Chapter 4, Part I
Racist Landscapes: Indian Reservations

The attitudes, policies, and actions of U.S. and Canadian governments created racist cultural landscapes. Both governments created special, restricted places for native peoples, called respectively Indian Reservations and Indian Reserves. They also interned Japanese residents in their respective countries during World War II. Only in the United States did two more distinctive racist landscapes emerge from slavery and the annexation of northern Mexico.

Spatially, the U.S. Borderlands and concentration of African Americans in the former southern slave states resulted in two continuous regional cultural landscapes whereas Japanese internment camps were and Indian reservations are only concentrated point patterns, albeit small in area and few in number for the former, and large and many for the latter. Each of these cultural landscapes has changed over time. Indian reservations have become less important to Indians because today only about 25 percent live on reservations whereas in 1870 about 92 percent did, even though the number of Indians increased from about 313,000 to 1.4 million. Furthermore, the total square miles of Indian occupied-territory declined from just under 250,000 in 1868 to only about 90,000 today. Reservation landscapes will remain as long as reservations continue to be legal political entities, even if the number of Indians and non-Indians living on them continues to decrease. No such fate is in store for the Black former slave and plantation region of the South. Except for a few historic state parks, the slave plantation landscape is rapidly disappearing. Although Blacks as a percent of the total population still continue to be uniquely concentrated in the South, more Blacks now live in northern urban ghettos where they have created another distinctive type of cultural landscape. On the other hand, the Borderlands have become more important as more Mexicans have settled on both sides of the international border, particularly on the U.S. side. Similar to earlier Black migrations to northern cities, Mexicans and other Latinos are today also concentrated in urban barrios in Border States and farther north. Finally, Japanese Americans no longer occupy internment camps and most material traces of these camps have vanished from the landscape. Even though Little Tokyo is still the cultural center for Japanese American in Los Angeles, it is only a shadow of its former importance as Japanese Americans were dispersed and then assimilated.

Part I. Indian Reservation Landscapes

The Indian nations of North America, often called “tribes” but interestingly this term is not used for European cultural groups, had a diversity of languages, religions, political structures, social organizations, economies, settlement patterns, dwellings, and attitudes and behaviors towards nature and neighboring groups, from friendly to aggressive. What Indians do have in common are their encounters with European colonial empires and subsequent national governments. The White-Indian interactions, much of it negative for Indians and positive for White settlers and national governments, are expressed in the reservation landscapes of the United States and Canada. Settler and governmental treatment of Indian populations and resulting federal policies were very much the same in both Canada and the United States, whereas in Mexico, the highly-developed and densely-settled Indian populations, even after European diseases and warfare, remained sufficiently large that Spanish colonials tried and generally succeeded to incorporate Indians into the Spanish economy and culture. Nevertheless, the most remote areas from the capital of Mexico City, such as the Yucatan and Chiapas, have retained the largest percentages of Indian communities who have culturally and politically resisted hegemonic forces.

Spanish presence was all pervasive, militarily, economically, and
socially. Indeed, the unique racial mixing in Latin America, resulting in mestizos, assured that Indianness would remain a dominant characteristic of all Mexican culture and thus setting aside special areas for them was irrelevant. Indeed, Spain integrated Indians, albeit at the bottom of the socio-economic structure. In the rest of North America, Indian population densities were much lower and scattered allowing their spatial and societal segregation, removal, relocation, and, finally, spatial separation from the dominant European-origin populations and settlements in the settler empires of Canada and United States.

**European Discovery and Conquest**

North America was of course completely occupied and utilized by native populations when European explorers, traders, missionaries, and, finally, settlers arrived in the Western Hemisphere. The level and kind of technology and hunting and agricultural practices of native peoples differed profoundly from those of Western Europe at the time of “discovery” and conquest. Contrary to popular belief at the time and for many people even today, Christopher Columbus did not “discover” the "New World" -- the Indians already knew where it was and it was not new to them. And European settlers did not find an empty land. For the Europeans who were accustomed to agricultural settled landscapes based on plows and draft animals, the parts of North America that later became Canada and the United States seemed like a wilderness, but for the native peoples the land was needed for hunting, fishing, gathering wild foods, and for shifting and permanent agriculture (Figure 4-I-map). Yet, Indians were seen as primitive, nomadic, without attachment to specific and unique places, occupying an empty land, uncivilized, un-Christian, and communal with no sense of private property (Berkhofer 1978). False assumptions about Indians, whether conscious or not, allowed the Canadian and U.S. governments and White settlers to achieve their goal of continental land domination.

As Donald Meinig (1969) says, European colonialism was a process of cultural transformation, violent in its execution, pervasive in its impact, and deeply geographic in its causes and consequences. After independence the United States became itself an imperial power when it acquired by whatever means territories and subordinated the people who lived within these territories. Imperial attitudes and practices, whether colonial or national, were based on racist notions of conquered people. By defining “captive peoples,” to use Meinig’s term (1992), as non-human, non-European, non-Christian (pagan), or uncivilized, conquering empires and their administrators were relieved of feeling guilt about their destructive actions. Native peoples were beyond Christianity, or at least until they could be converted, but even after conversion, natives continued to be considered inferior and were treated as such. Of the 10 to 12 million Indians at the time of Europe contact, about 75 percent died of epidemic European diseases such as smallpox, cholera, and syphilis. Today, Indian populations have exceeded their original population numbers.

**Boreal Riverine Empire**

In the northern regions of North America, the French and the British colonial powers created boreal riverine empires while the Russians were creating such an empire across Siberia, into Alaska, and south along the Pacific Coast. Boreal refers to the ecosystems in the northern parts of the Northern Hemisphere which has subarctic and continental climates (long, cold, snowy winters; short, hot, humid summers) and tundra and taiga vegetation (stunted larch and birch, aspen; needleleaf evergreen trees, such as pine and spruce; and mosses and lichens) in which fur-bearing animals (minks, muskrats, beaver, fox, bear) and deer lived in great abundance (Krech 1999). Riverine refers to the many rivers, streams, and lakes that characterize this continental glaciated landscape. The boreal forests
Boreal riverine colonies were established along river systems; the larger and longer the rivers the more valuable the empire, e.g., the French controlled the St. Lawrence River with the principle ports of Montreal and Quebec (Figure 4-I-). The sexual interaction of French fur traders and Indian women resulted in a mixed breed of Metis, unique to western Canada. Today the Metis are concentrated along a line from Winnipeg, Manitoba, to Edmonton, Alberta. To head off the French expansion in the interior of the continent, the British crown contracted with trading companies to create an interior empire from Hudson Bay at Winnipeg. The U.S. government continued the fur trade for a short time after they seized control of land from the British.

Based on the Canadian census, 600,000 persons identified with the label Indian, 300,000 with Metis, and 45,000 as Inuit (Census Canada 2006). The highest percentage of aboriginal populations are found in the three territories and the northern sections of the ten provinces -- in the most isolated and least desirable areas as European agriculturalists historically perceived these lands. Ironically, these northern regions contain vast amounts of mineral, timber, and fishing resources, yet little of this modern wealth is shared with indigenous peoples. Essentially all of Northern Canada is Indian country, whether designated as reserves or not. In Canada, in contrast to the United States, Indians, aboriginals, and native peoples are called First Nations. Like most Indian treaties with the U.S. government, aboriginal (First Nation) rights to fish for food and social and ceremonial needs, but not for commercial purposes, are acknowledged, not in treaties as in the United States, but in the Canada’s constitution.

The lands set aside for native people in Canada are called reserves. Though the government owns reserve land, the particular band that lives on a reserve is responsible for managing it. Indian reserves have existed in Canada since the time of New France. They were created through a variety of means -- by missionaries, private individuals, concession of Crown lands, treaties between Indian bands and the government. For example, the British signed about 80 treaties with Native Nations prior to the passage of the North America Act of 1867 which not only created the Dominion of Canada but also recognized the sovereignty of Indian lands (Giese 2006).
Although Canada has officially 2,279 reserves, only about 560 are occupied by any sizable Indian population (Table 4-I-1). Reserves are strikingly small in area compared with the many moderate to very large reservations in the United States. Most of the Indians of Canada are subarctic peoples with very small population sizes. Most of the reserves were also only created in the nineteenth century when Indian populations had declined substantially after contact with European alcohol, diseases, and some warfare (most Canadian Indians did not fight against the Europeans). In the first Canadian census of 1871, Nova Scotia had fewer than 700 Indians yet the Canadian government had created 14 small reserves for them. Reserves were not considered to be permanent homes for native people: they were places for the Indians to stay as they moved around hunting, fishing, and gathering. The many small reserves in Canada are illustrated by Figure 4-1- which shows the size and location of reserves near Edmonton, Alberta.

