Chapter 4

People of Early North American Origin

This chapter deals with descendants of peoples who were living on what is now the United States mainland before Europeans arrived. Native Americans — often referred to in recent years as American Indians and Alaskan Natives — are people whose ethnic identity is tied to one or more of those populations. Eskimos (Inuits) and Aleuts constitute two separate ethnic groups in Alaska, but other Native peoples are called American Indians. Although most American Indians have had stronger identities as members of their particular groups than as Indians, nearly all census data and widespread usage in America have treated them as a single ethnic group.

Historical Decline and Modern Resurgence

Long-term Changes in Population Numbers

The number of Native Americans living in North America prior to the arrival of Europeans is not known. For the area north of Mexico, estimates of Native populations at that time have ranged from approximately a million to over 10 million (Denevan 1976). Although the evidence regarding original population sizes has been much disputed, it is certain that death rates increased sharply within decades after Europeans appeared.

Natives suffered catastrophic losses because of smallpox, measles, bubonic plague, influenza, tuberculosis, and other diseases that were spread by the Europeans. These epidemic diseases were not terribly destructive to European colonials, who had established some resistance over many generations in the Old World. However, these diseases had never existed in the New World, and Native Americans — who had no such defense — were decimated over the course of four centuries by frequent epidemics, which began in the 1520s and did not end until after 1918 (Dobyns 1983).

This depopulation allowed whites to imagine that North America had not previously been densely occupied and that the deaths of so many Natives had been ordained by God so as to open up the land for white Christian settlement. Such beliefs made it easier for whites to justify their invasion of other peoples' territories.

The American Indians were further reduced by warfare, as they resisted the white conquerors and fought among themselves; by starvation, when their subsistence resource systems were destroyed; and by a loss of the will to live, when utterly demoralized — they contemplated all that had been taken away from them.

Those Native Americans who survived were pressured to become assimilated and to adopt the way of life of white people. They have assimilated to varying degrees, although traditionalists or conservatives have stoutly resisted. However, the frustrations and problems experienced by so many Natives in the 20th century must be at least partly explained by deep, unresolved conflicts between Native and white cultures.

The Loss of Self-Sufficiency. Soon after first direct contact with whites, the old hunting, fishing, and farming systems that had sustained the Natives began to be compressed by white occupancy and replaced by trade with the whites. Animals like deer, beaver, and sea otters were overhunted in the quest for guns, ammunition, and liquor — often on credit (White 1983). This led to increased raiding and warring among groups for a diminishing food supply and attempts by Natives to adapt their cultures to the changing circumstances. During the 1870s the whites' slaughter and near-extirpation of the bison (buffalo) on the Great Plains eliminated the subsistence resource of the hunting tribes so rapidly that no adaptation was possible and defeat became inevitable. There and elsewhere, as conditions worsened and the whites came to control the entire country, Native peoples found it more and more difficult to preserve any shred of their former independence.

The groups who were geographically more isolated from the expanding settlement and trading systems of whites persisted longer in their old ways. Those whose territories were desired by whites were pushed into either unfamiliar areas or tiny remnants of their earlier homelands. All of the Indians, Aleuts, and Eskimos ultimately became incorporated into the huge European-American economic and cultural system, though they were to remain at its outer margins.

Twentieth-Century Growth. Native Americans and their cultures did not vanish, as many whites thought and wished they would. From a population low point of less than 300,000 (including Alaska) near the beginning of the 20th century (Census 1915), better health care and a continued high birthrate have enabled Native American populations to increase substantially, especially since 1930. Many features of Native cultures somehow persisted through the years. There has often been increased resistance to the dominant American culture, and for the last quarter-century Natives have been more active and effective politically in defense of their rights and positions.

Land and the Case of Alaska

A land base has been especially important to most Native groups, both as a resource for subsistence living and as a geographical focus for group identity. Generally, the only lands within the United States that have remained under their partial or substantial control have been portions of Indian reservations, discussed later in this chapter. Because white governments and individuals have taken much land illegally or unfairly, Native claims to particular land areas
have been pressed in courts during recent decades, with groups typically awarded financial compensation rather than actual territory (Sutton 1985).

