

The History of the Modern Indian

by Charles Hudson,
Guest Forum Editor

IN OREGON THE VAST MAJORITY of Indian people live in urban areas. Portland has an enormous tribal population of almost 25,000 people. That number far exceeds the population of the 7 tribal reservations in Oregon. Policies of the early 1950s that terminated many tribes in Oregon created this population of urban Indians. In Oregon, the Klamath, Coquille, Coos, Siletz, Grand Ronde—all of these great tribal centers were terminated, their rights, their basic identity as tribal people. What existed of the trust obligation from the federal government to them evaporated. With their assets liquidated they gravitated in large numbers to cities.

Some were assimilated by other Indian people, but in most cases they assimilated into urban culture. Many people of the now restored tribes of Klamath, the Grand Ronde, and the Siletz remained in the city. Many now hold esteemed professional posi-

tions in Indian services, in mainstream businesses, in local politics and private enterprises.

Portland has several federally-funded organizations like the: Bureau of Indian Affairs, Columbia River Inter-tribal Fish Commission, Indian Health Service, National Indian Child Welfare Association, American Youth Association and the list goes on and on. Indian preference laws allow there to be a great number of professional organizations staffed by professional Native Americans in this town, as well as businesses who employ Indians. This creates a unique modern Indian culture. It is important to keep this culture in mind as you read the articles in *Oregon's Future's* forum: **Modern Tribal People.**

In the four sections that follow, our authors describe the historical and legal basis for the rights of tribal people—and the clashes with mainstream American culture that have created the

current state of affairs for tribal people on reservations and in our cities.



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The US and Indians in 1948

After World War II ended in 1945, conditions changed in the US for many people, especially for Indians. In particular, a policy called *termination* sought to free Indians from their reliance on the federal government and encouraged them to join the fabric of American life on a basis equal with other Americans. Here are some factors that led to the policy of termination, adopted in 1953:

The US was trying to save money.

The federal government did not want to be in the business of administering directly to Indians.

Conservatives were seeking to reduce government.

Liberals wanted less emphasis on redistribution of wealth and more on economic growth, and they shied away from special group status, particularly in the wake of Nazi Germany's policies.

Indians' communal reservations were looked upon as too close to Communism.

Timber and farming interests wanted to open up Indian lands to development—particularly those lands in Oregon.

Many Indians supported equal rights and wanted to buy land and homes for themselves.

Marie Godfrey

Termination

by Roberta Ulrich

The US Constitution is explicit: Congress has the power “to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes.” So, from the beginning of the Republic, Congress has dealt with the Indians, frequently expanding on its mandate and on the interpretation of treaties to regulate Indians through ever changing programs.

There was “the only-good-Indian-is-a-dead-Indian”, confinement to isolated reservations, and allotment of bits of reservations to individuals. There were programs managed by the Army, by Christian missionaries, and by the federal Indian Office (now the Bureau of Indian Affairs). Whatever the title and whoever the manager, the approaches appeared to have a single goal: get rid of Indians. Indians learned they could die or adopt the ways of Whites and become assimilated into the rest of the population. By the mid-20th Century, however, Indians were still around and both Congress and the federal administration wanted to settle “the Indian problem” once and for all.

President Harry Truman’s Commission on the Reorganization of the Executive Branch of Government (the Hoover Commission) included a taskforce on Indian policy. But at least one congressman did not wait for the commission’s December 1948 report. Republican Arthur Watkins, who had been elected to the Senate from Utah in 1946, almost immediately became chairman of the Indian Affairs Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Public Lands. By 1947, he was holding hearings around the

country on a number of bills proposing to withdraw the federal government from involvement with tribes. None was enacted. The Hoover Commission report, when

it came out, was like much of Watkins’s proposed legislation. It recommended ending federal supervision of tribes, withdrawing tax-exemptions on Indian land held in trust by the US government, and transferring tribal property to state-chartered corporations. These were proposed as long-range goals with provisions for Indian participation in planning and timing. The goals appealed to a Congress bent on reducing federal spending (*See sidebar on the US in 1948—Ed.*).