Table 4-I-1  INDIAN RESERVE LAND REGISTRY, 1968

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROVINCE OR TERRITORY</th>
<th>NUMBER OF BANDS</th>
<th>NUMBER OF RESERVES AND SETTLEMENTS</th>
<th>APPROXIMATE AREA IN ACRES</th>
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<tr>
<td>Northwest Territories</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>2,152</td>
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<tr>
<td>Prince Edward Island</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>2,741</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yukon Territory</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>28</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nova Scotia</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>36</td>
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<tr>
<td>New Brunswick</td>
<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>Quebec</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>188,198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manitoba</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>102</td>
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<td>190</td>
<td>1,625</td>
<td>844,726</td>
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<td>67</td>
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<tr>
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<td>113</td>
<td>170</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alberta</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>1,807,625</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CANADA</td>
<td>558</td>
<td>2,279</td>
<td>6,021,910</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Includes both occupied and unoccupied

Source: Land Title Section, Indian-Eskimo Economic Development Branch, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1968.

Figure 4-I-1  Indian reserves near Edmonton, Alberta.

Because reserves are generally small in area, they are easily overlooked in the landscape, yet they are distinctive from the surrounding communities. Foremost, these cultural landscapes are bleak in appearance reflecting the material poverty of people who live on the reserves: old or minimal standardized government housing units with little or not maintenance set in unkempt yards with abandoned and unused cars, trucks, and snowmobiles. Only few signs of native cultures exist: occasionally wigwams or decorative Indian motifs on buildings (Figure 4-I-1).

The water quality in more than 200 reserves is deemed "risky." Although aboriginals living outside reserves have lower levels of education, health, and income than other Canadians, the gap is even wider on the reserves.
Canadian Indian policies have vacillated between eradicating reserves and honoring Indian land claims. In 1969 Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau wanted to assimilate the country’s aboriginals by abolishing Indian status and their “special” treatment by the state. But by 1982, broad aboriginal rights were included in the new Canadian constitution and in 1999, the government settled the largest claim in Canadian history with the new territory of Nunavut -- essentially an Inuit homeland. The creation of such a political homeland for Indians in the United States is unimaginable.

Christianization of Indians

Throughout North America, various religious denominations, particularly the Roman Catholic Church, Christianized native people. Following the Russian fur trade to Alaska, the Russian Orthodox Church converted native people there. In the French fur trading areas of the Upper Midwest, the St. Francis monks converted Indians to Roman Catholics (Figure 4-I-left). Later, this order established the St. Francis Mission School in northern Wisconsin. Thomas Hart Benton's mural in the Missouri state capitol in Jefferson City shows the nature of White and Indian exchange during the fur trade: whiskey for pelts as the agricultural settlers with their plows and oxen are encroaching in the background (Figure 4-I-right).

During the settler empire phase of White domination, many churches in the USA and Canada operated residential schools, which originally (at least) were designed to transform these "savages" into "civilized" people, i.e., make Indians White!

Canada’s Abuse of Indian Children in Schools

The history of subjugation of Native People in Canada and the United States and their periodic forced integration into the dominant cultures resulted originally in the establishment of mission schools first and, later, federal government-run schools. These schools were designed to “educate” Indian children to acquire White cultural norms of the English language, Christian religions, Anglo clothing, hair cuts, foods, and manners all the while punishing them, physically and psychologically, for maintaining their cultures.

In Canada, these nineteenth- and early twentieth-century educational practices of cultural genocide have recently been exposed. From the 1880s until 1996, when the last school closed, about 100,000 native children attended 100 residential schools run by the main Christian churches of Canada. The function of these schools was to transform these “savages” into productive citizens. Children were taken from their families
and confined in remote institutions where they were poorly fed and clothed, indifferently taught, forced to work long hours, and whipped if they spoke their native languages. As late as 1928, government officials predicted Canada would end its "Indian problem" within two generations by using church-run, government-funded residential schools where native children were to be prepared for life in a White society. By 1948 Native and non-Native schools were being integrated which would continue for another 40 years.

Over the years, First Nation groups repeatedly protested their continued harsh treatment in these schools, but were ignored. Then, in 1990, the grand chief of the Assembly of First Nations, Phil Fontaine, spoke out publicly about the sexual abuse he had suffered at a residential school. A 1996 Royal Commission documented beatings, buggery, and rape of male and female students by school staff over many years. Ten staff members were convicted. Almost 6,200 aboriginal people are now suing the Canadian government and the Roman Catholic, Anglican, United, and Presbyterian churches for various sorts of abuses in their former residential schools. Few cases have come to trial. The government, which set the policy and financed the schools, has already paid 27 million Canadian dollars to settle about 300 claims out of court and agreed to honor its total commitment of 2.2 billion Canadian dollars.

The Anglican diocese of Caribou, in British Columbia’s interior, paid out one large damage payment. The national office of the Anglican Church claims that legal costs will bankrupt it soon. The Roman Catholic Church foresees the same fate for several of its religious orders, which ran about 60 percent of the schools in the system. The churches and the government have publicly apologized. The Royal Commission recommended a native-run “healing fund” (to be spent over ten years) to meet the needs of thousands of victims (Economist 2000).

Figure 4-I-. The Settler Empire in North America. Source: Ingolf Vogeler, based on Meinig 1969.

Officially, the United States and Canada have resisted and avoided the label of “empire” for imposing their actions and policies on the conquered peoples of North America. The “democratic imperialism” of the United States in particular -- as Meinig (2003) calls it -- was driven by government policies and Anglo settlers and was particularly severe in displacing Indians from their lands and destroying their cultures. Ironically, the diversity and desires of immigrant settlers was no more appreciated by the established elites, for they were expected to become individual, English-speaking, law-abiding citizens, ultimately conforming to the very restrictive interpretation of freedom as expressed in the U.S. Constitution.

U.S. Indian Land Cessions and Indian Reservations

From 1851 to 1891, the U.S. government had Indian nations sign 370 treaties which transferred lands and established reservations. Between 1851 and 1856 alone, 52 treaties were negotiated (Billington 1967, Price 1950, Paullin 1932). The concentration of Indians was historically the reciprocal of White frontier expansion (Figure 4-I-.). The establishment of the reservation system coincided with the shift of Indian affairs from the War Department to the Department of the Interior. Once the hopelessness of military resistance was apparent, the objectives of the Indians and the
Whites became almost parallel: the natives wanted to remain free from the intruders, while the United States government wanted Indians isolated from settlers. Thus the Indians ceded much of their territory in return for the promise that they would be able to live in peace on reservations. Although reservation boundaries fluctuated tremendously and reservation land is still being lost to Whites, the remaining reservations are vital cultural enclaves which serve as the land points of resistance to Occidental influences.

Having passed through a period of drastic cultural change, Indian people have developed on their reservations their own characteristics of place, based upon elements of their aboriginal culture, the persistence of rural poverty, the religious and educational influences of Christian churches, and the ever-changing policies of the United States government expressed through its Bureau of Indian Affairs, Public Health Service, and other agencies. While cars and cattle have replaced horses and bison, culture change has been difficult and slow. Life on reservations is a struggle between Indian rights and values and those of the dominant western culture. In addition to the inadequate social treatment of Native Americans by Whites, the current reservation areas provide inadequate land resources for viable local Indian economies, and economic and material deprivation of Indians persists despite numerous studies and social welfare programs.

By 1775 (just before U.S. independence of 1776), British, French, and Spanish colonial governments had already claimed all the land in the 13 colonies on the Atlantic Coast and in Louisiana and Texas along the Gulf of Mexico. At least 500 different tribes occupied North America before European contact. Between 1775 and 1894 Indian tribes essentially lost their land claims to North America; “legally” treaties transferred land to the federal governments of Canada and the United States. Even though 562 tribes are “recognized” by the U.S. government, only 314 Indian reservations exist in the United States, indeed, some tribes have more than one reservation. Twelve Indian reservations are larger than the state of Rhode Island and nine reservations are larger than Delaware. Reservations are concentrated west of the Mississippi River. The U. S. government concentrated native people in marginal areas, whether in the northern Midwest, the dry grasslands of the Great Plains, or the deserts of the Southwest.