Alaska, however, represents a special situation. In 1971 the U.S. Congress attempted to resolve controversies over Eskimo (Inuit), Aleut, and Indian land claims in Alaska by passing the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act. ANCSA set up a schedule of payment for land previously taken by whites and granted 40 million acres to Native populations—those individuals who could show that they were at least one-quarter Alaskan Native in ancestry.

Twelve Native-controlled regional corporations were created. With the exception of one remaining Indian reservation, those lands that have been designated as Native are essentially owned by these corporations rather than existing as independent governments. These, as well as the corporations set up for each Native village, have had major financial problems. Because the stock in the corporations can be owned by non-Natives, many Indians, Eskimos, and Aleuts fear that the sale of stock by individuals or court-mandated financial settlements could lead to the loss of their land and with it their last hopes of preserving any traditional subsistence ways of life (Berger 1985). Some people have advocated a return to the control of lands by Native governments in order to prevent what occurred in other states when the federal government, through its allotment and termination policies, reduced or eliminated the land base of many Indian groups.

Indian Population Data

The number of people who listed their race as American Indian was over 70 percent greater in 1980 than in 1970. Less than half of this large increase can be explained by the excess of births over deaths or potential errors in the reporting of these vital statistics (Passel and Berman 1985). With the 36,000 foreign-born Indians recorded in the 1980 census, net immigration during the 1970s was probably insignificant. The remainder of the apparent growth had to be due to a shift of racial identification on the part of some 350,000 people who had called themselves white or some other race in 1970.

These additions to the self-declared Indian population were generally young adults living in states that did not have large established Indian settlements or reservations (Passel and Berman 1985). This suggests that many of what appear on the American Indian map to be small populations in states not traditionally Indian (e.g., New Hampshire, Vermont, Ohio, Missouri, Tennessee, and Georgia) may not be Indian communities. At the same time, it cannot be assumed that a shift of identity explains Indian populations found in unexpected places on the map. The socially marginal position of Indian tribes has meant that non-Indians living in the same general areas have often been aware of the local Indians’ existence.

If people who reported their tribe in the 1980 census were more apt to be the “real” Indians out of the total who identified as American Indian, then regional variations in the percentage of American Indians listing specific tribes confirm the greater validity of the American Indian count in traditionally Indian states. In Alaska, Arizona, New Mexico, and Oklahoma, between 88 and 91 percent of American Indians indicated a tribal identity, but only 70 to 74 percent did so in New York, California, Pennsylvania, and New Hampshire (Census 1987a). The percentage reporting a tribe was less than 60 percent in several states of the South.

Tribal Identities. In the 1970s the 173 different ethnic groups (usually called tribes, nations, bands, or peoples) that were present in America represented about three-quarters of the tribes present about the time of first contact with Europeans (Spicer 1980). Each tribe spoke its own language or dialect variation, and many of these have remained in active use. Despite the federal government’s effort from the 1880s to 1934 and again in the 1950s to eliminate tribes as political and social entities, they have persisted and have been strengthened by federal legislation since the late 1960s (Joseph 1982).

Tribal or ethnic identities have changed in some cases due to the splitting of groups, consolidation of once-separate groups, shifts in attitude, or government pressure or decisions. However, a comparison of tribal affiliation data from the relatively thorough Indian count of the 1910 census and from the 1980 census shows a general consistency in tribal proportions in traditionally Indian states, although Cherokee numbers increased disproportionately in several states (Census 1915; Census 1987a).

Indian languages have been grouped by linguists into major language families, the largest of which constitute the organizational framework for the cartogram of American Indian ethnic groups. The linguistic family of a tribal language has no direct bearing on any aspect of modern Indian life. However, it does relate in a general way to the historical geography of the groups: the ancestral speakers of all languages in the same family had to have lived long ago in the same geographical area in order for the languages to have been so similar. The wide dispersal of the tribes within most families has been due to very early migrations, intertribal competition for territory and wars, Indian resettlement after earlier flight from whites or forced removal, and 20th-century migrations that have been essentially free.

