

*The  
Unwritten  
Chapters*

By JOAN LaFRANCE  
(Chippewa)

An American Indian Comments  
On American History





## **THE UNWRITTEN CHAPTERS**

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AUTHOR'S NOTE - This paper is only a brief sketch of significant happenings in Indian history, post-White discovery of America. For every event mentioned, there are many more that the reader should also know. The intent of this paper is to open the door to an awareness of the Indian, his/her plight, and the injustice they have suffered. The bibliography should be consulted so the reader can gain a more complete account of the Indian's story. Most of the actual quotations of Indians were taken from a collection of Indian statements printed on a special calendar, prepared by the United Scholarship Service and printed for the year 1966.

INTRODUCTION

*"BEFORE ME PEACEFUL,  
BEHIND ME PEACEFUL,  
UNDER ME PEACEFUL,  
ALL AROUND ME PEACEFUL..."*

(Navajo)

. . . I am an Indian. I value my land, rich and fertile. I respect the waters, strong rivers and clear lakes. The vegetation, abundant and nutritious, and the animals, my brothers, belong to me.

*"We can hide our provisions and run into the woods; then you will starve for wronging your friends. Why are you jealous of us? We are unarmed, and willing to give you what you ask, if you come in a friendly manner, and not with swords and guns, as if to make war upon an enemy."*

- Werowocomoco (Virginia, 1609)

You came to my country to settle, and you offer to buy my land. However, my fathers among the Seneca tell you:

*"The land we live on, our fathers received from God, and He transmitted it to us, for our children, and we cannot part with it."*

- Corn Planter (Halftown and Greattree, 1790)



I believe in freedom. My government respects the dignity and integrity of my fellow man. My religion teaches me the spiritual harmony found in man and nature.

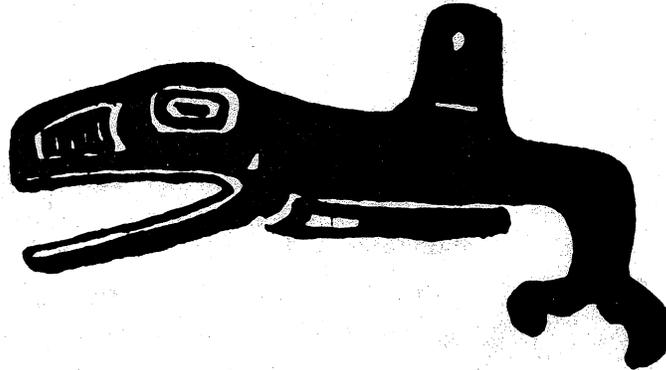
Before you came to my land I knew freedom of speech, democratic government, religious tolerance, the value of life. This was the way of my people before you came. I was strong and proud.

When you came seeking freedom, we welcomed you for we know the value of free life. Yet you rebuked our welcome. My father, *Wahunsonacock*, spoke to your father, John Smith: "*Why will you take by force what you may have quietly by love? Why will you destroy us who supply you with food? What can you get by war?*"

Yet today my land is sold, my freedom curtailed, my religion denied, my speech struck from my lips, my spirit crushed. In the words of my father, *Red Jacket*: "*Brother, our lands were once large, and yours were very small. You have now become a great people, and we have scarcely left a place to spread our blankets. You have got our country, but you are not satisfied. . .*" (1805)

I still must speak the words of *Red Jacket*: *You are not satisfied to take just my land, you must take my culture, my freedom, my life.*

I must tell you my story, for it cannot be found in your history books. As you read my history, listen to the voices of my people. . .



## I - TREATIES

Most Americans are taught that this country was purchased from the British, French, Spanish, Mexicans, and Russians. However, this is not true. America purchased the right to govern the lands held by other foreign nations. Actual ownership of the property was purchased from the Indians who owned the land by right of occupancy.

The sale of land was negotiated through treaty with Indian tribes. Treaties ceded large tracts of land to the United States government and retained smaller tracts for continued Indian occupancy. Also, the treaties determined payment for the ceded lands.

Only occasionally did this payment take the form of cash. Far-sighted Indian chiefs know that cash would soon be dissipated and leave future generations helpless. Consequently, the treaties called for payment in the form of goods, agricultural implements and cattle, as well as services such as medical services and

education. Over half of the money spent to provide services to American Indians is traceable to obligations based on land cessions. The Bureau of Indian Affairs was established to provide these services promised as payment for the land. (1)

The United States negotiated approximately 400 treaties with Indians. These treaties represent the bill of sale for this country.

Though the policy of treaty negotiations seemed to be a reasonable method for the transfer of land-title, the implementation of this policy has wrought great destruction to the Indian people. Indian history reads like a broken record, treaty violation after treaty violation. Yet to this day the treaty is recognized as part of the supreme law of the land, demanding the respect and honor of the American people.