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Termination: The Klamath Experience

While the stated goal of termination was to assimilate Indians into mainstream White America, in the process Congress took millions of acres of prime old-growth timber out of the hands of tribes and placed them into the hands of the timber industry. According to Charles Wilkinson in *Blood Struggle*, by the time termination began assimilation policies, surveying errors, congressional grants for roads used by the timber companies, and the creation of Crater Lake National Park had already halved the Klamath’s 1.9 million acres reserved for their use in the Treaty of 1864.

Some placed the blame for selective termination of the Klamath Tribes on Douglas McKay—the former governor of Oregon, who had been appointed Secretary of the Interior in the Eisenhower cabinet. Believing strongly in economy in government and seeing the Bureau of Indian Affairs as an anachronism of inefficiency, McKay, among others, pressed to sever ties with tribes. McKay, who had alliances with the timber industry in Oregon, rushed forward to terminate the tribes of western Oregon, even though these tribes ranked low in priority for termination, according to government guidelines. It is probably not a coincidence that the first tribes chosen to demonstrate the termination policy included the only two in the country with extensive timber lands, the Menominee of Wisconsin and the Klamath Tribes of Oregon. The tribes of Oregon were hardest hit by termination overall. Of the 109 tribes terminated in the United States, 62 were from Oregon. The termination program required sale of reservation lands, issuance of deeds for individual trust lands, and curtailment of all Bureau of Indian Affairs and Indian Health Service benefits.

Marie Godfrey, Research Editor

Congress, urged by Watkins, was in more of a hurry than the commission. In 1953, both houses of Congress adopted, by unanimous consent, House Concurrent Resolution 108 stating that it was the “sense of Congress” that the federal government should end its supervision of Indian tribes as rapidly as possible. The most consistent theme through congressional hearing records, however, was that Indian land should be on the state tax rolls. From February to August 1954, Watkins presided over hearings on a series of bills that would withdraw federal supervision from individual tribes, sell or allow them to divide up and sell tribal properties, and put Indian land on state tax rolls. The 70-minute hearing on the bill ending the federal relationship of 61 western Oregon tribes and bands did not include testimony from a single Indian. That the termination would mean wrenching dislocation for Indian people at best, and disaster for them at worst, did not appear to be a factor in the decision.

From 1954 to 1960, the Department of the Interior began terminating federal control over those Indians and reservations deemed able to look after their own affairs. President Eisenhower signed the Menominee Termination Act, the first of a dozen such bills, on June 17, 1954. The Klamath and Western Oregon Termination Acts came two months later. The last such measure, terminating the Ponca of Nebraska, was passed in 1962. In all, some 13,000 Indians, 4,200 of them in Oregon, belonged to tribes that were terminated. Congress seems to have picked two types of tribes—those with substantial assets that had created tribal wealth, such as the Menominee and Klamath, and those that were small, scattered, and largely ignored. Why Oregon tribes represented a large proportion of those terminated has never been explained; some linked it to Douglas McKay, former Oregon Governor, who served as Secretary of the Interior.

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Termination meant the end of government-provided healthcare, education at Indian schools, and college scholarships. For the small tribes, these services had been minimal. It also meant that Indians who had managed to cling to their family allotments now had to pay taxes on their property—a new concept to most—and many lost their land. For many tribal members, rejection by the White world was not the hardest blow—the worst was their rejection by other tribes; they were no longer considered Indian.

For the Klamaths, termination was disastrous. Faced with choosing between being paid for a share of the rich reservation or staying with an untested community management of remaining tribal lands, three-quarters of them took the money and left the tribe. The payments were more a bonanza for Klamath County merchants than for the Indians. The Federal Trade Commission later summed up the fast transfer of money and property to non-tribal members, which had been forecast by many: “In short, the Klamaths suffered from the lack of business and investor skills

ated in 1960. In 1961, a trained anthropologist, Philleo Nash, was sworn in as Commissioner of Indian Affairs—the first anthropologist ever to hold that position. Federal aid expanded greatly, and in the ensuing decade Indians were brought into various federal programs for equal economic opportunity. Indian unemployment remained severe, however. By the time the final termination bill was passed in 1962, the movement had lost its momentum and was being recognized as a mistake. President Richard Nixon declared the policy dead in 1970 and replaced it with one of “self-determination.”

In December 1973, the Menominee Tribe won restoration of its relationship with the Restoration Act. Oregon’s terminated tribes took note. The Confederated Tribes of Siletz Indians won restoration in 1977, followed in 1982 by the Cow Creek Band of Umpqua Indians, the Confederated Tribes of the Grand Ronde Community of Oregon (1983), the Confederated Tribes of Coos, Lower Umpqua, and Siuslaw Indians (1984), the Klamath Tribes (1986), and the Coquille Indian Tribe (1989).