Migrations over three centuries have intermarried many tribes and there has been much intermarriage among Indians. Thus, the American Indian ethnic group cartogram reflects an oversimplification of identity and the same subjectivity that characterizes other census data. Under these circumstances, some Indians might be more apt to identify with tribes whose members could gain educational, health, and other benefits because of recognition by the federal government. In other cases, people might claim a tribal identity if shared income from mineral leases or other tribal sources was substantial. This variable identity has been observed, for example, where during the 1970s some whites in parts of the South have found definite economic advantages in shifting their identity to Cherokee (Neely 1979).

Interchanges with Canada and Mexico

Indians have migrated for centuries across what have become the borders with Canada and Mexico. Movement of Indian groups across what is now the northern boundary of the U.S. was especially easy and frequent on the open grasslands east of the Rockies after the mid-1700s, when the Plains Indians began to use horses.

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American Indians

1980 Summary Statistics*  

| Complete count | 1,364,033 |
| Edited sample | 1,475,523 |

Counties with Largest American Indian Population**

| Los Angeles, CA | 47,234 |
| Apache (Fort Defiance), AZ | 39,024 |
| McKinley (Gallup), NM | 37,092 |
| Robeson (Lumberton), NC | 35,928 |
| Newaygo (Westport), AZ | 32,122 |

Counties with Highest Percentage of American Indians in Population**

| Shannon (Pine Ridge), SD | 93.3% |
| Menominee, WI | 89.35% |
Eastward were other migrations. Abenakis retreated to Canada from warfare in New England, and in 1783 when some pro-British Iroquois tribes were ousted from their land in New York they were given land in Canada by the British (Spicer 1980). In the 20th century many Iroquois men from near Montreal have joined Mohawk communities in Brooklyn, New York, and in working on "high steel" construction projects all over North America (Wax 1971). Also, Micmacs, whose roots have been in the Maritime Provinces, first came to Maine to pick potatoes and blueberries but since World War II have migrated to Boston and nearby cities for factory jobs (Guelinmen 1975). They have remained highly transient, traveling frequently between several key Micmac communities in the two countries. (Due to a coding error many Micmacs were reported incorrectly as Sioux (Census 1984a) and appear as such on the cartogram).

Some tribal community networks have extended across the U.S.-Mexican border as a result of refugee flight and other migrations. In the early 19th century a group of Kickapoos, after having been pushed westward by white settlement, attempted to hunt in Texas. Booted out of Texas in 1839, some were later offered a reservation by the Mexican government (Spicer 1980). The community in northern Coahuila has remained in contact with the others in Oklahoma and Kansas, and a small colony appeared where the connecting route crosses the Rio Grande at Eagle Pass (Maverick County, Texas). Similarly, visiting and migrations across the border have characterized the Yaquis. Their communities in southern Arizona grew rapidly in the early 1900s in response to the Mexican government's eviction of Yaquis from their valuable lands. A century ago a third of the Papagos lived south of the border, but by the 1970s almost all had moved into the U.S. Other Indians have been part of the general immigration from Mexico, and in 1976 Mayan Indians from Guatemala began to migrate to Los Angeles. Numbering probably over a thousand by the mid-1980s, they have found employment primarily in the garment industry, although some have entered the migrant farm labor force (Pétable 1986).

Racially Mixed Populations

From the 16th through the 19th century there was a wide zone of social interchange between whites and Indians. Indians captured both blacks and whites, many of whom preferred life with their captors to that among the whites (Axell 1981). Whites made some Indians slaves and incorporated others into their local societies. Thus, the frontier should be thought of not simply as the advance of white settlement but as a zone of interethnic mixing (Dobyns 1983). More recently, southwestern Indians who left reservations often became part of local Mexican and Spanish American communities (Spicer 1962), and elsewhere many Indians married whites and assimilated into white society.

The process of incorporation of non-Indians into Indian societies has also continued voluntarily so that American Indian populations contain a great range of physical types. Many people whose essential ethnic identity has been Indian have been thought to be whites or, in some cases, blacks by those who did not know them. Mixing of populations has been so widespread that the term "full bloods" really refers to Indians who are traditional, conservative, and less acculturated to white ways, rather than those with no non-Indian ancestry.

The intimate and long-term contact between Indians and other peoples is evident in the 6.7 million people who reported some Indian ancestry in 1980—almost five times the number who identified racially as American Indian. Partly because the Cherokees never considered tribal identity and membership to be based on some minimum percentage of Cherokee ancestry, people whose tribal identity was white but whose ancestry was Cherokee have been especially common in Oklahoma's towns and cities (Plass and Berman 1985).

