

tion each caused heavy depopulation and together destroyed not only people but social systems. The point is an important one in understanding the circumstance of the Indian today.

Loss of population, loss of livelihood and, eventually, removal to reservations, altered basic aspects of various Indian social systems. What happened, in general, was the customary ways for people to interact with each other and with their environments changed, while values and beliefs about how the "good man" should interact with his social and physical environment tended to persist. The Plains Indians, for example, regarded the "good man" as a hunter and warrior; but there came a time when there was little to hunt and no fight that at best was not potential suicide. The problem with farming—which was the proffered alternative—was that it ran counter to Indian values.

To the extent that this inconsistency between traditional values and real world opportunities persists, it blocks developmental change. It can also be a mechanism to convey development; the problem is to use Indian values in positive fashion rather than oppose or ignore them. We will return to this point after considering the question of Indian social systems in relevant detail.

European population pressure for lands in America in the late seventeen and early eighteen hundreds defeated even the best-intentioned state and Federal Government attempts to partition white and Indian activities. To obtain clear access to Indian lands and prevent bloodshed on both sides, Congress in 1830 passed the Indian Removal Act, giving the Indians perpetual title to lands west of the Mississippi, and directing removal there, eventually by force, of most of the Indians to the east. In the years 1830-1840 approximately 100,000 Indians were thus "removed," with enormous hardship and suffering.

Eight years later, in 1848, came the discovery of gold in California, and with it the attempt to partition the country into Indian and white areas, so as to leave the Indians sufficient area to engage in their own productive activities, came to a rapid demise. The Federal Government began to extinguish title to the Indian lands along the California routes, and the bison herds which formed the basis of the Plains economy soon were decimated by the wagon caravans and professional hunters. Homesteaders, following major wagon routes and spreading out from these, made massive inroads on Indian land, the reservations becoming smaller and more marginal. During the period Indian "nations" gradually came to be referred to as "tribes."

In 1871 the US House of Representatives took it upon itself to henceforth deal unilaterally with the Indians, and ended recognition of Indian nations or tribes "as an independent power with whom the US may contract by treaty." In the twenty years following this assertion of dominance by Congress over the Indians there were two separate developments in Indian-white relations.

On the one hand, the Indians' attempts to control their position vis-a-vis the whites by physical force led, in general, to increasingly one-sided massacres. Related to this was the transfer, especially toward the end of the period 1871-91, of the Indians' protest from the physical to the religious sphere. Both the use of force and the religious movements must be viewed as attempts by the Indians to cope in a traditional manner with the various threats posed by white society. The type of warfare changed and new religions (e.g., the "Ghost Dance") were quite different from earlier ones; but the attempt to cope with the environment in these ways was traditional. The harsh suppression by white society of these religious movements, as well as the warfare potential of the Indians, fundamentally altered their ability to interact with their total environments on their own initiative. A result was the destruction of principal goals of Indian life.

On the other hand, the years between 1870 and 1890 a number of private organizations were formed to alleviate the plight of the Indians, their main methods being to influence Federal legislation directly or indirectly through arousal of public sentiment.

When President Grant took office in 1869, he appointed a Board of Indian Commissioners (disbanded in 1933) to advise on Indian policy. While this was a Government group, it had no power to implement its recommendations. Grant also asked missionaries working among the reservation Indians to nominate Government field agents. This policy was abandoned in 1880, a failure for both the Indians and the Government. Two observations might be made on these developments: without legislative influence good advice is meaningless; and good intentions without knowledge of the problems as the Indians see them are potentially harmful.

In 1879 the Women's National Indian Association was formed; and in 1882 the Indian Rights Association. A year later saw the first meeting of the Annual