President Richard Nixon declared the policy dead in 1970 and replaced it with one of “self-determination.”

typically experienced by poor people.” Those who stayed within a tribal organization hired a bank to manage their remaining lands, but fared little better. The tribal society was disintegrating and there was nothing to replace it.

Finally the protests of Indians, anthropologists, and others became so insistent that the program was deceler-

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Cow Creek Band of the Umpqua Tribe of Indians

A Brief History

by Michael Rondeau, Operations Officer

The Cow Creeks who remained in the Umpqua Watershed lived close to the land and revived their nearly obliterated community.

tribal homes throughout the upper South Umpqua Valley. Each year, tribal families camped at South Umpqua Falls to hunt and fish in the area. In late August and early September, tribal families would gather on the Rogue-Umpqua Divide at Huckleberry Lake to pick huckleberries, hazelnuts, and prepare and dry poeatsic (a small bulb dug from the ground) as well as any meat that had been

obtained. While modern conveniences were sometimes readily available, many tribal members were committed to the old ways.

It wasn't until the mid 1970s that more organized efforts for restoration were again sought. In 1980 the tribe finally obtained presidential action to take a land claims case to the US Court of Claims and on December 29, 1982—nearly 125 years after the treaty was signed—Congress passed PL 97-391 and the tribe regained federal recognition. This was a phenomenal achievement for the Cow Creek people, a small tribe in rural Oregon with no financial or natural resources. Many factors played into federal recognition of the Cow Creek Band of Umpqua Tribe of Indians; however, the single most important factor was the tribal records of the early 1900s that proved continuous activity as a tribal governing body.

While recognition enabled the

tribe to contract with the federal government for various services, such as healthcare, education, and housing assistance, the long-term goal was to gain economic self-sufficiency for both the tribal government and its membership. Even with recognition, the tribe remained landless. Establishing a land base became a critical concern.

In 1984, with proceeds from a direct loan from the Bureau of Indian Affairs Loan Program, the tribe purchased 28 acres in Canyonville, Oregon, which was taken into trust by the United States. This property, located only 6 miles from where the Treaty was signed 132 years earlier, was the only reservation land held by the tribe at that time. *(Please see trust in the glossary—Ed.)*

Tribal Economic Development

After several years of exploring economic alternatives, including gaming, the tribe, in 1988, initiated an outside feasibility study on the development of an economic venture that could succeed in a rural setting along Interstate 5. The results of the research study confirmed what tribal leaders had in mind: that a bingo facility would most likely succeed, mainly because of its location by the interstate.

At this time, the tribe dissolved the Cow Creek Economic Development Committee and formed the Umpqua Indian Development Corporation. This nine-member board consisted of Tribal Board members, tribal members, and individuals from the local business community. The main objective for this corporate board was to act as the economic development arm of the tribe.

For the next three years, the tribe sought financial backing from various banks in Oregon. After several unsuccessful attempts to gain financing, the tribe again turned to the Bureau of Indian Affairs Direct Loan Program. The tribe was able to secure an \$825,000 loan for the construction of the Cow Creek Indian Bingo Center,

The Cow Creek Band of Umpqua Tribe of Indians, located in Douglas County, Oregon, signed a treaty with the United States of America on September 19, 1853. This treaty was one of the first two treaties in the Pacific Northwest to be ratified by the Senate on April 12, 1854. By that agreement, the Cow Creeks became a landless tribe, ceding to the United States more than 800 square miles of the Umpqua watershed in Southwestern Oregon. After the Rogue Indian Wars began in 1855, the federal government ceased all relations with the Cow Creeks, and although attempts by the government were made to relocate them to reservations established in the north at Siletz and Grand Ronde, many of the Indians refused to leave their homeland and fled into the mountains to hide.

