Neither Wolf Nor Dog: American Indians, Environment, and Agrarian Change

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and greatly dependent on federal annuities, the tribes were compelled to surrender vast tracts of Nebraska land in the 1850s. Their restriction to relatively small reservations left them without the resources to maintain viable economies just at the time that the traditional buffalo hunt was coming to an end. Subsequent withdrawals of certain lands from these already diminished reservations during the 1870s and 1880s spelled further hardship, as did the well-intentioned but disastrous allotment of the Omaha Reservation in 1882. During the 1870s the Pawnees, Poncas, and Otoe-Missouria were forcibly removed from Nebraska to present-day Oklahoma. Disease, purloined annuities, and general discouragement made adjustment to the new lands exceedingly difficult. Even the valiant efforts of Ponca leader Standing Bear to return with a small band of followers to his ancestral lands on the Niobrara River met only limited success.

David Wishart has melded together the intricate twists and turns of four tribal histories in a way that is true to the highest academic standards and yet understandable among the broadest of reading audiences. Likewise, his forty-page section of endnotes, drawn mostly from archival and ethnographic sources, speaks well of the scholarly thoroughness of his research. Never forgetting that Native Americans are the focus of this study, Wishart avoids the trap of some scholars who merely describe a litany of federal policies and call it “Indian history.” His determination to provide a spatial interpretation of events led him to include several dozen excellent maps and charts to document the dispossession process. Finally, his discussion of the Indian Claims Commission’s handling of these tribes’ land cases updates the story to our own times.

This is truly a classic study in Native American and frontier history. It is well worth the comparatively high price, but I hope that the University of Nebraska Press will soon release a paperback edition so that the book can receive wider use in the classroom and among the general reading public.


REVIEWED BY JAMES W. OBERLY, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN–EAU CLAIRE

Neither Wolf Nor Dog is a splendid book that represents the best in current ethnohistorical writing. David Rich Lewis has closely studied the forced transition to agriculture among one well-known Indian group, the Northern Utes of the Great Basin, and two more obscure
groups, the Hupas of present-day Humboldt County, California, and
the Tohono O'odham people of the territory in current Arizona that
the U.S. acquired from Mexico in the 1853 Gadsden Purchase. The
history of these groups reveals a mix of accommodation and resistance
to outside ideas about organizing society and making a living; the very
complexity of the experience of the three groups tends to belie the
catchy half-title, a reference borrowed from Sitting Bull that "Agency
Indians" were anomalies, "neither red warriors nor white farmers . . .
either wolf nor dog."

Lewis starts his book with a thorough account of the belief struc-
ture of Europeans and their American descendants, particularly the
Physiocratic and Scottish Enlightenment view that civilizations could
be rank-ordered from hunter-gatherers (what the Europeans called
rude or "savage" civilization) up to settled agriculture and urban
commerce. The author deftly traces the influence of these metaphysical
beliefs to the ideas of American policymakers, particularly in Congress
and the Bureau of Indian Affairs, to show how the ideology of the
eighteenth century drove federal Indian policy to attempt to mold
Indian hunters into settled farmers for a century between the 1830s
and 1930s.

Lewis next moves to his three case studies. In each instance he
devotes two chapters to the task: one chapter covers the family, social,
economic, and religious structures at the time of first dealings with
U.S. power; the second explores the history of federal attempts to coax
and coerce the Indian people into farming individual allotments. The
history of the Northern Utes is a classic story of a people whose varied
(and vulnerable) subsistence economy was severely damaged, first by
being limited to a reservation, and then later by the allotment policy
of individual landholdings. Despite the optimistic reports of Bureau
of Indian Affairs agents and officially designated "farmers," the Utes
never adapted to farming as the principal way of feeding themselves.
The Hupas of northern California inhabited a fertile valley along the
Trinity River and flourished on a varied diet of fish, game, and gath-
ered nuts (especially acorns). The Hupas did succeed at agriculture
in the early twentieth century, at least to the extent that they grew
crops to supplement older ways of making a living. But when a ris-
ing demand for timber reached even their isolated valley, the Hupas
transformed themselves into a logging people and largely abandoned
farming. Finally, the Tohono O'odham people came to relinquish
their centuries-old experience with desert farming in response to one
Bureau of Indian Affairs initiative after another. Well-meaning experi-
ments with irrigation and water storage came to naught, as the Indian
people left their lands after World War I for off-reservation wage work
in the new cotton fields of the Southwest. As with the Utes and Hupas, the Tohono O'odham people found that resource extraction on reservation lands paid a higher return than individual farming.

In the end, Lewis proposes a variant on Richard White’s theories about the “roots of dependency” as a replacement for the civilization theories of the Physiocrats and Edinburgh philosophers. Instead of stages, Lewis proposes a continuum from the metropolitan, modernizing, and market-oriented Euro-American core to the non-market Indian periphery. Along the continuum, or area of contact, the core is sometimes able to integrate the periphery into a new arrangement. The process was uneven, and as the history of the three Indian groups under study in Neither Wolf Nor Dog shows, history itself can move in many directions as peripheral areas can resist and retreat from the reach and ideology of the core.


REVIEWED BY THOMAS A. BRITTEN, BRIAR CLIFF COLLEGE

One of the recent trends in Native American studies is the examination of twentieth-century topics—Indian economic and legal histories in particular. Donald Parman’s timely work is in keeping with the current historiographical approach and provides an excellent survey of Native American activities in the modern era. Parman’s objectives are straightforward—to present a “reasonably balanced and objective summary” of recent Indian history and to “examine the relationship of Indian affairs to the development of the American West in the twentieth century” (xiii–xiv). The author, who has done considerable work on federal Indian policy during the New Deal era, furnishes an outstanding starting point for scholars and students who are looking to provide the broader historical context for more specialized studies in recent Indian history.

The work is arranged chronologically, beginning with the “heritage of severalty” and the disastrous ramifications (at least from the Native American perspective) of the 1887 Dawes Act. Parman sets the geographic boundaries of his study at the eastern borders of the Dakotas, Nebraska, Kansas, and Oklahoma (thus excluding Texas and Iowa). Beginning with chapter two, “The Progressive Era,” he examines the often complex relationship of western development to federal Indian policy, to reservation life, and to Native American efforts to gain a greater degree of self-determination. During the Pro-