The complexities, and ultimately the unfairness, of treaties are illustrated by the Lost Cherokees. Originally from Tennessee they were forced to move to Arkansas by the federal government in the early nineteenth century and in 1828 they were forced to sign a treaty giving up their Arkansas reservation for new land in what later became Oklahoma.

Those that signed the treaty walked the “trail of tears” in which about 4,000 Cherokee died on the way to Oklahoma and those that refused to sign the treaty stayed in Arkansas and lost their sovereign status. The Arkansas Lost Cherokee are now trying to get the BIA to give them official tribal recognition with all the land and financial benefits that go with it. The Cherokee are the largest Indian nation with 729,533.

Figure 4-I- . European westward expansion and Indian land “cessions” in the nineteenth century with 1890 Indian Reservations (black areas). Source: Ingolf Vogeler, based on Missouri State University, Maps 2006.

In 2000, about 34 percent of all U.S. Indians lived on reservations, 21 percent on off-reservation trust lands, nine percent in Oklahoma tribal statistical areas, three percent in state designated American Indian statistical areas, and about half a percent in tribal designated statistical areas and state reservations (U.S. Census 2000). Indian reservations are not simply the home of U.S. Indians but the most distinctive spatial manifestations of the
interaction of U.S. culture and indigenous peoples. According to the 2000 U.S. Census, the United States had 2,475,956 Indians, Eskimos, and Aleuts, who represent less than one percent of the total national population. The geography of Indian reservations consists of the spatial distribution of reservations, Indian populations, and Indian-language speakers (compare Figures 4-I-, 4-I-, and 4-I-).
Statistically, the total Indian population in a state predicts 82 percent of the number of Indians on reservations. California and Oklahoma have larger numbers of Indians (198,275 and 169,292) but few of them live on reservations (9,265 and 4,749) because the former has only very small reservations and the later has only one even though Oklahoma was designated by the U.S. government as Indian Territory into which Indians were forced to relocate from much of the U.S. (Figure 4-I- graph-ALL Indians).

Contrary to what might be expected, not all people who live on reservations are Indian. The percentage of the reservation population being Indian varies from almost 99 percent in Texas to only 11 percent in Michigan.

The total reservation population by state does predict the number of Indians (versus non-Indians) who live on reservations, accounting for 96 percent of the occurrences. Three states are outliers, having particularly large reservation populations with over and under predicted numbers of Indians on reservations. New Mexico and particularly Arizona have large reservation populations and higher proportions of Indians, 71 and 90 percent, respectively, than predicted, whereas Washington is underpredicted with only 18 percent of its reservation population being Indian, the rest being non-Indian (Figure 4-I- graph-Reservation).

High officials at the Bureau of Indian Affairs have recently acknowledged the destructive nature of U.S. Indian policies and practices. To paraphrase Kevin Gover (2000), who was the Assistant Secretary-Indian Affairs, the purpose of the original Office of Indian Affairs in the Department of War (established by President James Monroe in 1824) was the removal of the southeastern nations by means of threat, deceit, and force; in other words ethnic cleansing. The deliberate spread of disease, the decimation of the bison herds, the use of alcohol to destroy mind and body, and the cowardly killing of women and children created tribal dependence on this agency, whose mission was to destroy all things Indian. This agency forbade the speaking of Indian languages, prohibited the conduct of traditional religious activities, outlawed traditional government, and made Indian people ashamed of whom they were. The Bureau of Indian Affairs committed these acts against the children entrusted to its boarding schools, brutalizing them emotionally, psychologically, physically, and spiritually. The trauma of shame, fear, and anger has passed from one generation to the next, and manifests itself in the rampant alcoholism, drug abuse, and domestic violence that plague Indian country. Poverty, ignorance, and
disease have been the product of this agency's legacy of racism (bold text added to Gover’s comments).

U.S. Indian Reservation Landscapes

Approximately 56.2 million acres of land are held in trust by the United States for various Indian tribes; most of which are reservation lands, however, not all reservation lands are trust lands. On behalf of the United States, the Secretary of the Interior serves as the official trustee of these lands but routine trustee responsibilities are delegated to the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). There are approximately 275 Indian land areas in the U.S. administered in one form or another (reservations, pueblos, rancherias, communities). Over 93 percent of reservation lands are found in the 11 Western States; east of the Mississippi River, hardly three percent of former Indian lands remain in reservations. About 66 percent of all reservations are very small; many are less than 1,000 acres with the smallest ones less than 100 acres. The 19 largest reservations represent 74 percent of all reservation acreage; most of these are in the deserts of the Southwest. The Navajo Reservation is the largest one with some 16 million acres in Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah -- the size of West Virginia. On each reservation, the local governing authority is the elected tribal government. The states in which reservations are located have limited powers over them, and only as provided by federal law and the federal government.

The indigenous people of North America who once possessed and utilized all the land area of this continent are today left with reservation land that represents only about 2.3 percent of the land in the United States, even less in Canada, and none in Mexico, although in 1934, the former Indian communal land holdings, called ejidos, were re-established in Mexico. In the United States, Indian lands are equivalent to the area to Idaho. This geographical concentration is the direct result of U.S. policies of forced migration and relocation during the nineteenth century. The land that Indians received as reservation, much of it in arid and semi-arid regions, was of no value to White settlers at the time of reservation creation. Ironically, today some the reservation lands contain valuable natural resources: 10 percent of oil and natural gas deposits, 33 percent of open-pit coal, and 55 percent of uranium deposits.

Reservations are not areas left over from European expansion, but rather the conscious creation of complicated, discontinuous polices, and procedures of the U.S. government. For example, the Navajo Indian Reservation was created by an original treaty, eight President executive orders, and four acts of Congress. In addition, some of the lands of the Hopi were incorporated within the Navajo reservation. Despite the Navajo-Hopi Land Settlement Act, legal disputes continue between these two Indian nations. Furthermore, reservation boundaries usually have straight lines which conformed to the grid-pattern of the Township and Range survey and ignored natural, tribal, and spiritual indigenous boundaries. White settler families, land companies, and railroads legally and illegally occupied Indian lands, on and off treaty and reservation lands using nineteenth-century federal Homestead, Desert, and Railroad Acts.

The peculiar creation of reservations resulted in many Indian groups being slit into several smaller groups on different reservations in different locations. At other times, different Indian tribe, sometimes even hostile to each other, were placed on the same reservation and classified by the BIA as one tribe (Navajo-Hopi), albeit only in a political sense. Today, the Sioux are dispersed over Minnesota, Nebraska, North and South Dakota, and Montana; the Cherokee are divided between North Carolina and Oklahoma. Although the U.S. government forced some Indian nations to share their reservation with other Indians, historically some tribes have voluntarily re-arranged themselves. For example, the Hopi in Arizona granted asylum to the Tewas from their long-time enemies the Navajo.

Land ownership on reservation is less than obvious: Indians do not automatically own all the land, individually or collectively. Indeed, reservation land ownership types and patterns are complicated. On some reservations, a high percentage of the land is owned and occupied by non-Indians. Some 140 reservations have entirely tribally owned land. Under the Dawes Act of 1887 private property was introduced on reservations, replacing communal tribal ownership. Private land speculators; railroad, mining, and timber companies; and large ranchers lobbied for the Dawes Act because they believed that the “collectivism” of the Indians was the basis for their material misery. In this view, reservations were barriers to “civilization and progress” for individual economic advancement. Individualism triumphed once more over communualism, despite the many communal groups which came from Europe or originated in the United States. The Bad River Reservation in northern Wisconsin shows the complex types of land ownership (tribal, individual Indian, non-Indian, U.S. government) as a result of the legacy of the U.S. government’s ever changing land policies (Figure 4-I- ). Most of the land on this reservation has been “alienated,” or sold to non-Indians, because of the infamous Dawes Act.
Sacred Places and Imperialism: Mount Rushmore

The Black Hills in South Dakota illustrate the clash of cultures and the resulting importance of monument building to express hegemonic ideologies (Loewen 2000, Rowntree, Conkey 1980). Mount Rushmore is a National Monument but the Sioux, or Lakota, treat it as a symbol of oppression, a place to protest the seizure of their land. For them the Black Hills were and continue to be very sacred, comparable to the Christian Garden of Eden, yet when Europeans illegally trespassed on treaty land and discovered gold in 1874, the U.S. government removed the Indians.

