traditional culture of the Tiou except that they lived in several permanent villages and had established peaceful relations with neighboring groups. Being horticulturalists, they were largely dependent upon their maize, beans, squash, and other cultivated plants. These foods were supplemented by hunting and trapping. When not farming, women gathered roots, nuts, and a variety of seeds.

First mention of the Tiou was probably made in 1697. The Tiou were described as living in two large villages, one above the Tunica and one below. Their population was greatly reduced by introduced diseases, and by 1699 some of the survivors settled among the Natchez after having been driven from their homes by the Chickasaw. The Tiou became fragmented.
Some remained on the Yazoo River, while later some were absorbed by the Bayogoula and some by the Acolapissa. By 1731 they probably had been destroyed by the Quapaw.

**Tlingit**

**Culture area:** Northwest Coast  
**Language group:** Na-Dene  
**Primary location:** Northern California to southern Alaska coast  
**Population size:** 13,925 in U.S. (1990 U.S. Census); 1,170 in Canada  
(Statistics Canada, based on 1991 census)

Tlingit literally means “the people.” Among the Tlingit people themselves, there is a growing use of the spelling “Lingit” in order to avoid the use of the initial t sound, which is a European attempt to render a somewhat difficult initial sound in the Tlingit language (for the purpose of this article, the traditional spelling will be maintained).

It is probable that the Tlingit people began to occupy roughly their present southeastern coastal Alaska locale soon after the last Ice Age, or roughly 6000-5000 b.c.e. In this area, where the modern Alaskan city of Sitka also celebrates its Tlingit heritage, the weather is much more moderate than inland because of the prevailing currents from Asia which bring milder temperatures. Population estimates for 1740 were roughly 10,000 Tlingit. In 1992, population estimates for the Tlingit people, including those who live in urban areas throughout the Northwest, ranged close to 18,900. This represents an impressive endurance, particularly given the devastation of smallpox in 1836, brought by (vaccinated) Russian settlers and tradespersons.

In 1741, Russian ships first made contact with the Tlingit peoples. The Russians were attracted by the mild temperatures and the presence of otter and seals. Quickly following the Russian tradesmen were Russian missionaries, and Russian Orthodoxy remains a widely professed form of Christianity among the Tlingit as well as among other Alaska and Northwest Coastal native peoples.

**Kinship and Social Status.** There are two important kinship divisions (“moieties”) of the Tlingit, the Raven (sometimes called Crow), and the Eagle (sometimes called Wolf). Each of these divisions are divided into a number of clans or sibs. In Tlingit tradition, an Eagle should marry a Raven, although in modern practice, this is not always observed scrupulously. The political organization of the Tlingit people is based not on the larger moie-
ties but rather on the clans. Sib identity is permanent, and there is a recognized sib/clan leader; there is no recognized leader for the two main groupings of Raven and Eagle. The clans, in turn, are divided into “house groups.” Identity is passed through the mother rather than the father, so children must spend time with the mother’s male relatives in order to learn about their identity.

Wealth and social status are singularly important in Tlingit society, but status is determined as much by distribution and generosity in distribution as it is by one’s inherent wealth. The most widely known example of this is the ceremony of the potlatch (based on the Chinook/Salish term *patshatl*), forms of which are found among many Northwest Coastal Indians along the Alaskan, Washington, and Canadian coasts. The potlatch ceremony takes careful preparation and is not merely and crudely to be understood as a massive “giveaway.” There are important spiritual and social elements to the ceremony in Tlingit life.

Tlingits, as did other Northwest Coast peoples, maintained slaves, who were normally prisoners of war or their descendants. It was possible for a slave to become a free person and even to marry into the lower levels of Tlingit society, but mixing too widely across the castelike status boundaries was not encouraged.

**Religion and Expressive Culture.** Tlingit spirituality is evident in an elaborate mythology of the powers of animal spirits in the maintenance of life. All animals have spirits that can communicate to humans, and there is an element of reincarnation to some Tlingit spirituality. Shamanism is an important practice among the Tlingit, as protection from “Kushtaka” (evil spirits) is an important consideration for families and individuals. While elaborate, Tlingit religion is largely non-ideological in content and is concerned primarily with the maintenance of order, nature, and life. One of the most important aspects of Tlingit spirituality is the great significance attached to the interpretation of dreams and the communication with animal spirits that takes place during dreams. In Tlingit mythology, there is an elaborate cycle of stories about Raven, the most important character in Tlingit mythology, who is also considered the progenitor of the people themselves.

Tlingit culture is perhaps most notable for its elaborate and strikingly beautiful artwork, which can be found both in the wood carvings that decorated boats and homes and in woven clothing such as the famous “Chilkat” blankets. Basketry is also a well-developed art form among the Tlingit. Elements of Tlingit art motifs can be found with variations in other coastal peoples such as the Haida.

*D. L. Smith-Christopher*
Tohome

**Culture area:** Southeast  
**Language group:** Muskogean  
**Primary location:** West bank of Tombigbee River

There may have been two major divisions of the Tohome: the Big and the Little Tohome. The Tohome were, like their neighbors, horticulturalists, dependent on cultivated maize, squash, beans, and other field plants. Men supplemented the diet with the hunting of buffalo, deer, and other animals. Women gathered food and medicinal plants. Prior to European American incursion, the Tohome maintained socioeconomic liaisons with other groups, particularly the Mobile.

The Tohome were probably first visited by the Spanish in 1559, and later by Pierre le Moyne Iberville in 1702. The pressures created by European American settlers and introduced disease greatly reduced their population. It is believed the Tohome and Mobile eventually united with the Choctaw.

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**Bibliography**


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The Tohono O’odham, as this tribe has always called itself, means “desert people.” They are also known as the Papago, but the tribe prefers their own ancient name of Tohono O’odham. A cave called Ventana Cave has produced evidence of eleven thousand years of human existence. Some have considered the Tohono O’odham to be descendants of the ancient Hohokam, an extinct agricultural people who had learned to irrigate the desert by a series of canals.

The Spanish conquistadors and padres, in their contacts with the Tohono O’odham in the late seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries, considered them peaceful farmers who were quick to accept the ways of the newcomers. By 1762 Spanish missions had started the process of breaking down the culture of the desert people. The United States continued the process when in 1848 it acquired from Mexico the territory in which the Tohono O’odham lived. In the 1870’s the United States introduced the reservation system to the Tohono O’odham. They began to live on the reservations of Sells, San Xavier, Ak-Chin, and Gila Bend. Sells is their largest reservation.

The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 set the terms for the Tohono O’odham organization of their reservation into eleven political districts. Each district has its own council from which two members are elected to represent it on the Tohono O’odham Tribal Council. In addition to the twenty-two council members, there are elected at large by the tribe a chair, vice-chair, secretary, and treasurer.

Many Tohono O’odham live and work outside the reservations in towns and cities. The majority, however, choose to live on the reservations and continue to farm, work in the mines, or work at schools, stores, or other facilities.
Tolowa

**Culture area:** California  
**Language group:** Athapaskan  
**Primary location:** Northwest California  
**Population size:** 504 (1990 U.S. Census)

Though the patrilineal Tolowa acquired wealth in order to gain prestige, their society lacked social stratification. They lived in eight permanent river villages with houses of square horizontal-set split redwood planks with sloping roofs. They exploited sea mammals, fish, land mammals, and numerous plant foods, particularly acorns. Each village controlled clamming beaches, sea stacks, berry patches, and adjacent wooded areas.

The first documented Euro-American contact with the Tolowa was in 1828 by Jedediah Smith, though disease had been introduced earlier. By 1850, white settlement had increased through gold mining, logging, and farming, resulting in a drastic reduction of the Indian population. In 1908, a tract of land on the mouth of the Klamath was acquired by the government for displaced California Indians; it became the Smith River Rancheria. The Tolowa were influenced by the Ghost Dance of 1870 and the Indian Shaker movement in 1929. Some modern Tolowa pursue traditional woodworking skills. On a cash basis, many Tolowa work in local lumber businesses as well as in clerical and administrative jobs.
The Toltecs became a prominent tribe in central Mexico in the Post-Classic era after the fall of Teotihuacán. They were originally one of the Chichimec or barbarian tribes from the north of Mexico before moving toward the central valley and establishing themselves at Tula. The name “Tula” is a corruption by the Spanish of Tollan, or “place of rushes,” and Toltec meant “one from Tollan.” This site, located on a ridge overlooking the Tula River, is about thirty miles northwest of modern Mexico City, on the northern fringe of the heavily populated Valley of Mexico.

In the early tenth century, the Toltecs became the dominant tribe, and they ruled a wide area of central Mexico for about two hundred years. While not as artistic or original as the inhabitants of the nearby, but deserted and destroyed, Teotihuacán, the Toltecs were the first of the indigenous tribes to have a recorded history. This history, a mixture of epic tales and facts, is significant for two reasons. First, it describes a cleavage in society that may explain the growth of a militaristic state. Second, it presents one of the most complete depictions of the flight of the god-king Quetzalcóatl. Toltec history begins with a king, Mixcóatl (Cloud Snake), who was assassinated by his brother. The dead king’s pregnant wife fled and gave birth to a son, called Tolfiltzin, who became a priest to the god Quetzalcóatl, the Feathered Serpent, most often identified as an agricultural deity. Tolfiltzin returned to Tula and avenged the death of his father by killing his uncle and taking the throne. He ruled as a priest-king, becoming so identified with the god that he became Tolpiltzin-Quetzalcóatl. One day, the story goes, Tezcatlipoca, a jealous rival god of war, tricked Tolpiltzin-Quetzalcóatl and made him drunk. When he awoke, Tolpiltzin found himself with his sister and, in shame, fled his city. The legend said he traveled over the water to the east and that he would one day return to regain his throne. This tale would haunt the Aztecs hundreds of years later when the Spaniard Hernán Cortés was believed to be this god returned.

The story may have described a challenge to the agricultural ruling class by a warrior group bent on conquest; the society did become more aggressive. Heavily armed warriors, along with fierce jaguars and eagles, were carved on stone reliefs to mark the increased importance of warfare among the Toltecs. The chacmool, a stone carving of a reclining figure with contorted features, held a vessel in which human hearts may have been placed. This
thoroughly militaristic society dominated a wide area for nearly two hundred years, only to fall before continued onslaughts of new tribes coming from the north in the middle of the twelfth century. Among these tribes were the Mexica, who would become known as the Aztecs.

Tonkawa

**Culture area:** Plains  
**Language group:** Tonkawan  
**Primary location:** Oklahoma  
**Population size:** 261 (1990 U.S. Census)

The Tonkawa lived a nomadic life over vast stretches of eastern and central Texas. “Tonkawa” comes from the Waco language and means “they all stay together,” although they lived in twenty or so independently wandering bands. Their name for themselves was Titska watitch (“the most human of people”). The Tonkawa hunted for most of their food, eating bear, deer, and buffalo as well as smaller game, including rattlesnake. When they were near the coast, they ate fish and shellfish. They also ate nuts, berries, and herbs that they gathered in their wanderings. The early Tonkawa practiced a form of peyote religion, eating the mescal “bean” from a shrub that grew in their territory. This ingestion caused a blinding red vision and vomiting. For the Tonkawa, the red symbolized success in battle and hunting; the vomiting purged the body of evil. By the 1890’s they had substituted the milder and less dangerous peyote.

Judging by the traditional stories of neighboring tribes, the Tonkawa were disliked by their neighbors, who thought them warlike and dishonest. They were said to be good with bows, whether aiming at game or at enemies. They were almost always at war with the Apache and the Comanche. In 1782, some four thousand Tonkawa and Apache met to trade horses and to discuss the possibility of forming an alliance against the Spanish, who were proving an even greater threat. They could not reach an agreement, however, and hostilities soon broke out again. In 1855, they were removed with other Texas tribes to two small reservations on the Brazos River. Three hundred strong, they were moved again four years later to the Washita River in Oklahoma. In 1862 they were attacked by a large group of enemy tribes, and all but a hundred or so were massacred. After more wandering, they were finally settled on a small reservation near the Ponca River in Oklahoma.
The highly mobile Tsetsaut probably comprised five named composite bands, divided into two matrilineal clans, the Eagle and Wolf. They subsisted primarily on inland game hunting and trapping, descending only in the summer to the Portland Inlet to fish and dry salmon for winter storage. Their principal food was marmot, supplemented with porcupine, mountain goat, and bear. Winter travel was facilitated by snowshoes and the use of rare yellow cedar dugout canoes in spring and summer. The Tsetsaut had no permanent villages, only temporary camps and shelters of single or double lean-tos covered with bark.

The Tsetsaut were probably first contacted in 1862 by fur traders of the Hudson’s Bay Company post at Port Simpson. In the same year, William Duncan established a new Christian village of Metlakatla and entered into competition for furs. Robert Tomlinson established a mission at Kincolith in 1867, and when Franz Boas visited the site in 1894 he found that the Tsetsaut population numbered only twelve, a reduction from five hundred only sixty years earlier.

**Tsimshian**

**Culture area:** Northwest Coast  
**Language group:** Tsimshian  
**Primary location:** Northwestern British Columbia, southeastern Alaska  
**Population size:** 4,550 in Canada (Statistics Canada, based on 1991 census); 2,432 in U.S. (1990 U.S. Census)
Archaeological evidence suggests a Tsimshian residency of some five thousand years in the area. There are three major divisions: Tsimshian proper (which have been separated into the Southern Coast and Tsimshian), Niska (Nishga), and Gitksan. Each speaks a different dialect. Tsimshian derives from *emsyan* (“inside the Skeena River”).

The Tsimshian subsisted on a variety of land and sea animals as well as plants that were gathered seasonally. Salmon was the most important food source. Eulachon, or candlefish, were particularly important for their oil or grease. The Tsimshian had a virtual monopoly on candlefish and the grease trade and became very wealthy as a result. The Tsimshian transported themselves between areas primarily in canoes.

The Tsimshian lived in fishing villages and camps in the spring and summer and in large houses made from red cedar in the winter. A chief’s house might measure 50 by 30 feet. The chief and his family lived in several cubicles at the rear of the house. Other families of lesser status occupied the side walls. The houses were also used for dances during the winter ceremonial season.

The Tsimshian were divided into four phratries (tribal subdivisions, comprising several clans): Eagle, Wolf, Raven, and Killer Whale. Membership in a phratry was matrilineal, and marriage outside the phratry was prohibited. Each phratry controlled a defined territory. Social order and customs were maintained through elaborate ceremonial feasts and potlatches. The readily available and plentiful sources of sustenance allowed the Tsimshian time to devote to other activities. The Tsimshian became expert artisans and are especially well known for their intricate totem poles. Copper was the highest symbol of wealth, and the Tsimshian hammered native copper for their chief into beautiful ceremonial shields.

In the late eighteenth century the Tsimshian traded extensively with Europeans and Americans, and many moved to trading posts on the peninsula, where they built settlements. Contact with the outside world was intensified by the discovery of gold in 1867 and the building of a railroad. In 1871 the Canadian government assumed responsibility for the Tsimshian. Reserves were created at traditional sites, and allocations were unilaterally imposed by the government. The effects of missionization were also felt, and Tsimshian villages became a hybrid mixture of English and Indian custom and tradition. The Tsimshian have actively resisted government controls and usurpation of their aboriginal lands.

An entirely separate community of about thirteen hundred Tsimshians resides on Annette Island in Alaska in a community known as New Metlakatla. These are the descendants of the original fifty Tsimshian whom a missionary named William Duncan moved to Metlakatla in 1862. The col-
Tubatulabal

**CULTURE AREA:** California  
**LANGUAGE GROUP:** Tubatulabal  
**PRIMARY LOCATION:** Southern Sierra foothills, California  
**POPULATION SIZE:** 29 (1990 U.S. Census)

The highly mobile Tubatulabal comprised three discrete bands speaking mutually intelligible dialects, each with their own chief. They occupied either patrilineal or matrilineal exogamous, semipermanent hamlets of several extended families, but they had no strict rules of exogamy or endogamy above the hamlet level. Chiefs were even-tempered, enunciated sound judgment, possessed oratory skills, and were generous with advice and their time. Leaders had limited authority, but they negotiated arbitration and resolved conflict. Living structures were simple but effective, made of domed, bent willow covered with brush and mud, with tule mats for beds and floor coverings. Women made coiled and twined baskets of split willow, yucca roots, and deer grass in representative and geometric designs. The most important foods were acorn and piñon nuts, collectively gathered and stored for winter consumption. All land mammals were hunted, and great amounts of various insects were dried as winter stores. Individual and communal fishing made an important contribution to their diet. Jimson weed probably was used only in curing ceremonies.

The first European American contact was in 1776, when Francisco Garcés explored the lower Kern River. By 1850, white settlers and cattlemen had established homesteads and ranches; and in 1857, the Kern River gold rush brought miners, who eventually displaced most of the Tubatulabal. After considerable conflict, the Tubatulabal located themselves on the Tule River Reservation from 1900 to 1972.

The major source of income for most modern Tubatulabal men is working as cowhands. Some tribal women are employed as secretaries. There are only a few elders who pursue certain types of traditional technology, particularly basketry and root digging. The low population and deculturation of the Tubatulabal reflects the historical 1863 massacre by whites and the devastating effects of disease and epidemics. Migration from the area and intermarriage with non-Indians have further decreased the tribe’s numbers.
Tunica

**Culture area:** Southeast  
**Language group:** Tunica  
**Primary location:** Louisiana  
**Population size:** 33 (1990 U.S. Census)

The Tunica traditionally lived in Mississippi and Arkansas, just north of the area where the Yazoo River joins the Mississippi. They farmed, fished, and hunted, and they lived in small villages of rectangular thatched-roof houses; villages often included a temple building. They made pottery, wove cloth of mulberry fibers, and mined salt to trade with other tribes. The culture involved a high level of material security, and chiefs enjoyed nearly kinglike status.

The Tunicas were friendly with the French and were allies with them in French struggles against other tribes, notably the Natchez. In 1731 a large party of Natchez and allies attacked the Tunica, leading to heavy casualties on both sides; the principal chief of the Tunica was killed in the fight. Around the 1730’s, the population began to decline, primarily because of diseases brought by the Europeans. When only a few hundred remained, the remnants of the Tunica and other Tunica-speaking tribes started to band together. In the late 1700’s, the combined group moved up the Red River and settled near what is now Marksville, Louisiana. Some also migrated to the Oklahoma area with their Choctaw neighbors around that time.

Tuscarora

**Culture areas:** Northeast, Southeast  
**Language group:** Iroquoian  
**Primary location:** New York, Ontario  
**Population size:** 2,943 in U.S. (1990 U.S. Census); estimated 1,200 in Canada

The Tuscarora probably originated in New York and Pennsylvania and migrated southward to the coastal plain and the eastern piedmont of North Carolina after 500 B.C.E. The Tuscarora were principally farmers who produced corn, hemp, gourds, beans, peaches, and apples in great abundance. Despite their skills as farmers, the Tuscarora placed a greater reliance
The colonization of North Carolina by the English prompted the Tuscarora War of 1711-1713. The English encroached upon Tuscarora lands, enslaved the Tuscarora, and cheated them at trade. In the war, an alliance of the English and the Yamasee Indians defeated the Tuscarora. Nearly one thousand Tuscarora were killed and another seven hundred enslaved. In the peace treaty, the Tuscarora forfeited their rights to lands south of the Neuse River but received a small reservation in Bertie County, North Carolina.

Shortly after the war, about fifteen hundred Tuscarora moved to New York to seek shelter with the Iroquois Confederacy, which accepted the Tuscarora as members in 1722 or 1723. Over the next ninety years, the remaining Tuscarora moved northward, and in 1804, the North Carolina reservation closed.

During the American Revolution, most of the Tuscarora and many of the Oneida broke with other Iroquois and supported the Americans against the British. As a result, Tuscarora villages were attacked and destroyed by the British and other Iroquois, forcing the Tuscarora to find new lands to the west at Lewiston, New York. These lands became the site of the modern Tuscarora Reservation. The American Revolution also divided the Tuscarora. In the 1780’s, a small pro-British faction of the Tuscarora moved to English Canada near the Grand River. These lands became the site of the modern Six Nations Reserve in Ontario.

Studies of the Tuscarora in the late twentieth century showed that they retained an unusually large portion of their traditional culture, social structure, and national identity. In the late 1950’s, the Tuscarora challenged an effort by a utility company to build a reservoir on the Tuscarora Reservation. Although the U.S. Supreme Court ruled against the Tuscarora, their legal struggles helped inspire the emerging Indian rights movement of the 1960’s.

Tuskegee

**Culture area:** Southeast  
**Language group:** Muskogean  
**Primary location:** Between the Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers, Alabama

Little ethnographic data exist for the Tuskegee, who were horticulturalists and warriors. They possessed stone tools, practiced extensive intertribal trade, and possessed specialized predation and war technology. As did many tribes with maize economies, they had complex ceremonies,
including fertility cults and planting and harvesting rituals. They gathered salt from natural sources, and they collected ash from burnt hickory, animal bones, and certain mosses. They exploited the buffalo for food and by-products.

It is known that Hernando de Soto visited these people in 1540. By the end of the seventeenth century they had probably divided into two bands, one settling on the Chattahoochee River near Columbus, the other on the upper Tennessee near Long Island. By 1717 French rule led to the removal of the Tuskegee (who had by that time been absorbed by the Creek); the Tuskegee formed a town in Oklahoma on the southwestern part of the Creek territories. Their greatly diminished population finally settled to the northwest near Beggs.

**Tutchone**

*Culture area:* Subarctic  
*Language group:* Athapaskan  
*Primary location:* Yukon Territory  
*Population size:* 1,610 (Statistics Canada, based on 1991 census)

The six bands of highly mobile matrilineal Tutchone were organized into two moieties and lived in coastal-type rectangular dwellings of logs. Subsistence was gained primarily through hunting caribou, moose, and mountain goat, and the trapping of smaller land mammals. Migratory waterfowl were taken, in addition to freshwater fish and salmon. Some gathering of vegetable foods and berries supplemented the Tutchone diet.

The first European Canadian contact with the Tutchone was made by Robert Campbell of the Hudson’s Bay Company in 1842; he established Fort Selkirk in 1848. In 1874, white traders reentered the area and established Fort Reliance for fur traders. Thousands of gold prospectors arrived in 1898, but by 1900 only a few continued to mine for gold, silver, and copper. With the collapse of the fur trade in the 1930’s, woodcutting became a main source of income for many Tutchone families. Surface and subsurface mining attracted non-Indian populations, and this migration was facilitated by the 1942 Alaskan Highway. Most Tutchone are involved in the wage economy, locally or through migration to urban centers. The Tutchone population was estimated to be about fifteen hundred in the mid-1970’s.
Tutelo

**Cultural Area:** Northeast, Southeast  
**Language Group:** Siouan  
**Primary Location:** Virginia, North Carolina

The Tutelo were a northern Siouan people who came into the present-day Virginia piedmont from the upper Ohio Valley. The meaning of the name is unknown; it was probably taken from a southern Indian language by the Iroquois. They were also known as Katteras or Shateras. In 1671, English explorers visited a Tutelo village, Shamokin, near present-day Salem, Virginia. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, the tribe had moved itself to an island in the Roanoke River, near the junction of the Stanton and Dan, and shortly thereafter to the headwaters of the Yadkin River in western North Carolina, where they were able to hunt elk and buffalo.

By 1709, the Tutelo and five other tribes (Saponi, Ocaneechi, Keyauwee, Shakiori, and Stuckanox) were estimated to total only 750 in population. For their own survival, this group of peoples gradually moved eastward, settling at Fort Christanna on the Meherrin River. Following the peace of 1722 between the Iroquois and Virginia tribes, the Tutelo, along with the Saponi, moved north, and by 1744 had settled in Pennsylvania under the protection of the Iroquois. By then the Manahoac, Monacan, and Saponi tribes had been mostly absorbed by the Tutelo. In 1753, they were admitted into full membership of the League of the Iroquois. In 1771, they settled on the east side of Cayuga Inlet and established a town, Coreorgonel, which was destroyed by General John Sullivan in 1779. Following this defeat, some of the tribe continued to live with the Cayuga and retained their own language. A remnant of the tribe located near Buffalo, New York. Others settled and intermarried with the Iroquois.

Little is known about the social organization of the Tutelo except that they gathered in clans. A tribal leader and council made political and social decisions. It is believed the leadership was not by lineage. During the nineteenth century, cultural and linguistic material was gathered on the Tutelo by the Smithsonian Institution. The last full-blooded Tutelo died in 1871, and the last person to speak the Tutelo language died in 1898.
Tututni

**Culture area:** Northwest Coast  
**Language group:** Athapaskan  
**Primary location:** Lower Rogue River and southwest Oregon coast

The Tututni language group includes Upper Coquille, Tututni, Chasta Costa, and Chetco. All these tribes were typical of the Northwest Coast with stratified societies, winter plank houses, extensive overland and water trade, and traditional forms of wealth. Only the Tututni were matrilineal. The Tututni comprised seven divisions: Kwatami, Yukichetunne, Khwaish-tunnetunne, Chetleshin, Mikonotunne, Chemetunne, and Tututni. Though they were oriented toward the sea and rivers, they gained most of their food from land animals, small animals, roots, tubers, seeds, berries, nuts, and insects. Differential food and utilitarian resources encouraged trade and intermarriage.

Robert Gray first contacted and traded with these people in 1792. In 1826 the botanist David Douglas visited the Upper Umpqua. The population for these groups was greatly reduced by disease, gold seekers, and the Rogue River War of 1855-1856. Some people were settled on the Siletz and Grande Ronde Reservations and became adherents to the Ghost Dance movement after its 1870 introduction.

Twana

**Culture area:** Northwest Coast  
**Language group:** Salishan (Twana)  
**Primary location:** Washington  
**Population size:** 714 (“Skokomish,” 1990 U.S. Census)

The patrilocal and patrilineal Twana (including the Skokomish and Toanho people), like their neighbors, lived in permanent winter villages. Both maritime and land hunting were specialized in technology and associated ritual. The socially stratified Twana maintained their positions through birth, redistribution of wealth, and certain physical and religious attributes.

George Vancouver explored Puget Sound and Hood Canal in 1792. In 1827 the Hudson’s Bay Company established Fort Langley on the Fraser River, which became a major trading post. The Indian Shaker Church influ-
enced the Twana and Skokomish (a tribe of the Twana) in the early 1830’s. In 1910 there were only sixty-one Twana.

The Twana Reservation at Skokomish had a population of 1,029 in 1984, which did not include all off-reservation Twana or recognize those of varying blood degrees from other groups. The Southern Coast Salish tribes have experienced considerable socioeconomic, political, and cultural revitalization because of recent changes in federal legislation and policies, particularly in sovereignty and fishing rights.

Tyigh

**CULTURE AREA:** Plateau  
**LANGUAGE GROUP:** Sahaptian  
**PRIMARY LOCATION:** Oregon

The Tyigh (also spelled “Tygh”), a branch of the Sahaptian family, were so named by white explorers and traders because they lived near the Tyigh and White rivers in what is now Wasco County, Oregon. As is generally true for the Sahaptian tribes, there is no ethnographic evidence or traditional lore to show where the Tyigh lived earlier than their first encounter with whites in the early 1800’s. Sahaptian tribes lived in village communities of varying size. Because they relied on hunting and fishing (salmon being a chief staple of their diet) as well as on gathering roots and berries, they moved throughout the year to find food in different seasons. This prevented villages from growing and developing as political or social centers.

Sahaptian tribes do not seem to have relied on agriculture. They were skilled with horses and used them in their travels. Tyigh speak the Tenino language. Under the terms of the Wasco Treaty of 1855, the Tyigh were placed on the Warm Springs Reservation in Oregon, along with the Tenino and other tribes. Their population as a separate group has not been counted since.

Umatilla

**CULTURE AREA:** Plateau  
**LANGUAGE GROUP:** Sahaptian  
**PRIMARY LOCATION:** Oregon  
**POPULATION SIZE:** 1,159 (1990 U.S. Census)
The Umatillas are recognized as Plateau Indians who traditionally inhabited the Mid-Columbia Plateau. They are a Sahaptian-speaking group, and their population was estimated at fifteen hundred in 1780. Their modern descendants reside on the Umatilla Reservation, which is located in northeastern Oregon.

The Umatillas, part of the larger Mid-Columbia Plateau culture, existed for ten thousand years in the Columbia Basin before the coming of European Americans. During this period, their culture remained relatively stable, with seasonal moves to winter villages; there were rich salmon fishing resources on the Columbia River as well as roots and berries that were gathered. By the time of European American contact, the horse was part of Umatilla culture. Horses changed Umatilla subsistence patterns but not to the extent that the horse changed Nez Perce culture. Perhaps because of the plenitude of their resources, particularly salmon, the Umatillas’ economy still consisted primarily of fishing and gathering, whereas some Plateau tribes began to hunt primarily of fishing and gathering, whereas some Plateau tribes began to hunt buffalo with the arrival of the horse.

Although there is evidence of epidemics, such as smallpox brought by trading ships, occurring in the Mid-Columbia Plateau as early as 1775, white settlement did not directly affect the Umatillas until the 1840’s. Their villages were near the Emigrant Road, or Old Oregon Trail. When the Cayuse War broke out after the Whitman Massacre in 1848, some Umatillas took part. In 1855, the Walla Walla Council, led by Washington Territorial Governor Isaac Stevens, had an immediate impact on the Umatillas in that the Umatillas ceded lands in return for the Umatilla Reservation, an area originally established with 245,699 acres. The reservation comprises 85,322 acres. The Umatilla Reservation was to be home to the Umatillas, the Walla Wallas, and the Cayuse. It came to be known as the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation after the tribe organized in 1949 under the Indian Reorganization Act (1934).

The Umatillas, similar to many other Indian tribes, lost land after the General Allotment Act of 1887. Earlier, they had lost lands under the Donation Land Act, which allowed settlers to homestead lands in Oregon before the Indians rescinded their right to the land. Beginning in 1951, the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Reservation began filing claims with the Indian Claims Commission to recover lost lands or a financial settlement in lieu of land. Other lawsuits concerned lost fishing rights. In the case Maison v. The Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Reservation (1958), Indian fishing rights were recognized. Other suits involved lost water rights on the Umatilla River as a result of dam construction. The Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Reservation received several monetary compensations for these claims.
The Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Reservation rely on an economy of grazing and farming, particularly wheat, with limited industry. Some aspects of traditional life are still evident, as some members practice the Waashat religion and can speak the tribal language.