*Curley Chief, a Pawnee father, recalls a story of the Pawnee's first contact with the White man: "I heard that long ago there were no people in this country except Indians. . . He wanted to make a treaty with us, and to give us presents. . . The head chief told him that we needed none of these things. The ruler has given us all that we need - the Buffalo for food and clothing; the corn to eat with our dried meat; bows, arrows, knives, and hoes; all the implements which we need for killing meat or for cultivating the ground. Now go back to the country from whence you come. We do not want you to come into our country. . ."* (1800-1820)

*Tecumseh, a Shawnee father, spoke to his brothers: "The way, the only way to stop this evil is for all red men to unite in claiming a common and equal right in the land, as it was at first and should be now - for it never was divided, but belongs to all. No tribe has the right to sell, even to each other, much less to strangers, who demand all, and will take no less. . . Sell a Country! Why not sell the air, the clouds and the great sea, as well as the earth? Did not the great spirit make them all for the use of his children?"* (1810)

*Joseph, chief among the Nez Perce, protests the sale of his homeland: "If we ever owned the land we own it still, for we never sold it. Suppose a white man should come to me and say, 'Joseph, I like your horses, and I want to buy them.' I say to him, 'No, my horses suit me, I will not sell them' Then he goes to my neighbor and says to him, 'Joseph has some good horses. I want to buy them but he refuses to sell.' My neighbor answers, 'Pay me the money, and I will sell you Joseph's horses.' The white man returns to me and says, 'Joseph, I have bought your horses and you must let me have them' If we sold our lands to the government, this is the way they were bought."* (1877)

#### INDIAN GLORY

To my people who wander this world in sorrow  
Let my words be strong and mighty  
For the great spirit shall come forth and save  
his people  
From shame and mockery.  
The whiteman's world that lives on nature that  
once was above them, shall crumble & turn back  
into dust.  
Our moccasins shall make prints once again to walk  
free & wander this mighty world of nature  
To swim the blue rivers that cleanse and feed us  
with the fish that the whiteman has destroyed with his  
dams and pollution.  
For the great spirit is Nature and the Indian is Nature  
Together we will be free to live and die in peace,  
To go and come as we please  
For no nation shall conquer Nature, for Nature shall  
conquer Nation.  
So unite my people, and fight not amongst yourselves  
but against what is destroying you.

-ALBERT DONEY  
(Chippewa/Cree)

## II - INDIAN WARS

Not all Indians eagerly succumbed to treaty negotiations. Many fought to retain all their lands before finally submitting to military defeat and its subsequent land-cessions.

First among many notable Indian wars was King Philip's War, fought in 1675-76. *Philip*, a Wampanoag Indian and son of *Massasoit*, the first chief to befriend the settlers of Plymouth Colony, foresaw the threat of the rapidly increasing white man. He resolved to drive them completely from the continent. He managed to recruit many neighboring tribes to his cause, but not enough Indians in New England joined his forces and he was eventually defeated by the colonial armies.

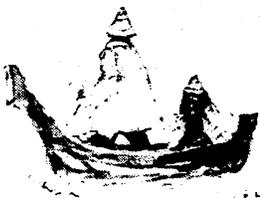
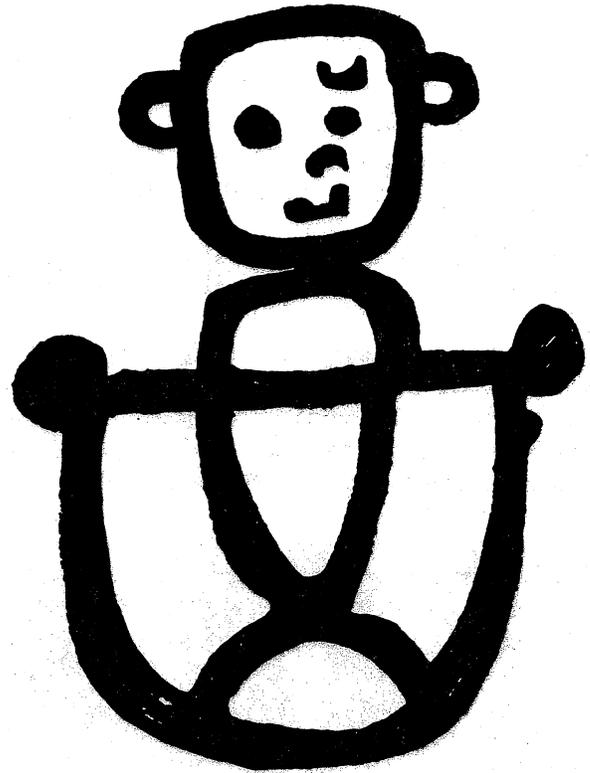
Indian tribes often engaged in limited warfare among one another before white men settled. However, their warfare functioned toward ecological harmony. The need to preserve population totals large enough to insure tribal continuance encouraged moderate warfare. The wars were limited to quick raids for immediate victories, followed by a retreat from hostilities.

However, imperialistic European nations which settled this region encouraged inter-tribal warfare and often pitted Indian against Indian. Finally the Indian had to fight a white imperialistic war with an enemy that sought only total victory. Though Indians fought nobly, they could not sustain long-scale war against the superior weapons of the whites.

Also, many tribes united with the French and British in war against the United States and fell to defeat with their European allies. *Tecumseh* achieved a strong, united front against the United States in the War of 1812 but was defeated when his British allies retreated to Canada.

The famous Seminole War of 1835-42 was a successful resistance movement against the removal policy of the United States. Though their chief, *Osceola*, was captured and imprisoned, the Seminole never yielded to the removal policy and they still reside on the East Coast.