Triracial Communities.

In places where white settlements contained both Indians and black people or in other areas to which people of all races came for survival or freedom, mixed black-Indian-white populations sometimes developed. Some of these persisted because they constituted socially separate groups, not accepted by whites and not accepting a status as blacks, and because they usually lived in somewhat isolated rural areas. There has usually been great genetic variation among individuals so that most members of a group could not be identified as such by their physical appearance.

Most triracial populations have preferred an Indian identity. Such mixtures in varying proportions have long characterized a number of eastern tribes, ranging from the Mashpee at Cape Cod (Barnstable County), Massachusetts, and the Narragansets in Charlestown (Washington County), Rhode Island, to the Houma in southern Louisiana (Terrebonne Parish). The largest such group has been the Lumbee Indians of southeastern North Carolina. Additionally, in the northern part of the state the Haliwa Indians (newly named from the first letters of their counties of concentration, Halifax and Warren) had a similar origin. Some Indian populations in both Oklahoma and Arkansas were slaveholders before the Civil War have probably also become triracial.

Similar groups, many of which have not been called Indians, have been identified in many places in the East (Beals 1972, Price 1953). One such group—the "Turks" of Sumter County, South Carolina—could be identified in the ancestry data of the 1980 census; they are discussed in chapter 9.

Rural Settlements and Indian Reservations

Apart from the metropolitan areas the largest concentrations of Indians have usually been on or near existing or former reservations established by government. As white miners, cattlemen, and farmers steadily encroached on Indian lands, the defeated survivors were generally pushed westward into areas not valued by whites. Treaty between the government and different Indian groups defined specific areas or reservations for them, but by the 1870s U.S. legislation alone was usually deemed sufficient. These areas became homes for those who remained and for many of their descendants. However, the actual reservations have usually been much reduced in area, such as when whites occupied part of the land illegally and pressured their government to renegotiate a previous treaty. Also, much Indian ownership of reservation lands has been lost when such lands were sold legally under provisions of the General Allotment Act of 1887 or similar acts. Such acts were U.S. government attempts to assimilate Indians into white society by weakening tribal organizations and transforming the people into farmers. Tribal lands were broken up and transferred to individual Indians, who could then sell their allotment to non-Indians if they wished (Prucha 1984). Most federal reservations outside the Southwest have been substantially allotted. White government employees, traders, schoolteachers,
and missionaries, as well as purchasers of allotments, have lived on reservations since they were established. In 1980 the percentage of Indians out of all reservation inhabitants varied substantially in different places: the Navajo Reservation in Arizona and New Mexico was 94 percent Indian, but less than half the people living on reservations in Minnesota, Montana, New York, Washington, and Wisconsin were Indians (Census 1984a).

The federal government created and has since supervised reservations to the west of the Appalachian Mountains plus a few farther east, in southern Florida and western North Carolina (U.S. Department of Commerce 1974). Until recently the states have been responsible for any government relations in reservations in most East Coast areas, and reservations established by the governments of New York and Maine have retained their Indian populations. Southern New England also has had some very small state reservations with just a few hundred Indians.

In 1980 federal or state reservations were in existence in 33 states; their locations are shown on maps in the General Population Characteristics volumes for those states (Census 1982c). The areas shown on these and most other maps do not indicate the large amount of land inside reservations that was owned individually by Indians and whites as a result of the allotments.

In the eastern states, however, Indians have most commonly lived without any specific reservations. In many cases Indians in the East have long lived in the same places as other people and either have not formed any distinct group or have been hardly visible to non-Indians.

**Rural Homelands.** Where there have been reservations, these places have retained a great importance for Indians. They have been secure geographical bases from which Indians could venture more widely. Many people, especially older and more traditional ones, have chosen to live on or near their reservations rather than in some city, where they could probably earn more money.

The preference of many Indians for these rural homelands is clearly evident in the 1980 distribution, with its rural concentrations associated with the larger federal reservations. There, land and property have not been taxed by the states, medical and hospital care has been free, and other government subsidies and tribal income have been more readily available (Taylor 1983). These advantages, as well as the presence of family and the need to care for relatives, have often been drawn Indians back to reservations, although often just temporarily—as when lonely or when laid off a job elsewhere.