**Umpqua**

**Culture area:** Northwest Coast  
**Language groups:** Athapaskan, Penutian  
**Primary location:** Southwestern Oregon  
**Population size:** 653 (1990 U.S. Census)

The Umpqua people traditionally lived along the Umpqua River of southwestern Oregon. The river flows from the Cascade Mountain Range in eastern Oregon to the Pacific Ocean in the west. The terrain through which it flows is mostly mountainous. The environments along its shores are varied, from cool, dry, upland coniferous forests in the east to lush, temperate-zone rain forests near the sea.

There are two fairly distinct Umpqua subgroups, the upper Umpqua and lower Umpqua. The people who live along the upper Umpqua River are most probably of Athapaskan origin, whereas the people of the lower river are apparently more closely related to other Penutian speakers of Yakonan stock. These assertions are disputed by some. Many Umpqua people believe they originated in their traditional homeland. The dividing point between upper and lower areas of the river is commonly considered to be at the town of Scottsburg.

Before white contact in the early nineteenth century, the Umpqua lived relatively solitary lives, hunting, gathering, and fishing. They would join with their neighbors, the Siuslaw to the north and the Coos to the south, for common defense and occasional potlatches.

After contact with white settlers, the Umpqua were pushed toward the margins of their homeland, then placed on the Siletz reservation in the 1850’s. The lower Umpqua joined in political confederation and formed the Confederated Tribes of the Coos, lower Umpqua, and Siuslaw Indians. This confederation still exists as a federally recognized Indian nation.

The upper Umpqua fought for their land and sovereignty and are now recognized as the Cow Creek Band by the U.S. government.
The Utes (or Yutas) inhabited the eastern fringe of the Great Basin and the Colorado and northern New Mexican Rocky Mountains; some hunted buffalo as far east as the Great Plains. Utes called themselves Nutc (the people). The state of Utah is named for the Utes.

**Early History.** Utes were nomadic hunters and gatherers, traveling in extended family groups in established nomadic circuits. They lived in either brush huts or, when large game was available, skin-covered tipis. With the acquisition of the horse in the seventeenth century larger bands congregated, the nomadic circuit extended, and larger game became more accessible. These bands were identified by their geographic locations and were led by chiefs whose authority lay in their hunting and raiding power. Utes were regarded as warlike, and raiding became a natural extension of hunting. Ute religion was not complex, and most religious observances were related to healing ceremonies or folkloric rituals and taboos.

**European Contact.** The Utes’ first contact with Europeans was with the Spanish in New Mexico by the seventeenth century and was based on trade, both at New Mexican settlements and with traders who penetrated into Colorado and Utah. Ute-Spanish relations were generally friendly, although conflict was not unknown. From the Spanish the Utes obtained horses and arms in return for buckskins and Indian captives. The Utes became a major link in the spread of the horse to other Indians.

Although fur trappers had operated throughout the Ute territory, extensive white penetration began in 1847 with the Mormon arrival in Utah, and in 1848 when the Mexican-American War brought an influx of U.S. citizens to New Mexico. Although relations remained generally friendly in Utah, antagonism flared briefly in 1853 under Walkara and again from 1863 to the 1870’s under the direction of Black Hawk. During the 1860’s Utah Utes were consolidated on the Uintah Reservation. Once there they became known as Uintah Utes. A related tribe, part Ute and part Paiute, known as the Pahvant, remained friendly to the Mormons; they converted almost en masse to that religion and successfully resisted removal to the reservation.

A preliminary treaty between the United States and Utes in Colorado and New Mexico was signed as early as 1849. As precious minerals were
discovered in the Colorado Rockies, however, additional treaties were negotiated, ceding increasingly larger tracts of land in 1863, 1868, and 1873. During these negotiations a central Colorado Ute chief, Ouray, rose to prominence because of his ability to communicate with whites and his ability to convince other chiefs to conciliate with, rather than fight, the United States. As a result Ouray was appointed the spokesman and head chief of the “consolidated” Ute Nation.

With the treaties came agencies that localized Ute bands and gave rise to modern identifications: The three major northern Colorado bands (the Yampa River, Grand River, and White River Utes) became the White River Utes, the central Colorado Tabeguaches became the Uncompaghre Utes, the Mouache and Capote became the Southern Utes, and the Weeminuche became the Ute Mountain Utes.

**The Meeker Massacre.** In 1879 Nathan C. Meeker, a new agent at the White River Agency, antagonized northern Utes by moving the agency to, and plowing up, their prized winter horse pasturage and race track. When Meeker called for troops to protect him, troops under the command of T. T. Thornburgh were dispatched to the reservation. The Utes feared that the troops were there to remove them forcibly to Indian Territory (Oklahoma). On September 29, more than three hundred Utes under the direction of Captain Jack, Antelope, and Colorow attacked and besieged the column as they entered the reservation. Upon hearing of the attack on Thornburgh, other Utes massacred the agency personnel and took the women there captive.

As punishment for the uprising, the White River bands were forced to cede their reservation to pay reparations and were removed to the Uintah reservation in Utah. Although the other Ute bands had refused to join in the uprising and Ouray had assisted the U.S. government in quelling the violence and retrieving the captives, the remainder of the Utes were forced to negotiate another treaty in 1880. Within a year, using a technicality in the treaty, the Uncompaghres were also expelled from Colorado and given a barren reservation (called the Ouray reservation) adjoining the Uintah reservation. The Southern Utes successfully resisted attempts to remove them from their narrow, southern Colorado reservation, though conflicts involving bloodshed were not infrequent. Some Utes affiliated with the Ute Mountain Tribe also obtained southeastern Utah lands through homesteading.

In 1887 the U.S. Congress passed the General Allotment Act, under which Indian lands were to be allotted as individual homesteads and the residual opened to white settlement. By the early twentieth century most Ute land had been allotted except on the Ute Mountain Ute Reservation. Unfortunately, many of the Indian allotments were subsequently lost.
through taxes, irrigation assessments, and entangled inheritance questions.

**Modern Period.** In 1934 the Indian Reorganization Act allowed the Utes to develop self-governing tribal entities, and three tribal organizations were formed: the Uintah-Ouray Ute Tribe, the Southern Ute Tribe, and the Ute Mountain Ute Tribe. Tribal organizations helped regain alienated lands and obtained legal counsel for court battles. Working together as the Confederated Ute Tribe, the three tribes were the first American Indians to combat the federal government successfully over reparation claims; as a result of their suit, the Indian Claims Commission was established in 1946 with the Confederated Utes as its first successful (and largest) claimant. During the 1980’s and 1990’s other legal battles were fought to regain jurisdictional rights over original reservation lands and water rights. Tribal governments have established tribal industries, judicial and policing services, and social services and activities.

Although many traditional Ute ways have given way to western technology, Ute values continue in modern religious manifestations such as the Ute Sun Dance, Bear Dance, and, for some, the Native American Church.
In the jungles of Mexico’s Gulf Coast, now the modern states of Veracruz and Tabasco, a culture emerged which set the patterns for later civilization in Mesoamerica. Nothing is known of the origin or the ultimate fate of the people who established this ancient and elaborate civilization, but they
produced the pre-Columbian art known as “Olmec.” Father Bernardino de Sahagún, a Jesuit monk, wrote of the Olmec ("rubber people") from Tamoanchán, a Mayan name meaning “Land of Rain or Mist”; the Mayan name suggests a linguistic relationship. Many later civilizations in Mexico traced their ancestry to the Olmec.

Three basic cultural traits of Mesoamerican civilization are believed to have originated with the Olmec; worship of a fertility and rain god, monumental architecture, and extensive trade. Southern Veracruz, the Olmec “heartland,” was dense tropical forest and swampy lowland with an annual rainfall of 120 inches. Extremes of the environment brought about a religion which involved ritual and ceremony for controlling rainfall and protecting people from jungle spirits.

The cult of the jaguar was Mesoamerica’s first formal religion; it was based on the legendary union of a woman and a jaguar which produced the race of infantlike monsters called “were-jaguars”—men with sacred jaguar blood. These “jaguar babies,” gods of rain and fertility, evolved into the Mesoamerican image of the rain god.

In the Formative Period, between 1200 and 400 B.C.E., this complex culture flourished, first at San Lorenzo, then by 900 B.C.E. at LaVenta, its most important religious center. In both centers massive architecture and huge stone carvings were the focus of daily life organized and directed by the elite class. The level of Olmec civilization is judged by the presence of major public works, the first built in North America. These included ceremonial plazas, pyramids with temples, reservoirs, and well-developed water transport systems.

Monumental sculptures, another indicator of a complex civilization, were evident throughout Veracruz. LaVenta was a site of the famous colossal heads carvings, some weighing more than 20 tons, each carved from a single stone. These helmeted images combined features of a human infant and a jaguar, likely the rain god, first of the Mesoamerican deities. The same distinctive art style was also expressed in small clay figurines and finely detailed jade pendants which carried images of the infant-jaguar god.

Religious symbolism in Olmec art served as a visible common bond within the culture, linking peasants with political and royal leaders, who were intermediaries between gods and men. A balance was achieved as peasants farmed corn to provide food for royalty, while royalty organized public life in the spiritual, political, and economic realms via an intricate ritual and civic calendar.

Seasonal markets where vast amounts of food and goods were exchanged provided structure through the year. Artifacts found in locations far from Veracruz indicate that Olmec political and economic influence
extended via trade routes to the central Mexican highlands and along the Pacific Coast to El Salvador. Some theories suggest that Preclassic Olmecs might have been Mayas who later moved into the Yucatán peninsula.

**Waccamaw**

**Culture area:** Southeast  
**Language group:** Siouan  
**Primary location:** South Carolina  
**Population size:** 1,023 (1990 U.S. Census)

The Waccamaw were a relatively small horticultural tribe, living in permanent villages. They relied mostly on maize, beans, squash, and other cultivated plants, and various roots, tubers, seeds, nuts, and fruit gathered by women. Little is known of their early encounters with European Americans, except that the Cheraw probably attempted to incite them to attack the British in 1715. A trading post was established in their territory in 1716, and in 1720 they staged a brief war with the colonists in which many of their people were killed. In 1775, while living in white settlements, they and some Pedee were killed by warring Natchez and Cherokee.

**Waco**

**Culture area:** Plains  
**Language group:** Caddoan  
**Primary location:** Oklahoma

The Waco, a small group, were a part of the Caddoan family, which had inhabited the southern Great Plains for thousands of years before their first contact with European Americans. “Caddo” is a shortened form of Kadohadacho (“real chiefs”). The Waco were either neighbors of another Caddoan group, the Tawakoni, or a division of that tribe. Both spoke a dialect similar to that of the Wichita, the dominant tribe in the area. Not much is known about the early history of the Waco. Tradition tells that they moved about with other Caddoans through Oklahoma and Texas.

The name “Waco” does not appear in records until after 1824, when white people encountered them living in a village where Waco, Texas, now
stands. "Waco" may be a derivative of Wehiko ("Mexico"), given because they were continually fighting the Mexicans. The Waco lived in round thatched houses and in 1824 had some 200 fenced acres under cultivation. They were involved in no major skirmishes with whites, but they suffered greatly at the hands of northern Great Plains tribes. A smallpox epidemic in 1801 further decimated their numbers. They joined with the Wichita in treaties made with the United States and in 1872 were given a reservation in Oklahoma. In the 1990's the Waco experienced a renewed interest in tribal heritage. They made recordings of stories and songs and worked to pass traditions to their children.

Walapai

**Culture area:** Southwest  
**Language group:** Yuman  
**Primary location:** Colorado  
**Population size:** 1,207 (1990 U.S. Census)

The Walapai (or Hualapai) were divided into seven autonomous divisions. Men hunted deer, elk, antelope, and bear, and women gathered seeds, nuts, berries, tubers, and roots. Acorns were an important food, storing well in winter granaries. A wide range of insects, particularly grasshoppers and locusts, were gathered in communal hunts. Their technology, partially specialized for leaching tannic acid from acorns, had other applications as well. A variety of types of baskets were used daily for stone-boiling, storage, burden, and other utilitarian purposes. The Walapai had a high degree of mobility and were intimately aware of their territory and where to find plant resources within it.

The area inhabited by the Walapai was probably visited in 1540 by Spanish explorer Hernando de Alarcón, and later in 1598 by Marcos Farfan de los Godos. In 1776, Francisco Garcés made contact with the Walapai but recorded scant ethnographic data. Population decline is attributed mostly to introduced disease; from an estimated 700 in 1680, population fell to around 450 in 1937. The Walapai Reservation was established in northwest Arizona. Walapai income is gained from wage labor, cattle raising, government employment, and urban jobs.
Walla Walla

**CULTURE AREA:** Plateau  
**LANGUAGE GROUP:** Sahaptian  
**PRIMARY LOCATION:** Umatilla Reservation, Oregon  
**POPULATION SIZE:** 228 (1990 U.S. Census)

The Walla Walla, a branch of the Sahaptian family, lived along the lower Walla Walla, Columbia, and Snake rivers in Washington and Oregon. Their name means “little river.” As is generally true for the Sahaptian tribes, there is little or no ethnographic evidence or traditional lore to show where the Walla Walla lived in prehistoric times. Their first encounter with white people occurred in 1805, when the explorers Meriwether Lewis and William Clark passed through their territory. Like other Sahaptian tribes, the Walla Walla lived in village communities of varying size.

Because they relied on hunting, fishing, and gathering roots and berries, they moved throughout the year to find food in different seasons. They were skilled with horses. For the most part, they dwelt peacefully with whites, largely because of their refusal to engage in violent retaliation for ill treatment. The middle of the nineteenth century proved devastating for the Walla Walla. Epidemics of smallpox and measles, probably brought by traders, trappers, and miners, killed many of their people. When gold was discovered in the area in 1855, miners flooded onto Walla Walla lands. The fighting that eventually resulted ended with the shooting or hanging of several chiefs. Under the terms of an 1855 treaty signed at the Walla Walla Council, the Walla Walla, Cayuse, Nez Perce, and other tribes were forced to give up 60,000 square miles of their lands and were placed on the Umatilla Reservation in Oregon. They were given three cents per acre for their land, and they were assured the right to fish using traditional methods off reservation land. In actuality, these fishing rights were not protected, and this remained a source of strife for more than one hundred years afterward. By the end of the twentieth century, the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Reservation had lived and worked together for decades. They present an annual rodeo and pageant, the Pendleton Roundup, to demonstrate and pass on traditional culture and skills.
Wampanoag

CULTURE AREA: Northeast
LANGUAGE GROUP: Algonquian
PRIMARY LOCATION: Southeastern Massachusetts, eastern Rhode Island
POPULATION SIZE: 2,175 (1990 U.S. Census)

The Wampanoag, also known as the Pokanoket, spoke the Massachusetts language, one of the five Eastern Algonquian languages spoken in southern New England. The Wampanoag, like all southern New England groups, have deep historical roots. Archaeologists point to the evolution of prehistoric cultures from the Paleo-Indian cultural time period of some twelve thousand years ago up through the historic cultural time period of 1500 C.E. and the beginning of European exploration and trade along the Atlantic coast. The Wampanoag are best known for this latter contact period when Europeans began to document their visits to the native peoples via diaries, letters, and books. In 1620, the English colonists known as the Pilgrims landed in present-day Plymouth, Massachusetts. There began the now famous relationship between the Indians and colonists and there occurred the celebration of the first Thanksgiving.

The most important seventeenth century Wampanoag figures included the supreme sachem Massasoit and his sons and successors Wamsutta (Alexander) and Metacomet (King Philip). These sachems signed treaties, and they traded and bartered lands with the Pilgrims. Toward the end of the
century, they were also fighting with the Pilgrims. The supreme sachems were supported by sachems of several territorial subdivisions. All sachems were skillful and generous leaders who governed their people not through absolute power but through consensus and charisma. Sachems worked with councils of "esteemed men," and together they maintained balance between the spirit world and the people.

The Wampanoag lived in various locations and in various family groups depending on the season. During the summer, they lived in farming hamlets near their cornfields. These hamlets consisted of a few wigwams (bark and mat-covered houses) which housed several related nuclear families or an extended family. These hamlets were also near the fishing resources of the coast. During the winter, families moved to the warmer inland areas and set up larger "longhouses" to house up to fifty or more people. This settlement pattern alludes to the Wampanoags’s rich and eclectic diet: From their fields they harvested northern flint corn along with a variety of beans and squashes, Jerusalem artichokes, gourds (for storage containers), and tobacco (for smoking). From the sea they harvested shellfish, a variety of ocean fish, and beached whales. From the inland areas they took deer, beaver, squirrel, fox, and other small game.

Wampanoag cosmology taught the people how to use these resources. Resources were never to be wasted but were to be used in their entirety. For example, from the deer came meat, the hide for clothing, the organs for pouches and sinew, and the brain for tanning agents. The pow-wow was the religious leader who oversaw resource use. He also conducted rites such as the Green Corn Ceremony, in which the Creator was thanked for the corn.

The relationship between the Pilgrims and the Indians came to a head in 1675 with the outbreak of King Philip’s war. The Wampanoag sachem King Philip attempted to confederate Indian tribes throughout New England in the hope that Indians would be able to take back their lands from the colonists. His war failed, and Philip was killed.

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, surviving Wampanoag lived in small Indian enclaves or in white communities throughout southeastern Massachusetts and on Cape Cod. Some of the best known of these Indian communities included Mashpee on Cape Cod and Gay Head on Martha’s Vineyard.

**Bibliography**


Wanapam

**Culture area:** Plateau  
**Language group:** Sahaptian  
**Primary location:** Washington State

The Wanapam, a branch of the Sahaptian family, lived in northwestern Oregon and southwestern Washington. The significance of their name is unknown. They were closely related to the Palouse. As is generally true for the Sahaptian tribes, there is no ethnographic evidence or traditional lore to show where the Wanapam lived earlier than their first encounter with whites in the early 1800′s. At this time, their population numbered approximately eighteen hundred. Sahaptian tribes lived in village communities of varying size. Because they relied on hunting, fishing (salmon was a chief staple), and gathering roots and berries, they moved throughout the year to find food in different seasons. This prevented the villages from developing into political or social centers.  

Sahaptian tribes do not seem to have relied at all on agriculture. They were skilled with horses and used them in their search for food. There is no record of any major battles between the Wanapam and white settlers. No official enumerations of Wanapam have been made since the eighteenth century. The tribe was probably absorbed by the Palouse.

Wappinger

**Culture area:** Northeast  
**Language group:** Algonquian  
**Primary location:** Connecticut, New York
The Wappinger are often considered to have comprised two main sub-groups, the Western Wappinger (who lived in what is now New York State, along the lower Hudson River) and Eastern Wappinger (who lived eastward to the lower Connecticut River valley). It is estimated that at the first encounter with the Dutch, in the early 1600’s, the Western Wappinger numbered about 3,000 and the Eastern Wappinger about 1,750.

The Wappinger were closely related in customs and organization to the Delaware (Lenni Lenape) and to Indians of southern New England. They hunted, fished, and grew crops, primarily corn. They were noted for their manufacture of wampum beads. Their totem was the wolf. The tribe was headed by a sachem (male or female) and a council of lesser chiefs.

With the arrival of Dutch settlers and traders, the Wappinger were thrown into close proximity with whites. Indians and whites coexisted peacefully for a number of years, and the Western Wappinger became involved in fur trading. In 1640 a number of sources of friction led to a five-year war between whites and Indians, including the Western Wappinger. Destruction and casualties were inflicted by both sides, with the Indians losing half their population, the Western Wappinger bearing the brunt. Disease further reduced their population. Nevertheless, the tribe remained intact until 1756, when they joined the Nanticoke; both tribes were later absorbed into the Delaware. Their last public appearance was at the Easton Conference in 1758.

In contrast, the Eastern Wappinger never warred with whites. They gradually sold off their land to settlers and merged with other tribes, including the Scaticook and Stockbridge. At this point, the Wappinger tribe ceased to exist as a separate entity.

Wappo

Culture area: California
Language group: Wappo
Primary location: Napa River, Clear Lake, and Alexander Valley, California
Population size: 125 (1990 U.S. Census)

The Wappo, contiguous with the Southern Pomo, Central Pomo, Patwin, and Lake and Coast Miwok, were territorially divided into the Clear Lake and the Southern Wappo. They located their oval, grass houses in permanent villages on stream systems, acquiring subsistence by fishing, hunting, trapping, and gathering food plants including acorns, tubers,
roots, and numerous grasses. They tended to be monogamous and discouraged divorce. The Wappo excelled in manufacturing baskets.

There are indications that the Wappo fought against the Spanish in the Napa Valley; some Wappo were apparently held at the Sonoma Mission. The reservation at Mendocino was established in 1856, closing in 1867. Disease, displacement of groups, degradation of the environment and its resources by European Americans, and ensuing conflict all served to reduce the Wappo population and traditional lifeways. By 1910, only twenty Wappo had any knowledge of their language and traditional ways. By 1960, only five Wappo speakers remained.

Wasco

**CULTURE AREA:** Plateau  
**LANGUAGE GROUP:** Upper Chinookan  
**PRIMARY LOCATION:** The Dalles and lower Columbia River, Oregon

The Wasco and Wishram were contiguous tribes, sharing linguistic and cultural characteristics. The stronger Wasco ultimately absorbed the other group. Both groups maintained themselves through trading and exploiting the resources of the Columbia River and gathering various roots, particularly lomatium. They were noted for their weaving techniques and design in making soft cylindrical blankets.

After the Meriwether Lewis and William Clark expedition of 1805-1806, the first sustained European American contacts were with land-based traders desiring sea otter, beaver, fox, and other furs. The acquiring of European trade goods enhanced the Wasco-Wishram position on the Columbia River, which was the main trade route. The combined population of the Wasco-Wishram in 1937 was 351. Some Wasco live on the Warm Springs and Yakima reservations, employed both on and off the reservations.

Washoe

**CULTURE AREA:** Great Basin and California  
**LANGUAGE GROUP:** Hokan  
**PRIMARY LOCATION:** West central Nevada  
**POPULATION SIZE:** 1,520 (1990 U.S. Census)
Archaeological evidence and oral tradition suggest that the homogenous Washoe (also spelled “Washo”) culture had origins along the western foothills of the Sierra Nevada slope. Their annual subsistence round successfully exploited plant and animal resources in specialized vegetational zones within a 10,000-square-mile region, ranging from lowland valleys of abundant game, vegetation, and water to high mountain meadows that provided berries, tubers, and seeds. The northern Washoe were largely dependent on acorns, the southern Washoe on pine nuts. Because they used different resources, the Washoe enjoyed peaceful relations with neighboring groups, intermarrying and trading freely.

Sustained contact with European Americans began in 1825 with trappers and explorers; in the 1840’s, immigrant parties began to arrive in Washoe territory. Conflict with settlers reached a climax in the 1857 “Potato War” and continued with settlers confiscating traditional resource areas. Under

Datsolalee, an early twentieth century Washoe woman who lifted basketmaking to its highest level of art. (Library of Congress)
the General Allotment Act of 1887, small parcels of barren and nearly waterless land were allotted. In 1917 the government provided funds for purchasing additional small tracts of land near Carson City. Later, 40 acres were donated by a white rancher near Gardnerville, and an additional 20 acres near Reno became the Reno-Sparks Indian Colony.

Some Washoe practiced the peyote religion (Native American Church) in the early 1920’s; by 1938 factionalism had developed, partly caused by disagreements over church rituals. The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 recognized the Washoe as a legally constituted tribe, and they were authorized to live on 795 acres on the Carson River.

Efforts at farming and raising livestock were hindered in the 1950’s by poor management, factionalism, and poor relations with the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Ongoing litigation with the government over the loss of 9,872 square miles of aboriginal lands resulted in the 1970 Indian Claims Commission award of approximately $5 million. A Washoe tribal council headquarters and Indian crafts enterprise is located near Gardnerville, where there is a park with camping facilities on the Carson River, and in Dresslerville the tribe operates a Health Center and Senior Citizens’ Center. The tribe also supports an aquaculture and construction company.

Wenatchi

**CULTURE AREA:** Plateau  
**LANGUAGE GROUP:** Salishan  
**PRIMARY LOCATION:** Washington State  
**POPULATION SIZE:** 26 (1990 U.S. Census)

The Wenatchi (also spelled “Wenatchee”), a part of the Salishan family, lived along the Wenatchee River, a tributary of the Columbia River in Washington. Their earliest known homeland was farther inland, perhaps as far east as western Montana. Their name, and the name of the river that was their home, is from the Yakima word *winätshi* (“river issuing from a canyon”). The Wenatchi were probably closely related to the Písquow. Another, smaller group, the Chelans, spoke the same dialect as the Wenatchi and may have once been a part of the tribe. The Wenatchi lived in villages of varying size. Because they relied on hunting and fishing—salmon was a chief staple of their diet—as well as on gathering roots and berries, they moved throughout the year to find food in different seasons. The Wenatchi were involved in no protracted struggles with their neighbors. The Wenatchi had no con-
tinuous contact with whites until the eighteenth century, when they started to feel pressure to vacate their lands. In 1850, a group of fifty Wenatchi were living on the Yakima reservation. By the end of the twentieth century, the Wenatchi were part of the Colville agency.

Wichita tribal group

**Culture area:** Plains  
**Language group:** Caddoan  
**Primary location:** Oklahoma  
**Population size:** 1,275 (1990 U.S. Census)

The Wichita people were a confederacy of six or seven subtribes including the Wichita proper, the Tayovaya, Yscani, Tawakoni, Waco, and Kichai. Only the Kichai group spoke a separate Caddoan language; the rest spoke similar dialects of their Caddoan language. The name Wichita is of unknown origin; they refer to themselves as *Kitikiti’sh*, meaning “the people” or “the preeminent people.” French traders referred to them as *Pani Piqué*, meaning “Tattooed Pawnee.” (They were closely related to the Pawnees.) Other tribes had names for the Wichitas which referred to their distinctive tattooing.

The Wichitas were the fabled people of Quivira whom the Spanish explorer Francisco Vásquez de Coronado encountered in 1541. Their ancestral homeland seems to have been the region of the great bend of the Arkansas River in south-central Kansas. In Coronado’s time, this confederacy probably numbered around fifteen thousand; the number was reduced to about four thousand in the eighteenth century. By 1902, there were only 340 members of the Wichita tribe; they have rebounded since.

From the 1600’s to the 1800’s, the Wichitas lived in a number of villages located along rivers, each village having about eight hundred to a thousand grass lodges. These were conical in shape, 15 to 30 feet in diameter, and had the appearance of a haystack. Wichita society was matrilocal—a married couple lived with the wife’s family, whose head of household was a grandmother or great-grandmother. The Wichitas were also matrilineal, although no clan system operated in the tribe.

Women farmed to produce corn, beans, squash, pumpkins, and tobacco, while men hunted buffalo, deer, antelope, and bear. There was a seasonal rhythm to Wichita life, with permanent villages occupied in the spring and summer during the planting and harvesting season. In the fall, many left on
extended hunting trips, living in portable skin tipis while traveling. Gathered fruits and nuts rounded out the diet. The Wichitas often farmed a surplus and sold it to neighboring tribes that did not engage in agriculture.

By around 1700, the Wichitas had acquired horses, which made buffalo hunting and warfare easier. The Wichitas remained essentially a peaceful people, however, going to war only when provoked. They also retained much of their sedentary farming-oriented culture, rather than becoming solely reliant on buffalo hunting as some other Plains groups did.

In the early 1600’s the Osage tribe began to press into Wichita territory, so the Wichitas began moving south into Oklahoma and Texas. By about 1720, the Wichitas began trading with the French, who assisted in establishing peaceful relations between the Wichitas and the Comanche tribe in 1746. The two tribes traded peacefully after 1746 and sometimes allied against Apache invaders in their region. The Wichitas’ relationship with the Spanish was much more troubled than their relationship with the French. In the middle-to-late eighteenth century, they were often at war with the Spanish. From that time until the 1900’s, warfare with other groups such as the Osage, as well as smallpox and other disease epidemics, took their toll on the Wichita confederacy, and its numbers dwindled. By the 1820’s there were also conflicts with American settlers.

In the 1830’s, other eastern tribes were being resettled in or near Wichita territory (now called “Indian Territory”) by the U.S. federal government. This caused conflicts as well, despite various peace treaties and settlements. During the American Civil War, the Wichitas fled to Kansas but returned to what is now Oklahoma after the war. They were assigned a reservation in Caddo County. The reservation was allotted to individual families and therefore dissolved in 1901. In the late twentieth century, Wichita interest in maintaining their heritage increased as more tribal members learned their songs, dances, and language once more.

Winnebago

CULTURE AREA: Plains
LANGUAGE GROUP: Siouan
PRIMARY LOCATION: Nebraska
POPULATION SIZE: 6,920 (1990 U.S. Census)

The Winnebago tribe is of Siouan origin. Although the date of its migration westward with other Siouans is unknown, it is believed that the
Winnebagos entered what would become Wisconsin during the second of four main Siouan migrations. Their most closely related kin, therefore, would be the Iowas, Otos, and Missouris. More distant relations include the Crows, Omahas, Osage, and Dakotas. Tribal tradition regarding Siouan ties is vague. Modern Winnebagos, now widely dispersed from the land of their adoption, generally claim that their tribe was originally from Wisconsin, specifically the region around Green Bay, where they were first encountered by Europeans.

**Early History and Treaties.** It was the Frenchman Jean Nicolet, agent for Quebec governor Champlain, who first reported contacts with the Winnebagos in 1634 in the Green Bay area. Nicolet called them by the name they used for themselves, which was variously translated as “People of the Parent Speech” or “Big Fish people.” Winnebago was a name given to them by the central Algonquians (including Miamis, Sauk, and Fox), who inhabited most of the area surrounding them. Fifty years after Nicolet, the Winnebagos had expanded both westward and southward from the Lake Michigan coast, claiming major portions of central and southern Wisconsin.

These claims pitted them against their Algonquian neighbors, and a number of local eighteenth century Indian wars occurred. Sometimes, the French used the Winnebagos as their allies against other Indian groupings, the most notable example being the Fox Wars. This potential source of support for Winnebago predominance disappeared suddenly in 1763, when the French lost their hold on Canada and Britain became the main European power to contend with (at least for the next twenty years, until United States independence). After several decades of relative isolation, clashes with representatives of the American government would begin, ushering in the first stages of Winnebago political and territorial decline.

Winnebago resistance to the presence of white settlers and army forces in their traditional lands peaked during the Black Hawk War of 1832. Their defeat was followed by a thirty-year period of U.S.-imposed treaties that effectively put an end to Winnebago claims over land in Wisconsin and, by removing them in stages farther west into Nebraska Territory, reduced them to full dependence on the government for their very existence.