The Cow Creeks who remained in the Umpqua Watershed lived close

to the land and revived their nearly obliterated community. Despite the many hardships, the Cow Creeks made several attempts in the 1910s, 1920s, and 1930s to regain federal recognition. One bill passed both the House and the Senate, but was vetoed by President Hoover because of the Great Depression. In the mid-1950s the Cow Creeks unknowingly suffered another setback when Congress adopted House Concurrent Resolution 108, known as the Termination Act of 1954. Notice of termination was mandated to be given to each of the 64 western Oregon tribes and bands, however the Cow Creeks had not received services since 1855 and therefore they were ignored again, receiving no notification.

Tribal members maintained efforts to exist as a tribe. Meetings to discuss general tribal business including family needs and local, state, and national affairs were held at various

The State and Indian Sovereignty

The relationship between tribes and the federal government is unique. Tribes are looked upon as dependent nations with independent governments. Under the United States Constitution, Indian tribes are to be treated at the same level as the states. Article I, Section 8, Clause 3 of the US Constitution (commonly referred to as the Indian Commerce Clause) reads, "The Congress shall have power...to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states and with Indian tribes."

On October 17, 1988, Congress passed the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act (IGRA; Public Law 100-497). In this act, Congress found that "a principle goal of Federal Indian Policy is to promote tribal economic development, tribal self-sufficiency and strong tribal government." Further, the act reads "Indian tribes have the exclusive right to regulate gaming activity on Indian lands if the gaming activity is not specifically prohibited by federal law and is conducted within a state that does not, as matter of criminal law and public policy, prohibit such gaming activity."

A common misconception is that the IGRA authorized tribes to begin gambling activities, when in fact Indian tribes, as sovereign governments, already had the right to conduct gaming on Indian lands. IGRA was actually a restriction on tribal gaming rights. Some tribes were involved in formalized gambling operations (primarily bingo) years before IGRA. In 1987, the Supreme Court in *California v. Cabazon* held that "the states had no authority to regulate gaming on Indian lands if such gaming is permitted outside the reservation for any other purpose." This ruling upheld the rights of tribes to regulate their own lands. Congress, however, in their findings (25 US 2701 [SEC 2]) determined that "existing federal law [does] did not provide clear standards or regulation for the conduct of gaming on Indian lands," therefore passage of the IGRA was necessary to establish uniform regulations.

The act also required that tribes negotiate a gaming compact with the state in which their reservation was located.

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which opened on April 29, 1992.

Having no specific experience in bingo management, the tribe found it prudent to enter into a management agreement with British American Bingo (BAB). A successful partnership with BAB provided the necessary experience needed to enable the Cow Creeks to assume full tribal management of the bingo hall within three years. Managers of all tribal businesses are under the direct supervision of the elected tribal officials as well. (*Please see Tom Hampson's article, Tribal Government, Private Enterprise and Other Parables—Ed.*)

Shortly after the opening of the Cow Creek Indian Bingo Center, tribal leaders negotiated the first tribal/state compact with the State of Oregon, enabling them to conduct Class III gaming activities within the bingo facility. The Cow Creek compact was negotiated as required by the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act and provided a framework for the state to use in other tribal compact negotiations. However, Cow Creek Tribal leaders exercised extreme precaution to not set precedents that would affect other tribes in their negotiations with the State of Oregon. (*Please see sidebar State and Indian Sovereignty—Ed.*)

Over the next several years, a series of expansions to the original

9,600 square-foot bingo hall were completed. The Cow Creek Indian Gaming Center evolved into Seven Feathers Hotel and Casino Resort. The massive destination resort includes a casino, hotel, and convention center, five food outlets, a sports bar, a cabaret show lounge, a gift gallery, and a recreation area with an Olympic size pool, Jacuzzi, sauna, and state-of-the-art weight room.

Cow Creek Today

The financial success of the gaming operation has enabled the tribe to build a tribal reservation and a tribal economy. Diversification and land acquisition are primary targets of achievement. Businesses that have the potential for expansion have been acquired. This approach has created many jobs. (*Please see sidebar Enterprise and Philanthropy—Ed.*)

From 1995 to 2003, the tribe purchased lands in excess of 4,000 acres. These parcels are all located within a 20-mile radius of where the treaty was signed on Council Creek. The federal government has taken nearly half into trust, and this portion is now tribal reservation land.