President Calvin Coolidge proclaimed at the dedication of the Mount Rushmore in 1927 that it was "decidedly American in its conception, magnitude and meaning. It is altogether worthy of our country" (Mt. Rushmore 2005). And he said that

The people of the future will see history and art combined to portray the spirit of patriotism. . . . This memorial will be another national shrine to which future generations will repair to declare continuing allegiance to independence, to self government, and to economic justice.

The National Park Service expresses the official interpretation of the Mount Rushmore National Memorial, America's "Shrine of Democracy" today:
The sheer size of the mountain carving on Mount Rushmore evokes a sense of awe in those who view it. We are also amazed when we see ourselves in the faces of the presidents. **The four presidents carved in stone represent all Americans.** They represent our courage, dreams, freedom and greatness. The birth of our nation was guided by the vision and courage of George Washington. Thomas Jefferson always had dreams of a greater, more perfect nation, first in the words of the Declaration of Independence and later in the expansion of the USA through the Louisiana Purchase, the Lewis and Clark expedition of 1804-1808, and his aggressive attitude towards the British in Canada. Preservation of the union was paramount to Abraham Lincoln, a nation where all men were free and equal. At the turn of the Twentieth Century Theodore Roosevelt envisioned a great nation, a leader on the world stage, our nation was changing from a rural republic to a world power. The ideals of these presidents laid a foundation for the United States of America as solid as the rock from which their figures were carved. Each president possessed great skills and leadership of the brand our nation needed for the times they represent (National Park Service 2005, bold text added).

Let’s examine this statement critically. **George Washington**, the first president of the United States, as an officer of the British army was a traitor to his oath of loyalty to the British. Indeed, he and his men were terrorists in today’s nomenclature. And he was a member of the slave owning class. The lesson: being first is important, regardless of how you get there as long as you win.

**Thomas Jefferson** was the author of the Declaration of Independence and one of the drafters of the U.S. Constitution and also a member of the Virginia slave owning class. The lesson: words are more important than deeds -- proclaiming liberty is sufficient to be considered great even while Indian lands were being stolen and slavery was practiced personally and socially.

**Abraham Lincoln**, a Midwest lawyer, was the most ordinary of U.S. presidents. In this sense, Lincoln is a role model for people in the United States. Yet his famous Emancipation Proclamation freed only slaves behind enemy lines in the Confederacy, not in the North where he had the power to free slaves. Preventing the South to cede from the Union and to be independent resulted in the highest causalities of any war that the U.S. fought before and after the Civil War. The lesson: speeches are more important than action -- proclaiming liberty is sufficient to be considered great even while slavery continues to be tolerated in the North; and force is justified to prevent people seeking independence.

**Theodore Roosevelt** was from a Northern wealthy family, interested in wild game hunting around the world, and the leader in the American Spanish War and the invasion of Cuba. The lesson: confirming the greatest of USA over European powers is a worthy cause, even if the sovereignty of other countries is violated. A common theme of these four presidents is indeed liberty, but it was uncritically accessed and inconsistently applied to other groups and countries. Proclaiming liberty and, much later, democracy became the hallmark and justification for U.S. political and economic empire builders, whether in Vietnam or Iraq.

The peculiarities of the building of Mount Rushmore are revealing of nation cultural values too. Cora Johnson, an early environmentalist, condemned Mount Rushmore, calling it a desecration of the landscape. But the sculptor Gutzon Borglum -- the son of Danish Mormon immigrants and the mastermind of the Mount Rushmore carving -- called Johnson an "agent of evil." Interestingly, Borglum had already carved the Confederate generals on Stone Mountain in Georgia (Bad Eagle.com 2005). Borglum’s political views drove his choice of the four presidents who represented the doctrine of manifest destiny (Boime 1991). Ward Churchill (1997) provides a radical Indian perspective on why these presidents were selected. Washington advocated a policy of removing Indians to west of the Mississippi River in 1782. Jefferson supported Indian removal, maintaining that all who resisted should be exterminated. Lincoln participated in the experimentation of 2,000 Indians. And T. R. Roosevelt was “an inveterate racist” as shown by his foreign campaigns to defeat other countries. As work proceeded on the “great” project, the booming 1920s came to an end and the stock market crashed. The Depression dried up most funding yet Congress authorized $836,000. The project cost nearly $1 million over 14 years. This project was also driven by South Dakota officials who wanted to attract tourists and increase state revenues.

What was the real purpose of Mount Rushmore? -- To make a nationalistic statement, to humiliate the Indians, or to avenge Custer’s death? In any case, the sacred Black Hills were appropriated and transformed as early Christians had built churches and cathedrals in the sacred groves of animists in Europe and on the foundations of Roman temples, and Spaniards built their churches on Indian secular and religious sites, e.g., Mexico City and Cusco, Peru.

To many U.S. Indians the huge monument in the Black Hills is a painful symbol of treaties broken by the federal government. One of the
memorial’s most ardent opponents is Charmaine White Face, who lives on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota. He is a member of the Oglala band of the Lakota and coordinator of the grassroots group Defenders of the Black Hills. "Many of us consider this our treaty territory. Mount Rushmore is an insult because the Black Hills are sacred." To political radical and traditionalist Indians and their non-Indian supporters, the giant sculpture of U.S. presidents is a desecration and national graffiti, not a symbol of democracy as the Park Service says.

Mount Rushmore has had three visitor centers. The latest one has tall, flat-stoned “gateways” with state flags, a large gift shop and food services, and a huge parking lot -- this giant theme park overwhelms the carvings (Figure 4-I- ). The federal government, which funded the project, required that no admission be charged, yet today a private company collects $8 per car. With often 25,000 visitors per day, millions of dollars are charged to see the “stoned” presidents. Today, three million visitors view the memorial each year.

In 1939, eight chiefs of the Lakota Nation wanted to counter the Mount Rushmore project and they enlisted an award-winning sculptor to carve a sculpture, Crazy Horse Memorial, that would “show that the red men have heroes too” (deWall 2000). Craze Horse does not need to be embraced by the whole Lakota culture to be a landscape of resistance directed at Euro-Americans (Fenelon 1998). Yet rectifying past “mistakes” by imitating them is no solution either. Regarding the current craving of the Crazy Horse Monument in the Black Hills, Russell Means, an American Indian Movement (AIM) activist and an Oglala Sioux, said that "it is a farce; it’s an insult to our entire being. It’s bad enough getting four White faces carved there [on Mount Rushmore], the shrine of hypocrisy" (The Progressive 2001). The promoters of the Crazy Horse Monument, of course, think they are celebrating “Indianness” (McMurtry 1999).

The Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 is particularly significant because it reduced Sioux land to the “Great Sioux Reservation” recognizing Sioux ownership over only land west of the Missouri River and north of the Powder River and including the Black Hills. The gold rush in the Black Hills brought not only miners but also settlers who grew food for the miners. This incursion was a violation of the Treaty of 1868. Caught between honoring the treaty and protecting the illegal settlers and prospectors, the U.S. government chose to protect the illegal settlers. After trying to lease and buy Sioux lands, the U.S. Congress took possession of this area through the passage of the Black Hills Act of 1877. In 1889 and again in 1890, Congress reduced the Lakota territory to only small reservations, all outside the Black Hills region (Utley 1963, Fenelon 1998). Nevertheless, the Lakota continued to lay claim to the Black Hills. After a lengthy battle in the federal courts, the U.S. Supreme Court declared that this treaty had been broken in 1877 by the illegal taking of the Black Hills by the U.S. Congress. Congress offered money for the land but the Lakota Nation refused it ($106 million) and demanded the return of the Black Hills (Lazarus 1991).

Stereotypes of Indians continue to abound in the dominant White culture, expressed in nicknames for sports teams (Red Skins and numerous high school sports teams), commercial symbols (tepees, wigwams, feathered headdresses, stone axes) and logos (Wisconsin Indianhead Technological College), and verbal expressions (derogatory use of “squaw”). The same people who would find it offensive to name a sport’s team after a Christian saint or use a statute of a U.S. president to advertise a motel or bowling alley, for example, are insensitive to Indian images used for similar commercial purposes (Figure 4-I- ). Issues of free speech are frequently contested by different groups. The right of non-Indian communities and companies to use any symbol they want wins out over racist symbols and names. Corporations are very concerned about their
legal intellectual property rights while expropriating the intellectual property of cultural groups. And yet many thousands of Indian place names have persisted throughout North America, identifying both natural features (lakes, bays, hills) and cultural places (states, cities, counties), (e.g., infoplease 2006). The Natick Indian word, Podunk (meaning “swampy place”), is used in English to describe an insignificant town, out in the middle of nowhere (RootsWeb 2006).