The Plains Indians fought to protect their lands from the intrusion of pioneers traveling along the Oregon and Santa Fe trails to the West Coast. Finally they were caught in a desperate struggle to preserve their lands against white settlement. They were ultimately defeated, not only by the military might of the government, but also by the threat of starvation caused by the wanton destruction of their economic staple, the buffalo.



The wars produced great leaders, such as *Tecumseh*, *Pontiac*, *Cochise*, *Crazy Horse*, *Geronimo*, etc. These men were true patriots to their people. White Americans have been called the greatest patriots for dying to protect their land and freedom, yet Indians fighting for the same principles have been labeled as villains in the history of the United States.

My Choctaw father, *Pushmataha*, told his fellow tribesmen: "It is the duty of the brave, when injured, to lay peace aside and to have recourse to arms; and when successful in these, to then lay them down again in peaceful quiet; thus never to suffer insults." (1800)

*Tecumseh* speaks to the British in 1812: "The Americans have not beaten us by land nor are we sure they have done so by water. We therefore wish to stay here and fight the enemy if they come. You have got the arms and ammunition which our great Father sent for his red children. If you mean to go away, give them to us, and you may go . . . We are determined to defend our lands, and, if it be His will, we wish to leave our bones upon them."

*Joseph*, chief to the Nez Perce, speaks to your government: "Tell General Howard I know his heart. What he told me before, I have in my heart. I am tired of fighting. Our chiefs are killed. Looking Glass is dead. Toohoolhoolzote is dead. The old men are all dead. It is the young men who say yes or no. He who led the young men is dead. It is cold and we have no blankets. The little children are freezing to death. My people, some of them have run away to the hills, and have no blankets, no food. No one knows where they are - perhaps freezing to death. I want to have time to look for my children and see how many I can find. Maybe I shall find them among the dead. Hear me, my chiefs. I am tired; my heart is sick and sad. From where the sun now stands, I will fight no more forever." (1877)

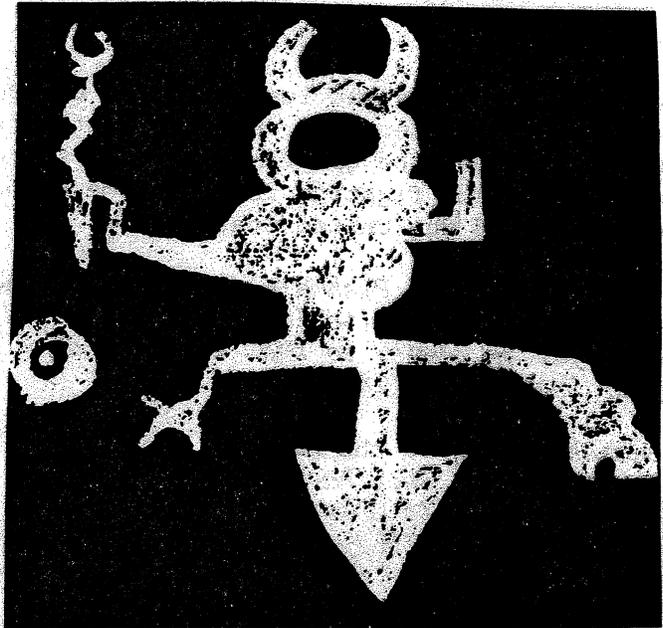
### III - INDIAN REMOVAL

One of the early and significant acts of treaty violation occurred in the 1830's. The tribe affected was the Cherokee, which had negotiated a land-cession treaty in 1794. They reserved for their continued occupancy land in the mountain country of Georgia, North Carolina and Tennessee. While occupying this land, their famous citizen, *Sequoyah*, developed a sophisticated alphabet; they wrote a constitution creating legislative, judiciary and executive branches of government. They established a free press and a public-school system. Because of these accomplishments they were considered one of the Five Civilized Tribes.

In 1828 Andrew Jackson, the Indian fighter, was elected President. By 1830 he had put through Congress the Indian Removal Act. This act gave him the power to remove tribes living on the East Coast to a territory west of the Mississippi which was classified as "permanent Indian Country."

During this same period, gold was discovered on the Cherokee land in Georgia, and the State of Georgia passed a law "annexing all Cherokee lands within the state, declaring all laws of the Cherokee Nation to be null and void, and forbidding Indians to testify in any state court against white men. The Cherokee lands were distributed to whites through a lottery system." (2)

The Cherokee Chief, *John Ross*, appealed to the United States Supreme Court in 1830. The court ruled against the rights of the Cherokee. However, in 1833 the court reversed its ruling in the famous case, *Worcester v. The State of Georgia*. The court ruled: "Indian tribes or nations 'had always been considered as distinct, independent, political communities, retaining their original natural rights. . . The Cherokee nation, then, is a distinct community, occupying its own territory, with boundaries accurately described, in which the citizens of Georgia can have no force, and which the citizens of Georgia have no right to enter, but with the assent of the Cherokees themselves. . .'" (3)



John Marshall delivered this opinion, and in response Andrew Jackson made his famous statement, "John Marshall has made his decision, now let him enforce it."