As a result of placing acquired land into the trust process, an estimated \$120,000 has been removed from the property tax rolls of Douglas County. This amount pales in com-

The following businesses support the Cow Creek Umpqua Foundation in providing grants to eligible non-profit organizations in Douglas, Coos, Lane, Deschutes, Klamath, Jackson, and Josephine counties:

Seven Feathers Truck and Travel Center

Creative Images – a printing and design firm

Rio Communications – a company offering integrated telecommunications solutions as well as complete local and long-distance services

Umpqua Indian Foods – a facility that produces jerky and meat snacks for retail and wholesale distribution

Annually, the tribe gives well over \$1 million dollars to the communities in southern Oregon. The Cow Creek Umpqua Indian Foundation, since its inception in October of 1997, has awarded nearly \$4 million to 345 non-profit organizations. The Cow Creek Tribal Giving Program has awarded nearly \$3 million to hundreds of community groups and organizations. The tribe has also made significant financial contributions to the SMART program, Umpqua Community College, Lewis and Clark College, and the National Museum of the American Indian.

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parison to the benefits the community enjoys as a result of Cow Creek's economic success. In 2003, the Cow Creeks employed over 1,200 people, with an annual payroll of \$35 million. Employees of the tribe are provided—without charge—medical, dental, vision, life, and pharmacy insurance benefits, as well as a 401(k) matching plan, and sick and vacation days.

In addition to the employment benefits provided by tribal businesses, the tribe has a long history of philanthropy. This generosity is demonstrated through several outlets designed by the Tribal Board of Directors to cover a broad area of needs.

(Please see sidebar Enterprise and Philanthropy—Ed.)

The Cow Creek tribal membership, as well as the local community, benefit from these opportunities. Economic success has enabled tribal government to provide programs designed to help tribal members become self-sufficient. Many tribal members who reside outside of the service area are now able to receive assistance from the tribe through these programs.

Community Relations

Community interaction and a spirit of cooperation have always been an important consideration in the tribe's economic success. Examples of this philosophy are demonstrated by the strong and supportive relationships between the tribe and community

organizations. Partnerships with local development groups have proven to be most beneficial to the community. The tribe has worked cooperatively with the Roseburg Area Chamber of Commerce and Douglas County as well as other business leaders in the community on fundraisers and sponsorships that are focused on strengthening families and building people. In early 2003, as part of a community package to lure Dell Computer to the local area, the tribe contributed \$150,000 to Umpqua Community College to enable the workforce to acquire Dell's specialized training. Each year, the tribe contributes over \$30,000 to the Boys and Girls Club for operating expenses.

The tribe credits much of its success to leaders with integrity, strong tribal government, and a desire to succeed both economically and culturally. In addition, the tribe's philosophy of sharing must also be acknowledged. When the early settlers arrived in the late 1840s, Cow Creek people shared their hunting, fishing, and gathering knowledge with the newcomers and this was the basis for the relationship that continues to this day with their descendants. During the tribe's quest for federal recognition, these descendants of the early wagon train families offered valuable support to the tribe's efforts.

The Cow Creeks have maintained strong ties to the communities of southern Oregon, and have developed government-to-government relationships with all levels of government. The tribe is committed to several cooperative agreements with state, county, and city governments, and has representation on county and city park boards, regional investment and industrial development boards, and has received special appointments by the Governor to various committees and boards.

Relationships with federal agencies have been a constant with the tribe. Prior to the official Federal Recognition Act, various tribal leaders had a long history of individual involvement with many of the legislators at both the state and national levels. Furthermore, tribal members have ongoing relationships with the Forest Service regarding cultural and natural resource issues.



These are the ancestors of Michael Rondeau. The elderly people sitting in the front are his great grandparents. Behind them are nine of their sixteen children. Michael's grandfather is in the third row to the right.

Background to Harrison's Interview

The Ntsayka Ikanum or Confederated Tribes of the Grand Ronde Community of Oregon includes over 20 tribes and bands from western Oregon and northern California that were relocated to the Grand Ronde reservations in the 1850s after living in the area for over 8000 years. These include the Rogue River, Umpqua, Chasta, Kalapuya, Molalla, Salmon River, Tillamook, and Nestucca Indians.

Like many tribes in Washington and Oregon, the original Grand Ronde reservation was established in around 1855 during the period of the Stevens Treaties. In their treaty as a sovereign entity, the Grand Ronde reserved over 60,000 acres for their exclusive use on the eastern side of the coastal range at the head-waters of the South Yamhill River in southern Oregon.