The reservations of different Indian nations in two U.S. regions are examined in detail to compare and contrast the cultural landscapes of U.S. reservations: the Sioux in the northern Great Plains and the Pueblo, Hopi, and Navajo in the Southwest.

South Dakota Indian Reservation Landscapes

U.S. government treaties with Indian nations resulted in land cessions by the tribes. In South Dakota, Indian reservations were established and eliminated as White miners and agriculturalists legally or illegally occupied Indian lands, including the wholesale cession of territory and shrinkage of reservation areas (Figure 4-I- ).

Figure 4-I-. Changing Indian reservation areas in western South Dakota since 1850. The first year indicates the creation of the reservation and the last year, its abolishment. Current reservations are labeled. Source: Ingolf Vogeler 1975.

The great Sioux reservation which had been given to the Western Sioux in the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 was reduced by the U.S. government to six small reservations after a series of land cessions from 1882 to 1883, even though this was prohibited by the treaty. This reduction in reservation area provided for 14,000 square miles for White settlements. The Sioux are the fifth largest Indian nation with 153,360; many of whom prefer to be called Lakota today. The Rosebud Reservation was one of the reservations created, which still covered 5,000 square miles in 1887 of which 2,878 square miles were allocated to individual Indians, 29 square
miles stayed with the tribe, and the remaining 2,082 square miles were offered for sale to white settlers under the Dawes Act. Today this reservation covers only 1,475 square miles of which 816 are tribally owned (Frantz 1999).

Indian reservations represent the last remnants of North American indigenous culture areas and cultural landscapes. The complicated interplay over hundreds of years between Indian and white cultures off and on reservations has produced characteristic expressions of land use, settlement morphography, and house types on reservations. Frederick Gearing provides an example of these contrasting cultural values and their landscape manifestations in the case of the Fox Reservation and the surrounding Iowa farmland:

One fall day I chanced to drive through the Iowa countryside, the landscape wrought by white Iowa farmers: rolling hills stretched out, and impressed upon the hills were rectangular shapes, sharp and precise, each shape its own color . . . Then I drove onto the roads of the Fox community. Immediately nature leapt up: the terrain was formed of hills and bluffs and streams; trees were seen in any direction in small and large clusters and covering whole hills . . . Entering the Fox community, one senses, as a Fox must sense, that he is enveloped (Gearing 1970, 47).

To identify the characteristic settlement features and distinctive cultural landscape of South Dakota reservations, field work was conducted in all of the reservations and in many of the former reservation areas in western South Dakota (Vogeler and Simmons 1975). The resulting morphography, or morphology, of South Dakota reservations provides an index to the cultural landscape of the contemporary reservations in the northern Great Plains and, to some degree, throughout Indian Country in the United States (Neils 1971, Dosman 1972).

The area of the Pine Ridge Sioux and Rosebud Sioux Reservations are 2,600 and 1,526 square miles similar in size to Trinidad and Tobago, respectively. Although South Dakota’s 32,365 Indians represent only five percent of its total population and about three percent of the entire United States Indian population, South Dakota has the largest number of Indians and the largest acreage of reservation lands in the Great Plains. The Indians are strongly concentrated in the state’s present and former reservation areas. The percent of Indians to the total population on and near the Rosebud Reservation shows that percentages are not uniform within the reservation and in fact some of the highest percentages (86.7-100) are found north of the reservation itself (Figure 4-I-).

Reservation lands in South Dakota, being of poorer agricultural value than surrounding areas, support a lower farm population density than adjoining counties. Moreover, only a few reservation Indians engage in farming or ranching; at Pine Ridge, for example, less than one percent of the land is worked by Indians (Ballas 1974). Because tribal and individual Indian land is leased to Whites and part-Indian ranchers, no consistent or sharp land-use differentiation exists between on and off South Dakota reservations. Consequently, the transition from non-reservation to reservation land is less discernible than in the Iowa example.

Reservation settlements consist of both nucleated and dispersed types, the former ranging in size from several families to the town of Pine Ridge with 3,171 persons. The cultural landscape of Indian reservations is distinguished by Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) headquarter settlements, other nucleated and dispersed Indian and BIA-housing settlements, house styles, day and mission schools, and cemeteries.

**BIA-Headquarter Settlements**

Each reservation is administered locally from a BIA-headquarter settlement complex. The five federal governmental centers in western South Dakota are associated with the largest, and also the most prosperous, concentrations of Indians on the reservation. The major administration and
social service buildings, uniform in design, often are clustered together in linear or U-shaped arrangements. Eagle Butte is a typical example of such a settlement type (Figure 4-I- highway map). Administrative headquarters of the BIA and the tribes (Figure 4-I-), elementary and high schools, segregated residential subdivisions for teachers and the BIA staff, health clinics and hospitals, and sometimes homes for the elderly are found in BIA-headquarter settlements. The similar architecture and layout of these towns is striking, as is their contrast to nearby Indian and Anglo towns. In Pine Ridge on the Pine Ridge Reservation, the BIA hospital and housing for the medical staff are separated from the BIA housing on the hill (Figure 4-I-).

The largest tracts of federally sponsored housing are found in these types of settlements. Housing subdivisions, of various construction periods, give the impression of rapid and substantial residential improvements. A number of tribally- and individually-owned and operated businesses, such as a grocery store, dairy cooperative, electronics plant, sign shop, and other light industries, offer additional evidence of employment. The relative prosperity of these towns is due to their central place functions, with employment in secondary and tertiary economic activities. Industrial companies include electronics, food processing, wood products, and construction. In contrast to the Southwest Indian communities and reservations, tourist-related crafts and art is not common in these remote and inaccessible Great Plains reservations. Casinos are also not important.
Nucleated Indian Settlements

Two settlement subtypes constitute this category: small, isolated nuclei composed of 10 to 20 sub-standard houses, or shacks (designated “Indian Settlement” on Figure 4-I-), and larger centers (designated “Indian and BIA Planned Settlement” on Figure 4-I-) where shacks are augmented by small BIA-planned housing units. Fourteen communities of the first subtype are found in remote parts of the reservations. Rutted, seasonally shifting side roads of gravel or dirt link the widely scattered dwellings whose visual and social foci are provided by a post office-store, health clinic, elementary school, and/or church. Many of these hamlets, which have from 50 to several hundred persons, are without formal names (Figure 4-I-).
Settlements of the second subtype, 10 in number, are several times larger than the purely “Indian” type. In addition to irregularly placed shacks are modern housing projects having grid or curvilinear street patterns, illustrated by Parmelee (Figure 4-I-). The ratio of shacks to BIA-built houses varies widely, but the latter, numbering from 10 to 50 dwellings, are normally only a small part of these settlements. The tribal council services -- administrative, legal, housing offices, fire stations, and maintenance shops -- are noticeable found only in the newer sections of the larger settlements. Low-order commercial functions, like grocery stores and gas stations, are also found in these hamlets, which are linked by paved state highways to the surrounding Indian settlements.

**Day and Mission Schools**

Educational institutions in the form of day schools and residential mission schools constitute another settlement type. In 1879 U.S. President Grant assigned Indian agencies to various religious denominations: Lutherans, Unitarians, Episcopal, Congressionalist, Reformed Dutch, Roman Catholics, Methodists, Presbyterians, Baptists, and Quakers. Numerically, Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, Episcopal, Roman Catholics, and Quakers had the largest number of Indians under their control. The legacy of early church presence on reservations can still be seen today. A U.S. county map of Episcopalians as a percent of county population shows that the highest percentages (8-26) are only found on Indian reservations of North and South Dakota (Figure 4-I-). Although Lutherans are heavily concentrated in Wisconsin, Minnesota, and the two Dakotas, they are strikingly absent from the Dakota Indian reservations (Figure 4-I-).

Residential mission schools, which predate day schools, were established by the Roman Catholic Church at St. Stephan, St. Francis, and Holy Rosary missions. On the outskirts of the small community of St. Francis lies the mission school itself. The topographic map of St. Francis shows the large school buildings, other buildings, church, and large-area cemetery. The water tower lies to the south (Figure 4-I-map). The South Dakota highway map shows more details: three school buildings, three (girls’ and boys’) dormitories ( ), church, warehouse ( ), other buildings used as dining halls and residential quarters for teachers and other personnel, and playground ( ) (Figure 4-I-map2).
The St. Stephan Mission on the Crow Creek Reservation was established in 1886 and operated by the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions. In 1970 this and three other mission schools, which had been operated by the Benedictine, were transferred to the tribe. Figures 4-I-3 photos shows the distinctive layout and landscape of mission schools.