The evolution of Winnebago treaties with the U.S. government reveals the extent of their territorial losses in less than fifty years. In the first peace treaty of 1816, the Winnebagos were invited to accept the sole protection of the U.S. government and to confirm that any land they had previously given up to the British, French, or Spanish governments was to be considered U.S. public domain. At this time, Winnebago lands still covered most of south-central Wisconsin and portions of northeastern Illinois. By 1828, President John Quincy Adams committed to pay the Winnebagos (and neighboring
tribes) some twenty thousand dollars in goods to compensate for “injuries sustained . . . in the consequence of occupation” of land for mining by white settlers.

Within four years, in 1832, President Andrew Jackson agreed to pay the Winnebagos a fixed sum over twenty-seven years for what was considered the fair difference between the value of lands ceded by the Indians (running from Lake Winnebago southward to the Rock River at the Wisconsin-Illinois border) and lands west of the Mississippi (in Iowa) “traded” by the U.S. government. By 1837, the rest of Winnebago land running to the Mississippi in western Wisconsin was ceded by another treaty.

A Winnebago Agency was created in the northeast corner of Iowa in 1848. By the Treaty of 1846, some 800,000 acres of former Chippewa land in central Minnesota had been granted as additional Winnebago territory, hundreds of miles away from the Iowa Agency. Within nine years, the central Minnesota land was taken back, and a much smaller (18-square-mile) Winnebago Reservation was established on Blue Earth River in southern Minnesota.

The reservation founded in 1857 functioned for only two years before half of it was sold to private settlers for cash “held in trust [by the Government] for Winnebago benefits.” An act of Congress in February, 1863, called for the sale of the remainder of the Blue Earth River Reservation.

The crowning acts of U.S. government displacement of the Winnebagos occurred during the Abraham Lincoln presidency. In 1865, the tribe was obliged to cede its reservation in Dakota Territory (which later became part of the Great Sioux Reserve). In return, a section of Omaha tribe land in Nebraska was set aside for the now dwindling population of the Winnebagos, it being agreed that a sawmill and gristmill and fencing be erected on the new site for them. In addition, the government was to provide guns, horses, and oxen, plus some agricultural implements to assist the Winnebagos in their final exile westward to Nebraska Territory.
Archaeology and Traditional Cultural Values. A unique feature of Winnebago archaeology in their homeland in Wisconsin is what is called the effigy mound, first studied in the 1850’s by I. A. Lapham. More common conical burial mounds associated with other Siouans are found throughout Wisconsin, but effigy mounds are limited to Winnebago areas. Archaeologists suppose that these structures were meant to represent animals, which were important as symbols of each clan’s mythology and served to “stake out” their local territory. Only two effigy mounds portray figures that appear to be human. Their significance remains a mystery.

Despite the disappearance of many traditional social practices once observed by the Winnebagos, many elders remember that clan names not only reflected particular animals but also provided for a division of the Winnebago people into two general groups: “those who are above” (birds) and “those on earth” (land and water animals). In addition to symbolic qualities of association (eagle and hawk are birds of prey, bears represent soldiers), this name dichotomy also seems to have reflected a sort of code for regulating different functions, some practical (including marriage patterns, clan “alignments” while on the warpath) and ceremonial (relationships during feast celebrations, proper recognition of roles in ceremonial lacrosse games).

The game lacrosse combined sport and ceremony among the Winnebagos. A number of other traditional games also existed, including the friendly moccasin “guessing” game and the very rough “kicking game.”

Traditional Winnebago religious practices and beliefs were all somehow tied to respect for the preservation of life. Central to their belief system was a concern for the interrelationship between supernatural spirits and the physical domain of nature. In the latter, a stark reality prevails, frequently involving the necessity to kill in order to survive. At the highest and most general level, reverence was offered to spirit deities such as the Earthmaker, the Sun, and the Moon. These gods remained, however, beyond the sphere of daily survival in nature. A distinct set of animal spirits was recognized, therefore, as symbols of the survival cycle. Winnebagos performed a variety of offerings and dance ceremonies involving these animal spirits in order to assure that the spirits of animals that might be killed would be properly appeased, thus allowing for continuity in the necessary life-death cycle.

Certain clans bore the names of the animals who represented these spirits on earth; moreover, key ceremonies throughout the year were dedicated to observance of the animals’ importance. The chief feast, accounts of which are less detailed than those covering lesser spirits, was organized around the Thunderbird, usually the symbol of the dominant clan. The Thunderbird chieftain received the food offerings of all other clans, not as a
sign of submission to his clan but as a general act of thankfulness for Thunderbird’s overriding importance in the sphere of nature.

Lesser feasts (or fasts) were meant to propitiate the spirits of other key animals. These included (among others) the Bear clan feast in the winter (involving offerings of the favorite berries enjoyed by bears) and the Snake clan feast in the fall (involving four chickens offered to the symbol of the first four snakes created by Earthmaker).

Effects of Dispersal and Population Depletion. Because of the multiple displacements of the Winnebago and the fact that some tribal members stayed behind and were deleted from official records of their whereabouts, it is nearly impossible to reconstitute surviving numbers. Most Winnebagos live in Wisconsin and Nebraska. Since 1972, representatives of the tribe have published a small newspaper focusing mainly on Winnebago community issues on the Nebraska reservation.

Byron D. Cannon

Bibliography

Wintun

Culture area: California
Language group: Wintun (Penutian)
Primary location: Trinity River, northwestern California
Population size: 2,244 (1990 U.S. Census)

For the patrilineal Wintun, the family was the basic economic and sociopolitical unit. They lived in riverine villages with subterranean lodges. They hunted all large land mammals as well as trapping birds, rodents, and
insects. Fishing was an important source of food, in addition to seeds and acorns. Numerous plants, roots, and tubers were dug and stored for winter.

The Wintuns’ first contact with European Americans occurred in 1826, as recorded by Jedediah Smith and Peter Ogden. From 1830 to 1833, trapper-introduced malaria reduced the Wintun population by approximately 75 percent. The discovery of gold exacerbated white-Indian tensions, resulting in violent incidents, particularly a “friendship feast” given by local whites who poisoned the food and killed a hundred Wintun. Violence against the Indians continued in the form of arson and massacres. In 1859, approximately one hundred Wintun were sent to the Mendocino Reservation. Throughout the 1860’s, the Wintun were hunted down, captured, and sent to reservations. By 1871, they had adopted the Earthlodge cult. In the twentieth century, the construction of various dams further dispersed the Wintun, with the Clear Creek Reservation being removed from trust status.

**Wishram**

**Culture Area:** Northwest Coast  
**Language Group:** Chinookan (Penutian)  
**Primary Location:** Columbia River, Oregon/Washington coast

The Wishram, a small southern tribe of Northwest Coast Indians, originally lived on the eastern slopes of the Cascade Mountains along the Deschutes River, due south of the confluence of the Deschutes with the Columbia River at The Dalles. Archaeological evidence suggests that Wishram culture was present in the Hood River area toward the Willamette Valley at least nine thousand years ago.

Historic village sites and traditional fishing areas were flooded by the Bonneville, The Dalles, and John Day dams. Many rimrock petroglyphs are now underwater and visible only to scuba divers, though excellent examples are on display at the Winquatt Museum in The Dalles. Tsagigla’lal, an elaborate and impressive petroglyph on the north side of the Columbia River, also remains visible. The site is commonly known simply as “Wishram” and is at the head of Five-Mile Rapids.

In addition to rock carving, Wishram culture was articulated through storytelling. The Wishram tell a full complement of Coyote tales, including the cycle of Coyote tales going east up the Columbia River. Linguist Edward Sapir’s notable *Wishram Texts* (1909) collected many Wishram Coyote tales; more recently, Jarold Ramsey has added to the storehouse of Wishram texts.
Wishram culture was diluted in the nineteenth century by the location of the tribe at the western terminus of the Oregon Trail. It was the poor luck of the Wishram to be situated in superior and coveted farmland. Wishram culture was diluted further in the twentieth century by the federal policy of creating multistate reservations in areas where tribal bands were small and varied. The Wishram, with nine other tribes, share the Confederated Warm Springs Reservation in north-central Oregon near the southern banks of the Columbia River.

**Wiyot**

- **Culture area:** California
- **Language group:** Algonquian
- **Primary location:** Northern California
- **Population size:** 450 (1990 U.S. Census)

The patrilineal, socially stratified Wiyot located their villages of split redwood planked, rectangular dwellings on major streams flowing into the Pacific Ocean. Like many central California people, they excelled at basketry. Their redwood canoes permitted effective exploitation of sea mammals and other tidewater resources. When fishing inland waters, they utilized various fish poisons. The Wiyot had numerous complex rites of intensification, particularly the World Renewal, Big Time, Jumping Dance, and White Deerskin ceremonies, whose collective intent was resource renewal, the prevention of natural catastrophe, and a reiteration of the mythical and moral order among the people.

By the time of the initial ethnographic research on Wiyot culture, they had suffered considerable deprivation stemming from contact with European Americans. Whites had slaughtered them in small groups, and a massacre at Gunther Island in 1860 killed approximately 250 Wiyot. Survivors were forced onto the Klamath and Smith reservations.

**Woodland**

- **Date:** 1000 B.C.E.-700 C.E.
- **Location:** Eastern North America
- **Cultures affected:** Adena, Hopewell
Copper tools, pearl beads, carved stone tablets, and mica ornaments excavated from burial sites tell the story of ancient moundbuilding peoples, known as the Adena, who lived in eastern North America as early as 1000 B.C.E. The Adena were named for an estate near Chillicothe in southern Ohio, heartland of their culture and site of a large burial mound excavated in 1902. Adena culture ranged through the woodlands of present Kentucky, Ohio, West Virginia, Pennsylvania, and New York. These mound builders maintained their way of life for about 1,200 years, coexisting with the Hopewell from around 300 B.C.E. Hopewell culture radiated from its Ohio center throughout the Midwest to the Gulf of Mexico and the Great Lakes. It existed until around 700 C.E. The name Hopewell was used by archaeologists during the 1893 Chicago World’s Fair to identify an exhibit of artifacts from thirty mounds on the Ohio farm of M. C. Hopewell.

The Woodland tradition is an archaeological term for these forest-based cultures supported by hunting, gathering, and some agriculture. Pumpkins and sunflowers were a major food source for the Adena, and tobacco was grown for ceremonial use. The Hopewell expanded this agricultural base to include corn. Plentiful food permitted a sedentary lifestyle which allowed the development of large ceremonial centers. There is evidence of a complex, multilevel social organization. Highest status belonged to the priest-chiefs, who guided daily life through ceremonies; then came merchants, warriors, and finally the common people who hunted and farmed to support the community of thousands.

During the many centuries of their existence, mound builders created massive earthworks to honor their deceased leaders, who were buried in ceremonial outfits with bone masks and sacred objects they had used in rituals. Decorated in the unique Woodlands art style, these finely crafted artifacts indicate a preoccupation with death among the Adena and Hopewell. This prevalent theme suggests a possible relationship to the Southern Cult (Southern death cult) found in many cultures in the region of the Gulf of Mexico.

Adena earthworks of geometric shapes often surrounded the burial mounds. The most well known of these is the Great Serpent Mound in southern Ohio. A low, rounded construction in the form of an undulating snake, it is 20 feet wide and 1,330 feet long and was created by workers carrying thousands of basketfuls of earth under the direction of the priest-chiefs. Hopewell burial and effigy mounds, usually within geometric enclosures, were larger than Adena mounds. Some stood 40 feet high and contained several layers added over long periods of time. Artifacts found at these burial sites were made by skilled artisans who used raw materials from as far away as Canada, Florida, the Rockies, and the Atlantic Coast.
Neither the origin nor the ultimate fate of the Adena and Hopewell is known, although it is thought they may have descended from eastern Archaic or Mesoamerican cultures. Theories about their cultural demise include epidemics, war, or climate changes affecting the food source. At their zenith these cultures represented a complex lifestyle organized around a unifying religious belief. Religion and trade, rather than warfare, linked the Adena and Hopewell network of ceremonial centers across a wide sphere of influence.

**Yahi**

**CULTURE area:** California  
**LANGUAGE group:** Hokan  
**PRIMARY location:** Upper Sacramento Valley

The Northern, Central, and Southern Yahi had numerous tribelets, each constituting a major village located on an east-west stream. A village had a major chief who inherited his position. Deer was the most important animal for food and by-products, but all other land mammals were hunted and trapped. Women were responsible for gathering and collecting a wide variety of plant products for food and utilitarian use. Many of these subsistence-getting activities were collective, particularly the acquiring of smaller animals and insects.

In 1821, Captain Luis Arguell and approximately fifty-five soldiers became the first Europeans to contact the Yahi. The Hudson’s Bay Company, from 1828 to 1846, occupied much of the Yahi territory. In 1837 cattlemen entered the region, and by 1845 the first permanent white settlement was established. The Mexican government granted leases to settlers and cattlemen.

*Ishi, the last survivor of the Yahi tribe of California, in 1913.* (Museum of Natural History)
The whites introduced new diseases to the Yahi, whose population of 1,800 was reduced to 35 by 1884. Numerous massacres of Yahi continued until the late 1800’s. Ishi, a Yahi Yana, was the last survivor in 1911.

**Yakima**

- **Culture Area:** Plateau
- **Language Group:** Sahaptian
- **Primary Location:** Washington State
- **Population Size:** 7,850 (1990 U.S. Census)

The Yakimas originally inhabited the Columbia Basin Plateau in Washington state. They are identified as Plateau Indians and belong to the Sahaptian language group. Many scholars believe that evidence of human settlement in the Columbia Basin dates back fifteen thousand years. The Yakimas first were exposed to European Americans with the arrival of the Lewis and Clark expedition in 1805.

Although this was the first direct contact the Yakimas had with white people, European American culture had already touched Yakima society, as they were already using horses, and other trade goods were evident. Scholars estimate the introduction of the horse at about 1730. The tribe that would be referred to as the Yakimas was probably composed of other Plateau Indians, such as the Nez Perce and the Palouse (Palus).

The land that they inhabited was arid. Subsistence patterns consisted of hunting, fishing, and gathering berries and roots, particularly camas. Fishing continues to be pursued, and in the early 1990’s the Yakimas were involved in a lawsuit with various irrigators along the Yakima River over water rights.

After the first contact with whites, fur traders and missionaries crossed the Columbia Basin. Finally in 1855, the Yakimas were subjected to treaty negotiations with Washington Territorial Governor Isaac Stevens in which they conceded their claim of approximately ten million acres in the Columbia Basin. The Yakimas, who were one of the few tribes to be ascribed the status of a sovereign nation (hence their title Yakima Nation), were granted 1,250,000 acres on what would be the Yakima Reservation. By the early twentieth century, almost half a million acres had been lost through the provisions of the General Allotment Act, although the Yakima Nation recovered part of this acreage later in the century. The reservation included traditional lands. In addition to the Yakimas, members of the Klikitat tribe...
moved to the reservation. Dissatisfaction with the treaty grew, however, fueled by the continued traffic of whites across reservation lands, resulting in the Yakima War of 1855.

Although the Yakimas fared well in the initial fighting, internal dissen-
sion erupted, caused in part by hostility toward the Yakima leader, Kamia-
kin, whose father was a Palouse. American troops succeeded in winning the
war in 1856, and the Yakimas were forced to accept the terms of the Yakima
Treaty, which had been signed by the fourteen confederated tribes of the
Yakima Nation on June 9, 1855. The treaty was ratified in 1859. Life on the
reservation was difficult for the confederated tribes throughout the nine-
teenth century. The Yakimas were subjected to Indian agent James Wilbur, a
Methodist minister who believed that the future of the Indians lay in their

Yakima Indians picking the hops used to make beer during the early twentieth century.
(Library of Congress)
ability to convert to Christianity and learn farming. The Yakimas also sustained land losses through allotment. Yet traditional practices continued.

The modern tribal government was organized in 1935 and includes a tribal council with fourteen members. During the last half of the twentieth century, the Yakimas pursued claims filed with the Indian Claims Commission for either the return of traditional lands or, in lieu of land, a financial settlement. They have been successful with some of the claims and have received awards in both land and money. Other legal matters include water rights claims on the Yakima River for fishing and irrigation interests.

In the late twentieth century, the reservation’s economy relied on farming, grazing, and limited industry. Traditional Yakima culture is still valued and maintained, as evidenced in the persistence of Yakima religious practices and cultural celebrations.

Yamasee

CULTURE AREA: Southeast
LANGUAGE GROUP: Muskogean
PRIMARY LOCATION: Georgia, Florida, South Carolina

Little is known regarding the language and culture of the Yamasee tribe, which no longer exists as a distinct entity. The Yamasee spoke a Muskogean language, probably a dialect of Hitchiti. It is assumed by scholars that the Yamasee were culturally similar to the Creeks, another Muskogean people with whom the Yamasee had close relations. The Yamasee may have been the friendly Indians encountered by Hernando de Soto along the Altamaha river in eastern Georgia in 1540. Spanish expeditions to the same area one-half century later made contact with the Yamasee, who were reported as friendly to the Spanish.

In the 1680’s, the Yamasee became disenchanted with Spanish efforts to enslave some of the Yamasee. The Yamasee moved north to the English colony of South Carolina; they became trading partners and military allies of the English. In the 1680’s, South Carolina induced the Yamasee to attack the Spanish at Santa Catalina. The Yamasee assisted the South Carolinians in a war against the Apalachees of Florida in 1705. In the Tuscarora War of 1711-1713, the Yamasee provided most of the soldiers in the Carolinians’ successful war against the Tuscarora.

Following the Tuscarora War, relations between the Yamasee and Carolinians worsened. The Yamasee were angered by their growing dependence
upon English trade goods, their indebtedness to English traders, English penetration of Indian lands, and the enslavement of some Yamasee by the English. Deteriorating English-Yamasee relations led to the Yamasee War of 1715-1728, in which the Yamasee were defeated by an army of colonial militia, black slaves, and Cherokee warriors.

The Yamasee were virtually annihilated by the war and subsequently lost their identity as a distinct people. Scattered remnants of the Yamasee settled with the Apalachees, Choctaws, Creeks, and Seminoles in Georgia and Florida. For a time, some Yamasee maintained their tribal identity under Spanish protection in villages near St. Augustine and Pensacola, Florida. These Yamasee continued to act as allies of the Spanish, helping to defeat an invasion of Florida by Governor James Oglethorpe of Georgia in 1740. By 1761, Yamasee villages in Florida were reduced to fewer than fifty families. By 1773, many Yamasee had been enslaved by the Seminoles.

Yana

**Culture area:** California

**Language group:** Yanan

**Primary location:** Between the Sacramento River and Sierra Nevada, bounded by Rock Creek and the Pit River

The Yana were a tribe of Native Americans living in California between the Sacramento River on the west and Lassen Peak and the Sierra Nevada on the east. Rock Creek marked the traditional southern boundary of Yana territory, while the Pit River served as the northern limit of the Yana's land. This area would correspond roughly to the triangle of land between Lake Shasta, Mount Lassen (which the Yana called Waganupa), and the city of Chico, about 2,400 square miles. They were bordered on the west by the Wintun tribe, on the north by the Wintun and Achumawi, on the east by the Atsugewi, and on the south by the Maidu.

Most anthropologists agree that there are few if any Yana alive today, and even at their zenith they numbered only fifteen hundred to three thousand. In the Yana language the word “Yana” meant person. There were four distinct divisions among the Yana peoples. The Northern Yana were by far the smallest group. The others were the Central Yana, Southern Yana, and Yahi. The Yahi were the southernmost group. The linguistic anthropologist Edward Sapir made a detailed study of the Yana in the first decades of the twentieth century and found the Yana to belong to the Hokan linguistic...
family. Each of the four subgroups had its own dialect and usage of the Yana
tongue, and communication among the various groups was possible but
difficult. Each used two forms of oral communication; one was for women
and one was for men.

The Yana/Yahi were hunter-gatherers. They lived on acorns, deer, sal-
mon, rabbit, squirrel, bulbs, and roots. Since they had to move periodically
to obtain food, their dwellings consisted of small huts in small villages.
Agriculture was not practiced by the Yana. The Yana usually had small
families and sometimes were polygamous. All members of the tribes
worked according to age, gender, and ability. Both children and the elderly
were cherished, and with the exception of the Yahí, who cremated their
dead, the Yana buried the deceased in cemeteries near their villages. While
raids were not uncommon, true weapons of war were never developed;
tools and other everyday implements were used to defend the people.

Following hundreds of years of relatively peaceful and prosperous exis-
tence, the Yana were suddenly devastated because of their proximity to the
California Trail, the gold rush of 1849, and European diseases. The game and
food supply of the Yana dwindled as competition from European Americans
increased. More significantly, whites, acting from ignorant self-interest, did
not recognize the value of Yana culture and considered the Yana nothing
more than an obstacle to eliminate. In 1864, for example, a group of miners
surrounded a large Yana village and massacred all but about fifty Indians.

Numbers dwindled from that time until 1911, when a fifty-four-year-old
Yahi man walked into Oroville, California, in search of food. He called
himself Ishi, meaning “man” (his true name was never known, since it was
too private for Ishi to tell). He was the last living member of his tribe. From
1911 until his death in 1916, Ishi lived and worked at the University of
California Museum of Anthropology in Berkeley. While he was there, Alfred
Kroeber worked closely with Ishi to salvage a portion of Yahi and Yana
culture and language. It is through Alfred and Theodora Kroeber’s writings
that some aspects of Yana life are known.

Yaqui

**Culture area:** Southwest  
**Language group:** Uto-Aztecan  
**Primary location:** Sonora, Mexico  
**Population size:** 9,931 in U.S. (1990 U.S. Census), estimated 24,000 in Mexico
After being forced from their lands at the end of the nineteenth century, some Yaquis found their way into present-day Arizona and settled in the environs of Tucson and other parts of the southwestern United States. They were, and continue to be, a fiercely independent tribe. In 1533, Diego de Guzmán suffered defeat at the hands of the Yaqui when he attempted to enter their territory, and the Spaniards were faced with numerous Yaqui uprisings throughout their three-hundred-year tenure in New Spain.

The fundamental issue for these confrontations was the fact that the Yaqui held communally owned village lands that were a potential source of material wealth and power for the Spaniards and, later, the Mexicans. To the Yaquis, land always meant an ancient, divinely given heritage to be held in sacred trust. This sacredness of the land, the *yo aniya* (enchanted world), had become intricately bound with every aspect of Yaqui life. From 1886 to 1910, General Porfirio Díaz, the last dictator before the Mexican Revolution, sold millions of Yaqui-occupied acres to foreigners at bargain prices. The Yaquis, led by Cajeme, drove back government expeditions sent out to take possession of their land. The resistance was declared an intolerable crime, and the Yaquis were forced to surrender by being starved into submission. Yaqui lands became private landholdings, Cajeme was “tried” and shot in 1887, and thousands of Yaquis were sold like cattle for seventy-five pesos each to rich plantation owners in Yucatán and Quintana Roo. There, unaccustomed to the hot tropical sun, they were worked as slaves in brutal conditions, and, with no hope for the future, died in large numbers. By the 1990’s, however, the restless Yaqui spirit had been rekindled in its ancestral homeland and other areas. Timeless rituals were revived to coalesce into ceremonies reflective of the *yo aniya*, the land where all sources of divine power lie.

**Yaquina**

**Culture area:** Northwest Coast  
**Language group:** Salishan  
**Primary location:** Yaquina River and Yaquina Bay, Oregon

The patrilineal Yaquina were oriented toward the sea and rivers, but they were also dependent upon land animals and plants for food and needed by-products. Their environment provided numerous tidal foods, birds, and waterfowl. They lived in rectangular, multifamily, cedar plank winter houses in autonomous permanent villages. Yaquina society was stratified, and wealthy men were often polygamous. Marriage reinforced trading
relationships, established status, and redistributed wealth. Slaves, one form of traditional wealth, were usually acquired by raids. They excelled, as did their southern neighbors, the Alsea, in woodworking skills.

The first European American contact in the area was by the American ship *Columbia* in 1788. Unfortunately, little is known of the Yaquina or Alsea people, whose numbers were greatly reduced by early epidemics, particularly smallpox. By 1856 the remaining Alsea and Yaquina had been placed on the Coast Reservation, a small portion of their original territory. The Coast Reservation was split in 1865, and in 1910 only nineteen people who identified themselves as Yaquina remained.

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**Ya**napai

**Culture area:** Southwest  
**Language group:** Yuman  
**Primary location:** Western and central Arizona  
**Population size:** 579 (1990 U.S. Census)

The Ya**napai have lived in central and western Arizona since about 1100 C.E., when they arrived from the West. Primarily hunters and gatherers, the Ya**napai followed the cycles of nature, moving from one area to another harvesting wild plants. Animals were captured either by hand or by a throwing stick or bow and arrow.

As they migrated, the Ya**napai made their shelters in caves and in domed stone or timber huts. Occasionally, hostilities erupted between the Ya**napai and the Walapai, Havasupai, Tohono O’odham, Pima, and Maricopa. The Ya**napai were most friendly with the Navajo, Hopi, Mojave, Quichan (Yuma), and especially the Apaches, whom they sometimes married.

The first European incursion occurred in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, when Spanish explorers passed through Ya**napai territory. When the Arizona gold rush hit in the 1860’s, contact with outsiders, especially European Americans, increased greatly. The Ya**napai usually sought peace with these invaders. The Ya**napai’s numbers dwindled because of various hardships, and in 1865, the two thousand remaining Ya**napai were moved to the Colorado River Reservation, the first of many reservations they would be relocated to; others included Fort McDowell, Rio Verde, San Carlos, Camp Verde, Middle Verde, Clarkdale, and Prescott. With the exceptions of River Verde and San Carlos, the Ya**napai continue to inhabit these reservations.
Prior to U.S. government intervention, the Yavapai were led by articulate members of the tribe and by shamans notable for their powerful dreams and their healing skills. Past influential Yavapai leaders include Chief Yuma Frank, Chief Viola Jimulla, and Carlos Montezuma.

Modern Yavapais make their living primarily from farming, working for wages, and making and selling traditional crafts. The tribe is governed by an elected board. Modern Yavapai spirituality is expressed in a variety of forms, including Christian denominations and the Holy Ground Church, which emphasizes the sacred relationship between humanity and the earth that supports it.

Yazoo

**Culture area:** Southeast  
**Language group:** Muskogean  
**Primary location:** Mississippi

In 1682 Henri de Tonti found this small tribe living on the Yazoo River, close to the Mississippi River, north of present-day Natchez, Mississippi. The Yazoo tribe was closely associated with the Koroa tribe, resembling them in speech patterns. Both tribes used an “r” sound in speaking, which other tribes in the area did not.

As European trade increased in the lower Mississippi Valley, many of the tribes eagerly sought the goods that could be obtained by trading fur pelts and widely increased their hunting range. The Yazoos took captives, especially the Chawashas, and sold them as slaves to British traders; at times they were made captives themselves (particularly by the Chickasaws), sold into slavery, and sent to Charleston markets. Some were purchased by local planters, but the rest were shipped to the West Indies.

The houses of the Yazoos were round and constructed of poles plastered with a clay-moss mixture. This structure was then covered with cypress bark or palmetto. There was one door, approximately five feet high, but no windows or chimneys. Little is known about tribal customs. After a death, the corpse was carried into the woods, escorted by relatives carrying lighted pine torches that were thrown into the grave before it was covered. Relatives and friends went to cry nightly at the burial site for six months. A post, carved with the figure he painted on his body, marked the head of a chief’s grave.
The Yazoos joined with the Natchez Indians in an uprising against the French, who controlled the area along the Mississippi. In 1729 they, along with the Koroas, attacked and destroyed the entire French garrison of Fort Rosalie, a fort not far from the mouth of the Yazoo River, and murdered the French missionary Father Souel, who had settled among them in 1727. Shortly after this event, the Yazoos were attacked and nearly destroyed by the Quapaws; only fifteen Yazoo men were left. The few remaining Yazoos apparently joined with the Chickasaws and Choctaws, and the Yazoos disappeared as a separate tribe.

Yellowknife

**Culture area:** Subarctic  
**Language group:** Athapaskan  
**Primary location:** Western Canada

This highly mobile hunting-and-trapping culture was dependent upon the movements of the barren-ground caribou, which involved them in sustained socioeconomic relations with the contiguous Chipewyan and Dogrib groups. Little is known of these people because of a general decline in population caused by introduced communicable diseases and intergroup conflict. At the time of their first contact with whites, the Yellowknife were in constant conflict with the Dogrib, Hare, and Slave; they were even fighting with the Chipewyan. Their winter dwellings were covered with stitched, tanned caribou hides. By the end of the nineteenth century, the Dogrib had expanded their aboriginal territory by defeating the Yellowknife.

The European first contact with the Yellowknife was effected in 1770 by Samuel Hearne. Later, after Arctic explorer Sir John Franklin’s 1819-1822 account, most ethnographic data was provided by the Hudson’s Bay Company. In 1913, ethnologist J. Alden Mason provided brief descriptions of the Yellowknife whom he met; they were then living in canvas-covered conical lodges at Fort Resolution. By 1914 the Yellowknife had essentially lost their tribal identity, preferring to be known as Chipewyan.
Yokuts

**Culture Area:** California  
**Language Group:** Yokutsan  
**Primary Location:** Central California  
**Population Size:** 2,802 (1990 U.S. Census)

The Yokuts inhabited a south-central portion of California. They hunted, fished, and gathered for subsistence. Yokuts Indians fished throughout the year using nets, spears, and basket traps to catch trout, perch, and chub. Fish not eaten immediately were sun-dried. Men used nets, snares, and wood-tipped arrows to capture deer, rabbit, squirrel, and pigeons. Nets and snares were utilized to capture geese, ducks, and other waterfowl. Seeds, turtles, roots, and shellfish were gathered.

The Yokuts lived in permanent single-family, oval-shaped dwellings covered with tule mats or in long mat-covered structures that housed ten or more families. Water transportation was accomplished with the use of canoe-shaped balsa or tule rafts. Men wore deerskin breechclouts, and women wore aprons of the same material. Mudhen or rabbit cloaks were worn in cooler weather.

Tribe members observed a number of superstitions and taboos to preserve health and good luck. Shamans were generally men. They were thought to receive their powers through dreams. Shamans cured the ill and led rituals. Healing methods included sucking out diseases or draining portions of blood. Several shamans used the datura plant, processed into a hallucinogenic drug, to arrive at a diagnosis.