The General Allotment Act of 1887 resulted in the loss of a substantial portion of reservation land to non-Indian ownership. Likewise, the Grand Ronde attempts at recovery under the Roosevelt Administration's 1934 Reorganization Act were brought to an abrupt end when Congress passed the Termination Act in 1954 during a post-war political climate.

This act severed what is known as the trust relationship between the federal government and the tribes. *(Please see Roberta Ulrich's article on termination in this issue of Oregon's Future for a description of the social and economic impacts of termination on the Grand Ronde and other tribes—Ed.)*

The Restoration period began in the latter part of the 1970s ushered in during President Nixon's Administration by the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act, 1974.

On November 22, 1983, the Grand Ronde Restoration Act was signed and the Grand Ronde became, once again, a federally recognized tribe. A reservation of 9,811 acres was set aside in 1988 during the Reagan Administration. The reservation lies just north of the community of Grand Ronde.

Jay Hutchins

See glossary for unfamiliar terms.

INTERVIEW

Kathryn Harrison

The Grand Ronde: Termination and Restoration

An excerpted interview with Kathryn Harrison, a member of the Confederated Tribes of the Grand Ronde in Oregon, who served on her Tribal Council for 22 years, and was the first woman ever elected chair of the tribe.

Interviewer:
Kay Reid for the Institute for
Tribal Government, April 2001



Kathryn, please tell me about your parents and where you born.

KH: My parents were Ella Flemming and Harry William Jones. My mother was from Alaska, my father was full-blood Grand Ronde, and I was born March 28th, 1924 in Corvallis, Oregon. So I'm a native Oregonian.

Tell us about your elementary education.

KH: Well, being that we were raised in Corvallis, Oregon, we were the only Indian family in school. And I can remember the first day, my father going down to argue with the teacher that, "If I want to use my left hand, by gosh, let me use it." So I'm left-handed to this day.

But when I went to Chemawa, I always like to say I thought I'd died and went to Indian heaven. I ran into some of the people I had known, you know, earlier, when my parents were still alive, and it was like a big family reunion. *(See Chemawa sidebar.)*

When you moved back to Grand Ronde, what were the first things that you did with the people that were gathering and starting to have discussions about restoration?

...when I went to Chemawa, I always like to say I thought I'd died and went to Indian heaven.

KH: Well, I moved up here without a job and applied for one, and was first hired as an enrollment clerk, because restoration had started and we didn't know where our people had gone. They'd left home after termination, so our job was to look for them. But there were already people here that had started the restoration efforts, and so I just joined that team. I became the community organizer and it became my job and responsibility to educate other people around the country of what we were trying to do, and why they should support us in what we were doing. It became a justice issue. And I was so surprised to find myself out speaking to audience after audience; churches, colleges, high schools, libraries, historical societies. But what got me into that, I guess you would call it my thirst for the history of my family. I was kind of stumbling around, wondering, "Well, who are you?" So there was always the burning desire to come back here and actually find out.

You know, we weren't asking for a hand-out; we were asking for what we were granted in those treaties that were signed by our people. And having made that awful walk through the Willamette Valley in a massive military roundup, we had a duty to come through with what their vision was, so that walk would not have been made in vain. And I think having our little office by the cemetery with those tombstones, sometimes you felt pretty guilty and wanted to just kind of sneak by them, because there they were, and had given their all, and thinking that here we were, still a tribe. But here today, we were not even recognized by our own government.

So there was always the, I think burden of proof you could call it, that you had to show them, yes, we are your granddaughters, or I am my father's daughter. We have to carry out the visions they certainly must have had when they came here and signed those treaties, that they would leave a better place for us.



Another thing that you encountered as you were becoming a leader was resistance on the part of some women, and some men, to your authority as a female. Some people didn't think it was appropriate that you should be a leader. How did you deal with that?

KH: Well, the usual way. It's my decision, and if I feel I can do it, I'll do it. But I think the status quo was that the council was not a place for a woman. I looked back in our minutes. I was shocked to find out a lady had been nominated one time to be on this tribal council, here, and the answer came from everyone—in unison, "A woman's place is not on the council. Her place is home!"

You know, we weren't asking for a hand-out; we were asking for what we were granted in those treaties...

No one else can speak for you. You speak for yourself and for your people.