Ironically, Indian cultural images and icons appear only infrequently on the reservations, taking the form of buffalo hunting scenes on horse back depicted in one day school; stylized birds and trees incorporated into the brick work at a mission school; and geometric colored designs on some houses, and the occasional tepee, arbor shelter, and sweat lodge.

In 1943 the BIA established day schools on South Dakota reservations; five of the massive brick structures are still used. These schools, with five or more classrooms, are usually isolated from major roads and settlements, although several families normally live nearby. Such schools contrast visually with the one- or two-room schools still operating in the surrounding White counties.

Churches and Graveyards

In the open countryside, isolated churches with or without rectories represent the center of widely dispersed congregations. On each reservation one religious denomination usually predominates. Over 50 percent of the population on the Pine Ridge and Crow Creek reservations is Roman Catholics; over 50 percent are Episcopalians on the Rosebud Reservation; 25 to 49 percent are Lutherans on the Cheyenne River Reservation. Numerous smaller religious sects are also present, resulting from continuing
missionary work among Indians (Johnson 1974). Cemeteries on the reservations are rarely next to churches, which is true for White cemeteries too. Indian graveyards are a diagnostic feature of the reservation landscape, reflecting not only White religious institutional influences but also the material poverty of contemporary Indians. Many graveyards are dispersed in the open countryside and on exposed high ground. The great frequency of small cemeteries in proportion to population density and the number of churches results from the variety of congregations and social groups on the reservations, the abundance of land, and the historic immobility of the populace. For example, the thickly settled 14-mile stretch between Oglala and Pine Ridge has eight cemeteries, only two of which are associated with a church.

Indian graves are placed in irregular rows; the ground is usually rough; and collapsed graves are hidden in tall grasses. In the larger Roman Catholic cemeteries, the roadway or path leads through the cemetery gates to large white crosses or crucifixes in the center of the plots. The most common grave markers are white-washed crosses (Figure 4-I- ). Wood is the basic marker material, being cheaper than granite even on the Plains. The whitened wooden crosses provide only the names of the deceased Indians and the dates of their births and deaths, often in hand-painted black letters. Stones, bricks, or short wooden fences sometimes outline graves, which are often adorned with plastic flowers. Occasionally, pipes are used as markers. Limestone obelisks which mark the graves of important Indian chiefs, such as Spotted Tail, date primarily from the 1880s and 1890s when these kinds of tombstones were popular throughout the United States. Modern granite tombstones often have Indian decorations (Figure 4-I- ).

Both church membership and cemeteries are racially segregated in areas off the reservations where Indians live among Whites. For example, in the hamlet of Ideal, many ranchers who lease land from Indians attend the Presbyterian Church whereas Indians living in that hamlet attend the Episcopal Church. The Presbyterians have a little-used, fenced-in cemetery with granite and marble tombstones, located a mile from the church but an unfenced plot of ground with closely spaced graves marked by white wooden crosses is located directly across from the Episcopal Church.

**Dispersed Indian Settlements**

Dispersed Indian dwellings are located on present and former reservation lands in varying densities. Isolated houses are unusual on the Cheyenne River Reservation, whereas individual dwelling clusters are scattered several miles apart on the Crow Creek and Lower Brule reservations. A medium density of scattered homes occurs in the northwestern Rosebud Reservation (Figure 4-I-map), but elsewhere on this reservation houses are five or more miles apart. Only an occasional shack marks the eastern Pine Ridge Reservation, but along the major northwest roads of this reservation numerous strings of dispersed buildings form.
distinctive elongated settlements. Dispersed settlements, both Indian and White, are also found on off-reservation lands, as along U.S. Highway 18 in the vicinity of Martin. Since most Indians do not ranch, their homes have fewer, if any, outbuildings and rarely tree shelterbelts as are found on Anglo ranchsteads.

![Image](image1.png)

Figure 4-I- . Day school and scattered rural settlements with cemeteries in the northwestern part of the Rosebud Reservation. The grid lines are sections, one-square mile each. The legend appears in Figure 4-I-p17. Source: Todd County Highway Map.

House Types

The chaotic variety of sizes, shapes, and building materials of vernacular housing on reservations reflects changing BIA-housing policies and the adjustment Indians have made to material impoverishment as they lost their lands and means of survival. Log cabins, old trailers, tents, trailers, clapboard shacks, and various combinations of these structures appear in the more remote Indian settlements and in older parts of hamlets which have subsequently added BIA-designed housing (Figures 4-I- ). On the two largest reservations, Pine Ridge and Rosebud, pre-1940 housing accounts for eight and three percent respectively; post-1984 housing accounts for nine and 21 percent; and mobile trailers for 21and nine percent (U.S. Census 2000A). The size, quality, and maintenance of housing on reservations reflect the high poverty levels among Indians in general (26 vs. 13 percent for the U.S.) and the Sioux in particular with the highest level (40 percent). Another Great Plains nation, the Apache, also has one of the highest rates (34) of poverty (U.S. Census, Special Report, 2002).

![Image](image2.png)

Figure 4-I- . Isolated and scattered early BIA housing now in very poor conditions in Ridgeview on the Cheyenne River Reservation. Photo: Ingolf Vogeler.

The more recent type of housing, uniform and standardized, has the imprint of BIA planning. In 1961 projects were initiated to improve the quality of reservation housing. The BIA in coordination with the Office of Economic Opportunity (under the Manpower Development and Training Act), the Public Health Service, and the tribes built several kinds of standardized single-family and duplex homes. Considerable housing experimentation has been practiced on the Rosebud Reservation, especially with “transitional” and “Sioux 400” styles of dwellings (Ballas 1970). Although visibly improved, the quality of housing as measured by the number and size of rooms, amount of insulation, and the character of construction is below urban middle class standards. Project housing varies in size, purchase price or rent, and age, but most of these homes have two, three, or four rooms. Earlier “low rent” and “Sioux 400” models were located in separate housing developments, dispersed among existing shacks, and also placed in the open countryside. Newer “mutual self-help” homes, however, are restricted to BIA-planned subdivisions which provide the necessary utilities and “suburban” accoutrements (Figure 4-I- ). Arbors built of pine boughs provide shelter for summertime activities near many houses.
Despite government housing projects, home ownership for all Indians was 56 percent compared with the U.S. average of 66 percent; the Sioux of the Dakotas had the lowest with only 42 percent (U.S. Census, Special Report, 2002). Many Indian housing units still lack running water, indoor toilets, electricity, and refrigerators. In fact, some families still use wood stoves to heat their homes. Low rates of auto and telephones are also common.

**Nucleated Anglo Settlements**

Anglo settlements are distinctive, not in morphology, but in their appearance and location. Although White ranchers are dispersed throughout the open countryside both on- and off-reservation lands, Anglo-nucleated settlements are only found outside the present reservation areas. As Indians sold ranchland to Whites, reservation boundaries retreated; only five Indian hamlets remain on these former reservation lands and all but one are adjacent to present reservations. However, most agglomerated White settlements, though off the reservations, have a poor section of housing for Indian families on the “wrong side of the tracks” (or highway) in sharp contrast to the tree- and sidewalk-lined residential streets of typical small Midwestern towns.

**Lingering Injustice and Resistance**

So long as reservation Indians lack adequate income, employment, material resources, and political power, BIA-sponsored housing and employment seem attractive. Nevertheless, the inherent reservation problems of isolation and a deficient natural resource base will not be appreciably changed by these governmental improvements. The cultural landscapes of Indian reservations as well as the lives of their inhabitants on the Great Plains will continue to reflect essentially Occidental values rather than those of the Indians.

Tribal governments, Indian organizations (e.g., American Indian Movement), and Indian individuals have continued to resist first Europeanization and later U.S. hegemony. Nineteen-century military resistance is well known not only in Western States such as the Battle of the Little Big Horn (Custer's Last Stand in 1876) in Montana and Wounded Knee (1890) in South Dakota but also in the Midwest, such as the Sioux Uprising (1862) in Minnesota. On the Pine Ridge Reservation the mass grave of the 250-300 Indians massacred at Wounded Knee in December 1890 is marked by an obelisk next to the church on the hill. Resistance re-emerged during the late 1960s and 1970s and since then has taken the form of litigation of broken treaties and passing laws to re-institute Indian cultural practices and land claims.
in a gun battle at Wounded Knee (Brown 2000). Interestingly while the 1890 massacre at Wounded Knee is recorded in several official historic signs, the 1970s AIM struggle is not “landscaped” -- no signs document the latest Indian land claims; nevertheless, contemporary Indian protests should not be forgotten.