In 1772, Pedro Fages explored Yokuts territory. Other explorers followed but had little direct effect on tribal life. Indians from other tribes fleeing the missions reached Yokuts tribes. Some stayed and introduced their own tribal ways to their Yokuts hosts. Through these visitors the Yokuts learned of the horse, and they wished to join the equestrian ranks. They raided local ranches and missions for horses and soon became known as the “horsethief Indians.” Ranchers organized campaigns to recover their livestock and punish the Yokuts.

In 1833, a malaria epidemic devastated the tribe, killing 75 percent of its members. Though the Yokuts avoided the infiltration of gold miners suffered by other Californian tribes, numerous whites settlers came into their territory. These settlers met with little resistance from a shrinking Indian population. In the late 1800’s, the Yokuts were forced onto reservation lands. They found work on local ranches and in the logging industry, but social
problems—including poor education, alcoholism, and poverty—persisted throughout the twentieth century.

Yuchi

**Culture area:** Southeast  
**Language group:** Yuchi  
**Primary location:** Oklahoma  
**Population size:** 430 (1990 U.S. Census)

In the 1540’s, Hernando de Soto encountered the Yuchis (also known as the Westos) in present-day eastern Tennessee; by the eighteenth century, the tribe had migrated southward, with the majority of Yuchis settling on the lower Chattahoochee River. Here, the tribe lived as part of the Creek Confederacy.

Though they were similar to other Creek peoples in many aspects of their culture, the Yuchis retained a strong sense of separate identity. They regarded themselves as descendants of the sun and as the original human inhabitants of what is now the southeastern United States. Their language reinforced their sense of distinctiveness—unrelated to any of the languages spoken by other southeastern tribes, Yuchi was difficult for other Indians to master.

From the late eighteenth century, the Yuchis functioned within the context of Creek and Seminole history. Among the most conservative and traditionalist of Creeks, the Yuchis resented the attempt of Muskogee-speakers to dominate Creek affairs. Some Yuchis joined the migration to Florida that eventually gave birth to a distinctive Seminole identity. During the Creek War (1813-1814), the majority of Yuchis supported the traditionalist Red Sticks faction against American forces and their Indian allies. After the Red Sticks defeat, more Yuchis joined their Seminole kinsmen in Florida. Almost all Yuchis were eventually removed to Indian Territory (modern Oklahoma) either with the Creeks in the 1830’s or with the Seminoles in the 1840’s. In Indian Territory, the Yuchis settled primarily in the area around Sepulpa in the Creek Nation. Like other traditionalists, they were often opposed to the policies pursued by the more acculturated leaders of the tribal government. During the American Civil War, for example, the Yuchis were predominantly unionist despite the Creek Nation’s formal alliance with the confederacy.
The acculturating influences of the twentieth century eventually weakened Yuchi traditionalism. By the 1970’s, it was estimated that fewer than fifty speakers of the Yuchi language remained. A small core persisted, however, and in the 1980’s an organization of Yuchis petitioned the federal government for formal recognition as a separate tribe.

Yuki

CULTURE AREA: California
LANGUAGE GROUP: Yuki
PRIMARY LOCATION: Upper Eel River, northwestern California
POPULATION SIZE: 265 (1990 U.S. Census)

The Yuki, Huchnom, and Coast Yuki each spoke a dialect of the Yuki language. They all had tribelets, with the village constituting the main socioeconomic unit, presided over by a chief. They lived in conical dwellings of bark, banked with earth. Subsistence was acquired through hunting, gathering, and fishing; salmon and acorns were their main foods. Trade was primarily with the Pomo and Huchnom, and it involved the exporting of food products in exchange for seafood and various types of shell beads. Dress was minimal, though the women wore a fringed leather apron. Deer-skin caps were worn in winter.

The Yukis’ first contact with settlers was in 1856, when the Nome Cult Indian Farm, essentially a reservation, was established in Round Valley. Settlers attempted to exterminate the Yuki, who resisted white encroachment and depredation. They recognized and participated in the two waves of the early 1870’s Ghost Dance. The Yuki continued to live in the Round Valley area into the twentieth century. By the 1960’s, all Round Valley Indians were leading a rural life; problems included sanitation, water supplies, and health care.

Yurok

CULTURE AREA: California
LANGUAGE GROUP: Algonquian
PRIMARY LOCATION: Northeastern California and Oregon
POPULATION SIZE: 4,296 (1990 U.S. Census)
The sedentary Yurok were a marine-oriented people living in permanent villages of split-plank redwood houses in coastal northwestern Oregon and on the lower forty-five miles of the Klamath River in southwestern Oregon and northwestern California. Close socioeconomic ties were maintained between villages. The major sociopolitical and descent group was the “house,” which was neither matrilineal nor patrilineal. Villages owned communal property with exploitation rights to major fishing sites, clamming beaches, berry patches, felled redwood trees, acorn groves, deer-hunting areas, and beached whales. The Yurok excelled at woodworking and basketweaving and had a complex fishing technology. Their society was stratified, with nobles, commoners, and slaves, the latter being established by incurred debt. Traditional forms of wealth and heirlooms were paired obsidian blades, albino deerskins, and dentalium necklaces. Social
control was maintained by threats of sorcery, destruction of an accused person’s property, liability for injuries, and consensus of opinion.

The Yurok were probably first sighted by Spanish galleons in 1565. The first known contact was in 1828 by Hudson’s Bay Company fur traders. Sustained European American contact and incursion commenced in 1850 with gold miners and land developers, usually with considerable violence and killing. Despite numerous attempts by several whites to protect Yurok sovereignty, much of the aboriginal territory was confiscated. By 1939, many of the traditional dances and ceremonies had stopped, particularly the traditional Jumping, Boat, Kick, and Deerskin dances, and the First Salmon Rite. In World War II, during the Battle of the Bulge, a Yurok taught the Brush Dance to his non-Indian unit as a form of exercise. Indian Shakerism was introduced in 1927 and continues to be their most popular religion.

Revivals of the Brush Dance started in 1972, as well as a revitalization of certain traditional skills such as weaving and woodworking. By the 1960’s, some young males reinstated the traditional regime of training by using the sweathouse, swimming, and running. Competitive sports, particularly playing shinny or field hockey, are conducted between certain villages. Wage earning primarily involves fishing and logging.

Zapotec

**Culture area:** Mesomaerica  
**Language group:** Oto-Manguean  
**Primary location:** Oaxaca, Mexico

The pre-Hispanic Zapotec kingdom was centered in the Valley of Oaxaca, at the mountaintop site of Monte Albán (estimated population ten thousand). From there, the Zapotec extended their rule over the entire valley and over much of the present-day Mexican state of Oaxaca. The Zapotec were participants in many general Mesoamerican cultural institutions such as the ball game, ceremonial bloodletting, human and animal sacrifice, formal religious art, a hieroglyphic writing system, and the 260-day calendar. Zapotec script is incompletely deciphered.

The origins of Zapotec society can be seen at the Valley of Oaxaca site of San José Mogote. By 1500 B.C.E., small farming hamlets were ubiquitous, but San José Mogote emerged as a unique settlement, as evidenced by a nonresidential public building and by social stratification within the community. Evidence suggests that coercion may have been involved in the rising
importance of San José Mogote. By 500 B.C.E., the mountaintop settlement of Monte Albán had been founded, and San José Mogote ceased to grow. Zapotec society expanded rapidly in social, political, and economic complexity throughout the succeeding centuries.

Like most Mesoamerican civilizations, the Zapotec were a highly stratified society. Divine kings topped the social hierarchy, followed by lesser hereditary nobility and priests; craftworkers occupied an intermediate position. Maize, beans, and squash farmers formed the bulk of the population and were spread throughout the valley, practicing irrigation agriculture. Tribute was paid to the Zapotec kings. Professional warriors controlled Zapotec society and expanded its borders to capture new territory.

The Zapotec portrayed their military conquests on stone slabs at Monte Albán. Conquest slabs depict some thirty specific places that were conquered by Monte Albán from around 300 to 500 C.E. Another set of carved tablets, of a type known as Danzantes, are most commonly interpreted as tortured and slain captives, also attesting the militaristic nature of Zapotec society.

The Zapotec kings had a political relationship, which remains poorly understood, with Teotihuacán, a large and powerful kingdom in central Mexico. As depicted on stone monuments at Monte Albán, Teotihuacán kings paid official visits to the Zapotec kings. There is also a residential area of Teotihuacán known as the Oaxaca Barrio. It appears that Zapotec lived there but retained their identity over hundreds of years—they continued to bury their dead in traditional Zapotec custom and to make their pottery in traditional styles. The Zapotec do not appear to have been ambassadors to Teotihuacán, as their dwellings are modest and are far removed from the central precincts.

For a variety of reasons, Monte Albán declined in power, and by 900 C.E. its population was dispersed throughout the valley. A series of small, independent kingdoms emerged to replace the centralized power of Monte Albán. Beginning in the late 1400’s, most Zapotec kingdoms successively fell prey to the expanding Aztec empire. Less than twenty-five years later, the Zapotec kingdoms again fell prey to the Spanish. An estimated 472,000 people still spoke the Zapotec language during the 1990’s.
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Appendixes
# Festivals and Pow-wows

Select calendar of annual American Indian gatherings.

## January

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Location</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Annual Native American Film Festival</td>
<td>Southwest Museum, Los Angeles, California</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kachina Dances</td>
<td>Hopi Cultural Center, Second Mesa, Arizona</td>
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<tr>
<td>San Ildefonso Feast Day</td>
<td>San Ildefonso Pueblo, Santa Fe, New Mexico</td>
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## February

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<td>Lincoln’s Birthday Celebration Pow-wow</td>
<td>Warm Springs Tribal Council, Warm Springs, Oregon</td>
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<tr>
<td>O’odham Tash Celebration</td>
<td>Tohono O’odham Nation, Sells, Arizona</td>
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<tr>
<td>Seminole Tribal Fair and Rodeo</td>
<td>Hollywood Reservation, Hollywood, Florida</td>
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## March

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<td>Palm Springs, California</td>
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<tr>
<td>Epethes Pow-wow</td>
<td>Nez Perce Tribe, Lapwai, Idaho</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mul-Chu-Tha Community Fair</td>
<td>Gila River Indian Community, Sacaton, Arizona</td>
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<td>San Jose Feast Day</td>
<td>Laguna Pueblo, Laguna, New Mexico</td>
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## April

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<tr>
<td>All-Indian Days Pow-wow</td>
<td>Scottsdale Community College, Scottsdale, Arizona</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual American Indian Days</td>
<td>Chico State University, Chico, California</td>
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<tr>
<td>Annual Pow-wow</td>
<td>Western Washington University, Bellingham, Washington</td>
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<tr>
<td>Annual South Umpqua Pow-wow</td>
<td>Myrtle Creek, Oregon</td>
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<tr>
<td>Annual Spring Pow-wow</td>
<td>University of Wyoming, Laramie, Wyoming</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cocopah Festivities Day</td>
<td>Somerton, Arizona</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institute of American Indian Arts Pow-wow</td>
<td>Santa Fe, New Mexico</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spring Roundup All-Indian Rodeo</td>
<td>White Mountain Apache Tribal Council, Whiteriver, Arizona</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of California, Berkeley, Pow-wow</td>
<td>Berkeley, California</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of Washington Pow-wow</td>
<td>Sandpoint Naval Air Station, Seattle, Washington</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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## May

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Annual First Peoples Cultural Festival</td>
<td>Capilano Longhouse, North Vancouver, British Columbia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual Intertribal Pow-wow</td>
<td>Trout Lake Community Centre, Victoria, British Columbia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Festivals and Pow-wows

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event Name</th>
<th>Location</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Annual Pow-wow</strong></td>
<td>Montana State University</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bozeman, Montana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Annual Pow-wow</strong></td>
<td>Stanford University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Palo Alto, California</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chehalis Tribal Day Celebration</strong></td>
<td>Oakville, Washington</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Choctaw Annual Rodeo</strong></td>
<td>Jones Academy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hartshorn, Oklahoma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Louisiana Indian Heritage Association Pow-wow</strong></td>
<td>Folsom, Louisiana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>San Carlos Tribal Fair</strong></td>
<td>San Carlos Apache Tribe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>San Carlos, Arizona</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Spring Pow-wow</strong></td>
<td>Portland State University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Portland, Oregon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tse-Ho-Tso Intertribal Pow-wow</strong></td>
<td>Window Rick High School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fort Defiance, Arizona</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tuscarora Nation of North Carolina Pow-wow</strong></td>
<td>Tribal Grounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maxton, North Carolina</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>University of Washington Pow-wow</strong></td>
<td>Seattle, Washington</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>San Juan Feast Day</strong></td>
<td>Taos Pueblo</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Taos, New Mexico</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Shoshone Indian Days Pow-wow and Rodeo</strong></td>
<td>Fort Washakie, Wyoming</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Stommish Festival</strong></td>
<td>Lummi Indian Tribe</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bellingham, Washington</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Warriors Memorial Pow-wow</strong></td>
<td>Nez Perce Tribe</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Lapwai, Idaho</td>
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**JUNE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event Name</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bear Dance</strong></td>
<td>Ute Mountain Ute Tribe</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Towaoc, Colorado</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Big Wind Pow-wow</strong></td>
<td>Shoshone and Arapaho Tribes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fort Washakie, Wyoming</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Cherokean Pow-wow</strong></td>
<td>Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cherokee, North Carolina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cheyenne-Arapaho Pow-wow</strong></td>
<td>Concho, Oklahoma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Osage Tribal Ceremonial Dances</strong></td>
<td>Pawhuska, Oklahoma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Potawatomi Pow-wow</strong></td>
<td>Shawnee, Oklahoma</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Annual Chumash Intertribal Pow-wow</strong></td>
<td>Santa Ynez, California</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Annual Homecoming Celebration</strong></td>
<td>Winnebago, Nebraska</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Annual Northern Cheyenne Fourth of July Pow-wow</strong></td>
<td>Lame Deer, Montana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Annual Northern Ute Pow-wow and Rodeo</strong></td>
<td>Fort Duchesne, Utah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Annual Taos Pueblo Pow-wow</strong></td>
<td>Pow-wow Grounds</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Taos, New Mexico</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Arikara Celebration and Pow-wow</strong></td>
<td>White Shield, North Dakota</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Arlee Fourth of July Pow-wow</strong></td>
<td>Pablo, Montana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Coeur d’Alene Pow-wow</strong></td>
<td>Plummer, Idaho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>July Fourth Celebration Pow-wow and Rodeo</strong></td>
<td>Window Rock, Arizona</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mescalero Festival</strong></td>
<td>Mescalero, New Mexico</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>North American Indian Days</strong></td>
<td>Blackfeet Tribal Council</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Browning, Montana</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Onion Lake Pow-wow</strong></td>
<td>Onion Lake Reserve</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Saskatchewan/Alberta, British Columbia</td>
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**JULY**

<table>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Annual Chumash Intertribal Pow-wow</strong></td>
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<tr>
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<td>Fort Duchesne, Utah</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Annual Taos Pueblo Pow-wow</strong></td>
<td>Pow-wow Grounds</td>
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<td>Taos, New Mexico</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>July Fourth Celebration Pow-wow and Rodeo</strong></td>
<td>Window Rock, Arizona</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mescalero Festival</strong></td>
<td>Mescalero, New Mexico</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>North American Indian Days</strong></td>
<td>Blackfeet Tribal Council</td>
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<td>Browning, Montana</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Onion Lake Pow-wow</strong></td>
<td>Onion Lake Reserve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Saskatchewan/Alberta, British Columbia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
American Indian Tribes

AUGUST

American Indian Exposition
Anadarko, Oklahoma

Annual Indian Fair Days and Pow-wow
Sierra Mono, California

Annual Intertribal Indian Ceremonial
Church Rock, New Mexico

Annual Piegan Indian Days
Brocket, Alberta

Chief Seattle Days
Suquamish, Washington

Crow Fair
Crow Agency, Montana

Kalispel Pow-wow
Usk, Washington

Land of the Menominee Pow-wow
Kenesha, Wisconsin

Little Shell Pow-wow
New Town, North Dakota

Looking Glass Pow-wow
Lapwai, Idaho

Lower Brule Pow-wow
Lower Brule, South Dakota

Ni-Mi-Win Celebration
Duluth, Minnesota

Northern Arapaho Pow-wow
Arapaho, Wyoming

Oglala Nation Pow-wow and Rodeo
Pine Ridge, South Dakota

Ottawa Pow-wow
Miami, Oklahoma

Ponca Indian Fair and Pow-wow
Ponca City, Oklahoma

Rocky Boys Pow-wow
Box Elder, Montana

Rosebud Fair and Rodeo
Rosebud, South Dakota

Shoshone-Bannock Indian Festival and Rodeo
Fort Hall, Idaho

Snake Dance
Hopi Cultural Center
Second Mesa, Arizona

Standing Rock Pow-wow
Fort Yates, North Dakota

Wichita Tribal Pow-wow
Anadarko, Oklahoma

SEPTEMBER

Cherokee Nation Pow-wow
Tahlequah, Oklahoma

Cheyenne and Arapaho Labor Day Pow-wow
Colony Indian Park
Colony, Oklahoma

Cheyenne River Labor Day Pow-wow
Eagle Butte, South Dakota

Choctaw Annual Pow-wow
Arrowhead State Park
Canadian, Oklahoma

Navajo Nation Fair
Window Rock, Arizona

Shoshone Indian Fair
Fort Washakie, Wyoming

Spokane Tribal Fair and Pow-wow
Wellpinit, Washington

Turtle Mountain Labor Day Pow-wow
Belford, North Dakota

United Tribes International Pow-wow
Bismarck, North Dakota

OCTOBER

Annual Canadian Thanksgiving Pow-wow
Mt. Currie, British Columbia

Apache Days
Globe, Arizona

Cherokee Fall Festival
Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma
Tahlequah, Oklahoma
Festivals and Pow-wows

Cherokees of Georgia Gathering and Pow-wow
  Tribal Grounds
  St. George, Georgia

Chickasaw Nation Annual Day
  Chickasaw Nation of Oklahoma, Oklahoma

Four Nations Pow-wow
  Nez Perce Tribe
  Lapwai, Idaho

Northern Navajo Fair
  Shiprock, Arizona

Pow-wow and Fall Festival
  Nashville, Tennessee

NOVEMBER

American Indian Film Festival
  Palace of Fine Arts
  San Francisco, California

Poarch Band of Creeks Pow-wow
  Atmore, Alabama

San Diego Feast Day
  Jemez Pueblo
  Jemez, New Mexico

San Diego Feast Day
  Tesuque Pueblo
  Santa Fe, New Mexico

Veteran’s Day Pow-wow
  Nespelem Community Center
  Nespelem, Washington

Veteran’s Day Pow-wow
  Owyhee, Nevada

Veteran’s Day Rodeo
  San Carlos, Arizona

DECEMBER

Annual All-Indian Rodeo
  Colorado River Reservation
  Parker, Arizona

Christmas Pow-wow
  Portland State University
  Portland, Oregon

Christmas Pow-wow
  Umatilla Reservation
  Pendleton, Oregon

Shalako
  Zuni Pueblo
  Zuni, New Mexico
MUSEUMS, ARCHIVES, AND LIBRARIES

Select list of museums, archives, and libraries in four parts: museums in the United States; museums in Canada; libraries and archives in the United States; libraries and archives in Canada. Each part is arranged alphabetically, first by state, territory, or province, then by city.

MUSEUMS IN THE UNITED STATES

ALABAMA
Alabama Museum of Natural History
Smith Hall, University of Alabama
Tuscaloosa, 35487-0340
Resource center of Southeastern Indians; ties with Moundville Archaeological Park.

COLORADO RIVER INDIAN TRIBES
Museum
Route 1, Box 23B
Parker, 85344
Artifacts from Mojave, Chemehuevi, Hopi, and Navajo as well as prehistoric cultures.

Heard Museum
22 E. Monte Vista Road
Phoenix, 85004-1480
Southwest emphasis; inventory of 8,200 Native American artists.
Library of 40,000 volumes includes Fred Harvey Company documents and photo archives.

Gila River Arts and Crafts Center
P.O. Box 457
Sacaton, 85247
Museum and crafts reflect all tribes of the area.

ARIZONA
Museum of Northern Arizona
Fort Valley Road
Flagstaff, 86001
Southwest Anglo and Indian art, with Hopi and Navajo emphasis.
Harold S. Colton Memorial Library of 24,000 volumes.

Navajo Tribal Museum
Highway 264
Window Rock, 86515
Four Corners archaeology and ethnography, including re-creation of 1870-1930 era trading post.
ARKANSAS
Arkansas State Museum
P. O. Box 490
State University, 72467
Emphasizes northeastern Arkansas tribes such as the Osage, Caddo, Chickasaw, and others.

CALIFORNIA
Fowler Museum of Cultural History
University of California, Los Angeles
405 Hilgard Avenue
Los Angeles, 90024-1549
Extensive archaeological and ethnographic collections include Native American materials.

Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County
Times-Mirror Hall of Native American Cultures; Hall of Pre-Columbian Cultures
900 Exposition Boulevard
Los Angeles, 90007
Excellent permanent displays, with changing exhibitions on contemporary issues in art and culture. The Pre-Columbian Hall covers cultures form Mexico to Peru.

Southwest Museum
234 Museum Drive
(mailing address: P. O. Box 558)
Los Angeles, 90065
Collections range from Alaska to South America, with permanent displays focusing on the Southwest, Great Plains, California, and Northwest Coast. Braun Research Library contains 50,000 volumes, 100,000 photos, 900 recordings, and archival material.

Maturango Museum
100 E. Las Flores
(mailing address: P. O. Box 1776)
Ridgecrest, 93556
A small regional museum focusing on one of the richest petroglyph areas in the United States at China Lake.

Bowers Museum of Cultural Art
2002 North Main Street
Santa Ana, 92706
Collection of 85,000 items focuses on the fine arts of indigenous peoples, including pre-Columbian and Native American.

COLORADO
Denver Art Museum
100 W. 14th Avenue Parkway
Denver, 80204
Art collection includes Indian clothing, Southwest pottery and kachinas, and Northwest Coast carvings. Frederick H. Douglas Library includes 6,000 volumes.

Denver Museum of Natural History
2001 South Colorado Boulevard
Denver, 80205
Strong on Paleo-Indian culture, including the original Folsom spear point; a 24,000-volume library.

Southern Ute Cultural Center and Gallery
Highway 172
(mailing address: P. O. Box 737)
Ignacio, 81137
Early history; contemporary bead and leather work.

CONNECTICUT
Peabody Museum
Yale University
170 Whitney
New Haven, 06511-8161
Extensive holdings include both archaeological and ethnographic materials of the Americas.

American Indian Archaeological Institute (AIAI)
38 Curtis Road
(mailing address: P. O. Box 1260)
Washington Green, 06793-0260
Continental coverage, but focus is on Northeast Woodlands. Reconstructed Indian village, with Indian Habitats Trail; 250,000 artifacts and a 2,000-volume library.
**Delaware**

**Delaware State Museum**
316 South Governors Avenue
Dover, 19901
Eastern prehistory; 1,000-volume library; State Archaeological Collection.

**District of Columbia**

**U.S. National Museum of Natural History**
Smithsonian Institution
Washington, DC 20560

**Florida**

**Florida State Museum**
University of Florida
Gainesville, 32601
Pearsall Collection of ethnographic items ranges from Seminole to Inuit.

**Ah-Tha-Thi-Ki Museum**
3240 North 64th Avenue
Hollywood, 33024
Artifacts and activities document and preserve Seminole traditions; village, burial site, nature trails.

**Georgia**

**New Echota**
Route 3
Calhoun, 30701
Restoration of Cherokee capital of 1825-1838. Trail of Tears material.

**Idaho**

**Nez Perce National Historic Park**
Highway 95
(mailing address: P.O. 93)
Spalding, 83551
Prehistoric as well as historic regional items. Park notes sites of Indian-U.S. battles. A 600-volume library and archive of 3,000 photos.

**Illinois**

**Field Museum of Natural History**
Roosevelt Road at Lake Shore Drive
Chicago, 60605
Extensive Native American collections, including Pawnee earth lodge replica. Webber Resource Center houses books and audio-visual materials on indigenous cultures.

**Indiana**

**Eiteljorg Museum of American Indian and Western Art**
500 West Washington Street
Indianapolis, 46204
Extensive collection that emphasizes Northeast Woodlands, great Plains, and Southwest culture areas.

**Iowa**

**Putnam Museum of History and Natural Science**
1717 West 12th Street
Davenport, 52804
Regional ethnographic collections and important Mississippian materials.

**Kansas**

**Indian Center Museum**
650 North Seneca
Wichita, 67203
Collection reflects Indian art and religion.

**Kentucky**

**J. B. Speed Art Museum**
2035 South Third Street
(mailing address: P.O. Box 2600)
Louisville, 40201-2600
Collection emphasizes regional materials and the Great Plains, complemented by a 14,000-volume art library that includes the Frederick Weygold Indian Collection.

**Louisiana**

**Tunica-Biloxi Regional Indian Center and Museum**
Museums, Archives, and Libraries

Highway 1
(mailing address: P.O. Box 331)
Marksville, 71351
Focuses on descendants of the mound builders. The tribal museum is built in a classic Mississippian style. Collections include colonial Indian-European materials returned to the tribe under the Indian Graves and Repatriation Act.

MAINE
Peary-MacMillan Arctic Museum and Studies Center
Hubbard Hall, Bowdoin College
Brunswick, 04011
MacMillan collection of Inuit and Subarctic material culture.

 MASSACHUSETTS
Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology
11 Divinity Avenue
Harvard University
Cambridge, 02138
Worldwide collection of 2,000,000 artifacts has a North and South American focus; 180,000-volume library.

MICHIGAN
Cranbrook Institute of Science
500 Lone Pine Road
(mailing address: P.O. Box 801)
Bloomfield Hills, 48303-0801
Collection reflects all North American culture areas.

MINNESOTA
Minnesota Historical Society’s Grand Mound and Interpretive Center
Route 7
(mailing address: P.O. Box 453)
International Falls, 56649
Burial mounds with extensive exhibits of Woodland, Laurel, and Blackduck cultures.

Mille Lacs Indian Museum
HCR 67
(mailing address: P.O. Box 95)
Onamia, 56359
Ojibwa and Dakota artifacts illustrate traditional lifeways.

MISSISSIPPI
Grand Village of the Natchez Indians
400 Jefferson Davis Boulevard
Natchez, 39120
Artifacts explore the culture of the descendants of the Mississippian mound builders.

MISSOURI
St. Louis Science Center
5050 Oakland Avenue
St. Louis, 63110

MONTANA
Museum of the Plains Indian and Crafts Center
U.S. 89
(mailing address: P.O. Box 400)
Browning, 59417
Northern Plains material culture; reconstruction of 1850’s Blackfeet camp.

NEBRASKA
Fur Trade Museum
East Highway 20, HC 74
(mailing address: P.O. Box 18)
Chadron, 69337

Museum of Nebraska History
131 Centennial Mall North
Lincoln, 68508
Anthropology and art of the central Plains tribes.

NEVADA
Lost City Museum
721 South Highway 169
Overton, 89040
Reconstructed pueblo and kiva; archaeological museum; 400-volume library.
New Jersey
Montclair Art Museum
3 South Mountain Avenue
Montclair, 07042
Rand Collection of Native American art. Art history library of 13,000 volumes.

New Jersey State Museum
205 West State Street
Trenton, 08625
Local material as well as Plains, Arctic, Southwest, and Northeast collections.

New Mexico
Maxwell Museum of Anthropology
University of New Mexico
Roma and University, N.E.
Albuquerque, 87131-1201
Extensive Southwest collections. Library of 12,500 volumes and photo archives.

Museum of Indian Arts and Culture
708 Camino Lejo
(mailing address: P.O. Box 2087)
Santa Fe, 87504
Exhibits focus on Pueblo, Apache, and Navajo cultures. A 20,000-volume library on the anthropology of the southwest.

Western New Mexico University Museum
(mailing address: P.O. Box 43)
Silver City, 88061
Eisele collection of classic Mimbres pottery.

New York
American Museum of Natural History
79th Street and Central Park West
New York, 10024-5192
Exhibitions are especially strong on the cultures of the Arctic and Pacific Northwest.

National Museum of the American Indian
George Gustav Heye Center
Alexander Hamilton Custom House
3753 Broadway at 155th Street
New York, 10032
The first of three planned facilities of the National Museum of the American Indian, part of the Smithsonian Institution, opened in New York in 1994. The largest facility is planned for the National Mall in Washington, D.C., with a projected opening in the year 2000. Much of the extensive New York collection will be moved to Washington.

Seneca Iroquois National Museum
Broad Street Extension
(mailing address: P.O. Box 442)
Salamanca, 14779
Special wampum belt exhibit; typical nineteenth century elm-bark longhouse reconstruction; contemporary art.

North Carolina
Indian Museum of the Carolinas
607 Turnpike Road
Laurinburg, 28352
Exhibits feature Southeast cultures and lifeways.

Native American Resource Center
Pembroke State University
Pembroke, 28372
Eastern Woodlands materials; North and South America.

North Dakota
Turtle Mountain Chippewa Heritage Center
Highway 5
(mailing address: P.O. Box 257)
Belcourt, 58316
Promotes tribal history and traditions. Contemporary art gallery.

North Dakota Heritage Center
612 East Boulevard
Bismarck, 58505
Plains cultures. A 100,000-volume library on ethnology and history.
Ohio
Cincinnati Museum of Natural History
1301 Western Avenue
Cincinnati, 45203
Good selection of mound builder artifacts from the Ohio Valley.

Cleveland Museum of Natural History
1 Wade Oval Drive
University Circle
Cleveland, 44106-1767
Research fields include archaeology and physical anthropology. A 50,000-volume natural history library.

Oklahoma
Museum of the Great Plains
601 Ferris Avenue
Lawton, 73502
Artifacts, library, and photo archives relating to Plains tribes.

Cherokee Heritage Center
Willis Road
(mailing address: P.O. Box 515)
Tahlequah, 74465
Reconstructed village; contemporary arts and crafts.

The Philbrook Museum of Art, Inc.
2727 South Rockford Road
Tulsa, 74114
Clark Field Basket Collection; Lawson Collection of Indian clothing; Philbrook Collection of American Indian paintings; Lawson Indian library.

Seminole Nation Museum and Library
6th and Wewoka
(mailing address: P.O. Box 1532)
Wewoka, 74884

Pennsylvania
Carnegie Museum of Natural History
4400 Forbes Avenue
Pittsburgh, 15213-4080
Wide coverage, including Arctic and Northwest Coast collections.