I think, again, I have to respect my parents, who told me, "We don't have to worry about you, because you're named after your Aunt Kate." She's actually my great aunt. It gave me the courage to just do what I felt I could do, so I think that was what helped me—and I always pray before I make any decisions. I still do, and even when I came up here, my prayer every morning was "God help me to help my people. Help me to say the right things..." because I was going out and meeting people who were strangers, total strangers. It was a new role for me, because you know, you have to think here—and it would always cross my mind, whoever thought I'd be up here, talking to all these people?

After 29 years of termination, and then going up in the tribal ladder, what is your feeling—how do you experience sovereignty? What does it mean to you after all these years?

KH: Even through the 29 years of termination, there was always the effort here to hold meetings, to keep track of the deaths and births, and to keep the language going. You know, that's sovereignty. And when we all came back together for the restoration effort, the first thing we did was look for our people. And we know who our people are. Teenagers, and people up to 29 years old, all they knew was termination, so we had to find them. And we put together the constitution, saying who was going to be our tribal members. That's sovereignty. You know, we knew where our place was, our reservation, the land that was given to us. The whole effort—that we spoke for ourselves and for our people and held up our right to those entitlements—that our ancestors had fought so hard for and that were promised to us in the treaties: That's sovereignty. No one else can speak for you. You speak for yourself and for your people.

Well, on the tribal council itself, there must be a lot of things happening there. Friendship, a lot of politics, probably conflicts from time to time. How do you deal with internal conflicts and disagreements on the council?

KH: Well, I think the best way is to talk it out, communication. If you can't convince someone else on your idea, maybe their's is better. And I think that with people that don't learn to communicate, that's the biggest problem, to be afraid to say how you feel, and to say "No, I won't go along with you."

There's got to be teamwork, and with nine people. [chuckle] First it's hard to get everybody together at the same time, and then you know, how do you expect us all to agree all on the same thing? You're not human beings if you do. But ours, as a council, we have to keep in mind our pledge that we're here to bring up a better quality of life for our tribal members. So that's your guiding sign, because you took that pledge.

I think it's going to be an ongoing issue all the time, of educating people on tribes.

What do you feel is the level of understanding non-Indian Americans have of issues like termination, broken treaties, restoration? Do you think many people actually understand these things?

KH: Some, I think they do, and then there's a whole new election of legislators, it's just a constant, ongoing educational fact. I don't think you should ever stop educating people on your history, and the Indian law, and all those things. Because I went through that when I was going to school at Chemawa. We put on dances, you know. There were seven of us that—we went out and sang, and each one told our history. Then I went to school, got married, stayed in the house for how many years? And when I came back here and got into politics again, it's the same thing.

So it's just ongoing... I know that the next generation is going to have to do the same thing. I think it's going to be an ongoing issue all the time, of educating people on tribes.

There's been a lot of discussion about who's an Indian and who isn't. What's your tribe's tradition?

KH: Well, having been terminated for so long, we took it to our people to decide what the blood quantum should be. See, that's part of sovereignty, naming your own—who can be a member of your tribe. I know in the beginning—and it still is, with the bureau (BIA), you have to be one quarter. But our people voted, and they chose one-sixteenth (*means that at least one great-great-grandparent would be full-blooded Grand Ronde—See blood quantum in glossary—Ed.*).

And I think we made a mistake in the end, that we would take one-sixteenth, and then whatever the blood quantum of another recognized tribe. When we started having money, people start coming and wanting to change over to our tribe. Now you have to have a person with a parent on the role at termination, and you have to be one-sixteenth Grand Ronde blood. So to me, that's got to keep our bloodline going. We've come under criticism because our quantum is so low. Look at us, it works for us. And they can't speak for us, and we can't speak for them because that's sovereignty with the tribal Indian Nations.

Well, what is there in your experience of the Indian vision that you think America needs?

KH: Balance and harmony. Balance and harmony is everything, because you know, that's what we learned from our ancestors, that when you take something, you got to still leave enough to carry on the species, whatever it is; salmon, or elk, and we try to tell that story early on. If you're living everything in the right way, then it's a God-given gift. You're supposed to take care of it. And that's how tribes look at things. This was given to you, this land, this air, these fowl, these animals to take care of, along with your people, take care of them all. And that means balance and harmony.