**Southwest Indian Reservation Landscapes**

Indian cultures are ancient, particularly well illustrated by archaeological sites. One of the most famous of which is Mesa Verde National Park (established in 1906) in southern Colorado where 600 thirteenth-century cliff dwellings are preserved. Although only "discovered" in 1874, the Pueblo Indians of today are descendents of these cliff dwellers. Today, 170,000 tourists visit this park annually.

In the Southwestern United States, the Spanish Continental Empire profoundly transformed ancient Indian cultures, some more than others. Spanish influences were particularly strong on Indian nations which practiced permanent agriculture and lived in compact villages along rivers and streams. What the Spanish called the Pueblo Indians had these characteristics in contrast to the nomadic Navajo and the mesa-living Hopi. Consequently, Spanish influence was greatest among the Pueblo Indians as evidenced by the presence of land grants, place names, central plazas, centrally-located Roman Catholic churches, and Christian cemeteries. Yet the Southwest Indian nations have maintained their cultures more than other Indians, illustrated particularly well by their language retention and cultural landscapes.

**Pueblo Indian Landscapes**

When the Spaniards arrived in 1540, they found over 40,000 Pueblo people living in roughly 90 villages on the Colorado Plateau. Impressed by their settled village life based on permanent agriculture, they named them, "Pueblo" or "town-dwellers." Today's Pueblo live in villages along the Rio Grande and its tributaries in northern New Mexico, westward toward Arizona, and on top of and near the three Hopi mesas in northeastern Arizona (Figure 4-I- ). Pueblo people never constituted a single tribe; each Pueblo village acts as an autonomous political entity and has its own distinctive cultural features. While the people of some Pueblo villages spoke the same or similar languages, others spoke entirely unrelated languages. The Pueblo Indians are now the tenth largest nation in the United States with 74,085.
The U.S. Census collects information on the percentage of Indians who speak English at home and how well they speak it. How well English versus Indian languages are spoken at home reflect Indian assimilation into the dominant culture. Although 82 percent of the total U.S. population speaks only English at home, 72 percent of all Indians do. More interesting is the linguistic isolation of three particular Indian nations: 44 percent of Navajo do not speak English at home, but can speak it “very well.” For the Pueblos, it is 43 percent and for the Apache, 27 percent. Furthermore, an additional 25 percent of Navajo do not speak English at home but speak it “less than very well.” For the Pueblos, it is 18 percent and for the Apache, 12 percent.

Pueblo houses tend to have contiguous alignment of rooms and, in some cases, multistoried terraced rooms that rise to four and five stories. Along the Rio Grande, these houses tend to be made of adobe, while away from the river, they are made of sandstone slabs or pumice blocks. While adobe brick was known among prehistoric Pueblo peoples, before Spanish contact, they generally used course adobe construction. Since the arrival of the Spaniards, adobe brick house construction replaced coursed adobe.

Another common trait shared by Pueblo people is their reliance on permanent agriculture. Before contact, their important crops included maize, beans, squash, cotton, and tobacco. The Spaniards brought fruit trees such as apple, cherry, plum, and peach, along with wheat, alfalfa, and chili; and horses and sheep. All these crops and livestock are now characteristic of Southwest Indian farming.

San Juan Pueblo in New Mexico
San Juan provides an example of a contemporary pueblo village where Indian, Spanish, and U.S. influences are all present. When in 1598 Spanish colonizers claimed the area that is today New Mexico as Spanish territory, they renamed the Village of the Strong People, San Juan de los Caballeros, and declared this pueblo to be the first capital of New Mexico. Chapter 9 provides a topographic map assignment based on San Juan Pueblo and Hispanic settlements.

The topographic map of the village shows only roads, houses, schools, and a cemetery (Figure 4-III-22) and the map of the village in the *Handbook of North American Indians* (1983) indicates the various cultural influences in the village.

As in other pueblo villages, San Juan has retained a few Indian features: abode rowhouses, kivas, and a craft cooperative (Figure 4-III- ). Despite the authenticity of appearance of the village, the Pueblo has a 29 percent poverty rate, the fourth highest among Indian nations. Sadly, traditional Indian building styles and other cultural practices are best preserved in poverty. Indeed, the most “Indian” reservations throughout the United States are those that are the most isolated, geographically and socially, and the poorest.
Figure 4-I- . Settlement plan of San Juan Pueblo. Source: Ingolf Vogeler, based on the Handbook of North American Indians 1983.

Figure 4-I- . San Juan housing: flat-roofed row houses for three families are built with abode and covered with earth-tone stucco. A communal oven coexists with electricity and television-dishes. Photo: Ingolf Vogeler.

Spanish features include the plaza and the Roman Catholic church, chapel, and cemetery (Figure 4-III- ).

Figure 4-I- . A partial view of the South Plaza, one of two San Juan plazas. This is Photo: Ingolf Vogeler.

Figure 4-I- . The San Juan Roman Catholic church and house for priests. Photo: Ingolf Vogeler.
Figure 4-I-. The San Juan cemetery shows the strong Roman Catholic influence on the Pueblo Indians. Although two “Indian” symbols adorn the cemetery wall, this is a European cemetery of poor people: the name of the cemetery, the religious icons, and the wooden crosses. Photo: Ingolf Vogeler.

The U.S. presence in the village is indicated by the U.S. post office and the Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Council headquarters office, representing the Indian reservation political system as mandated by the BIA (Figure 4-III-.).

The cultural landscape of Pueblo villages and BIA institutions are strikingly different. Rina Swentzell (1997) recalls her childhood in the 1950s in the Santa Clara Pueblo, NM, and the BIA-day school she attended. Within the pueblo, outdoor and indoor spaces were hardly distinguishable: interior dirt floors and hard-packing dirt in the plazas. In this arid region, flat-roof houses with low ceilings, often attached, were built of organic, local materials of clay, stone, and wood. Traditionally, interior rooms were used for multiple purposes (storage, sleeping, eating) but by the 1970s, room specialization became the norm reflecting the pressures of assimilation. The BIA-day school was separate (a quarter mile away) and restricted (enclosed by a barbed-wire fence). Anglo house materials and styles with high ceilings and pitched roofs were segregated into unique functions (school, houses for teachers, laundry, clinic, garage, and maintenance shop). Even the very ground surrounding the day school buildings was transformed, scraped, and leveled.

Taos: Indian Tourism

Despite the material poverty of Southwest Indian nations, Anglo outsiders have been attracted to Pueblo villages for their physical beauty, arts and crafts, and ceremonies. The Taos Pueblo is most famous because of its many multiple-story apartments, many inhabited for over 1000 years. Beehive ovens are still commonly used to bake flat bread and wooden platforms are used to store firewood and to dry seeds and chili (Figure 4-I-). In the 1920s, the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad published a brochure,
Beautiful Historical Taos, A Wonderland for Tourists, to attract urban tourists to enjoy Taos’ wonderful climate, recreational activities, and visit the historical Indian Pueblo. "Here three races, three languages and three civilizations meet annually for the Taos Pueblo Fiesta of San Geronimo. Here tourist can witness the gathering of Indians, Mexicans, and Americans participating in an ancient lively, colorful event, ‘an Indians’ old-time Harvest Festival, celebrated long before the Spanish Conquistadors set foot on New Mexican Soil" (Beautiful Historical Taos 1920s). And the tourists continued to come ever since. In the 1970s when I first visited the Taos Pueblo, few tourists were present, but by the 1980s, visitors were charged differentially for taking photos and making videos. And then in the 1990s, repeatedly the Taos Pueblo was “closed” to outsiders to control large numbers of tourists and during religious holy days and ceremonies. The village is a UNESCO World Heritage Site and a U.S. National Historic Landmark. Taos symbolizes the resistance and preservation of traditional values since European conquest. The village, for example, does not allow piped-in running water or electricity. About 180,000 tourists visit the town of Taos with its plaza each year, not all of whom actually visit the Taos Pueblo (Taos 2006).