Rhode Island
Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology
Brown University
Bristol, 02809
Arctic and Subarctic materials, including Archaic Period remains of the Red Paint People of Maine.

South Carolina
McKissick Museum
University of South Carolina
Columbia, 29208
Catawba pottery and baskets. Folk Art Resource Center.

South Dakota
Indian Museum of North America
Avenue of the Chiefs, Black Hills
Crazy Horse, 57730

Sioux Indian Museum and Crafts Center
515 West Boulevard
Rapid City, 57709

W. H. Over State Museum
414 East Clark
Vermillion, 57069-2390
Plains material culture and contemporary painting.

Tennessee
Frank H. McClung Museum
University of Tennessee
1327 Circle Park Drive
Knoxville, 37996-3200
Tennessee State Museum
505 Deaderick Street
Nashville, 37243-1120
Strong in prehistoric Mississippian culture.

Texas Memorial Museum
University of Texas
24th and Trinity
Austin, 78705
Broad focus on the anthropology of the American Indian.

Panhandle-Plains Historical Museum
2401 Fourth Avenue
Canyon, 79016
Hall of the Southern Plains. South and Southwest Indian focus; 10,000-volume library.

Alabama-Coushatta Museum
U.S. Highway 190
Route 3
(mailing address: P.O. Box 540)
Livingston, 77351

Witte Memorial Museum
3801 Broadway
San Antonio, 78209
Most North American culture areas.

College of Eastern Utah Prehistoric Museum
451 East 400 North
Price, 84501
Focuses on Anasazi and Fremont cultures.

Utah Museum of Natural History
University of Utah
Salt Lake City, 84112
Regional, Great Basin, and Southwestern materials.

Virginia
Pamunkey Indian Museum
(mailing address: P.O. Box 2050)
King William, 23086
Contemporary and prehistoric art and artifacts.

Mattaponi Museum
West Point, 23181
Important collection of archaeological materials.

Jamestown Settlement
(mail address: P.O. Box JF)
Williamsburg, 23187
Reconstruction of Indian village and Powhatan’s lodge.

Witte Memorial Museum
3801 Broadway
San Antonio, 78209

Washington
Makah Cultural and Research Center
(mail address: P.O. Box 160)
Neah Bay, 98257
Features remains from the Ozette site, a Late Period pre-contact Makah village buried and preserved in a mudslide. Magnificent Northwest Coast Tradition assemblage of 60,000 artifacts.

The Burke Museum
University of Washington, DB-10
Seattle, 98195
Northwest Coast and Pacific Rim collections.

Seattle Art Museum
100 University Street
(mailing address: P.O. Box 22000)
Seattle, 98122-9700
Excellent collection of Northwest Coast art.

Yakima Nation Cultural Heritage Center
Toppenish, 98948

West Virginia
Grave Creek Mound State Park
Moundsville, 26041
Largest mound produced by the Adena ceremonial complex, which flourished around 500 B.C.E. to 100 C.E.

Wisconsin
Logan Museum of Anthropology
700 College Street
Beloit College
Beloit, 53511-5595
Physical and cultural
anthropological materials from the Great Lakes, Plains, and Southwest culture areas.

**Neville Public Museum**
129 South Jefferson Street
Green Bay, 54301
Archaic Period materials from the Old Copper and Red Ochre cultures.

**Lac du Flambeau Chippewa Museum**
(mailing address: P.O. Box 804)
Lac du Flambeau, 54538
Eighteenth century dugout canoe, artifacts, and seasonal activities displays.

**Milwaukee Public Museum**
800 West Wells Street
Milwaukee, 53233
Collections cover North America. A 125,000-volume library.

**Wyoming**
**Anthropology Museum**
University of Wyoming
Laramie, 82071

**Museums in Canada**

**Alberta**
**Glenbow Museum**
130 Ninth Avenue, S.E.
Calgary, AB T2G 0P3

**Provincial Museum of Alberta**
12845 102nd Avenue
Edmonton, AB T5N 0M6
Regional materials; Inuit; northern Plains.

**British Columbia**
**Campbell River Museum**
1235 Island Highway
Campbell Island, BC V9W 2C7
Arts of the Indian groups of northern Vancouver Island.

**’Ksan Indian Village**
(mailing address: P.O. Box 326)
Hazelton, BC B0J 1Y0
A center for the display, preservation, and promotion of Gitksan arts and crafts skills. Seven traditional buildings.

**Museum of Northern British Columbia**
(mailing address: P.O. Box 669)
Prince Rupert, BC V8J 3S1
Northwest Coast artifacts. Promotes contemporary carving and craft skills.

**Museum of Anthropology**
University of British Columbia
Vancouver, BC V6T 1Z1
Major Northwest Coast collections. Center for promotion of traditional arts and customs.

**Royal British Columbia Museum**
675 Belleville Street
Victoria, BC V8V 1X4
Traditional Kwakiutl dance houses; Thunderbird Park totem pole exhibits; art demonstrations.

**Manitoba**
**Eskimo Museum**
La Verendrye Street
(mailing address: P.O. Box 10)
Churchill, MB R0B 0E0
Inuit materials include kayaks dating back 3,000 years. Also, Subarctic materials from Chippewa and Cree cultures.

**Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature**
190 Rupert Avenue
Winnipeg, MB R3B 0N2

**New Brunswick**
**New Brunswick Museum**
277 Douglas Avenue
Saint John, NB E2K 1E5
Regional and pre-Algonquian artifacts.

**Newfoundland**
**Newfoundland Museum**
285 Duckworth Street
St. John’s, NF A1C 1G9
Exhibits cover the six major tribal
groups of Labrador and Newfoundland.

**NORTHWEST TERRITORIES**

**Northern Life Museum**
110 King Street
Fort Smith, NT X0E 0P0
Artic and Subarctic tools and artifacts.

**Dene Cultural Institute**
(mailing address: P.O. Box 207)
Yellowknife, NT X1A 2N2

**NOVA SCOTIA**

**Nova Scotia Museum**
1747 Summer Street
Halifax, NS B3H 3A6
Artifacts of the Micmac.

**ONTARIO**

**North American Indian Travel College**
The Living Museum
RR 3
Cornwall Island, ON K6H 5R7

**Museum of Indian Archaeology and Lawson Prehistoric Village**
1600 Attawandaron Road
London, ON N6G 3M6
Exhibits cover five phases of culture dating back to Paleo-Indian times. On-site excavation.

**Thunder Bay Art Gallery**
1080 Keewatin Street
(mailing address: P.O. Box 1193)
Thunder Bay, ON P7C 4X9
Traditional items as well as contemporary art.

**Royal Ontario Museum**
100 Queen’s Park Crescent
Toronto, ON M5S 2C6
Ontario prehistory.

**PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND**

**Micmac Indian Village**
(mailing address: P.O. Box 51)
Cornwall, PEI C0A 1H0

**QUEBEC**

**Canadian Museum of Civilization**
100 Laurier Street
Hull, PQ J8X 4H2
Spectacular collection of national cultural materials.

**McCord Museum**
McGill University
690 Sherbrook Street W.
Montreal, PQ H3A 1E9

**Abenakis Museum**
Route 226
Odanak, PQ J0G 1H0
Displays reflect tribal traditions and lore.

**SASKATCHEWAN**

**Regina Plains Museum**
1801 Scarth Street
Regina, SK S4P 2G9
Metis history and the Riel Rebellions are covered in addition to Plains material.

**Saskatchewan Museum of Natural History**
Wascana Park
Regina, SK S4P 3V7
Native Peoples Gallery focusing on Subarctic tribes.

**YUKON TERRITORY**

**MacBride Museum**
(mailing address: P.O. Box 4037)
Whitehorse, YT Y1A 3S9
Artifacts of the Yukon region.

**LIBRARIES AND ARCHIVES IN THE UNITED STATES**

**ALABAMA**

**Alabama Department of Archives and History**
624 Washington Avenue
Montgomery, 36130

**ARIZONA**

**Smoki People Library**
P.O. Box 123
Prescott, 86302
Library of 600 volumes covers North and South American Indian ceremonials and dances.

**Tohono Chul Park, Inc.**
7366 North Paseo del Norte
Tucson, 85704
Nature center, ethnic art exhibitions, and 800-volume library on Southwest culture and environment.

**Western Archaeological and Conservation Center**
1415 North Sixth Avenue
Tucson, 85705
Focus on Southwest prehistory and ethnography: 17,000-volume library, 100 periodicals, and 160,000-item photo archive.

**Navajo Nation Library System**
Drawer K
Window Rock, 86515
Collection has 23,000 books, 1,000 manuscripts, and films and tapes. Files of the *Navajo Times*. Two libraries in Window Rock and one in Navajo, New Mexico.

**Arkansas**

**Southwest Arkansas Regional Archives (SARA)**
P.O. Box 134
Washington, 71862
History of Caddo Indians and Southwest Arkansas.

**California**

**Malki Museum Archives**
11-795 Fields Road
Banning, 92220
Oral history project tapes; field notes of J. P. Harrington and others; manuscript and photo archives.

**Native American Studies Library**
University of California at Berkeley
103 Wheeler
Berkeley, 94720

Reports of the Bureau of Indian Affairs; Indian Claims Commission materials; special California Indian collection; extensive holdings.

**American Indian Resource Center**
Public Library of Los Angeles County
6518 Miles Avenue
Huntington Park, 90255
Special collections on Indians of North America; 9,000 volumes.

**Rupert Costo Library**
UCR Library Special Collections
University of California at Riverside
Riverside, 92517
The 15,000-volume collection is countrywide in scope with a California concentration. Houses the American Indian Historical Society Archives, donated by the Costos. Manuscripts, field notes, and 300 books cover the customs and medicines of the Chinantec Indians of Oaxaca.

**Scientific Library**
San Diego Museum of Man
Balboa Park
1350 El Prado
San Diego, 92101
Wide coverage of the Americas, including physical anthropology, archaeology, and ethnology.

**Colorado**

**National Indian Law Library**
Native American Rights Fund
1522 Broadway
Boulder, 80302-6296
Documents, periodicals, and books on U.S.-Indian relations and law.

**Taylor Museum Reference Library**
Colorado Springs Fine Arts Center
30 West Dale Street
Colorado Springs, 80903
Art of the Southwest; Hispanic and colonial folk art. Collection houses 30,000 volumes; extensive biographies of folk artists.
Koshare Indian Museum, Inc.
115 West 18th Street
La Junta, 81050
The 10,000-volume Special Koshare Collection focuses on Native America and Western United States.

Ute Mountain Tribal Research Archive and Library
Tribal Compound
(mailing address: P.O. Box CC)
Towaoc, 81334
Includes 2,500 books as well as 30,000 archival items, including tribal government documents.

CONNECTICUT
Mashantucket Pequot Research Library
Indiantown Road
Ledyard, 06339

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
American Folklife Center
U.S. Library of Congress
Thomas Jefferson Building -G152
Washington, DC 20540
Biggest collection of early Indian recordings, including the Frances Densmore Collection of 3,600 cylinders and the Helen Heffron Roberts Collection from the Northwest Coast and California.

National Anthropological Archives
Natural History Museum MRC 152
10th and Constitution Avenue
Washington, DC 20560
Extensive collections of recordings, photographs, field notes, and manuscripts of the Bureau of Ethnology.

Natural Resources Library
U.S. Department of the Interior
Mail Stop 1151
18th and C Streets, N.W.
Washington, DC 20240
More than 600,000 volumes and extensive periodicals and archival items, including materials on American Indians.

GEORGIA
Hargrett Rare Books and Manuscript Library
University of Georgia
Athens, 30602

ILLINOIS
Newberry Library
D’Arcy McNickle Center for the History of the American Indian
60 West Walton Street
Chicago, 60610
More than 100,000 volumes, including the E. E. Ayer Collection.

INDIANA
Lilly Library
Indiana University
Bloomington, 47405
Collection includes Indian accounts of Custer’s defeat at the Battle of the Little Bighorn.

Fulton County Historical Society Library
Route 3
(mailing address: P.O. Box 89)
Rochester, 46975
Collection houses 4,000 volumes, including coverage of Potawatomi removal to Kansas in 1838 (the Trail of Death).

KANSAS
Mennonite Library and Archives
Bethel College
300 East 27th Street
North Newton, 67117-9989
Includes 26,000 books. Petter Manuscript Collection on the Cheyenne; H. R. Voth Manuscript and Photo Collection on the Hopi.

Mid-America All Indian Center Library
650 North Seneca
Wichita, 67203
Includes 3,000 books and 200 bound periodical volumes on Indian art, history, and culture. Blackbear Bosin
Museums, Archives, and Libraries

Collection of publications and personal papers.

**LOUISIANA**

**Grindstone Bluff Museum Library**
(mailing address) P.O. Box 7965
Shreveport, 71107
Contains 6,000 books and 2,000 periodical volumes on regional archaeology and ethnology; emphasis on Caddo Indians.

**MASSACHUSETTS**

**Fruitlands Museums and Library**
102 Prospect Hill Road
Harvard, 01451

**Mashpee Archives Building**
Mashpee, 02649

**MICHIGAN**

**Custer Collection**
Monroe County Library System
Monroe, 48161
Contains 4,000 books and archival materials on Custer and the West.

**MINNESOTA**

**Minnesota Historical Society**
Division of Archives and Manuscripts
345 Kellogg Boulevard West
St. Paul, 55102-1906
Materials relating to the Ojibwa and Dakota.

**MISSOURI**

**Missouri Historical Society Library**
Jefferson Memorial Building
Forest Park
St. Louis, 63112
Northern Plains; papers of William Clark from Lewis and Clark expedition.

**MONTANA**

**Dr. John Woodenlegs Memorial Library**
Dull Knife Memorial College

**NEBRASKA**

**Native American Public Broadcasting Consortium Library**
P.O. Box 83111
Lincoln, 68501
Special Collection of Native American video programs (171 titles). Audio program “Spirits of the Present.” NAPBC quarterly newsletter. Materials available by mail.

**Nebraska State Historical Society Library**
P.O. Box 82554
Lincoln, 68501
Anderson Collection of Brule Sioux photographs. Library has 70,000 volumes.

**Joslyn Art Museum**
Art Reference Library
2200 Dodge Street
Omaha, 68102
Native American art covered in collection of 25,000 volumes, 3,000 bound periodicals, and 20,000 slides.

**NEW JERSEY**

**Firestone Library Collections of Western Americana**
Princeton University
Princeton, 08544

**NEW MEXICO**

**Mary Cabot Wheelwright Research Library**
704 Camino Lejo
Santa Fe, 87502
Contains 10,000 volumes; archives on Navajo religion and sandpainting.

**Museum of New Mexico Photo Archives**
P.O. Box 2087
Santa Fe, 87504

American Indian Tribes

P.O. Box 98
Lame Deer, 59043-0098
Cheyenne history; oral history collection. Contains 10,000 volumes.

**NEW JERSEY**

**Firestone Library Collections of Western Americana**
Princeton University
Princeton, 08544
Millicent Rogers Museum Library  
P. O. Box A  
Taos, 87571  
Registry of New Mexico Hispanic artists, including a number of Indian artists.

New York
Museum of the American Indian Library  
9 Westchester Square  
Bronx, 10461  
Contains 40,000 volumes; archives.

Akwesasne Library  
Route 37-RR 1  
(mail address: P. O. Box 14-C)  
Hogansburg, 13655

Iroquois Indian Museum Library  
P. O. Box 9  
Bowes Cave, 12042-0009  
Contains 1,500 volumes; 500 archival items; exhibition catalogs.

Seneca Nation Library  
 Allegany Branch  
P. O. Box 231  
Salamanca, 14779  
Cattaraugus Branch  
Irving, 14981

North Carolina
State Archives  
109 East Jones Street  
Raleigh, 27601-2807

Ohio
Ohio Historical Society Archives and Library  
1982 Velma Avenue  
Columbus, 43211

Oklahoma
Chickasaw Nation Library  
Arlington and Mississippi Streets  
Ada, 74830

Oklahoma Historical Society Archives and Manuscript Division  
2100 North Lincoln Boulevard  
Oklahoma City, 73105

Pennsylvania
Free Library of Philadelphia  
Logan Square  
Philadelphia, 19103

University Museum Library  
33rd and Spruce Streets  
University of Pennsylvania  
Philadelphia, 19104  
Brinton Collection on Indian linguistics; Delaware materials.

South Dakota
Center for Western Studies  
Augustana College  
P. O. Box 727  
Sioux Falls, 57197  
Great Plains history. Collection has 30,000 volumes, 1,500 linear feet of manuscripts.

Texas
Fikes Hall of Special Collections  
DeGolyer Library  
Southern Methodist University  
Dallas, 75275

National Archives  
Southwest Region  
501 Felix at Hemphill, Building 1  
P. O. Box 6216  
Fort Worth, 76115  
Bureau of Indian Affairs records for Oklahoma.
Utah
Ute Tribal Museum, Library, and Audio-Visual Center
Fort Duchesne, 84026

Washington
Jamestown Klallam Library
Blyn, 98382
Special Collections
University of Washington
Seattle, 98195

West Virginia
ERIC Clearinghouse on Rural Education and Small Schools (CRESS)
Library
1031 Quarry Street
(Charleston, 25325)
Microfiche containing 300,000 documents. Indian/Hispanic issues.

Wisconsin
Hoard Historical Museum Library
407 Merchant Avenue
Fort Atkinson, 53538
Rare Black Hawk War materials.

Fairlawn Historical Museum
Harvard View Parkway
Superior, 54880
George Catlin lithographs; David F. Berry Collection of Indian photographs and portraits.

Wyoming
McCracken Research Library
Buffalo Bill Historical Center
P.O. Box 1000
Cody, 82414

Libraries and Archives in Canada

Alberta
Canadian Circumpolar Library
University of Alberta
Edmonton, AB T6G 2J8

University of Lethbridge Library
Special Collections
4401 University Drive
Lethbridge, AB T1K 3M4
Native American studies; English literature; education.

British Columbia
Alert Bay Library and Museum
199 Fir Street
Alert Bay, BC B0N 1A0

Kamloops Museum and Archives
207 Seymour Street
Kamloops, BC V2C 2E7
Interior Salish and Shuswap material.

University of British Columbia Library
1956 Main Hall
Vancouver, BC V6T 1Z1

Manitoba
Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development
Regional Library
275 Portage Avenue
Winnipeg, MB R3B 3A3

People's Library
Manitoba Indian Cultural Education Centre
119 Sutherland Avenue
Winnipeg, MB R2W 3C9

New Brunswick
Education Resource Centre
University of New Brunswick
D’Avray Hall
P.O. Box 7500
Fredericton, NB E3B 5H5

Northwest Territories
Thebacha Campus Library
Arctic College
Fort Smith, NT X0E 0P0

Nova Scotia
Nova Scotia Human Rights Commission Library
P. O. Box 2221
Halifax, NS B3J 3C4
Rights of indigenous peoples, women, and others; 4,000 books.

**Ontario**

Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development
Departmental Library
Ottawa, ON K1A 0H4

University of Sudbury Library and Jesuit Archives
Sudbury, ON P3E 2C6

**Quebec**

Canadian Museum of Civilization Library
100 Laurier Street
Hull, PQ J8X 4H2

**Saskatchewan**

Gabriel Dumont Institute of Native Studies and Applied Research Library
121 Broadway
Regina, SK S4N 0Z6
Indian History archives; 30,000 volumes.

Indian Federated College Library
University of Regina
Regina, SK S4S 0A2
Collection has 15,000 volumes.
Branch library of 4,000 volumes on Saskatoon Campus.

Saskatchewan Provincial Library
1352 Winnipeg Street
Regina, SK S4P 3V7
Has a 4,000-volume Indian collection. Strong in languages.
ORGANIZATIONS, AGENCIES, AND SOCIETIES

All Indian Pueblo Council
Founded: 1958
P.O. Box 3256
Albuquerque, NM 87190

American Indian Council of Architects and Engineers
Founded: 1976
P.O. Box 230685
Tigard, OR 97223

American Indian Culture Research Center
Founded: 1967
Box 98
Blue Cloud Abbey
Marvin, SD 57251

American Indian Graduate Center
Founded: 1969
4520 Montgomery Boulevard NE
Ste. 1-B
Albuquerque, NM 87109

American Indian Health Care Association
Founded: 1975
245 E. 6th Street
Ste. 499
St. Paul, MN 55101

American Indian Heritage Foundation
Founded: 1973
6051 Arlington Boulevard
Falls Church, VA 22044

American Indian Higher Education Consortium
Founded: 1972
513 Capitol Court NE
Ste. 100
Washington, DC 20002

American Indian Horse Registry
Founded: 1961
Route 3, Box 64
Lockhart, TX 78644

American Indian Liberation Crusade
Founded: 1952
4009 S. Halldale Avenue
Los Angeles, CA 90062

American Indian Library Association
Founded: 1979
50 E. Huron Street
Chicago, IL 60611

American Indian Lore Association
Founded: 1957
960 Walhonding Avenue
Logan, OH 43138

American Indian Movement (AIM)
Founded: 1968
710 Clayton Street
Apartment 1
San Francisco, CA 94117

American Indian Registry for the Performing Arts
Founded: 1983
1717 N. Highland Avenue
Ste. 614
Los Angeles, CA 90028

American Indian Research and Development
Founded: 1982
2424 Springer Drive
Ste. 200
Norman, OK 73069

American Indian Science and Engineering Society
Founded: 1977
1630 30th Street
Ste. 301
Boulder, CO 80301

Americans for Indian Opportunity
Founded: 1970
3508 Garfield Street NW
Washington, DC 20007
American Indian Tribes

Arrow, Incorporated (Americans for Restitution and Righting of Old Wrongs)
Founded: 1949
1000 Connecticut Avenue NW
Ste. 1206
Washington, DC 20036

Associated Community of Friends on Indian Affairs
Founded: 1869
Box 1661
Richmond, IN 47375

Association of American Indian Physicians
Founded: 1971
Building D
10015 S. Pennsylvania
Oklahoma City, OK 73159

Association of Community Tribal Schools
Founded: 1982
c/o Dr. Roger Bordeaux
616 4th Avenue W
Sisseton, SD 57262-1349

Association on American Indian Affairs
Founded: 1923
245 5th Avenue
New York, NY 10016

Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions
Founded: 1874
2021 H Street NW
Washington, DC 20006

Cherokee National Historical Society
Founded: 1963
P.O. Box 515
Tahlequah, OK 74465

Coalition for Indian Education
Founded: 1987
3620 Wyoming Boulevard NE
Ste. 206
Albuquerque, NM 87111

Concerned American Indian Parents
Founded: 1987
CUHCC Clinic
2016 16th Avenue S
Minneapolis, MN 55404

Continental Confederation of Adopted Indians
Founded: 1950
960 Walhonding Avenue
Logan, OH 43138

Council for Indian Education
Founded: 1970
517 Rimrock Road
Billings, MT 59102

Council for Native American Indians
Founded: 1974
280 Broadway
Ste. 316
New York, NY 10007

Council of Energy Resource Tribes (CERT)
Founded: 1975
1999 Broadway
Ste. 2600
Denver, CO 80202

Crazy Horse Memorial Foundation
Founded: 1948
The Black Hills
Avenue of the Chiefs
Crazy Horse, SD 57730

Creek Indian Memorial Association
Founded: 1923
Creek County House Museum
Town Square
Okmulgee, OK 74447

Dakota Women of All Red Nations (DWARN)
Founded: 1978
c/o Lorelei DeCora
P.O. Box 423
Rosebud, SD 57570

First Nations Development Institute
Founded: 1980
69 Kelley Road
Falmouth, VA 22405

Gathering of Nations
Founded: 1984
P.O. Box 75102
Sta. 14
Albuquerque, NM 87120-1269

Indian Arts and Crafts Association
Founded: 1974
122 La Veta Drive NE
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organizations, Agencies, and Societies</th>
<th>American Indian Tribes</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Henry Street</td>
<td>710 Clayton Street</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Box 2302</td>
<td>Number 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morristown, TN 37816</td>
<td>San Francisco, CA 94117</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Indian Heritage Council**
- Founded: 1988
- Henry Street
- Box 2302
- Morristown, TN 37816

**Indian Law Resource Center**
- Founded: 1978
- 508 Stuart Street
- Helena, MT 59601

**Indian Rights Association**
- Founded: 1882
- 1801 Market Street
- Philadelphia, PA 19103-1675

**Indian Youth of America**
- Founded: 1978
- 609 Badgerow Building
- Sioux City, IA 51101

**Institute for American Indian Studies**
- Founded: 1971
- 38 Curtis Road
- P.O. Box 1260
- Washington, CT 06793-0260

**Institute for the Development of Indian Law**
- Founded: 1971
- c/o K. Kirke Kickingbird
- Oklahoma City University
- School of Law
- 2501 Blackwelder
- Oklahoma City, OK 73106

**Institute for the Study of American Cultures**
- Founded: 1983
- The Rankin
- 1004 Broadway
- Columbus, GA 31901

**Institute for the Study of Traditional American Indian Arts**
- Founded: 1982
- P.O. Box 66124
- Portland, OR 97290

**Institute of American Indian Arts**
- Founded: 1962
- P.O. Box 20007
- Santa Fe, NM 87504

**Institute of American Indian Arts**
- Founded: 1962
- P.O. Box 20007
- Santa Fe, NM 87504

**National American Indian Court Clerks Association**
- Founded: 1990
- 800 Connecticut Avenue NW
- Ste. 1206
- Washington, DC 20036

**National American Indian Court Judges Association**
- Founded: 1968
- 800 Connecticut Avenue NW
- Ste. 1206
- Washington, DC 20036

**National American Indian Court**
- Founded: 1944
- 900 Pennsylvania Avenue SE
- Washington, DC 20003

**National Center for American Indian Enterprise Development**
- Founded: 1969
- 953 E. Juanita Avenue
- Mesa, AZ 85204

**National Congress of American Indians**
- Founded: 1944
- 900 Pennsylvania Avenue SE
- Washington, DC 20003

**National Council of BIA Educators**
- Founded: 1967
- 6001 Marble NE
- Ste. 10
- Albuquerque, NM 87110

**National Indian Council on Aging**
- Founded: 1976
- 6400 Uptown Boulevard NE
- City Centre
- Ste. 510-W
- Albuquerque, NM 87110
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization Name</th>
<th>Founded Year</th>
<th>Address</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National Indian Counselors Association</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>Learning Research Center Institute of American Indian Arts P. O. Box 20007 Santa Fe, NM 87504</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Indian Education Association</td>
<td>1970</td>
<td>1819 H Street NW Ste. 800 Washington, DC 20006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Indian Health Board</td>
<td>1969</td>
<td>1385 S. Colorado Boulevard Ste. A-708 Denver, CO 80222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Indian Social Workers Association</td>
<td>1970</td>
<td>410 NW 18th Street Number 101 Portland, OR 97209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Indian Training and Research Center</td>
<td>1969</td>
<td>2121 S. Mill Avenue Tempe, AZ 85282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Indian Youth Council</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>318 Elm Street SE Albuquerque, NM 87102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Native American Cooperative</td>
<td>1969</td>
<td>P. O. Box 1030 San Carlos, AZ 85550-1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Urban Indian Council</td>
<td>1977</td>
<td>10068 University Station Denver, CO 80210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native American (Indian) Chamber of Commerce</td>
<td>1990</td>
<td>c/o Native American Cooperative P. O. Box 1000 San Carlos, AZ 85550-1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native American Community Board</td>
<td>1984</td>
<td>P. O. Box 572 Lake Andes, SD 57356-0572</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native American Educational Services College</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>2830 West Peterson Chicago, IL 60659</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native American Indian Housing Council</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>700 2nd Street NE Ste. 220 Washington, DC 20002</td>
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<tr>
<td>Native American Policy Network</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>11300 2nd Avenue NE Miami, FL 33161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native American Rights Fund (NARF)</td>
<td>1970</td>
<td>1506 Broadway Boulder, CO 80302</td>
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<tr>
<td>North American Indian Association</td>
<td>1940</td>
<td>22720 Plymouth Road Detroit, MI 48239</td>
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<tr>
<td>North American Indian Chamber of Commerce</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>P. O. Box 5000 San Carlos, AZ 85550-1000</td>
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<tr>
<td>North American Indian Museums Association</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>c/o George Abrams 260 Prospect Street Number 669 Hackensack, NJ 07601-2608</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North American Indian Women’s Association</td>
<td>1970</td>
<td>9602 Maestor’s Lane Gaithersburg, MD 20879</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North American Native American Indian Information and Trade Center</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Organizations, Agencies, and Societies

American Indian Tribes

Founded: 1991
P.O. Box 1000
San Carlos, AZ 85550-1000

**Order of the Indian Wars**
Founded: 1979
P.O. Box 7401
Little Rock, AR 72217

**Pan-American Indian Association**
Founded: 1984
P.O. Box 244
Nocatee, FL 33864

**Seventh Generation Fund for Indian Development**
Founded: 1977
P.O. Box 10
Forestville, CA 95436

**Smoki People**
Founded: 1921
P.O. Box 123
Prescott, AZ 86302

**Survival of American Indians Association**
Founded: 1964
7803-A Samurai Drive SE
Olympia, WA 98503

**Tekakwitha Conference National Center**
Founded: 1939
P.O. Box 6768
Great Falls, MT 59406-6768

**Tiyospaya American Indian Student Organization**
Founded: 1986
P.O. Box 1954
St. Petersburg, FL 33731

**United Indians of All Tribes Foundation**
Founded: 1970
Daybreak Star Arts Center
Discovery Park
P.O. Box 99100
Seattle, WA 98199

**United Native Americans**
Founded: 1968
2434 Faria Avenue
Pinole, CA 94564

**United South and Eastern Tribes**
Founded: 1969
1101 Kermit Drive
Ste. 302
Nashville, TN 37217
# POPULATIONS OF U.S. RESERVATIONS

Alphabetical listing of U.S. reservations and populations; population figures are rounded off.

