Tribalism in Crisis: Federal Indian Policy, 1953-1961
Book Reviews

N. E. Isaacson and Associates. Within three years DRUMS controlled MEI and tribal affairs and instilled a sense of pride and self-confidence. With support from Richard Nixon, the first president to speak out strongly against termination, and a more sympathetic political climate, on December 22, 1973, Congress restored federal recognition and protection and reestablished most of the former reservation. DRUMS succeeded through strong determination, political sophistication, the "politics of conscience," growing Indian militancy, and a belief that termination had impeded rather than helped self sufficiency.

The author intelligently pieces together the story of policy development over two decades. Five sections of photographs enhance the narrative and an appendix contains copies of the principal legislation. It is, however, a rather cold policy-oriented history; the diverse personalities involved in the struggle are not sufficiently developed. The author tries to place the Menominee within an anthropology, sociology, and public policy framework. The text often refers to personal interviews, and although individuals are thanked in the acknowledgements, they are not properly documented. The first chapter contains a cursory outline of assimilation policy with very dated sources. The entire book seems to have been written more than six years before publication; nothing is said about the impact of restoration, now a decade old. Very few sources are cited after 1974, even the same publisher's tribal history by Patricia K. Ourada is not included. Despite these concerns, this is a well written study and does enhance our growing knowledge of recent federal Indian policy.

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The policy of termination in the 1950s marked a major phase in the history of United States Indian policy. To Indian leaders it was a frightening development, and the term still brings an immediate and negative reaction. It was a policy that was implemented at a time when Indian leaders had become increasingly sophisticated and had formed the National Congress of American Indians to defend Indian interests. That organization printed the first study of termination by Gary Orfield; now seventeen years later two books on the topic have appeared within the space of just a few months: Menominee Drums, by Nicholas Peroff, is the study of the impact of termination on one tribe, while Larry W. Burt of Northern Montana College seeks to
develop a broader history of the policy in *Tribalism in Crisis: Federal Indian Policy, 1953-1961*.

Burt focuses on the Eisenhower administration and particularly on Indian Commissioner Glenn Emmons, a New Mexico banker. It was a period in which Republican strength in Congress permitted conservative western congressmen to seek reversal of the Indian New Deal and to implement a policy of assimilation and termination of federal protection and services for Indian reservations. Applied to Klamaths, Menominees, and some smaller tribes, termination caused vocal Indian opposition which gained strength from the Red Power movement. White liberals, conservationists, and ultimately state and local governments joined the opposition. Emmons struggled to preserve the policy, but the administration began a retreat from termination even before the Democratic victory in 1960.

Burt's study is relatively brief and narrow, focusing as it does on the Eisenhower years. It is basically an administrative study and needs to be placed better in perspective. For example, Burt deals but briefly with the antecedents of termination and only mentions that pressure had led to the preparation of withdrawal or termination plans in the mid-1940s. He also fails to show that termination did not disappear in 1960 or 1961. As a result, this topic will continue to attract scholars.


Attempts to deal with the “Indian question” have confounded the American government almost from its very founding. Despite limited successes in isolated cases, the whole idea, no matter what the impetus or the location, can charitably be described as a miserable failure. This failure was caused not only by total incompatibility between Indian and white cultures, but equally by the collusion and dishonesty which ran so deep within the Indian bureau and its myriad Indian agents, traders, licensees, and the like.

Following the Civil War's end in 1865, corruption and ineffectiveness in the Indian bureau incredibly reached new heights. President Grant, responding to that situation as well as to pressure from reform and humanitarian groups outside of the government, sought help from the Society of Friends—the Quakers. The Quakers' long-standing reputation of honesty and square dealing with eastern Indian