Background: Chemawa and Indian Schools

In 1850 Congress passed two acts to address land issues in the Oregon Territory. First, the Oregon Indian Act gave the President authority to appoint a Board of Commissioners and created a Superintendent of Indian Affairs to make treaties with the tribes. The plan was to relocate the indigenous population to reservations on the eastside of the Cascades and extinguish their title to traditional lands. Secondly, the Oregon Donation Land Act gave all single white male settlers 320 acres of land (double if married). This inevitably created competition for prime land and increased pressure on Congress to move the Indians out of the way.

The plan for implementing the Oregon Indian Act called for Indian schools to be established to assimilate Indian children. The tribes in Oregon refused both the location of the reservations and the schools. So in 1851, treaties were negotiated which created reservations on the west slope of the Cascades and no Indian school program was developed. Congress therefore refused to ratify these treaties.

After the year the Washington Territory was created (1853), many treaties—such as the Medicine Creek Treaty (1855)—were forced on tribes in both territories as part of the policy known as *assimilation*. These treaties included promises of educational support as part of this policy.

Eventually, in the 1870s the Department of the Interior authorized an industrial and agricultural off-reservation boarding school for Indian children from the Oregon and Washington Territories. The Indian boarding school movement would become a major element in the federal government's strategy to address the "Indian problem" and further assimilation.

In 1880 the Forest Grove Indian Industrial and Training School was established to help integrate the Indian population into American agrarian society. To alienate students from their families, the school was sited a great distance from reservations. The school employed a militaristic regimen, required military type uniforms for boys and dresses for girls, and strictly prohibited the use of native languages and customs.

In 1885, the federal government moved the Forest Grove School to Salem and renamed it the Salem Indian Industrial School. Later the school adopted the name of a local post office, Chemawa. Teachers primarily instructed boys in farming and vocational trades while girls were taught domestic skills, such as cooking and cleaning. The manual labor of students supported a large part of the school's operations.

Seven years later, in 1893, Congress made school attendance for Indian children compulsory and authorized the Interior Department to withhold rations and government annuities to parents whose children did not attend. Churches (primarily Catholic and Protestant) also competed to set up on-reservation mission schools that combined religious instruction with a vocational curriculum.

In recent years, Chemawa has survived attempts to close it, mainly by the intervention of northwest tribal governments and the northwest Congressional delegation.

By the 1920s issues of funding, runaways, and reports of neglect demonstrated to the Interior department that boarding schools were not the solution to assimilating Indians into mainstream American culture. Most were shut down and Indian children began to attend public day schools. However, many public school systems resisted enrolling Indian students because their parents did not pay local property taxes on reservation land. Chemawa, however, became an accredited four-year high school funded by the Interior Department in 1927.

In 1934, in a period known as the *Indian New Deal*, Congress passed the Johnson-O'Malley (JOM) Act, which provided funds for states to accept Indian students into public schools. The centerpiece of the Indian New Deal was the

Indian Reorganization Act, which John Collier, a long time opponent of assimilation and the new Commissioner of Indian Affairs, helped to pass. The act sought to restore to tribes many of the rights that assimilation policies had eroded. Policy changes allowed teachers at the remaining Indian schools to instruct students in traditional native cultural arts, crafts, and history.

Then, in the conservative post-war political climate of the 1950s, Congress attempted to dismantle the sovereignty of Indian nations in an era referred to by Indians as *termination*. The Indian schools still operated by the BIA reverted to prohibiting students from speaking their native languages or practicing native customs. In the mid 1970s Congress reversed itself again and a period of tribal self-governance began and many terminated tribes were eventually restored. Chemawa changed with the times to include curriculum in Indian history, culture, and languages.

In recent years, Chemawa has survived attempts to close it, mainly by the intervention of northwest tribal governments and the northwest Congressional delegation. It is now the nation's oldest continually operating off-reservation Indian boarding school—and the sole government boarding school remaining in the Pacific Northwest. The BIA chooses the school's five-person school board from tribal members in four states: Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and Montana. A fifth board member is considered an at-large member and is chosen from applicants from any state.

Today, Chemawa School still serves grades 9-12. The curriculum offers broad academic and vocational opportunities that range from special classes for gifted students to agriculture and school-to-work programs. Chemawa's campus still covers more than 400 acres in the Willamette Valley, including wetland and woodland areas. The student body of about 382 typically consists of members from more than sixty tribes from the sixteen western states, including Alaska.

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