Enforce it he could not, and thus this is the tragic tale of the Cherokees' "Trail of Tears." The President ordered General Winfield Scott and 7,000 troops to invade the Cherokee land. Men, women and children were seized without notice and forced into camps. Most of the Indians' household goods and farm implements were confiscated by white people. From the camps the troops moved the Indians across the mountains to the Arkansas territory.

This march was begun in midwinter. According to eyewitness reports, ". . .even aged females, apparently nearly ready to drop into the grave, were travelling with heavy burdens attached to their backs, sometimes on frozen ground and sometimes on muddy streets, with no covering for their feet." (4) Four thousand Indians, men, women and children, died on this trek.

In 1838, while Indians were dying from exhaustion and cold on the trail, President Van Buren reported to Congress that ". . .the measures (for Cherokee removal) authorized by Congress at its last session have had the happiest effects. . . The Cherokees have emigrated without any apparent reluctance." (5)

As a final insult, the government charged the Cherokee for the costs of the removal.

My brothers, the Cherokee, speak to the United States Congress in 1822: "*We appeal to the magnanimity of the American Congress for justice, and the protection of the rights and liberties and lives of the Cherokee people. We claim it from the United States by the strongest obligation which imposes it upon them - by treaties; and we expect it from them under that memorable declaration, 'That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.'*"

#### IV - KILL THE INDIAN, BUT SAVE THE MAN

The military defeat of Indians was only the end of one inning in the sustained conflict between the Indian and white cultures. The new battles were to preserve land and to preserve culture, or what was left of Indian land and culture after tribes were settled on reservations.

The period after the 1870's saw the development of a policy termed "Kill the Indian, but save the man." The Indian way of life was never fully understood or respected by White America. Indians have been victims of an applied policy of cultural genocide that has attacked the very foundations of cultural expression. This policy has attacked native expressions of religion, language and economics. In the words of John Collier, a former Commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, "The former policies toward Indian societies became reversed; a policy at first implicit and sporadic, then explicit, elaborately rationalized and completely implemented, of the extermination of Indian societies and of every Indian trait, of the eventual liquidation of Indians, became the formalized policy, law and practice.

The Indian religion was quickly attacked by Christian missionaries. By 1860, the churches began lobbying at the Indian Bureau for franchises on different reservations. (6) Indian religions were outlawed by the government and, contrary to "separation of church and state," dictum, the government subsidized mission schools.

The Ghost Dance, a religion led by *Wovoha*, a Paiute, in the 1870's, was a desperate attempt to establish some hope among the despairing generation that was trying to adjust to restrictive reservation living. The Ghost Dance religion taught that the Indian once again would prevail over the land, and the buffalo would return. The religion definitely stressed that this would not come through military overthrow but through faith. Consequently the religion was not a threat to the white communities surrounding the reservations. However, practice of the religion was prohibited.

The tragic fate of a small band of Oglala Sioux who tried to practice the Ghost Dance illustrates the intolerance of the government towards Indian religion. A small band of Sioux was brutally massacred in 1890 at the historic Battle of Wounded Knee. Their "crime" was their religion. Their desire for religious freedom was misunderstood as an attack on the Indian Agency, and the small band of men, women and children was attacked by the United States Army. One of the survivors retells the story:

*"We followed down the Dry Gulch, and what we saw was terrible. Dead and wounded (Indian) women and children and little babies were scattered all along where they had been trying to run away. The soldiers had followed along the gulch, as they ran, and murdered them in there. Sometimes they were in heaps because they had huddled together, and some were scattered all along. Sometimes bunches of them had been killed and torn to pieces where the wagon-gun hit them. I saw a little baby trying to suck its mother, but she was bloody and dead."*

The dead were buried in mass in a shallow grave, and a monument was erected to commemorate the soldiers who lost their lives in the battle. Most of the soldiers were killed by their own ricocheting bullets.

One morning I woke up and found out that I had died overnight,  
And that a new life was here for me to live,  
And the pain and things I have lost were gone.  
Things are going to change.  
Things are going to change. Why?  
Things are going to change. How come?  
Because I first want to be me,  
And nobody else (I think).  
Don't be afraid.

-STEVE SNYDER  
(Tsimpshaan/Haida)

*"To the center of the world you have taken me and showed the goodness and the beauty and the strangeness of the greening earth, the only mother, and there the spirit-shapes of things, as they should be, you have shown me and I have seen. At the center of the sacred hoop you have said that I should make the tree to bloom.*

*"With tears running, O Great Spirit, Great Spirit, my Grandfather - with running eyes I must say now that the tree has never bloomed. A pitiful old man, you see me here and I have fallen away and have done nothing. Here at the center of the world, where you took me when I was young and taught me; here, old, I stand and the tree is withered, my Grandfather!*

*"Again, and maybe the last time on this earth, I reveal the great vision you sent me. It may be that some little root of the sacred tree still lives. Nourish it then, that it may leaf and bloom and fill with singing birds. Hear me, not for myself but for my people; I am old. Hear me that they may once more go back into the sacred hoop and find the good road, the shielding tree." (7)*

*Black Elk, a survivor of Wounded Knee, prays to the Great Spirit: "You have said to me, when I was still young and could hope, that in difficulty I should send a voice four times, once for each quarter of the earth, and you would hear me.*

*"Today I send a voice for a people in despair. You have given me a sacred pipe, and through this I should make my offering. You see it now.*

*"From the west you have given me the cup of living water and the sacred bow, the power to make life and to destroy. You have given a sacred wind and the herb from where the white giant lives - the cleansing power and the healing. The daybreak star and the pipe, you have given from the east; and from the south, the nation's sacred hoop and the tree that was to bloom."*

Though the Indian had agreed to the need for education, and it was part of the treaty negotiation, he has suffered immeasurably in the process of becoming educated.