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- **American Indian Tribes**

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## Populations of U.S. Reservations

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*Note:* Some reservations are not listed because they contain no “in residence” population.
RESERVATIONS: UNITED STATES


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## Reservations: United States

**American Indian Tribes**

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602
American Indian Tribes

Smith River Rancheria
Soboba Indian
Stewarts Point Rancheria
Sulphur Bank Rancheria
Susanville Rancheria
Sycuan
Table Bluff
Table Mountain Rancheria
Timbisha Shoshone
Torres-Martinez
Trinidad Rancheria
Tule River
Tuolumne Me-Wuk Rancheria
Twenty-Nine Palms
Upper Lake Rancheria
Viejas (Baron Long)
Winnemucca Indian Colony
Woodfords Community
Yurok Indian

COLORADO
Southern Ute
Ute Mountain

CONNECTICUT
Eastern Pequot
Golden Hill
Mashantucket Pequot
Schaghticoke Indian

FLORIDA
Big Cypress
Brighton
Miccosukee
Seminole

IDAHO
Coeur d’Alene
Duck Valley
Fort Hall
Kootenai
Nez Perce
Northwestern Band of Shoshone
Nation
Summit Lake

Reservations: United States

IOWA
Omaha
Sac and Fox
Winnebago

KANSAS
Iowa
Kickapoo
Prairie Potawatomi
Sac and Fox Tribe of the Missouri

LOUISIANA
Chitimacha
Coushatta
Houma Indian Communities
Tunica-Biloxi Indian

MAINE
Houlton (Maliseet Band)
Indian Township
Penobscot
Pleasant Point

MASSACHUSETTS
Grand Traverse
Hannahville Indian Community
Isabella
Lac Vieux Desert Band of Chippewa
Indians
L’Anse (Keweenaw Bay)
Michigan Bay Mills
Sault Ste. Marie Tribe of Chippewa
Indians
Wampanoag

MINNESOTA
Fond du Lac
Grand Portage (Pigeon River)
Leech Lake
Lower Sioux Indian Community
Mille Lacs
Nett Lake (Bois Fort)
Prairie Island
Red Lake
Shakopee Sioux Community
Upper Sioux Indian Community
White Earth

MISSISSIPPI
Mississippi Choctaw

MISSOURI
Eastern Shawnee

MONTANA
Blackfeet
Crow Indian
Flathead
Fort Belknap
Fort Peck
Northern Cheyenne
Rocky Boy

NEBRASKA
Iowa
Omaha
Pine Ridge
Sac and Fox Tribe of the Missouri
Santee Sioux
Winnebago

NEVADA
Battle Mountain
Carson Indian Colony
Dresslerville Indian Colony
Duck Valley
Duckwater
Elko Indian Colony
Ely Indian Colony
Fallon Reservation and Colony
Fort McDermitt
Fort Mohave
Las Vegas Indian Colony
Loveland Indian Colony
Moapa River Indian
Pyramid Lake
Reno-Sparks Indian Colony

Ruby Valley (Te-Moak)
South Fort Indian Colony
Summit Lake
Walker River
Washoe
Wells Indian Colony
Yerrington Indian Colony
Yomba

NEW MEXICO
Acoma Pueblo
Aneth
Baca
Becenti
Beclabito
Bread Springs
Burnham
Canonicito
Casamero Lake
Cheechilegeetho
Church Rock
Cochiti Pueblo
Crownpoint
Crystal River
Dalton Pass
Fort Defiance
Huerfano
Isleta Pueblo
Jemez Pueblo
Jicarilla Apache
Laguna Pueblo
Lake Valley
Little Water
Manuelito
Mariano
Mescalero Apache
Mexican Water
Nageezi
Nambe Pueblo
Nenahnezad
Ojo Encino
Pajoaque Pueblo
Picuris Pueblo
Pinedale
Pueblo Plantiado
Puertecito (Alamo)
Ramah Navajo
American Indian Tribes

Reservations: United States

NORTH CAROLINA

Cherokee

NORTH DAKOTA

Devil’s Lake Sioux
Fort Berthold
Ojibwa of the Red River
Standing Rock
Turtle Mountain

OKLAHOMA

Absentee-Shawnee Tribe
Alabama-Quassarte Tribe Town
Apache Tribe of Oklahoma
Caddo Indian Tribe
Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma
Cheyenne-Arapaho Tribe
Chickasaw Nation of Oklahoma
Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma
Citizen Band Potawatomi Tribe
Comanche Indian Tribe of Oklahoma
Creek Nation of Oklahoma
Delaware Tribe of Western Oklahoma
Eastern Shawnee Tribe of Oklahoma
Fort Sill Apache Tribe of Oklahoma
Iowa Tribe of Oklahoma
Kaw Tribe of Oklahoma
Kialegee Tribal Town
Kickapoo Tribe of Oklahoma
Kiowa Tribe of Oklahoma
Miami Tribe of Oklahoma
Modoc Tribe of Oklahoma
Osage Tribe of Oklahoma
Otoe-Missouria Tribe of Oklahoma
Pawnee Indian Tribe of Oklahoma
Peoria Tribe of Oklahoma
Ponca Tribe of Oklahoma
Quapaw Tribe of Oklahoma
Sac and Fox Tribe of Oklahoma
Seminole Nation of Oklahoma
Seneca-Cayuga Tribe of Oklahoma
Tklopthlcco Tribe of Oklahoma
Tonkawa Tribe of Oklahoma
United Keetoowah of Oklahoma
Wichita Tribe of Oklahoma
Wyandotte Tribe of Oklahoma

NEW YORK

Abenaki Indian Village
Allegheny
Cattaraugus
Cayuga Nation
Oil Spring
Oneida
Onondaga
Poospatuck
St. Regis Mohawk Indian
Seneca Nation
Shinnecock
Tonawanda
Tuscarora

605
OREGON
Burns Paiute Indian Colony
Confederated Tribes of Coos, Lower Umpqua, and Siuslaw Indians
Coquille Indian Tribe
Cow Creek Band of Umpqua Indians
Fort McDermitt Reservation
Grand Ronde Indian Community
Klamath
Siletz
Umatilla
Warm Springs

RHODE ISLAND
Narragansett Indian

SOUTH DAKOTA
Cheyenne River
Crow Creek
Flandreau Santee Sioux
Lower Brule
Pine Ridge
Rosebud
Sisseton-Wahpeton
Standing Rock
Yankton Sioux

UTAH
Chilchinbeto
Dennehotso
Goshute
Kayenta
Mexican Water
Navajo Mountain
Oljato
Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah
Red Mesa
Shonto
Skull Valley Indian Community
Teec Nos Pos
Uintah and Ouray
Ute Mountain
Washakie

VIRGINIA
Cherokee Tribe of Virginia
Pamunkey Indian

WASHINGTON
Chehalis
Colville
HOH
Jamestown S’kallam
Kalispel
Lower elwha Klallam
Lummi
Makah
Muckleshoot
Nisqually Indian
Nooksack
Port Gamble Indian Community
Port Madison
Puyallup
Quileute
Quinault
Sauk-Suiattle Indian
Shoalwater Bay
Skokomish Indian
Spokane
Squaxin Island
Stillican
Swinomish
Tulalip
Upper Skagit Indian
Yakima

WISCONSIN
Bad River
Forest County Potawatomi Community
Lac Courte Oreilles
Lac du Flambeau
Menominee
Oneida
Red Cliff
Sokaogon Chippewa Community
Stockbridge-Munsee Community
Winnebago

WYOMING
Wind River
RESERVES AND BANDS: CANADA

A listing by province and territory of Canadian reserves and bands. List represents 1991 data.

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Columbia Lake  Kwakiutl
Comox  Kwa-Kwa-A-Pilt
Cook's Ferry  Kwa-Wa-Aineuk
Coquitlam  Kwiakah
Cowichan  Kwicksutaineuk-Ah-Kwaw-Ah-Mish
Cowichan Lake  Kyuquot
Dease  Lakahahmen
Dease River  Lakalzap
Ditidaht  Lake Babine
Doig River  Langley
Douglas  Lax-Kw-Alaams
Ehattesaht  Lilooet
Esquimalt  Little Shuswap
Fort George  Lower Kootenay
Fort Nelson  Lower Nicola
Fort Ware  Lower Similkameen
Fountain Indian  Lyackson
Gitanmaax  Lytton
Gitanyow (Kitwancool)  McLeod Lake
Gitlakdamix  Malahat
Gitsegukla  Mamaleleqala Qwe-qwa’sot’eno
Gitwangak  Masset
Gitwinkshilkw  Matsqui
Glen Vowell  Metlakatla
Gwa’sala-’Nakwaxda’zw  Moricetown
Hagwilget  Mount Currie
Halalt  Mowachaht
Halfway River  Musqueam
Hartley Bay  Nadleh Whuten
Heiltsuk  Nak’azdli
Hesquiaht  Nak’azdli
High Bar  Nanoose First Nation
Homalco  Nazko
Ingenika  Nee-Tahi-Buhn
Iskut  Nemaiah Valley
Kamloops  Neskonlith
Kanaka Bar  Nicomen
Katzie  Nimpkish
Kincilith  Nooaitch
Kispiox  North Thompson
Kitamaat  Nuchatlaht
Kitasoo  Ohamil
Kitsumkalum  Ohiaht
Kittkatla  Okanagan
Kittselas  Opetchesaht
Kitwancool  Oregon Jack Creek
Klahoose  Osoyoos
Kluski  Oweekeno
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<th>American Indian Tribes</th>
<th>Reserves and Bands: Canada</th>
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<td>Taku River Tlingit</td>
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**MANITOBA**

- Barren Lands
- Berens River
- Birdtail Sioux
- Bloodvein
- Brokenhead
- Buffalo Point First Nation
- Chemawawin First Nation
- Churchill
- Crane River
- Cross Lake
- Dakota Ojibway
- Dakota Plains
- Dakota Tipi
- Dauphin River
- Ebb and Flow
- Fairford
- Fisher River
- Fort Alexander
- Fox Lake
- Gamblers
Garden Hill First Nation
God’s Lake
God’s River
Grand Rapids First Nation
Hollow Water
Indian Birch
Interlake Reserves
Jackhead
Keepeekowiwin
Lake Manitoba
Lake St. Martin
Little Black River
Little Grand Rapids
Little Sask
Long Plain
Mathias Colomb
Moose Lake
Nelson House
Northlands
Norway House
Oak Lake Sioux
Oxford House
Pauingassi First Nation
Peguis
Pine Creek
Poplar River First Nation
Red Sucker Lake
Rolling River
Rosequin River
Sagkeeng
St. Theresa Point
Sandy Bar
Shamattawa First Nation
Shoal River
Sioux Valley
Split Lake
Swan Lake
Valley River
War Lake
Wasagamack
Waterhen
Waywayseecappo First Nation
York Factory
Burnt Church
Edmundston
Eel Ground
Eel River
Fort Folly
Indian Island
Kingsclear
Oromocto
Pabinequ
Red Bank
St. Mary’s
Tobique
Woodstock

NEW BRUNSWICK

Big Cove
Bouctouche Micmac

NEWFOUNDLAND

First Nation Council of Davis Inlet
First Nation Council of Northwest River
Maiwpueke

NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

Aklavik
Arctic Red River
Colville Lake
Dechilao’ticouncil (Snarelake) Dene
Dene Nation
Dog Rib Rae
Fitz/Smith (Alta-N.W.T.)
Fort Franklin
Fort Good Hope
Fort Liard
Fort McPherson
Fort Norman
Fort Providence
Fort Resolution
Fort Simpson
Fort Wrigley
Hay River
Inuvik
Kakisa Lake
Lac La Martre
Lutsel K’e Dene
Nahanni Butte
Pehdzech k’i (Wrigley) Dene
Rae Lakes Dene
Rainbow Valley
American Indian Tribes

NOVA SCOTIA

Acadia
Afton
Annapolis Valley
Bear River
Chapel Island
Eskasoni
Horton
Membertou
Millbrook
Pictou Landing
Shubenacadie
Wagmatcook
Whycocomagh

ONTARIO

Albany—Sinclair Island
Albany—Village of Kashechewan
Alderville
Algonquin of Golden Lake
Aroland
Attawapiskat
Batchewana
Bearskin Lake
Beausoleil
Beaverhouse
Big Grassy
Big Island
Big Trout Lake
Brunswick House
Caldwell
Cat Lake
Chapleau Cree
Chapleau Ojibway
Chippewas of Georgina Island
Chippewas of Kettle and Stony Point
Chippewas of Nawash
Chippewas of Rama First Nation
Chippewas of Sarnia
Chippewas of Saugeen
Chippewas of the Thames
Cockburn Island
Constance Lake
Couchiching
Curve Lake
Dalles
Deer Lake
Dokis
Eabametoong First Nation
Eargle River
Flying Post
Fort Albany
Fort Severn
Fort William
Garden River First Nation
Ginoogaming First Nation
Grassy Narrows
Gull Bay
Henvey Inlet
Hornepayne
Islington
Kasabonika
Kee-Way-Win
Kingfisher Lake
Lac des Milles Lacs
Lac La Croix
Lac Seul
Lansdowne House
Long Lake No. 58
McDowell Lake
Magnetawan
Martin Falls
Matachewan
Mattagami
Michipicoten
Missanabie Cree
Mississauga
Mississaugas of New Credit
Mississaugas of Scugog
Mocrebec Indian Government
Mohawks of Akwesasne
Mohawks of Gibson
Mohawks of the Bay of Quinte
Moose Deer Point
Moose Factory
Moravian of the Thames
Munsee-Delaware Nation
Muskrat Dam
Naicatchewenin
New Post
New Slate Falls
Nibinamik
Nickikousemene
Nipigon
Nipissing First Nation
North Caribou Lake
North Spirit Lake
Northwest Angle No. 33
Northwest Angle No. 37
Ojibways of Hiawatha
Ojibways of Onegaming
Ojibways of the Pic River
Ojibways of Walpole Island
Oneidas of the Thames
Osnaburg
Pays Plat
Pic Mobert
Pikangikum
Poplar Hill
Rainy River
Rat Portage
Red Rock
Rocky Bay
Sachigo Lake
Sagamok Anishnawbek
Sand Point
Sandy Lake
Saugeen
Saugeen Nation
Seine River
Serpent River
Shawanaga
Sheguiandah
Sheshugwanning
Shoal Lake No. 39
Shoal Lake No. 40
Six Nations of the Grand River
Stangecoming
Sucker Creek
Temagami
Thessalon
Wabauskang
Wabigoon Lake Ojibway Nation
Wahgoshig
Wahnapitae
Walpole Island
Wapekeka
Wasauksing (Parry Island)
Washagmis Bay
Wauzhushik Onigum
Wawakapewin
Webequie
Weenusk
West Bay
Whitefish Bay
Whitefish Lake
Whitefish River
Whitesand
Wikwemikong
Wunnumin

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND

Abegweit
Lennox Island

QUEBEC

Abenakis de Wolinak
Abitibiwinni (Algonquin)
Atikamekw De Manouane
Attikameks de Weymontachie
Barriere Lake (Algonquin)
Betsiamites
Chisasibi
Eastman (Cree)
Gaspe (Micmac)
Grande Lac Victoria (Algonquin)
Huronne-Wendat
Kenesatake
Kipawa (Algonquin)
Kitigan Zibi Anishinabeg
Lac Simon (Algonquin)
Long Point (Algonquin)
Micmacs of Gesgapegiag
Mingan
Mistassini
Mohawks of Kahnawake
Montagnais de la Romaine
Montagnais de les Escoumins
Montagnais de Natashquan
Montagnais de Pakua Shipi
Montagnais de Schefferville
Montagnais de Uashat Et Maliotenam
Montagnais du Lac St-Jean
Naskapis of Schefferville
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<th><strong>Reserves and Bands: Canada</strong></th>
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<td>Muscowpetung</td>
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<td>Reserves and Bands: Canada</td>
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## TIME LINE

*Significant events in American Indian history.*

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<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>c. 40,000-13,000 B.C.E.</td>
<td>Possible years of migration to the Americas by the ancestors of present-day Native Americans.</td>
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<tr>
<td>c. 27,000 B.C.E.</td>
<td>Estimate of when Paleo-Indians begin to migrate southward through ice-free corridors into the American interior.</td>
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<td>c. 15,000 B.C.E.</td>
<td>Clovis Period begins across native North America; centers on hunting mega-fauna, especially the woolly mammoth.</td>
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<td>c. 9,000 B.C.E.</td>
<td>Folsom Period emerges, centering on bison hunting.</td>
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<td>c. 8,000 B.C.E.</td>
<td>Plano Period replaces Folsom, representing a transitional cultural period culminating in the Archaic.</td>
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<tr>
<td>c. 6,000 B.C.E.</td>
<td>Archaic Period begins, signalling a reliance on a variety of flora and fauna. Cultural innovations such as pottery, the bow and arrow, and the domestication of plants begin to appear across North America.</td>
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<td>c. 1,000 B.C.E.</td>
<td>Agriculture appears in the Southwest; it gradually diffuses across North America. Woodland Period emerges in eastern North America.</td>
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<td>c. 1-500 C.E.</td>
<td>Complex societies flourish across North America.</td>
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<tr>
<td>c. 825-900</td>
<td>Athapaskan people, ancestors of the Navajo and Apache, invade the Southwest from the north, altering the cultural landscape of the Puebloan people.</td>
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<tr>
<td>c. 1007</td>
<td>Norsemen invade native North America along the eastern seaboard and establish a short-lived colony.</td>
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<td>1050-1250</td>
<td>Cahokia, near present-day St. Louis, is established as a great Mississippian trading and ceremonial center. The city may have contained as many as thirty thousand people.</td>
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<td>1492</td>
<td>Christopher Columbus lands on Guanahani (the island of San Salvador), launching Europe’s exploration and colonization of North America.</td>
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<td>c. 1500</td>
<td>European-introduced diseases, warfare, and slavery begin to reduce native populations (from an estimated ten to eighteen million to approximately 250,000 in 1900).</td>
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<tr>
<td>1519-1521</td>
<td>Hernán Cortés conquers the Aztec Empire.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1582-1598</td>
<td>Spanish conquistadors invade and settle in the Southwest.</td>
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<td>1585</td>
<td>Roanoke Colony is founded by the British (it lasts only until approximately 1607).</td>
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<td>1599</td>
<td>Massacre at Acoma Pueblo. Vincente de Zaldivar attacks Acoma on January 21 because of its resistance to Spanish authority; eight hundred Acomas are killed.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1607</td>
<td>British Virginia Company establishes colony of Jamestown, affecting</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>local indigenous populations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1609</td>
<td>Henry Hudson opens the fur trade in New Netherlands.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1620</td>
<td>The Pilgrims colonize present-day Massachusetts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1622-1631</td>
<td>Powhatan Confederacy declares war on the Jamestown colonists.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1629</td>
<td>The Spanish begin establishing missions among the Pueblos, leading</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>to a 1633 revolt at Zuni.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1630</td>
<td>The Puritans colonize New England, carrying with them a religious</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>belief that Native Americans are “children of the Devil.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1636-1637</td>
<td>Pequot War. The Pequot and their allies attempt to defend their</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>homelands against the Puritans.</td>
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<tr>
<td>c. 1640</td>
<td>The Dakota (Sioux), forced in part by hostilities initiated by the fur</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>trade, begin to migrate westward onto the Great Plains.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1642-1685</td>
<td>Beaver Wars. As the supply of beaver is exhausted in the Northeast,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the Iroquois Confederacy launches a war against neighboring Native</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>American nations to acquire their hunting territories.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. 1650</td>
<td>Period of widespread migrations and relocations. Prompted by the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>diffusion of the gun and the horse, and by the increasing hostility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>of Europeans, many Native Americans migrate westward.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1655</td>
<td>Timucua Rebellion. Timucuan mission residents rebel against Spanish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cruelty in Florida.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1655-1664</td>
<td>Peach Wars. The Dutch launch a war of extermination against the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Esophus nation after an Esophus woman is killed for picking peaches.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1670</td>
<td>Hudson’s Bay Company is chartered, launching a westward expansion of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the fur trade.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1670-1710</td>
<td>South Carolinians in Charleston encourage the development of a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Native American slave trade across the Southeast.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1675-1676</td>
<td>King Philip’s War. In response to English maltreatment, Metacomet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(King Philip) launches a war against the English.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1676-1677</td>
<td>Bacon’s Rebellion. Native Americans in Virginia fight a war of resist-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tance but find themselves subject to Virginia rule.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1680</td>
<td>Pueblo (Pope’s) Revolt. After decades of Spanish oppression, a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pueblo confederacy expels the Spanish from the Rio Grande region.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1682</td>
<td>Assiniboine and Cree begin to trade at York Factory, initiating Euro-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pean mercantile penetration of the Canadian west as far as the Rocky</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mountains.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1689-1763</td>
<td>French and Indian Wars. King William’s War initiates conflicts be-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>between the French and English that involve Native Americans and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>disrupt traditional patterns and alliances.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1692</td>
<td>Spanish reconquest of the Southwest (Nueva Mexico).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. 1700-1760</td>
<td>The horse differentiates across the Great Plains, prompting massive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>migrations and a cultural revolution.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1715-1717</td>
<td>Yamasee War. The Yamasee and their allies fight against the English for trading and other abuses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1729</td>
<td>Natchez Revolt. Resisting French attempts to exact tribute, the Natchez go to war; the tribe is essentially destroyed, and many are sold into slavery.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1730</td>
<td>Articles of Agreement signed between the Cherokee Nation and King George II.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1740</td>
<td>Russia explores the Alaskan coast and begins trading operations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1755</td>
<td>Some Iroquois settle near the Catholic mission of St. Regis, forming the nucleus of the Akwesasne Reserve.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1763</td>
<td>Proclamation of 1763. The Royal Proclamation of 1763 declares that Native Americans have title to all lands outside established colonies until the Crown legally purchases further land cessions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1763-1764</td>
<td>Pontiac’s War. Ottawa leader Pontiac constructs a multiracial alliance to resist the British.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1768</td>
<td>Treaty of Fort Stanwix. The Iroquois Confederacy cedes lands south of the Ohio River (a later Fort Stanwix Treaty, 1784, changes the agreement).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1769</td>
<td>The California mission system is established.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1771</td>
<td>Labrador Inuit show missionaries where to build a trading post.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1774</td>
<td>Lord Dunmore’s War. Lord Dunmore, the governor of Virginia, leads a fight against Shawnee led by Cornstalk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1774-1775</td>
<td>The first Continental Congress establishes an Indian Department.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1777-1783</td>
<td>The Iroquois Confederacy is dispersed by the American Revolution.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1787</td>
<td>Northwest Ordinance. The U.S. Congress establishes a legal mechanism to create states from territories.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1789</td>
<td>The Indian Department becomes part of the U.S. Department of War.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1790</td>
<td>First of the Trade and Intercourse Acts enacted; they attempt to regulate trade between Europeans and Native Americans.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1790-1794</td>
<td>Little Turtle’s War. Shawnee and their allies under Little Turtle defeat Anthony St. Clair’s troops in 1791 but eventually are defeated at the Battle of Fallen Timbers, 1794, by General Anthony Wayne.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1795</td>
<td>Treaty of Fort Greenville. Native Americans of the Old Northwest are forced to treat with the United States after Britain refuses to assist them in their resistance efforts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1796</td>
<td>Trading Houses Act. On April 18, 1796, the United States establishes government-operated trading houses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1799</td>
<td>Handsome Lake, the Seneca Prophet, founds the Gaiwio, “the Good Word,” also known as the Longhouse religion; it becomes a strong force among the Iroquois.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1803</td>
<td>Louisiana Purchase. The United States acquires 800,000 square miles of new territory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1804-1806</td>
<td>Lewis and Clark expedition. President Jefferson launches an expedition to collect information of national interest about Louisiana.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1809</td>
<td>Treaty of Fort Wayne. The Delaware are forced to relinquish approxi-</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mately 3 million acres.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1809-1811</td>
<td>Tecumseh’s Rebellion. Shawnee leader Tecumseh leads a multitribal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>force to resist United States incursions into their lands.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1811</td>
<td>Battle of Tippecanoe. William Henry Harrison and his forces attack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and defeat Tecumseh’s forces in Tecumseh’s absence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1812</td>
<td>War of 1812. Tribes of the Old Northwest are drawn into the Euro-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pean conflict.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1812</td>
<td>In August, the Hudson’s Bay Company establishes the Red River Colony.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1813-1814</td>
<td>Red Stick civil war. Creeks fight a bloody civil war over disagree-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ments about what their political relations with the United States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>should be.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1817-1818</td>
<td>First Seminole War. U.S. forces under General Andrew Jackson attack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and burn Seminole villages.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1821</td>
<td>Sequoyah creates the Cherokee syllabary, the first system for writing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>an Indian language.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1823</td>
<td>Johnson v. M’Intosh. On February 28, 1823, the U.S. Supreme Court</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rules that Native American tribes have land rights.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1823</td>
<td>Office of Indian Affairs is created within the War Department.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1827</td>
<td>Cherokee Nation adopts a constitution.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1830</td>
<td>Indian Removal Act. At the urging of President Andrew Jackson,</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Congress orders the removal of all Native Americans to lands</td>
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<td></td>
<td>west of the Mississippi River. Removal proceeds from the 1830’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>to the 1850’s.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1830</td>
<td>Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek. Choctaws cede more than 10 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>acres in Alabama and Mississippi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1830</td>
<td>Upper Canada establishes a system of reserves for Canadian natives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1831</td>
<td>Cherokee Nation v. Georgia. U.S. Supreme Court rules that Native</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>American tribes are “domestic dependent nations.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1832</td>
<td>Black Hawk War. Black Hawk, the Sauk and Fox leader leads a war</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>to preserve their land rights.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1832</td>
<td>Worcester v. Georgia. U.S. Supreme Court rules that only the federal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>government has the right to regulate Indian affairs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1834</td>
<td>Department of Indian Affairs is reorganized.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1835</td>
<td>Texas Rangers begin raids against the Comanche.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1835-1842</td>
<td>Second Seminole War. The Seminole resist removal to Indian Territor-</td>
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<td>y.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1838-1839</td>
<td>Forced removal of Cherokees to Indian Territory becomes a “Trail of</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tears” marked by thousands of deaths.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1839</td>
<td>Upper Canadian Judge James Buchanan submits a report suggesting</td>
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<td></td>
<td>that Canadian natives should be assimilated into larger Canadian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>society.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1839</td>
<td>Taos Revolt. Taos Pueblos struggle against U.S. domination.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848</td>
<td>Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. United States acquires southwestern</td>
</tr>
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<td>lands from Mexico.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>Metis Courthouse Rebellion. Metis resist Canadian domination.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>Period of genocide against California Indians begins and continues for some thirty years; thousands are killed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>First Treaty of Fort Laramie. Great Plains Native Americans agree to allow emigrants safe passage across their territories.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1853</td>
<td>Gadsden Purchase. U.S. government purchases portions of Arizona, California, and New Mexico from Mexico.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1854-1864</td>
<td>Teton Dakota Resistance. The Teton Dakota and their allies resist U.S. intrusions into their lands.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
<td>In the Northwest, Territorial Governor Isaac Stevens holds the Walla Walla Council and negotiates a series of treaties with Native American tribes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1855-1856</td>
<td>Yakima War. Led by Kamiakin, who refused to sign the 1855 treaty, Yakimas fight U.S. forces after the murder of a government Indian agent initiates hostilities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1855-1858</td>
<td>Third Seminole War. Seminoles react to the surveying of their lands.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1858</td>
<td>British Columbia Gold Rush precipitates large-scale invasion of Indian lands.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1858</td>
<td>Navajo War. Manuelito leads the Navajo against U.S. forces to fight against whites’ grazing their horses on Navajo lands.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>The British transfer full responsibility of Canadian Indian affairs to the Province of Canada.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>Minnesota Uprising. Little Crow carries out a war of resistance against federal authority because of ill treatment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863-1868</td>
<td>Long Walk of the Navajo. In a violent campaign, U.S. forces remove the Navajo from their homeland and take them to Bosque Redondo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td>Sand Creek Massacre. Colorado militiamen under John Chivington massacre a peaceful group of Cheyennes at Sand Creek.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866-1868</td>
<td>Bozeman Trail wars. Teton Dakota and their allies resist the building of army forts in their lands.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>U.S. government purchases Alaska.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>Canadian Confederation. The Dominion of Canada is created.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>Commission Act. Legislation calls for the U.S. president to establish commissions to negotiate peace treaties with Native American nations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>Second Treaty of Fort Laramie pledges the protection of Indian lands.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>Canadian government adopts an Indian policy aimed at the assimilation of Indians into Canadian society.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>Washita River Massacre. A peaceful Cheyenne camp is massacred by the U.S. Seventh Cavalry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>First Riel Rebellion. Louis Reil leads the Metis in resisting Canadian domination; partly triggered by white surveying of Metis lands.</td>
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<td>Date</td>
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<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>Grant’s Peace Policy. President Ulysses S. Grant assigns various Christian denominations to various Indian reservation agencies in order to Christianize and pacify the Indians.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>Congress passes an act on March 3 that ends treaty negotiations with Native American nations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>McKay v. Campbell. U.S. Supreme Court holds that Indian people born with “tribal allegiance” are not U.S. citizens.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>Canada begins negotiating the first of eleven “numbered” treaties with Native Canadians.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871-1890</td>
<td>Wholesale destruction of the bison on the Plains.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872-1873</td>
<td>Modoc War. The Modoc resist removal to the Klamath Reservation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>Canadian Northwest Mounted Police move to establish order in the Canadian West.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874-1875</td>
<td>Red River War. Forced by starvation and Indian agent corruption, Kiowa, Plains Apache, Southern Cheyenne, and Arapaho raid European American farms and ranches to feed their families.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>First Indian Act of Canada. The act consolidated Canadian policies toward its indigenous people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>Battle of the Little Bighorn. General Custer and the Seventh Cavalry are annihilated by the Sioux, Cheyenne, and Arapaho camped along the Little Bighorn River.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>The Nez Perce are exiled from their homeland and pursued by U.S. forces as they unsuccessfully attempt to escape into Canada.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>Battle of Wolf Mountain. The last fight between the Cheyenne and the U.S. Army.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877-1883</td>
<td>The Northern Cheyenne are forcibly removed to Indian Territory but escape north to their homelands.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>Bannock War. Because of settler pressures, the Bannock are forced to raid for food.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>Carlisle Indian School, a boarding school with the goal of “civilizing” Indian youth, is founded by Captain Richard H. Pratt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>Canadian officials modify the 1876 Indian Act, empowering it to impose elected councils on bands.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>Second Riel Rebellion. Louis Riel leads a second protest, then armed revolt, among the Canadian Metis and Cree; defeated, Riel is executed after the rebellion.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>General Allotment Act (Dawes Severalty Act). Provides for the dividing of reservation lands into individual parcels to expedite assimilation. (By the early twentieth century, the allotment policy is viewed as disastrous.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>Wounded Knee Massacre. The Seventh Cavalry intercepts a group of Sioux Ghost Dancers being led by Big Foot to the Pine Ridge Reservation. When a Sioux warrior, perhaps accidentally, fires his rifle, the army opens fire; hundreds of Sioux, most unarmed, are massacred.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>Education Appropriation Act mandates funding for Indian day schools and technical schools.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date</td>
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<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>Indian Liquor Act bans the sale or distribution of liquor to Native Americans.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td><em>Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock.</em> U.S. Supreme Court rules that Congress has the authority to dispose of Native American lands.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>Burke Act. Congress amends the General Allotment Act to shorten the trust period for individual Native Americans who are proven &quot;competent.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>Omnibus Act. Establishes procedures to determine Native American heirship of trust lands and other resources.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>Classification and Appraisal of Unallotted Indian Lands Act. Permits the Secretary of Interior to reappraise and reclassify unallotted Indian lands.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>General Citizenship Act. As a result of Native American participation in World War I, Congress grants some Native Americans citizenship.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>Meriam Report outlines the failure of previous Indian policies and calls for reform.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>Alberta Metis Organization is founded by Joseph Dion.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>Indian Reorganization Act. Implements the Meriam Report recommendations, reversing many previous policies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>Johnson-O’Malley Act replaces the General Allotment Act.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act. Extends many of the rights provided by the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 to Oklahoma Indian nations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>National Congress of American Indians is founded to guard Native American rights.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>Indian Claims Commission Act. Provides a legal forum for tribes to sue the federal government for the loss of lands.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>Navajo and Hopi Rehabilitation Act is passed to assist the tribes in developing their natural resources.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>Indian Act of 1951. A new Canadian Indian Act reduces the powers of the Indian Affairs Department but retains an assimilationist agenda.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>Public Law 280 allows greater state jurisdiction over criminal cases involving Native Americans from California, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Nebraska (extended to Alaska Natives in 1959).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>Termination Resolution. Congress initiates a policy (which continues into the early 1960’s) of severing the federal government’s relationships with Native American nations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>Indian Health Service is transferred from the Department of the Interior to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>Chicago Indian Conference, organized by anthropologist Sol Tax, mobilizes Indian leaders to reassert their rights.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>National Indian Youth Council is founded by Clyde Warrior and others.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Event</td>
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<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>American Indian Historical Society is founded to research and teach about Native Americans.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>Hawthorn Report examines the conditions of contemporary Canadian natives and recommends that Indians be considered “citizens plus.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>American Indian Civil Rights Act guarantees reservation residents many of the civil liberties other citizens have under the U.S. Constitution.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>American Indian Movement (AIM) is founded in Minneapolis by Dennis Banks and Russell Means.</td>
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<td>1969</td>
<td>Occupation of Alcatraz Island by Native American people begins (continues through 1971).</td>
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<td>1972</td>
<td>Trail of Broken Treaties Caravan proceeds to Washington, D.C., to protest treaty violations.</td>
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<td>1972</td>
<td>Native American Rights Fund (NARF) is founded to carry Indian issues to court.</td>
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<td>1972</td>
<td>Indian Education Act enacted; it is intended to improve the quality of education for Native Americans (the act is revised in 1978).</td>
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<td>1973</td>
<td>Wounded Knee occupation. More than two hundred Native American activists occupy the historic site to demonstrate against oppressive Sioux reservation policies.</td>
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<td>1974</td>
<td>Navajo-Hopi Land Settlement Act facilitates negotiation between the two nations over the disputed Joint Use Area.</td>
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<td>1975</td>
<td>Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act expands tribal control over tribal governments and education.</td>
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<td>1975</td>
<td>Political violence increases on the Pine Ridge Reservation; two FBI agents are killed in a shootout on June 26.</td>
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<td>1975</td>
<td>James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement is signed; Quebec Cree, Inuit, Naskapi, and Montagnais groups cede tribal lands in exchange for money and specified hunting and fishing rights.</td>
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<td>1977</td>
<td>American Indian Policy Review Commission Report is released by Congress, recommending that Native American nations be considered sovereign political bodies.</td>
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<td>1978</td>
<td>American Indian Freedom of Religion Act protects the rights of Native Americans to follow traditional religious practices.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>Federal Acknowledgment Program is initiated to provide guidelines for and assist tribes seeking official recognition by the federal government.</td>
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### American Indian Tribes