Southwest Indians are famous for their high-quality and expensive crafts of pottery, carpets, jewelry, sculptors, and paintings which are important sources of employment and income for on- and off-reservation Indians. The Navajo are well-known for their woolen rugs, silver jewelry, and sand paintings; the Hopi for turquoise silver jewelry (Figure 4-I-); and the Pueblo for pottery and Kachina dolls. The U.S. Indian Arts and Crafts Law of 1990 allows only “Indians” to sell “Indian” products. Individual violators can be fines as much as $1 million and imprisoned for up to 15 years; and art galleries can be fined up to $15 million. “Indianness” is defined as 25 percent or more “Indian blood” or a member of U.S. tribe recognized by the federal government.

Indian cultural traditions are being preserved in house styles, building materials, religious structures, crafts centers, and traditional agriculture. At the bottom of mesas where springs are found, some Indians still grow corn the traditional way: in clumps (several corn plants together) rather than in single-plant rows as in commercial agriculture (Figure 4-I-).
their cultural traditions and been most successful in resisting U.S. federal policies relative to other Indian nations, particularly in the Great Plains and the Midwest (Figure 4-I-). In the Four Corners area two Indian groups live contrasting lives: the Hopi, with only about 12,000 people, live in scattered homesteads in the open desert whereas the Navajo, the second largest U.S. Indian nation with 298,197, live in compact villages on mesas. The Hopi Reservation is 3,862 square miles, larger than Cyprus, and the surrounding Navajo Reservation is 21,838 square miles, larger than Costa Rica (Figure 4-I-map).

Figure 4-I-. The sign warns Whites that this Pueblo village is closed to them “because of your failure to obey laws of our tribe as well as the laws of your own.” Photo: Ingolf Vogeler.

Figure 4-I-. Navajo and Hopi Indian Reservations in northeastern Arizona. Source: Ingolf Vogeler.

Hopi Reservation Landscapes

The Hopi population is concentrated on three mesas, which are easily identified in the landscape and on maps (Figure 4-I-). The villages of Hotevilla and Bacavi on the Third Mesa illustrate the cultural landscape of Indian reservations among the Hopi. Chapter 9 provides a detailed topographic exercise on this cultural landscape.

A traditionalist faction from the village of Oraibi, considered to be the oldest (AD 1150) continuously inhabited village in North America, established Hotevilla in 1906, the largest Hopi village on the Third Mesa with a dense core of multi-story adobe houses and five kivas. In 1907, a dissident (less traditional) group founded Bacavi on the other side of the Third Mesa (Figure 4-I-).

Hotevilla and Bacavi lie on opposite sides of the Third Mesa with the BIA-institutions of the consolidated school and water tower in the middle of the mesa close to the only paved road, State Highway 264. Two cemeteries are located on the mesa as well (Figure 4-I-). The cross-section of the Third Mesa at Hotevilla shows the distinctive physical site of all Hopi villages, which are located on the edge of the uplands for historically defensive reasons (to see the enemy approaching) and for proximity to spring-fed fields and orchards at the base of the mesas (Figure 4-I-cross section).
Like all Hopi villages, the oldest section of Hotevilla has characteristically flat-roofed, one- and multi-story row houses built of stones oriented northeast-southwest around plazas. Houses are very close together, in fact the topographic map does not even show roads between the long black symbols representing row houses (Figure 4-I-). A 1967 map shows that the two-story and row houses were concentrated near the edge (cliff) of the mesa, the oldest part of the village where all the village kivas are also located. Newer houses are scattered farther out and have gable-peaked roofs and cement-block walls (Figure 4-I-).
Kivas are distinctive and important Southwestern religious structures. Kivas are underground round and rectangular rooms used by Hopi and most other Pueblo peoples for religious rituals (kachina belief system) by men's ceremonial associations. Kivas are entered by climbing down ladders through holes in the roofs (Figures 4-I- and 4-I- ). Near the center of kivas are fire pits. Ventilation shafts supply floor-level air for the fire. Indentations in the floors, called sipapus, symbolize the connection with Mother Earth, and may also represent the spot from which the original inhabitants emerged from the lower world. In the Christian tradition, in sharp contrast, the origin myth points to the sky, where God, angels, and heaven are located; thus, Christianity stresses verticality in its tall churches with pointed-windows and spiral towers and church are, therefore, situated often on top of hills.

Figure 4-I- . Kivas in Hotevilla, indicated by the ladders. Photo: Ingolf Vogeler.
Figure 4-I-. A kiva in the center of a plaza in a Pueblo village. Photo: Ingolf Vogeler.

Although Bacavi is much smaller than Hotevilla, the topographic maps show the distinctive row houses ( ) and dirt trails ( ) through the settlement. Bacavi sits on the edge of the mesa near a spring and, below the mesa, the sewage disposal ponds (Figure 4-I-photos). Despite physical and cultural isolation and resistance to Europeanization, the Hopi were largely Christianized as demonstrated by Christian churches and cemeteries (Figure 4-I-). The Hopi use Christian burial practices and icons (stone-marked graves with wooden crosses or tombstones). Their graveyards resemble those of other Indian cemeteries throughout North America (Figure 4-I-).

Figure 4-I-. Topographic map of Bacavi. Source: Hotevilla Quad (AZ) 1:24,000.

Figure 4-I-. Bacavi sits strikingly on the edge of the mesa. Photo: Ingolf Vogeler.
Navajo Reservation Landscapes

Today the Navajo reservation surrounds the Hopi reservation (Figure 4-I-% Indian map), with the percent of Navajo varying considerably. 

Figure 4-I- . Sewage disposal ponds below the mesa at Bacavi. Also see the topographic sheet. Photo: Ingolf Vogeler.

Figure 4-I- . The Community Fellowship Church stands across the ravine from Bacavi. Photo: Ingolf Vogeler.

Figure 4-I- . A cemetery on the Third Mesa. Photo: Ingolf Vogeler.

Figure 4-I- . Percent Indians by Tribal Block Groups in and near the Navajo Reservation. Source: FactFinder 2006.
The Navajo are actively trying to keep their cultural practices and language alive, which is illustrated by the high percentage of Navajo speakers (Figure 4-I-language map).

About 75 percent of the Navajo live on the reservation to which they were forcibly moved in 1868. The Navajo reservation is the largest in area, larger than West Virginia, and it is one of the poorest. Navajos have a 37 percent poverty rate, second highest after the Sioux. Of the 30,000 homes occupied by Navajo members, 80 percent lack plumbing, telephones, or electricity. The suicide rate is 30 percent higher than the U.S. average. Unemployment is 35 percent in the larger towns on the reservation, such as Shiprock, AZ, and reaches as high as 50 percent in rural areas.

For the last 500 years the Navajo have traditionally been nomadic sheep herders living in isolated and scattered individual sites in the arid Southwest. Although sheep were introduced by the Spaniards, Navajo rugs are famous for their designs and fetch high prices today (Figure 4-I- ). Navajo society is matrilineal so women identify themselves with their maternal clan, and women control the resources such as property and livestock.

Indian religions, as illustrated by the Navajo, are directly linked to the land in general and to specific holy sites. The Navajo origin myth, spirituality, and spatial arrangements form a unity with three levels: homeland, hogan, and sand paintings. The traditional Navajo hogans are built around four posts, each representing one of the sacred mountains of their homeland. The doors of hogans face East; men sit in the South; women, North; and guests, West. Sheep need large areas of desert and semi-desert areas to find pasture and water -- hence, hogans are scattered across the desert (Figure 4-I- ). Today, hogans are frequently built next to conventional houses throughout the reservation.
Indian Casinos

In 1987 the U.S. Supreme Court recognized that, as sovereign political entities, federally-recognized Native American tribes could operate “gaming” facilities on reservations free of state regulation. Congress then enacted the 1988 **Indian Gaming Regulatory Act** (IGRA). Indian casinos account for 5 percent of all gambling, state lotteries for 40 percent, and commercial casinos for 55 percent. Of the 557 federally recognized reservations, about 33 percent have some form of commercial gambling now. But casinos are not viable on reservations remote from metropolitan population centers. By 1986, about 85 gambling facilities were located on Indian reservations but by 1997, there were 281 operated by 142 tribes employing 180,000 workers in 24 states, yet they only accounted for 11 percent of all gambling expenditures in the United States. Of the 260 Indian casinos, 29 states had such casinos; but only 12 states had more than five casinos. Oklahoma and California accounted for 35 percentages of all Indian casinos in the United States (American Gambler On-line 2006).

Casinos have indeed improved the economic well-being of some Indian nations, but they have not fundamentally altered the dependency, resource-poor, and material poverty of Indian nations in the United States.