In addition to the mission schools, Indians have attended federally supported day-schools and boarding schools. From their inception these schools have done little to enhance the Indians' self respect and identity. The major goal of schooling has been to develop white attitudes and values in Indian children. In some schools it was a violation of the rules to be caught speaking a native Indian language.

Some boarding schools are located thousands of miles from a child's home, and visits to the family are rare. In earlier days the Army herded children to the distant schools, and they were not able to return to their homes for the entire duration of their education.

Today many Indians are educated in local school districts operated by the state educational system. Even these schools do not offer a sensible program to the

culturally different Indian child. After a fact finding tour on Indian education, the late Senator Robert Kennedy remarked: "We were in Idaho the other day and I was asking the superintendent of schools, where they had 80 percent Indian children, whether they taught anything about Indian history or Indian culture. The tribe was a very famous tribe, the Shoshone, which had a considerable history, and he said, 'There isn't any history to this tribe.'

"This had a tremendous effect on the children. So I asked him if there were any books in the library where all these children could go and read about Indian history, and he said, 'Yes,' and we went to the library. There was only one book and the book was entitled, 'Captive of the Delawares.' It showed a white child being scalped by an Indian." (8)

Today, in many states the Indian faces a dropout rate that is twice the national average.

An Indian who was graduated from the white educational system: *"Education - it has separated you from your family, your heritage . . . what more sickening life do you want. So God help me, I didn't ask for this. No I didn't."* (9)

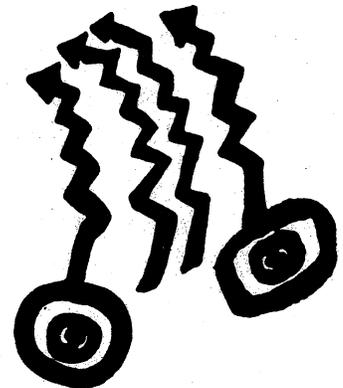
The Chairman of the Crow Tribal Council in 1962: *"We like to keep our identity as Indians. The objective and policy of the present tribal government is education. We want education, we want to educate our children to know the ways of the white man, so that they can help themselves as well as helping the Crow tribe in carrying on its business. We know the Indian can be an equal to the white man if he has the education. But we don't like to see our Indians lose their traditions as Crow Indians. We want to be Crow Indians and at the same time we want to be equal to the white population in the United States."*

Melvin Thom, Paiute, in 1965: *"The forced assimilation policies and cultural genocide to which Indian people have been subjected is a deprivation of basic human rights without parallel in the free world. We believe that the concept of a Great Society could give recognition to the fact that cultural diversity is an asset, and not a liability, to this nation. . . We will call upon President Johnson to take measures to insure full recognition of the basic legal status of Indian tribes and Indian reservations. We desire this, not that we may be separate, but that we may find security in our homeland, and that we may survive as a people in the American system."*

**THE LAND** - Though the treaty was a guarantee to the tribes that they could enjoy, without white interference, their reserved lands, Indians have not had this opportunity. Even after the establishment of reservations, there has been a continuing battle to preserve this land-base, and Indians have frequently lost.

One of the greatest defeats was the passage of the Dawes Act, also known as the Indian Allotment Act, in 1887.

Indian property was communal property. The land was used through the tribal entity. The very essence of Indian society was based on tribalism, and an individual's identity was important within the concept of a group.



This concept, being alien to European views of capitalism and private ownership, had to be changed. It was changed - by law. The great need to civilize the Indian forced upon the Indian Christianity, the English language (at the complete expense of the native languages) and private ownership.

The Dawes Act reasoned that an Indian would be more interested in farming if he had his own piece of land. Consequently the Indian Allotment Act parceled the reservation into lots for each individual member of the tribe.