**Time Line**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>The Longest Walk, a march from Alcatraz Island to Washington, D.C., protests government treatment of Indians.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>Hopi-Navajo Joint Use Area is partitioned between the Navajo and Hopi nations.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>Canada’s Constitution Act (Constitution and Charter of Rights and Freedoms) is passed despite the protests of Indian, Metis, and Inuit groups.</td>
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<td>1982</td>
<td>Indian Claims Limitation Act limits the time period during which claims can be filed against the U.S. government.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>Coolican Report declares that little progress is being made to settle Canadian native land claims.</td>
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<td>1988</td>
<td>Indian Gaming Regulatory Act officially legalizes certain types of gambling on reservations and establishes the National Indian Gaming Commission.</td>
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<td>1989</td>
<td>U.S. Congress approves construction of the National Museum of the American Indian, to be part of the Smithsonian Institution.</td>
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<td>1989</td>
<td>Violence erupts on St. Regis Mohawk Reservation in dispute over whether to allow gambling; under guard by state and federal law enforcement officers, the tribe votes to allow gambling on the reservation.</td>
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<td>1990</td>
<td>The U.S. Census finds the Native American population to be 1,959,234.</td>
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<td>1990</td>
<td>In <em>Duro v. Reina,</em> the U.S. Supreme Court holds that tribes cannot have criminal jurisdiction over non-Indians on reservation lands.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>Canada’s proposed Meech Lake Accord (amendments to the 1982 Constitution Act) is sent to defeat in Canada by native legislator Elijah Harper; the accord provided no recognition of native rights.</td>
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<td>1991</td>
<td>Tribal Self-Governance Act extends the number of tribes involved in the self-governance pilot project.</td>
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<td>1992</td>
<td>Native Americans protest the Columbian Quincentenary.</td>
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<td>1992</td>
<td>In a plebiscite, residents of Canada’s Northwest Territories approve the future creation of Nunavut, a territory to be governed by the Inuit.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>The International Year of Indigenous People.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>National Museum of the American Indian opens its first facility in New York’s Heye Center (a larger museum is planned for the Mall in Washington, D.C.).</td>
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<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>The National Congress of American Indians and the National Black Caucus of State Legislators ally themselves, agreeing that they face similar political and economic forces of oppression.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>Canadian minister of Indian Affairs formally apologizes to Indian and Inuit peoples for past government attempts to destroy native cultures.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>Eastern portion of Canada’s Northwest Territories becomes new territory of Nunavut.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
EDUCATIONAL AND DOCUMENTARY FILMS

*Again, a Whole Person I Have Become*
- Color. 19 min. 16mm.
- Shenandoah Film Productions (1982)
- Stresses the importance of traditional Indian customs for Indian youth. Three tribal elders speak of the wisdom of the old ways; dances and ceremonies are portrayed. Will Sampson narrates.

*Age of the Buffalo*
- Color. 14 min. 16mm.
- National Film Board of Canada (1964)
- Shows how the buffalo met the needs of the Indians for food, clothing, shelter, and adventure, and how life changed when the buffalo were gone.

*The American Indian: Before the White Man*
- Color. 19 min. 16mm.
- Handel Film Corporation (1972)
- Comprehensive study of American Indians from the early migration routes to the development of the main tribes of North America. Narrated by Iron Eyes Cody.

*American Indian in Transition*
- Color. 22 min. 16mm.
- Atlantis Productions (1976)
- Presents an Indian point of view about land and heritage, narrated by an Indian mother who uses Indian chronicles and sayings. Provides a compassionate insight into Indian life and thought.

*The American Indian: After the White Man Came*
- Color. 27 min. 16mm.
- Handel Film Corporation (1972)

*American Indian Influence on the United States*
- Color. 20 min. 16mm.
- Robert Davis Productions (1972)
- Depicts the manner in which life in the United States has been influenced by the American Indian economically, sociologically, philosophically, and culturally. Nine dances and ceremonies are authentically portrayed. The graphics used in the film include original Indian illustrations.

*The American Indian Speaks*
- Color. 23 min. 16mm.
- Encyclopedia Britannica Educational Corporation (1973)
Members of three Indian cultures state the position and attitudes of American Indians in the twentieth century. Includes remembrances of the Trail of Tears and Wounded Knee.

The American Indian Struggle
Color. 29 min. VHS.
Kent State University (1981)
Examination of several important episodes that contributed to the long history of conflict between American Indians and white settlers. With Kent State University professors James Gidney and Philip Weeks.

American Indians: A Brief History
Color. 22 min. 16mm.
National Geographic Society (1985)
Numerous examples of diverse Indian artistic and cultural traditions. Provides a history of the roots of conflict between the Indians and European settlers. Identifies several settlements and tribes that existed before Columbus arrived in America.

American Indians as Seen by D. H. Lawrence
Color. 14 min. 16mm.
Lewin/Cort (1966)
At the D. H. Lawrence ranch near Taos, New Mexico, Lawrence’s wife, Frieda, speaks about his beliefs and thoughts. Aldous Huxley presents selections from Lawrence’s works.

The Americans: The Buffalo Story
Color. 28 min. 16mm.
O’Laughlin Company (1971)
The great usefulness of the buffalo to the Plains Indians is detailed; it furnished them with food, clothing, and shelter. Buffalo masks convey the spirit of the annual Spring Buffalo Dance.

The Americans: Chief Black Hawk
Color. 23 min. 16mm.
O’Laughlin Company (1971)
Chief White Eagle explains the meaning and logic of sign language and various war paint designs. The story of Black Hawk, war chief of the Sauk Indians, follows, dramatized by paintings and sound effects.

The Americans: Chief Crazy Horse
Color. 26 min. 16mm.
O’Laughlin Company (1971)
Beginning with the Bering Strait migration theory of Indian prehistory, Chief White Eagle moves into a description of Indian cultural evolution, including introduction of horses. Crazy Horse, brilliant leader and military strategist of the Sioux, is profiled.

The Americans: Chief Joseph
Color. 23 min. 16mm.
O’Laughlin Company (1971)
After describing the kinds of horses that Indians used for various purposes and how these horses were trained, Chief White Eagle tells the story of Chief Joseph and the Nez Perce.

The Americans: Geronimo
Color. 25 min. 16mm.
O’Laughlin Company (1971)
The Indians’ closeness to nature and ability to forecast weather are discussed. Geronimo is profiled.

America’s Great Indian Leaders
Color. 65 min. VHS.
Questar (1994)
Examines the lives and contributions of Crazy Horse, Chief Joseph, Geronimo, and Quanah Parker, who emerged to protect their people and culture.

America’s Great Indian Nations
Color. 65 min. VHS.
Questar (1995)
Profiles six of the most powerful tribes in American history: the Iroquois,
Seminoles, Shawnee, Navajo, Cheyenne, and Lakota Sioux.

*America's Indians*
Six-part series.
Color. 13 min. each. VHS.
Films for the Humanities & Sciences (1993)

*The Indians Were There First*
How North American Indians entered the Americas from Asia; various tribes and some of their characteristics.

*When the White Man Came*
Life among the major tribes before Europeans arrived.

*The Bison Hunters*
How the Indian became mythologized as the eastern United States became industrialized.

*The Trail of Tears*
The harm done by explorers and pioneers.

*The Warpath*
How pioneers moving westward ignored treaties reserving land for Indians.

*The Death of the Bison*
The many Native American issues that remain unresolved.

*Ann of the Wolf Clan*
Color. 60 min. VHS.
Rainbow TV Works; Great Plains Instructional TV, University of Nebraska (1982)
Young, middle class Indian girl receives the gift of her Cherokee heritage from her great-grandmother while spending a summer on the reservation.

*Apache*
Color. 30 min. VHS.
Schlessinger Video Productions (1993)
Examines the history, changing fortunes, and current situation of the Apache tribe. Includes a discussion of their crafts. For grades 5-10.

*Apache Indian*
Black and white. 11 min. 16mm.
Cort (1943)
Shows the life, ceremonies, and industries of the Apaches. The beauty of their native territory forms the setting for the tribal functions and ceremonies, including a puberty ceremony and devil dance.

*The Apache Indian (Revised version)*
Color. 11 min. 16mm. VHS.
Cort (1975)
Acquaints young viewers with the life, culture, and traditions of the Apache of Arizona. Emphasizes the problems that modern living has caused and the Apaches’ struggle for education, health care, and economic opportunity.

*Arrow to the Sun*
Color. 22 min. 16mm.
Texture (1973)
Animated film by Gerald McDermott that illustrates a tale from the Acoma Pueblo of the Southwest. A boy’s search for his father leads him to a dazzling voyage on an arrow to the sun.

*The Ballad of Crowfoot*
Color/black and white. 11 min. 16mm. VHS.
National Film Board of Canada/McGraw-Hill (1968)
Documents the events and problems that characterized the relationship between whites and Indians since whites arrived in the Canadian West in the 1820’s. Records Indian traditions and attitudes.

*Before the White Man Came*
Black and white. 50 min. Silent. 16mm
Northwestern Film Corp. (1921)
Filmed in the Bighorn Mountains of Montana and Wyoming in 1921. In an enactment by Indians, every effort was made to present life as it was before the arrival of whites.

*Behind the Masks*
Color. 24 min. 16mm.
National Film Board of Canada (1973)
Study of the meaning and myths behind the masks of the tribes of the Northwest Coast. Commentary and analysis by Claude Levi-Strauss, noted French anthropologist.

*Black Indians of New Orleans*
Color. 33 min. 16mm.
Maurice M. Martinez (1976)
Depicts the activities of highly organized groups of African Americans with mixed Indian ancestry as they prepare for Mardi Gras, with emphasis on their distinctive music, dancing, and costumes.

*Bones of Contention: Native American Archaeology*
Color. 49 min. VHS
Films for the Humanities & Sciences (1998)
Examines the conflict between Native American groups and scientists, historians, and museum curators concerning the issue of the remains of more than 10,000 Native Americans unearthed at archaeological sites across the United States.

*Boy of the Navajos*
Color. 11 min. 16mm.
Cort (1975)
Shows the living habits and activities of a Navajo family in Arizona, with emphasis on the teenage son.

*Boy of the Seminoles: Indians of the Everglades*
Color/black and white. 11 min. 16mm.
Cort (1956)
Shows the living habits and activities of a teenage Seminole boy and his family in Florida.

*The Broken Cord: Louise Erdrich and Michael Dorris*
Color. 30 min. VHS.
PBS Video (1991)
Authors Louise Erdrich and the late Michael Dorris explain how traditions of spirit and memory weave through the lives of many Native Americans, and how alcoholism and despair have shattered so many other lives. The devastating effect of fetal alcohol syndrome on their adopted son, and on the Native American community as a whole, is also discussed. Hosted by Bill Moyers.

*Broken Treaty at Battle Mountain*
Color. 73 min. 16mm.
Cinnamon Production (1973)
The struggle of the Western Shoshone of Nevada to retain their culture and land is dramatically portrayed. The Shoshone struggle to keep 24 million acres of Nevada land originally promised to them by the U.S. government. Narrated by Robert Redford.

*Catlin and the Indians*
Color. 25 min. 16mm.
National Film Board of Canada/McGraw-Hill (1967)
Presents biographical material on George Catlin, historian and painter of Plains Indians. Includes paintings from the Smithsonian’s Catlin collection.

*Cherokee*
Color. 26 min. 16mm.
British Broadcasting Corporation (1976)
Explores the dilemma the Cherokees face in preserving their traditions and captures the beauty of the pageants and ceremonies performed today. Includes scenes from a pageant play that recounts Cherokee history.
Mediography

Cherokee
Color. 30 min. VHS. Schlessinger Video Productions (1993)
Examines the history and current situation of the Cherokee people. Includes facts about the role of the U.S. government, debunks myths about Native Americans, explores their spiritual relationship with nature, and discusses the role of women in their societies. For grades 5-10.

Cheyenne
Color. 30 min. VHS. Schlessinger Video Productions (1993)
Examines the history, changing fortunes, and current situation of the Cheyenne tribe. Includes facts about the role of the U.S. government, debunks myths about Native Americans, explores their spiritual relationship with nature, and discusses the role of women in their societies. For grades 5-10.

Children of the Eagle: A Tribute to American Indian Children
Color. 28 min. 16mm. Oklahoma State University
Describes the American Indian family and contrasts contemporary family life with traditional Indian customs. Presents prenatal concerns, parenting behavior, and funeral rituals.

Circle of the Sun
Color. 30 min. 16mm. VHS. National Film Board of Canada (1960)
Studies the way of life and ceremonial customs of the Blood Indians circa 1960. Pictures the Sun Dance camp and analyzes the feelings of the younger generation about the old Indian customs and the influences of whites.

Columbus Didn’t Discover Us
Color. 24 min. VHS. Turning Tide Productions (1992)
In preparation for the Columbus Quincentennial, 300 Native men and women came to the highlands of Ecuador to take part in the first Continental Conference of Indigenous Peoples. Features interviews with participants representing a wide spectrum of Indian nations from North, South, and Central America.

Comanche
Color. 30 min. VHS. Schlessinger Video Productions (1993)
Portrayal of the Comanche tribe including their history, culture and way of life today. Challenges many prevalent myths and stereotypes. Examines the issue of the role of the U.S. government, debunks myths about Native Americans, explores their spiritual relationship with nature, and discusses the role of women in their societies. For grades 5-10.

Contrary Warriors
Color. 60 min. 16mm. VHS. Rattlesnake Productions (1987)
The Crazy Dogs, one of the original Crow warrior societies, declared themselves “contrary warriors” and pledged to risk death when challenged by outsiders.

Corn Is Life
Color. 11 min. 16mm. VHS. University of California Extension Media Center (1983)
Shows and explains traditional activities associated with corn that are still an important part of Hopi family and community life. Corn, a major cultural symbol, plays a central role in the life of every Hopi.

The Creek
Color. 30 min. VHS. Schlessinger Video Productions (1993)
Examines the history and current situation of the Creek. Includes a discus-
tion of their language, traditions, and crafts. For grades 5-10.

The Crow
Color. 30 min. VHS.
Schlessinger Video Productions (1993)
Examines the history and current situation of the Crow, a mobile group of hunters who developed a strict code of conduct and a deeply spiritual religion. For grades 5-10.

Crow Dog
Color. 57 min. 16mm.
Cinema Guild (1979)
Focuses on Leonard Crow Dog, spiritual leader of eighty-nine American Indian tribes and a spokesman for many Indians who wish to retain the beliefs and way of life of their forefathers. Documents the politics and spiritual power of the American Indian Movement.

Cry of the Yurok
Color. 58 min. VHS.
Films for the Humanities & Sciences (1991)
Details the many problems of the Yurok tribe of California as they struggle to survive encroachment of their lands. Some remain on the reservation, others have moved to cities. All are caught in a many-sided battle between the dominant white world and the world of the Indian.

Custer at the Washita
Color. 26 min. 16mm. VHS.
McGraw-Hill (1966)
Account of the Battle of the Washita River, one of the few decisive battles of the American Indian wars. It signaled the end of freedom for the Cheyenne and planted the seeds of Custer’s defeat at the Little Bighorn.

Dineh Nation: The Navajo Story
Color. 26 min. VHS.
Filmmakers Library (1991)
Focuses on the Navajo people who inhabit the Sovereign Dineh Indian Reservation which occupies parts of Arizona, New Mexico and Utah—an area rich in oil, coal, and uranium. The Navajo seek to preserve the land but outside forces are at work, strip mining the coal and polluting the water. Film emphasizes the spiritual essence of the Navajo people who consider Mother Earth to be sacred and forbid exploitation of her resources.

Discovering American Indian Music
Color. 24 min. 16mm. VHS.
Inform (1971)
Introduces the traditional customs, costumes, and dances associated with the music of eleven representative North American tribes, principally of the Plains and Southwest.

The Drummaker
Color. 37 min. 16mm.
Pennsylvania State University Psych Cinema Register (1978)
Presents William Bineshi Baker, Sr., an Ojibwa, one of the last of his people to perfect the art of drummaking. He discusses tradition and his frustration with those who will not take the time to follow it.

End of the Trail: The American Plains Indian
Black and white. 53 min. 16mm. VHS.
McGraw-Hill (1967)
Documents the growth and development of the Plains Indian culture, which culminate with the advent of whites. Illustrates many of the hostile acts inflicted by both sides.

Family Life of the Navajo Indians
Black and white. 31 min. Silent. 16mm.
New York University (1943)
Highlights some of the ways the Navajo child becomes an adult.
500 Nations
Eight-part series.
Color. 376 min. VHS.
An 8-part CBS television documentary exploring the history and culture of Native Americans. Episodes are:

- The Ancestors: Early Cultures of North America
- Mexico: The Rise and Fall of the Aztecs
- Clash of Cultures: The People Who Met Columbus
- Invasion of the Coast: The First English Settlements
- Cauldron of War: Iroquois Democracy and the American Revolution
- Removal: War and Exile in the East
- Roads Across the Plains: Struggle for the West
- Attack on Culture: I Will Fight No More Forever

Gatecliff: American Indian Rock Shelter
Color. 21 min. 16mm.
National Geographic Society (1973)
Team of amateur archaeologists led by Dr. David Hurst Thomas of the American Museum of Natural History dig in Gatecliff Rock Shelter in Nevada. Layer-by-layer examination reveals information on inhabitants of 5,000 years ago.

Geronimo and the Apache Resistance
Color. 60 min. VHS.
PBS Home Video (1990)
In 1886, the U.S. government mobilized five thousand men, one quarter of the entire U.S. Army, to capture Geronimo. This profile of Geronimo, believed by his people to have magical powers, highlights the clash of cultures and the legacy of the battles of a century ago. (Part of the PBS series The American Experience.)

Girl of the Navajos
Color. 15 min. 16mm.
Inform/Cort (1977)
Young Navajo girl recalls her feelings of fear and loneliness the first time she had to herd her family’s sheep into the canyon alone. Returning to the canyon the following day, she becomes friends with another girl. Filmed on a Navajo reservation.

Giving Thanks: A Native American Good Morning Message
Color. 30 min. VHS.
Great Plains National TV Library (1996)
Based on the book by Chief Jake Swamp. Presents a Mohawk prayer celebrating the beauty, bounty and resources of the Earth. Part of the Reading Rainbow series hosted by LeVar Burton.

The Great Movie Massacre
Color. 28 min. 16mm.
United Indians of All Tribes Foundation (1979)
Explores the beginning of the “savage Indian” myth in popular American literature and entertainment, including wild west shows and early motion pictures. Will Sampson narrates. (Images of Indians Series.)

The Great Plains Experience: The Lakota—One Nation on the Plains
Color. 30 min. 16mm. VHS.
University of Mid-America (1976)
Describes the movement of Indians onto the Great Plains and their adaptation to the new environment, focusing on the Lakota in the eighteenth century.

A History of Native Americans
Color. 30 min. VHS.
Schlessinger Video Productions (1993)
Examines the impact of European colonization on Native American tribes, including coexistence and trade, the
struggles over land ownership and the effects of European imports like guns, horses, alcohol, religion and disease. Covers the policies of the U.S. government, the forced removal of Indians in the Trail of Tears, the Indian Removal Act and Indian boarding schools that diluted tribal cultures and shared beliefs. For grades 5-10.

*Home of the Brave*
Color. 4 min. 16mm.
Pyramid Film and Video (1969)
The five-hundred-year story of a people is documented with great precision in this four-minute encapsulation.

*Hopí: Songs of the Fourth World*
Color. 58 min. 16mm. VHS.
Newday (no date given)
Study of the Hopi that captures their spirituality and reveals their integration of art and daily life. A farmer, religious elder, grandmother, painter, potter, and weaver speak about the preservation of the Hopi way.

*Hopí Indian Arts and Crafts (Revised version)*
Color. 10 min. 16mm.
Cort (1975)
Hopis are shown using their ancient tools and knowledge in basketweaving, potterymaking, silverworking, and weaving. Shows how methods of working are changing.

*Hopí Indian Village Life*
Color/Black and White. 11 min. 16mm.
Cort (1956)
Pictures the Hopi and their mode of living as it existed in the 1950’s, emphasizing the changing character of Hopi life and work.

*Hopí Kachinas*
Color. 9 min. 16mm.
Inform (1961)
The Hopí kachina doll is intended primarily to teach Hopí children to see meaning in religious rituals and dances. Shows an artisan carving, assembling, and painting a doll; also shows Hopí life and dances.

*Hopí Snake Dance*
Black and White. 10 min. 16mm.
Inform (1951)
Presents the preparations of the dancers, handling of snakes, costumes, and part of a snake dance.

*Hopís: Guardians of the Land*
Color. 10 min. 16mm.
Inform (1972)
Hopí living on an Arizona reservation explains the tribal philosophy of seeking peace, brotherhood, and everlasting life by caring for all that is on the land. A nearby power plant and strip-mining operations threaten the union of people and land.

*How Hollywood Wins the West*
Color. 29 min. 16mm.
United Indians of All Tribes Foundation (1979)
Explores the concept of Manifest Destiny, which encouraged the taking of Indian lands that “nobody owned” by whites in the early nineteenth century.

*How the West Was Lost*
Color. 300 min. VHS.
Discovery Enterprises Group (1993)
Three-part Discovery Channel series exploring the history and culture of Native Americans. Documents the devastating effects of westward expansion on five Native American nations: the Navajo, Nez Perce, Apache, Cheyenne, and Lakota, through the recollection of their descendants, archival photographs, and historical documents.
How the West Was Lost II
Discovery Enterprises Group (1995)
Color. 350 min. VHS.
Four additional episodes of How the West Was Lost explore the Native American experience during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Chronicles the history of the Iroquois, Cherokee, Seminole, Dakota, Modoc, Ute, and the Indian Territory.

How to Trace Your Native American Heritage
Color. 30 min. VHS.
Guide to discovering one’s Native American roots. Explains how to obtain tribal membership and official Native American status.

The Huron
Color. 30 min. VHS.
Schlessinger Video Productions (1993)
Profiles the Huron, who flourished in southern Ontario, Canada. Originally farmers and craftsmen, a small Huron community still survives in Canada, manufacturing goods for sale or trade while maintaining the Huron heritage. For grades 5-10.

I Will Fight No More Forever: The Story of Chief Joseph
Color. 106 min. 16mm. VHS.
Wolper Productions (1975)
How Chief Joseph led three hundred Nez Perce braves along with their women and children in the historic running battle against ten separate commands of the army in 1877.

Incident at Oglala
Color. 90 min. VHS.
Miramax (1992)

Indians Among Us
Color. 46 min. VHS.
Discovery Communications (1992)
Focuses on the Indians of the American Southwest and how they try to maintain their old traditions within a modern lifestyle. Originally part of the television program Roger Kennedy’s Rediscovering America.

Indian Art of the Pueblo
Color. 13 min. 16mm.
Encyclopedia Britannica Educational Corporation (1976)
Introduces the arts and crafts of the Pueblo.

Indian Ceremonial Dances of the Southwest
Color. 11 min. 16mm.
Harold Ambrosch Film Productions (1954)
Presents a number of Southwest dances, accompanied by songs and chants. Includes the Apache crown or devil dance, the Laguna shield dance, and the Taos war dance.

Indian Crafts: Hopi, Navajo, and Iroquois
Color. 12 min. 16mm.
BFA Educational Media (1980)
Basketmaking, weaving, potterymaking, kachina carving, jewelymaking, and mask carving.

Indian Heroes of America
Color. 17 min. 16mm.
Altana Films (1979)
Seven Indian personages are profiled, each representing an aspect of history from the coming of whites to the final confrontations in the late nineteenth century.
Indian Hunters
Black and white. 10 min. 16mm.
Inform (1948)
  Shows two Indians seeking new hunting grounds for their band in the wilds of northern Canada.

Indian Musical Instruments
Color. 14 min. 16mm.
University of Oklahoma
  Shows big dance drums, rawhide drums, ring and straight beaters, and other Indian musical instruments in the University of Oklahoma museum.

The Indian Speaks
Color. 41 min. 16mm.
National Film Board of Canada (1970)
  Presents Indians in parts of Canada who are concerned about preserving what is left of their culture and restoring what is gone.

Indians: The Navajos
Color. 14 min. 16mm.
Hearst Metrotone News (1975)
  Examines the winds of change that have been affecting the lives of 140,000 Navajos on the largest Indian reservation in the world.

In the White Man's Image
Color. 58 min. VHS.
PBS Video (1991)
  Examines the experiment of federal government boarding schools for Indian children. Tells the story of the attempt to assimilate American Indians into white culture by educating them at special schools such as the Carlisle School for Indians. Founded by Richard Henry Pratt, this school and others like it attempted to wipe out all remnants of Indian culture. Narrated by Stacy Keach. Originally broadcast as an episode of the PBS television series The American Experience.

Into the Circle: An Introduction to Native American Powwows.
Color. 58 min. VHS.
Full Circle Communications (1992)
  An introduction to Oklahoma powwows through excerpts of dances, songs and drumming sequences, interviews with tribal elders and participants, and historical photographs showing the ongoing evolution of the powwow. Narrated by J. R. Mathews.

In Whose Honor?: American Indian Mascots in Sports
Color. 47 min. VHS.
New Day Films (1997)
  Discussion of Chief Illinewek as the University of Illinois mascot and the effect the mascot has on Native American peoples. Examines the practice of using American Indian mascots and nicknames in sports.

Iroquois
Color. 30 min. VHS.
Schlessinger Video Productions (1993)
  Portrayal of the Iroquois including their history, culture and way of life today. Challenges many still-prevalent myths and stereotypes. Examines the issue of the role of the U.S. government, debunks myths about Native Americans, explores their spiritual relationship with nature, and discusses the role of women in their societies. For grades 5-10.

Ishi, the Last Yahi
Color. 58 min. VHS.
Rattlesnake Productions (1993)
  Distributed by Center for Media and Independent Learning, Berkeley, Calif.; Shanachie Entertainment, Newton, N.J.
  Award-winning profile of Ishi, a California Indian who came out of hiding in 1911 and lived at the anthropology museum of the University of California at Berkeley until his death in 1916.
Late Woodland Village
Color. 20 min. 16mm.
University of Iowa AV Center (1974)
Excavations of the late Woodland
Hartley Fort revealed details of life in a
stockaded village of about 900 c.e.

Legend of Corn
Color. 26 min. 16mm.
Films for the Humanities & Sciences
(1985)
An Ojibwa legend, dramatized by
tribespeople, about how the Great Mani-
tou saved the tribe from starvation.