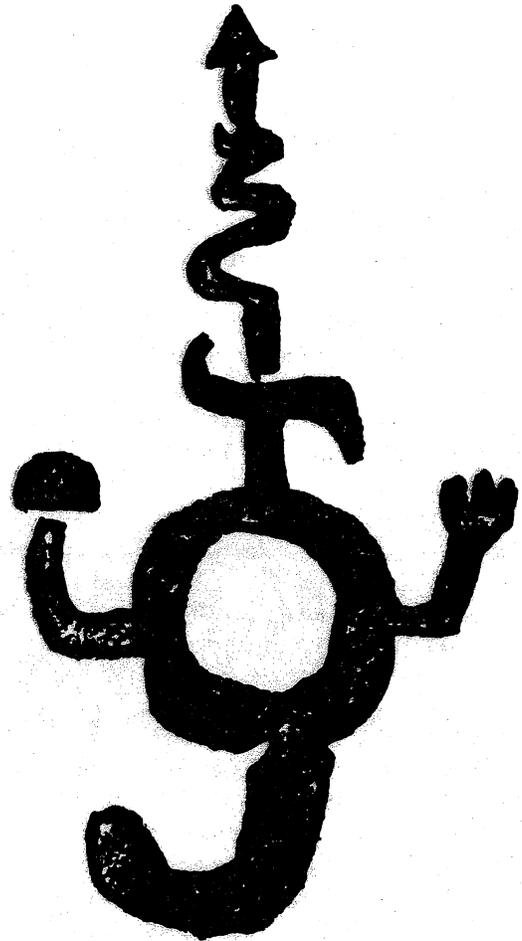
In light of the Indian's feeling for his homeland, and the promise that his reserved lands would be free for his occupancy, it is ironic that Senator Dawes could make the following statement to justify his bill:

"The severalty law was both necessary and an experiment. Congress had begun the experiment of trying for the first time in the history of the government to take some money out of its own treasury to educate the Indian. They found, however, that something more than mere education was necessary. The Indian could not be civilized or Christianized by mere intellectual training. If he was to become a Christian, self-supporting citizen of the United States, he must have a home. The home is the center of all the civilizing and Christianizing forces by which he can be lifted up out of his barbarism into self-supporting Christian citizenship." (10)

After the reservations were allotted, remaining Indian land was opened to white homesteading. The allotment was held in trust, with the Bureau of Indian Affairs serving as trustee. Though the trust status prohibited the sale of allotments, this restriction has been lifted at times when land was too valuable to remain in Indian ownership. Since the Act did not result in Indians' farming their allotments, the Act was amended in the 1890's to allow the Bureau to lease Indian land to white farmers or ranchers.

The allotment Act did not achieve its objective. It caused Indians great hardship and poverty. Since 1887, Indian land holdings have dwindled from 138 million acres to 55 million acres. (11)

The voice of Smohalla, Nez Perce: ". . . you ask me to plow the ground. Shall I take a knife and tear my mother's breast? Then when I die she will not take me to her bosom to rest. You ask me to dig for stone. Shall I dig under skin for bones? Then when I dig I cannot enter her body to be born again. You ask me to cut grass and make hay and sell it and be rich like white man. But how dare I cut off my mother's hair? It is a bad law, and my people cannot obey it."



## V - THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

In 1934 another Act of Congress established a policy that was based on real concern for the nature and needs of the Indian people. John Collier, then Commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, sought a bill that would:

1. Recognize Indian societies, and help these societies undertake political, administrative and economic self-government;
2. develop an Indian Civil Service;
3. stop the allotment of Indian land;
4. establish a loan-fund for developing tribal enterprise;
5. establish civil and criminal law-enforcement responsible to the tribes; and
6. consolidate the allotted lands and deliver them back into tribal ownership.

The final bill, known as the Wheeler-Howard Act, adopted the first four points. The new direction called for governmental support to Indian self-expression and reservation development. However, the failure to consolidate the allotted holdings has perpetuated the problem of Indian land-fractionalization. Today many tribes are purchasing individual allotments from their tribal members and reinstating this land into a tribal property. Although the Indian tribe could organize its own governing council, most important actions of the tribes are subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior. Consequently, tribal government is not yet free.



Within 20 years of adoption of the Wheeler-Howard Act, Congress passed another bill that completely shattered the new direction taken in 1934.

In 1953 the "solution" to the Indian problem was House Concurrent Resolution 108. This Act called for the termination of all reservations and the elimination of any special recognition of Indian societies. Unfortunately some reservations have fallen victim to this policy, notably the Menominee of Wisconsin and the Klamath of Oregon. Today the Menominee are poorer than they were, pre-termination. Despite federal and state aid, they have little potential to develop as a viable economic entity. They no longer have their own land-base, and they face a black future of degeneration as a tribal community.





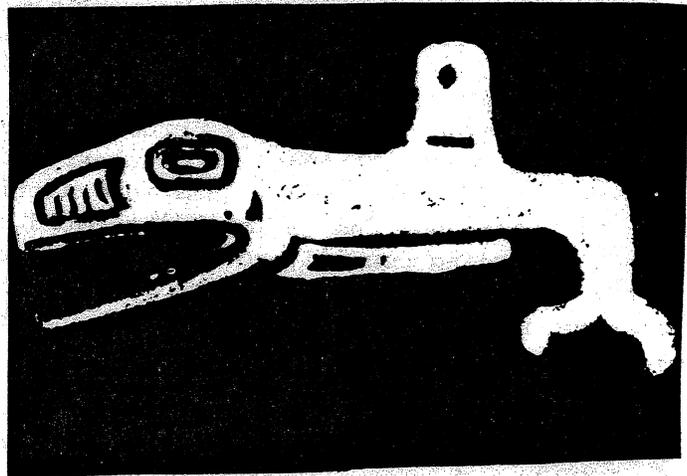
The disastrous results of the termination policy have caused a temporary halt to this policy. But Indians have no assurance that the policy will not again threaten their very life-blood, the last of the land that remains in their possession.