The Lenape
Color. 30 min. VHS.
Schlessinger Video Productions (1993)
Examines the history of the Lenape,
who settled in the mid-Atlantic region
over 5,000 years ago. Today, the largest
population of the tribe now lives on part
of the Cherokee Nation reservation. For
grades 5-10.

Life in the Woodlands Before the White
Man Came
Color. 12 min. 16mm.
ACI Media (1976)
Dramatizes the daily life, ceremonies,
and rituals of Woodlands Indians before
whites arrived.

The Maya
Color. 30 min. VHS.
Schlessinger Video Productions (1993)
Examines the ancient civilization of
the Maya, their temples, palaces, and
immense cities in Mexico’s Yucatan Pen-
insula and Guatemala. For grades 5-10.

The Maya: Temples, Tombs, and Time
Color. 53 min. VHS.
Questar (1995)
Breakthroughs in deciphering Maya
glyphs and new archeological discover-
ies help to provide a fresh look at the
Maya, considered to be one of the most
advanced of the indigenous peoples of
the Americas.

Meet the Sioux Indian
Color. 11 min. 16mm.
Associated Film Artists (1949)
Portrays the nomadic life of the Sioux
and shows how they obtained, pre-
pared, and preserved food, and made
clothing.

The Menominee
Color. 30 min. VHS.
Schlessinger Video Productions (1993)
Examines the history of the Menomi-
nee, hunters and fishermen, who lived
in lodges along the upper peninsula of
present day Michigan. For grades 5-10.

Mesa Verde: Mystery of the Silent Cities
Color. 14 min. 16mm.
Encyclopedia Britannica Educational
Corporation (1975)
Extensive aerial photography of the
ruined cities and multiple-family cliff
dwellings of a thirteenth-century civili-

Mino-Bimadiziwin: The Good Life
Color. 60 min. VHS.
Deb Wallwork Productions (1998)
Examines the ancient Ojibwe tradi-
tion of wild rice harvesting still prac-
ticed on Minnesota’s White Earth Indian
Reservation. An in-depth portrait of a
community whose people continue to
live off the land. Explores the themes of
continuity and change in Native Ameri-
can society at large.

Modern Chippewa Indians
Color. 11 min. 16mm.
Simmel-Miservey (1946)
Shows the life and work of the Chip-
pewa Indians on the Red Lake Reserva-
tion in Minnesota.
American Indian Tribes

Momaday: Voice of the West
Color. 30 min. VHS.
PBS Home Video (1992)
Profiles Pulitzer prize-winning author, painter, poet and teacher, N. Scott Momaday, who reads from his memoirs and published works.

More Than Bows and Arrows
Color. 56 min. VHS.
Camera One Productions (1992)
Documents the contributions of American Indians to the development of the United States and Canada. Deals with the role of the American Indian in shaping various aspects of American culture, ranging from food and housing to our view of life. Narrated by N. Scott Momaday.

Myths and Moundbuilders
Color. 60 min. VHS.
PBS Home Video (1990)
Examines the ancient Native American practice of mound building. Features archaeological excavations of mounds and examines pottery, jewelry, and other artifacts unearthed.

Nanook of the North
Black and white. Silent. VHS.
Pathé Exchange (1922)
This landmark of documentary filmmaking caused a sensation when it was released. Robert Flaherty spent sixteen months in the Arctic filming an Inuit family. Some events were enacted specifically for the camera, but the portrait of Arctic life is generally realistic.

The Narragansett
Color. 30 min. VHS.
Schlessinger Video Productions (1993)
Profiles the southern Rhode Island tribe which was once the largest and most powerful of the Northeast, with ancestry dating back 11,000 years. For grades 5-10.

The Native Americans
Color. 264 min. VHS.
Turner Home Entertainment, (1994)
Six-part TBS television documentary exploring the history and culture of Native Americans. Series takes a regional look at Indians of the Northeast, Far West, Southeast, Southwest, and Plains. Examines the historical intrusion on Indian lands and the current effort by Native Americans to preserve their heritage. Features traditional as well as original music composed and performed for the series by Robbie Robertson and other Native American musicians. Narrated by Joy Harjo.

Native American Heritage
Color. 25 min. VHS.
Schlessinger Video Productions (1997)
Children are introduced to the history and culture of the diverse groups of Native Americans who first inhabited North America.

The Native Americans: How the West Was Lost
Color. 26 min. 16mm.
British Broadcasting Corporation (1976)
Highlights the life of the Plains Indians as it changed with the westward movement of whites. Historical photographs and drawings illustrate the Battle of Little Bighorn and the Wounded Knee Massacre.

Native American Life
Color. 25 min. VHS.
Schlessinger Video Productions (1996)
Highlights of Native American history through the use of graphics and animations, live-action portrayals of historic figures, and stories told from a child’s point of view. Narrated by Irene Bedard.

Media Index

Mediography
Mediography

Natives of the Narrowland: The Unwritten History of the First Cape Codders
Color. 35 min. VHS.
Documentary Educational Resources (1994)
Examines the history of the Wampanoag tribe of Cape Cod, Massachusetts.

Navajo
Color. 30 min. VHS.
Schlessinger Video Productions (1993)
Examines the history, changing fortunes, and current situation of the Navajo tribe. For grades 5-10.

Navajo: A People Between Two Worlds
Color. 20 min. 16mm.
Line Films (1958)
Study of the largest Indian tribe in the United States, including life on the land and tribal government.

Navajo Night Dances
Color. 12 min. 16mm.
Lewin (1957)
Shows a Navajo family going to the Nine Day Healing Chant, feasting, and watching the Arrow, Feather, and Fire Dance.

Navajo Talking Picture
Color. 40 min. VHS.
Women Make Movies (1986)
Documents the life of a grandmother on the Navajo Reservation in Lower Greasewood, Arizona.

Nez Perce: Portrait of a People
Color. 23 min. 16mm.
National Audio Visual Center (No date given)
 Tells of the cultural heritage of the Nez Perce and shows how the Nez Perce National Historical Park has influenced and preserved this culture.

North American Indian Legends
Color. 21 min. 16mm.
CBS (1973)
Dramatizes several Indian legends with special-effects photography to emphasize their mythical quality.

Northwest Indian Art
Color. 10 min. 16mm.
Lewin (1966)
Examples of the highly sophisticated art of Northwest Coast Indians collected from six museums.

Now That the Buffalo’s Gone
Color. 7 min. 16mm.
Pyramid Film and Video (1969)
Uses group and individual still-photograph portraits, combined with footage from old films, to emphasize the dignity of Indian culture.

Oneota Longhouse People
Color. 14 min. 16mm.
University of Iowa Audio Visual Center (1973)
Archaeological discoveries of longhouses in northwest Iowa. Including a reconstruction of a village and views of how life might have been lived at this site a thousand years ago.

Oren Lyons, the Faithkeeper
Color. 58 min. VHS.
Films for the Humanities & Sciences (1997)
Native American Chief Oren Lyons, a leader in the international environmental movement, talks with Bill Moyers about the ancient legends, prophecies, and wisdom that guide the Onondaga tribe. Lyons shares the spiritual basis of his environmentalism—a vision of the degradation of the earth that was revealed to the Onondaga nation in 1799.
Paddle to the Sea
Color. 25 min. 16mm.
National Film Board of Canada (1967)
  The story of a small, hand-carved Indian and a canoe, both called “paddle to the sea.” From a book of the same name by Holling C. Holling.

Painting with Sand: A Navajo Ceremony
Color. 11 min. 16mm.
Encyclopedia Britannica Educational Corporation (1949)
  Portrays the traditional sand painting and healing rite as performed by a Navajo medicine man for his ailing son.

People of the Buffalo
Color. 14 min. 16mm.
National Film Board of Canada (1969)
  Depicts the dependence of western Indians on the buffalo for food, shelter, and clothing. Shows how the coming of whites and subsequent slaughter of the buffalo herds changed the lifestyle of the Indians.

Pocahontas: Her True Story
Color. 50 min. VHS.
  Portrait of a remarkable native American princess, ambassador, stateswoman, and peacemaker whose brief life left an indelible mark on a fledgling nation. Interviews with Pocahontas’s descendants provide a perspective on her life and times.

The Place of the Falling Waters
Color. 90 min. VHS.
Montana Public Television (1991)
  Relates the complex and volatile relationship between the people of the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes and a major hydroelectric dam situated within the Flathead Indian Reservation. Covers history of tribal society and culture before the dam’s construction, the construction of the Kerr Dam in the 1930’s and its impact on the reservation, and the hopes and dilemmas of the Salish and Kootenai people as they prepare to take over the dam during the next three decades.

The Potawatomi
Color. 30 min. VHS.
Schlessinger Video Productions (1993)
  Examines the history and current situation of the Potawatomi of the Great Lakes region. Only a few hundred tribe members survive. Some still speak the language and practice the ways of their ancestors. For grades 5-10.

Potlatch People
Color. 26 min. 16mm.
Document Associates (1976)
  With an economy based on the abundant fish of the ocean and rivers, Northwest Coast Indians lived in communal longhouses based on a rigid class system.

The Pueblo
Color. 30 min. VHS.
Schlessinger Video Productions (1993)
  Examines the history of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico, one of the first tribes to make contact with European explorers. Includes a discussion of their ancient ancestors, the Anasazi. For grades 5-10.

Pueblo of Laguna: Elders of the Tribe
Color. 20 min. 16mm.
National Audio Visual Center (No date given)
  Describes the dynamic program for taking care of elders on a reservation in Laguna, New Mexico.

The Pueblo Peoples: First Contact
Color. 60 min. VHS.
PBS Video (1990)
  Describes the history of the Pueblo tribe at the time of their first contact
with Spanish conquistadors in the mid-1500’s. Briefly discusses Pueblo philosophy and legends.

*Red Sunday: The Story of the Battle of the Little Bighorn*
Color. 28 min. 16mm.  
Pyramid Film and Video (1975)  
An objective account of America’s most famous U.S. Cavalry-Indian confrontation. Still photographs, original drawings, paintings, and live action are skillfully blended.

*Report from Wounded Knee*
Color. 10 min. 16mm.  
Sterling Educational Films (1971)  
Details the historical events at Wounded Knee using photographic stills.

*Sacajawea*
Color. 24 min. VHS.  
Southerby Productions (1984)  
The true story of the young Indian woman who guided the Lewis and Clark expedition.

*Sacred Buffalo People*
Color. 56 min. VHS.  
Deb Wallwork Productions (1992)  
Explores the powerful bond between Native Americans and the buffalo, viewed by Indians as the sacred provider of life. Traditional beliefs, history, and modern reservation humor are woven together in the stories told today as buffalo return to the plains. Features Indian park rangers, wildlife managers, and dancers, along with photography of buffalo herds and examples of Indian art.

*Sacred Ground*
Color. 60 min. VHS.  
Freewheelin’ Films Ltd. (1991)  
Tour of American Indian spiritual places such as Devil’s Tower and Bear Butte, and a discussion of myths and legends associated them.

*Searching for a Native American Identity*
Color. 30 min. VHS.  
Films for the Humanities & Sciences (1994)  
Bill Moyers interviews husband and wife writing team Louise Erdrich and the late Michael Dorris who discuss their literary collaboration, their shared thinking based upon their like backgrounds as mixed-blood Native Americans, and the Native American characters who people their novels. Originally broadcast as a program in the PBS series, *A World of Ideas*.

*The Search for Ancient Americans: Ancient Beginnings of Native American Culture*
Color. 58 min. VHS.  
Intellimation (1988)  
Demonstrates how new technologies are changing the way archaeologists work as they examine evidence of the first peoples to reach America. Examined in detail are the Mayan, Anasazi, and Florida tribal cultures. Part of *The Infinite Voyage* series.

*Seminole*
Color. 30 min. VHS.  
Schlessinger Video Productions (1993)  
Examines the history, changing fortunes, and current situation of the Seminole people. Includes facts about the role of the U.S. government, debunks myths about Native Americans, explores their spiritual relationship with nature, and discusses the role of women in their societies. For grades 5-10.

*Seminole Indians*
Color. 11 min. 16mm.  
University of Minnesota (1951)  
Seminole life on the hummocks of the Florida Everglades.
**American Indian Tribes**

*The Shadow Catcher: Edward S. Curtis and the North American Indian*
Color. 89 min. VHS.
Mystic Fire Video (1993)

Video release of a motion picture originally produced in 1974. Profiles photographer, anthropologist and filmmaker Curtis, who spent 34 years recording the American Indian tradition. Between 1896 and 1930 Curtis collected interviews and original Indian stories, recorded some 10,000 songs and took 40,000 pictures many of which are used in the production. Retraces his journeys from the Pueblo regions of the Southwest, north to British Columbia and Alaska.

*Silent Enemy*
Black and white. 88 min. 16mm. VHS.
Blackhawk Films (1930)

Study of the Ojibwas' struggle for food before the arrival of European Americans. Filmed on location near Lake Superior.

*Sioux Indians: Live and Remember*
Color. 29 min. VHS.
Barr Films (1987)

Focuses on the struggle of the Dakota Sioux to preserve their heritage. Shows the Dakota people living in squalid camps in the midst of natural beauty.

*Sitting Bull: Chief of the Lakota Nation*
Color. 50 min. VHS.

Portrait of the legendary chief who led the Lakota Sioux to victory over General Custer at Little Big Horn.

*Sitting Bull: A Profile in Power*
Color. 20 min. 16mm.
Learning Corporation of America (1976)

The heroic but sad saga of relations between the United States and the Indians unfolds through an imaginary dialogue between an interviewer and the charismatic Sioux chief.

*Songs of Indian Territory Native American Music Traditions of Oklahoma*
Color. 38 min. VHS.
Full Circle Communications (1990)

Features music from the workshops and concert of "The Songs of Indian Territory" held at the Kirkpatrick Center in Oklahoma City, October 14, 1988, and includes on-location highlights.

*Spirit: A Journey in Dance, Drums and Song*
Color. 75 min. VHS.
USA Films (1998)

Stage performance of modern and traditional Native American music, dance, and mythology. Native American flutes, percussion, chants, and keyboards provide evocative music. Narration by Chief Hawk Pope interweaves tribal legends.

*The Spirit of Crazy Horse*
Color. 60 min. VHS.
PBS Home Video (1990)

Milo Yellow Hair recounts the story of the Sioux tribe’s struggle to reclaim their ancestral homeland. Investigates the simmering conflict of recent decades and offers a perspective on the choices that lie ahead. Originally shown as part of the PBS television series, *Frontline*.

*The Spirit of the Mask*
Color. 50 min. VHS.
Atlas Video (1993)

Explores the spiritual and psychological powers of masks used by Northwest Coast native peoples. Features rarely-seen ceremonies, commentary by spiritual leaders and relates how these traditions were repressed by Christian Europeans.

*Storytellers of the Pacific*
Color. 120 minutes. VHS.
Vision Maker Video (1996)
Two-part series focusing on the identity crisis of various Pacific cultures which, many years after colonization, slavery, and oppression, are attempting to reconstruct and live according to their true culture. Areas highlighted include northern Mexico, California, the Pacific Northwest, Alaska, Hawaii, Australia, Samoa, and Guam. Narrated by Joy Harjo.

*Strangers in Their Own Land*
Color. 50 min. VHS.
Strangers in Their Own Land (1993)
Records Native American ceremonies, including an emotional Kiowa wedding ceremony and the initiation of a young brave into an ancient warrior society.

*The Sun Dagger* (Edited version)
Color. 28 min. 16mm. VHS.
Bullfrog Films (1982)
The “dagger,” an ancient Indian celestial calendar rediscovered in 1977, is presently the only known archaeological site in the world that marks the extreme positions of both the sun and the moon.

*Sweating Indian Style: Conflicts Over Native American Ritual*
Color. 57 min. VHS.
Women Make Movies (1994)
Presents opposing views on non-Native Americans’ participation in traditional American Indian rites.

*Tales of Wonder: Traditional Native American Fireside Stories*
Color. 60 min. VHS.
Collection of traditional stories of creation and myth accompanied by music and illustrations. Appropriate for children.

*Teaching Indians to Be White*
Color. 28 min. VHS.
Films for the Humanities & Sciences (1993)
Shows how schools try to integrate American Indian children into mainstream society and notes problems with turning children away from their families and traditional values.

*To Find Our Life: The Peyote Hunt of the Huichols of Mexico*
Color. 65 min. 16mm.
University of California Extension Media Center (1968)
Filmed and recorded in the field in December, 1966, by anthropologist Peter T. Furst, this is the first documentary of the annual peyote hunt and ceremonies of the Huichol Indians of Western Mexico.

*The Totem Pole*
Color. 28 min. 16mm. VHS.
Educational Materials Corporation (1961)
The Kwakiutl and Haida are the Northwest Indians best known for their totem poles. Shows the several types of poles and how they are decorated.

*Tribal Legacies: The Incas, the Mayas, the Sioux, the Pueblos*
Color. 296 min. VHS.
Pacific Arts (1993)
Collection of four videos that depict the history and civilizations of four different native peoples of the Americas: the Incas, Mayas, Sioux, and Pueblo Indians.

*Valley of the Standing Rocks*
Color. 24 in. 16mm.
Thomas J. Barbre Productions (1957)
Vividly portrays the life of the Navajos on their reservation in Arizona and Utah.
American Indian Tribes

*Walking in a Sacred Manner*
Color. 23 min. 16mm.
Stephen Cross (1982)
Using the photographs of Edward S. Curtis, shows how traditional Indian life was centered on the natural world.

*Winds of Change: A Matter of Promises*
Color/black and white. 58 min. VHS.
PBS Video (1990)
Navajos of Arizona and adjacent states and Lummis of Washington State focus on sovereignty, internal politics, the administration of justice, and relations with the U.S. government. Hosted by N. Scott Momaday.

*Winter on an Indian Reservation*
Color. 11 min. 16mm.
Inform (1973)
Shows children on a forest reservation in the Great Lakes area; provides an intimate look at both the hardships and joys of Indian life.

*Wiping the Tears of Seven Generations*
Color. 57 min. VHS.
Film Ideas (1992)
History of the Lakota people, culminating in the Bigfoot Memorial Ride, December 1990, intended to end the century of grieving since the Wounded Knee Massacre.

*Woodland Indians of Early America*
Color/black and white. 11 min. 16mm.
Cort (1958)
Depicts a family of hunter-culture Indians, illustrating the migratory nature of such cultures and showing many techniques of hunting, dress, cooking, and home building.

*Yankton Sioux*
Color. 30 min. VHS.
Schlessinger Video Productions (1993)
Extensive location filming takes the viewer to reservations where children and elders discuss what it means to be a Native American today. Includes photographs, film footage, tribal music, crafts and ceremonies. For grades 5-10.

**FEATURE FILMS**

The depictions of Indians in feature films (often by white actors) have historically been misguided and have engendered considerable outrage. What follows is a select list of films that provide relatively accurate portrayals of Indian life, past and present. In some of the films all Indians are portrayed by Indian actors; in others, white actors fill at least some Indian roles.

*Black Robe*
Color. 100 min. VHS.
Samuel Goldwyn (1991)
Seventeenth century Jesuit priest is led by a party of Algonquins to a distant mission. Generally accurate depiction of early Indian-white relations as well as intertribal Algonquin, Iroquois, and Huron relations and warfare. From Brian Moore’s novel. Lothaire Bluteau, Aden Young, Sandrine Holt.

*Cheyenne Autumn*
Color. 159 min. VHS.
Warner Bros. (1964)
Renowned director of Westerns John Ford filmed this story of Cheyennes fleeing their reservation to return to their homeland. Not without its flaws, this is an early but sympathetic look at the situation of western Indians in the late nineteenth century. Richard Widmark, Carroll Baker, Ricardo Montalban, Gilbert Roland.

*Crazy Horse*
Color. 94 min. VHS.
Turner Home Entertainment (1994)
Made-for-cable look at the life of the Sioux and their warrior-leader, Crazy
Horse, who led his people to victory at the Battle of Little Big Horn in 1876. Michael Greyeyes, Irene Bedard, August Schellenberg, Wes Studi, Peter Horton.

*Dances with Wolves*
Color. 181 min. VHS.
Orion Pictures (1990)
Troubled Civil War veteran goes West and finds in the lifestyle and hunting grounds of the Lakota Sioux what he has been missing. Generally hailed by critics for its faithful depiction of Indian life and customs. Spoken Lakota is dubbed in English. Kevin Costner, Mary McDonnell, Graham Greene.

*Dance Me Outside*
Color. 91 min. VHS.
Una-Pix Entertainment (1995)
The story of the passage into manhood of an 18-year-old Indian on the Kidabanesee Reserve in Ontario. Adapted from a novel by W. P. Kinsella. Ryan Black, Adam Beach, Jennifer Podemski, Lisa LaCroix, Michael Greyeyes.

*Geronimo*
Color. 102 min. VHS.
Turner Home Entertainment (1993)

*Geronimo: An American Legend*
Color. 115 min. VHS.
Columbia Pictures (1993)
The exploits of the Apache leader during the years 1885 and 1886 are effectively dramatized. Geronimo ultimately becomes a larger-than-life hero and an expression of Apache cultural values. Wes Studi, Jason Patric, Gene Hackman.

*House Made of Dawn*
Color 90 min. VHS.
New Line Studios (1996)
 Tells the story of a young American Indian named Abel, home from a foreign war and caught between two worlds: the traditional one of his father and the other of industrial America. An adaptation of the Pulitzer Prize winning novel by N. Scott Momaday. Larry Littlebird, Judith Doty, Jay Varela, Mesa Bird.

*The Indian in the Cupboard*
Color. 98 min. VHS.
Columbia/Tristar (1995)
Fantasy based on Lynne Reid Banks’s popular children’s book. A young boy discovers that a toy Indian comes to life when it is locked in a cupboard. The boy also discovers that the toy is actually a historical Iroquois warrior who lived in the nineteenth century. A bond eventually develops between the boy and the warrior. Hal Scardino, Litefoot, Lindsay Crouse, David Keith.

*Lakota Woman: Siege at Wounded Knee*
Color. 113 min. VHS.
Turner Home Entertainment (1994)
Based on the biography of Mary Crow Dog, who went from an abused childhood and intra-tribal politics to become an eyewitness to the 1973 siege at Wounded Knee. Features an all Native American cast. Irene Bedard, Lawrence Bayne, Michael Horse, Joseph Runningfox, Floyd “Red Crow” Westerman.

*The Last of the Mohicans*
Color. 110 min. VHS.
20th Century Fox (1992)
Sweeping adaptation of the James Fenimore Cooper tale of colonial America during the French and Indian War. Hawkeye (Natty Bumppo) and his Indian brother Chingachgook must rescue colonists who have been captured by In-
American Indian Tribes

Mediography

Running Brave
Color. 105 min. VHS
Buena Vista (1983)
Sentimental profile of half-Sioux athlete Billy Mills from his childhood on the Pine Ridge Reservation to his victory at the 1964 Tokyo Olympics. (The casting of a white actor in the lead Indian role caused considerable protest when the film was made.) Robbie Benson, Pat Hingle.

Shadow of the Wolf
Color. 108 min. VHS.
Triumph (1993)
Young Inuit hunter sets out to live in isolation in the Arctic wilderness. After killing a white trader, he is pursued by a Canadian mountie. Lou Diamond Phillips, Jennifer Tilly.

Smoke Signals
Color. 89 minutes. VHS.
Miramax Home Entertainment (1998)
Road movie that bills itself as the first feature film written and directed by Native Americans. Screenwriter Sherman Alexie and director Chris Eyre follow two young Indians, Victor and Thomas, as they journey from Idaho’s Coeur d’Alene Indian Reservation to Arizona to collect the ashes and pickup truck of Victor’s dead father. Adam Beach, Evan Adams, Gary Farmer, Cody Lightning, Irene Bedard, John Trudell.

Son of the Morning Star
Color. 186 min. VHS.
Republic Pictures Home Video (1991)
Thoughtful look at the life and times of General George Armstrong Custer. Emphasis is on the ill-conceived and disastrous battle against the Sioux at Little Bighorn. Rosanna Arquette, Dean Stockwell, and Rodney A. Grant.

Squanto: A Warrior’s Tale
Color. 102 min. VHS.
Disney (1994)


Little Big Man
Color. 147 min. VHS.
CBS/Fox Video/Hiller Productions, Ltd. (1970)
Jack Crabb, 121-year-old veteran of the Old West and survivor of the Battle of the Little Bighorn, tells his story and stimulates sympathy for Indians along the way. Arthur Penn directed this offbeat epic starring Dustin Hoffman, Faye Dunaway, and Chief Dan George.

A Man Called Horse
Color. 114 min. VHS.
Cinema Center (1970)
In 1825 an English aristocrat is captured by a group of Sioux and eventually becomes their leader. A relatively realistic, even graphic, portrayal of Indian life and customs, including tribal initiations. Richard Harris, Judith Anderson, Manu Tupou.

Medicine River
Color. 96 min. VHS.
United American Video (1994)
Romantic comedy about a world-renowned photojournalist who returns home to Medicine River after a twenty-year absence to attend his mother’s funeral and is conned into staying to help with a community project. Based on the 1990 Thomas King novel. Graham Greene, Byron Chief-Moon, Tom Jackson, Sheila Tousey.

Powwow Highway
Color. 89 min. VHS.
Anchor Bay Entertainment (1989)
An over-sized Cheyenne man-child goes on a spiritual quest to New Mexico while giving a ride to a lifelong Indian activist friend. Gary Farmer, A. Martinez, Graham Greene, Wes Studi, John Trudell.
Based on the life of a seventeenth-century American Indian who is abducted and brought to England by British traders. Squanto is befriended by a sympathetic monk who urges him to return to America on a peace-making mission. Adam Beach, Mandy Patinkin, Michael Gambon, Irene Bedard.

_Thunderheart_
Color. 118 min. VHS.
Tristar Pictures (1992)
An FBI agent who is part Sioux is sent to investigate a murder on a Sioux reservation and undergoes a personal transformation. The film is noteworthy for its portrayal of contemporary reservation life. Val Kilmer, Sam Shepard, Graham Greene.

_Windwalker_
Color. 108 min. VHS.
United American Video (1980)
Newly dead Cheyenne patriarch returns to life to save his family from his son, an evil twin who was stolen at birth and raised by the enemy Crow. In Cheyenne and Crow languages, and subtitled in English. Trevor Howard, Nick Ramus, James Remar, Serene Hedin.

WEB SITES

_Bureau of Indian Affairs_
The Bureau of Indian Affairs On-Line. Provides a directory of information on law, legislation, education, tribal services, reports, and statistics concerning American Indians.

http://www.richmond.edu/faculty/ASAIL/guide/guide.html

_Comprehensive survey of U.S. and Canadian Native American Studies programs being offered as majors, minors, and certifications at the baccalaureate level or above._

_Internet Public Library_
http://www.ipl.org/ref/native/
Provides information on primarily contemporary Native North American authors with bibliographies of their published works, biographical information, and links to online resources including interviews, online texts, and tribal Web sites.

_Labriola National American Indian Data Center_
Tempe: Arizona State University.
http://www.asu.edu/lib/archives/labriola.htm
The Labriola National American Indian Data Center’s research collection brings together current and historic information on government, culture, religion and world view, social life and customs, tribal history, and information on individuals from the United States, Canada, Sonora, and Chihuahua, Mexico.

_Mashantucket Pequot Museum and Research Center_
Mashantucket, Conn.
http://www.mashantucket.com/
Tribally owned-and-operated complex brings to life the story of the Mashantucket Pequot Tribal Nation, and serves as a major resource on the history of the tribe, the histories and cultures of other tribes, and the region’s natural history. Information about the museum’s collections, research library, exhibits, and events is available through the Web site.

_Native American Book Resources on the World Wide Web_
http://www.hanksville.org/NAresources/indices/NAbooks.htm
Includes links to Web sites on Native American authors, books available online, organizations, journals, book lists with Native American content, libraries, presses, book reviews, and book stores online that specialize in Native American material.


Provides access to home pages of individual Native Americans and nations, and to other sites that provide solid information about American Indians. Links are provided to information on individual Native nations, organizations, businesses, Indian education, languages, powwows and festivals, Native music, and contemporary Native American issues.

**Smithsonian Institution National Museum of the American Indian**
http://www.si.edu/cgi-bin/nav.cgi

Home page of the Smithsonian Institution’s National Museum of the American Indian in New York City. Provides information about the museum’s collections, exhibitions, publications, recordings, and education resources. Includes research information and links to other Native American sites.

**Smithsonian Institution National Museum of Natural History**
http://nmmhwww.si.edu/anthro/outreach/Indbibl/


**SOUND RECORDINGS**

**Creation’s Journey: Native American Music**
Compact Disc
Smithsonian/Folkways (1994)
Ceremonial, social, and contemporary music of Native Americans from the United States, Canada, Mexico, and Bolivia. Music by Comanche, Navajo, Seneca, Micmac, Cherokee, Kwakiutl, Zapotec, and other native performers.

**500 Nations: A Musical Journey**
Compact Disc
Epic Soundtrax (1994)
Sound track from the CBS television miniseries, 500 Nations. Music by Peter Buffett.

**Honor the Earth Powwow: Songs of the Great Lakes Indians**
Compact Disc
Ryko (1991)
Songs of the Ojibwa, the Menominee and Winnebago. Recorded July, 1990, at a powwow at the Lac Court Oreilles Reservation, Wisconsin.

**Music for the Native Americans**
Compact Disc.
Capitol Records (1994)

**Music of New Mexico: Native American Traditions**
Compact Disc. 68 min.
Smithsonian Folkways (1992)
Traditional and contemporary music by Pueblo, Navajo, and Apache musicians from New Mexico.
Mediography

Proud Heritage A Celebration of Traditional American Indian Music
Compact Disc.
Indian House (1996)
An anthology of American Indian music sung in various Indian languages including Navajo, Pueblo, Ponca, Kiowa, Creek, and Sioux.

Compact Disc.
New World Records (1991)
An anthology of music recorded on various Indian reservations and at powwows. Includes traditional songs of Pueblo, Seneca, Arapaho, Plains, Creek, Yurok, Navajo, and Cherokee tribes.

Compact Disc.
Music of the World (1992)
Tribal songs and dances recorded on location in New Mexico and Arizona by James Lascelles during the 1980s. Sung in a variety of Native American languages.

CD-ROMS

Exploring the Lost Maya
Sumeria (1996)
Contains historical material written by leading Maya scholar Robert Sharer, interactive maps of major Maya sites, nineteenth century lithographs and historical photos, an interactive multimedia time line of Maya history, movies on several facets of Maya culture, and travel information for those planning to visit the sites.

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