## VI - A LOCAL BATTLE

The entire Pacific Northwest culture was based on the abundance of salmon returning to spawn in local rivers and streams. Indians in Washington State developed a highly sophisticated culture around the salmon. The importance of salmon both economically and spiritually caused the Indians to include clauses in their land-cession treaties protecting their right to fish in various locations off the reservation. As with most treaty-protected rights, the Indians have had this clause denied them by unilateral governmental action.

The State of Washington has argued that the fish-runs are almost depleted and that Indians are threatening the last supply of salmon left to spawn in the streams. Consequently Washington State courts have passed permanent injunctions prohibiting Indians from fishing in their "usual and accustomed" fishing grounds.

Indians respect the need to maintain the ecological balances in nature. Their way of life is based on respect of land and the value of conserving the natural resources. Prior to white settlement in this area, they would never dump refuse into the streams because that would show disrespect to the salmon's home. Yet today, amidst heavily polluted streams, dams that obstruct the fish-runs, abundant sports fishermen, and profitable, non-Indian commercial fisheries, the Indian is told he is a grave threat to the preservation of salmon.



The Indian was guaranteed his right to fish by treaties signed in 1856. Today he must wage costly court battles to have the guarantee recognized. His lack of legal funds and political strength has hampered his efforts to obtain justice. He finds himself regulated by state authority, when he has rights supposedly guaranteed by the supreme court of the land.

Recent Federal court decisions have ruled that states must recognize the Indian fishery and can regulate that fishery only after proving it is a last resort needed for conservation. Though the burden of proof lies with the state, the Indians' fishing has been prohibited and the Indian has had to hire lawyers to

fight his case. In spite of the obvious injustice involved, the press and public usually champion the cause of the state and side with the sports fishermen, who are concerned for their pleasure, not for their livelihood.

According to statistics, Indian fishing accounts for less than 10 percent of the salmon caught in the State of Washington annually.

*James Jackson, Chairman of the Quinault Tribal Council (1968): "On the Quinault River my people (went out) when the first sockeye (salmon) entered the river along about the first of December, and this fish was taken. And this fish was cut lengthwise into strips, and there was a feed. There was a celebration and an offering to the gods of nature for the return of the fish, because our people respected nature to the point of worship. And the bones of these fish which were not cut were placed back into the river as an offering.*

*"When we first started talking of a commercial fishery, my people were afraid to sell fish to the white men because they thought, well, they are going to cut the fish crosswise, and they will destroy the fish-run. The fish won't come back, and little did they know how accurate they were."*

## VII - CONCLUSION

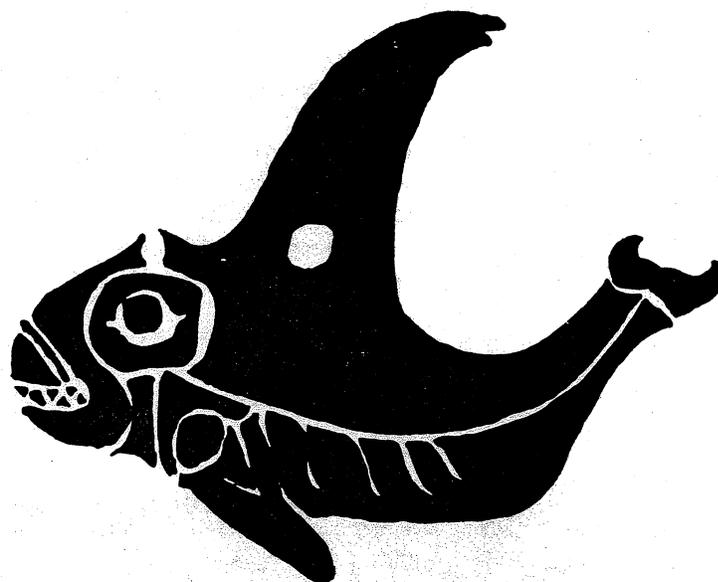
Indians have overwhelmingly opposed termination, yet the policy was implemented.

Indians did not want their tribal land allotted, yet today they own small, fractionalized pieces of land that render little help to their economic needs.

Indians have fought to maintain their language, religion and customs, yet today they have lost much of their culture through governmental suppression. As a nation of First Americans they have been disenfranchised by White America.

The Indians' plight is ironic in light of the democratic principles Indians valued and contributed to White America.

When the colonists settled in New England, they were exposed to the tenets of the Iroquois Confederation. "Politically, there was nothing in the kingdoms and empires of Europe in the 15th and 16th centuries to parallel the democratic constitution of the Iroquois Confederacy, with its provisions for initiative, referendum and recall, and its suffrage for women as well as men."



The federal system on which our government is based was inspired by Indians. After observing the Iroquois, Benjamin Franklin remarked: "It would be a strange thing if six nations of ignorant savages should be capable of forming a scheme for such a union and be able to execute in such a manner that it has subsisted for ages and appears indissoluble, and yet that a like union should be impracticable for ten or a dozen English colonies to whom it is more necessary and must be more advantageous, and who cannot be supposed to want an equal understanding of their interest."



The Indian is asking for the same freedom his white brothers sought when they settled his land. He has been asking for the right of self-determination.

This is not a recent request. Over a hundred years ago, enlightened members of Congress observed that a large part of the activity of the Indian Bureau was being carried on in violation of law and without any statutory authority. In 1834 the House Committee on Indian Affairs recommended that the Indian Bureau turn much of its work over to Indians and that Bureau employees be placed under the control of the tribes. This recommendation has yet to be realized, 136 years later.

Today the Indian has quit asking. He has started to demand.

He is demanding land taken from him illegally, by claiming federal "surplus" land, be it Alcatraz Island or Fort Lawton.

He is demanding that his rights guaranteed by treaty be recognized, be they fishing rights or rights to a decent education.

He is demanding his freedom, and if he loses again today, perhaps the prediction of renowned lawyer Felix Cohen will become an awful reality: "For us, the Indian tribe is the miner's canary, and when it flutters and drops we know that the poison gases of intolerance threaten all other minorities in our land. And who of us is not a member of some minority?"

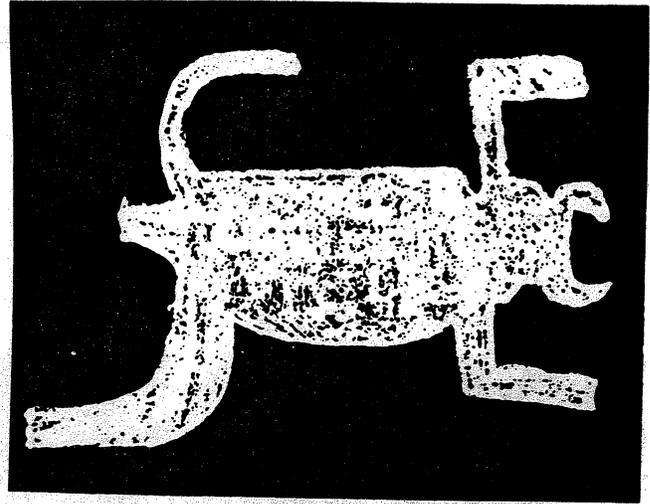
*"It makes little difference, however, where one opens the records of the Indians; every page and every year has its dark stain. The story of one tribe is the story of all, varied only by differences of time and place; but neither time nor place makes any difference in the main facts. Colorado is as greedy and unjust in 1800 as was Georgia in 1830, and Ohio in 1795; and the United States government breaks promises now as deftly as then, and with added ingenuity from long practice."*

- Tillie Walker and Angela Russell  
(1965)

*Old Tales*, head Cherokee Chief, address to Americans at treaty negotiations (1780's): "Much has been said of the want of what you term 'civilization' among the Indians. Many proposals have been made to us to adopt your laws, your religions, your manners and your customs.

"We do not see the propriety of such a reformation. We should be better pleased with beholding the good effects of those doctrines in your own practices than hearing you talk about them, or of reading your papers to us on such subjects.

"You say, 'Why do not the Indians till the ground and live as we do?' May we not ask with equal propriety, 'Why do not the white people hunt and live as we do?'"



THE UNWRITTEN CHAPTERS was prepared under a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities to the Seattle Indian Center, 1969-70. The author attended Wilamette University, Salem, Oregon, and was granted a B.A. degree in history by Seattle University. She has been an education counselor at Seattle Indian Center, on assignment for the American Friends Service Committee, and has taught at the Warren Reading Foundation in Seattle. She served for two years as coordinator of the Neighborhood House Indian Program and is currently pursuing her doctorate degree at Harvard University.

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#### SNOW

Will man ever be like the snow?  
So pure, so clean, so fresh.  
Or will he always be like now,  
Never knowing about death?  
So cold, so white, so silent.

One day he will be like the snow,  
Each one different than the other,  
Never to raise arms to the foe,  
For each will be his brother.

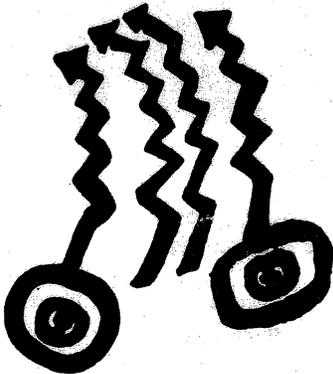
God uses it to let us know  
That he is in the sky,  
Waiting for us to see the snow  
Coming from his kingdom high.

And he will wait forever and ever For us to realize  
That each is like a snowflake  
And the universe has no size.

GEORGE ABBOTT  
(Thompson)

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- (4) COLLIER, John - Indians of the Americas (New American Library--Mentor Books, 1947), p. 122.
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- (9) CAHN, op.cit.
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- (11) CAHN, op.cit., p. 69.



RECOMMENDED READING

RALPH K. ANDRIST, The Long Death (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1969), paperback. An account of the Plains Wars.

EDGAR CAHN, Editor, Our Brother's Keeper (World Publishing Company, New York, 1969), paperback. Citizens' Advocate Center research into the problems facing Indians as a result of administrative policies in local and federal government.

JOHN COLLIER, Indians of the Americas (New American Library--Mentor Books, 1947), paperback. A sensitive discussion of Indian history by a former Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

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