Even the areas of former reservations—those eliminated by the federal or state government—have usually remained focuses of settlement and emotional homes for Indians. This has been most evident in Oklahoma, where the reservations were eliminated prior to statehood in 1907.

**Insufficient Jobs on Reservations.** The major problem associated with reservations and rural areas of former reservations has been their chronic unemployment. In the early 1980s in some western states a half to three-quarters of the reservation Indians able to work were unemployed (Taylor 1983). Work on reservations has been most commonly with the tribal government itself or federal agencies like the Bureau of Indian Affairs. There have been few skilled or unskilled laboring jobs, and many of the few managerial or professional jobs have gone to white outsiders.

The towns and cities near larger reservations have often contained many Indians, both visitors seeking entertainment and people who have moved there for jobs. Not surprisingly, such places have been focuses of Indian-white tensions.

Some tribes have gained income from operating bingo games or shops and facilities for tourists. Others have leased land for cattle grazing or mining, but these have generally not resulted in jobs for very many people. Temporary construction projects and seasonal work have been but marginally helpful. For instance, the autumn gathering of wild rice by Chippewas in northern Minnesota has renewed Indians’ pride in traditional activities, but the little money earned has been spent soon.

The major changes in this situation have been on the few reservations where Indians have developed some successful business operation, such as commercial logging (e.g., the White Mountain Apache in Arizona, the Menominee in Wisconsin, and the Red Lake Chippewa in Minnesota) or assembly-line factory operations (e.g., pencils made by Blackfeet in Montana and automobile wiring assemblies by Choctaws in Mississippi). However, many such enterprises have failed, and there has been no comprehensive plan for substantial economic development on the reservations (Prucha 1984).

**Migration to Cities.** After the system of reservations was created, only a few Indians left them for life in the cities. In 1910 less than 5 percent of the population counted as having “any appreciable amount of Indian relatives” in towns or cities; and most of these were in the East. In contrast, 46 percent of the total U.S. population was urban.

Although during the 1920s some Indians moved to cities in a search for jobs and some refugees from the Dust Bowl moved to California, a much greater urban migration occurred during World War II. The federal government established a policy of nondiscrimination in the defense industries, and some 40,000 Indians left home to take construction and manufacturing jobs in many cities, especially in California (Burt 1986).

**Government-Sponsored Migrations.** Later, during the 1950s, the federal government began programs to persuade Indians to leave their reservations. Urbanization of Indians was favored by many whites as the fastest way to assimilate the Indians into the mainstream of American culture and society, and the federal government at that time hoped to eliminate most reservations and terminate its relationship with tribes as entities. Called “relocation” during the 1950s and “employment assistance” in later years, the program was designed to reduce the cost of supporting the Indians and make private development of Indian lands easier. Vocational training and migration assistance programs helped over 100,000 Indians move to cities like Los Angeles, San Jose, Denver, Salt Lake City, Dallas, Chicago, Minneapolis, and Cleveland (Burt 1986).

With these programs as the catalyst and the poverty of reservations as a key motivation, the urbanization has continued on its own. By 1980 over half of American Indians lived in urban places, those settlements of over 2,500 population, and half were living in metropolitan areas. Except in Minneapolis and perhaps a few other places, Indians have tended not to cluster together to create recognizable Indian sections. This can be partly attributed to the government’s goal of Indian residential dispersion within metropolitan areas (Ablon 1964).

**Pan-Indian Developments in Cities.** Urbanization resulted in much less assimilation than the federal government hoped for. Despite their dispersed settlement Indians have socialized primarily with other Indians (Ablon 1964). Moreover, as Indians from so many different regions and tribes collected in the larger cities, they came to identify less exclusively with their tribe or reservation. Serious employment and adjustment difficulties have plagued Indians in cities, but the sharing of problems, efforts, and successes by Indians of many tribes living in cities made possible the pan-Indian and Native American organizations and political programs of the 1960s and 1970s (Burt 1986).

**California.** Metropolitan areas in California have been especially popular destinations for Indians. The tribes reported
in the 1980 census for California included nearly all those in the United States, but less than 20 percent of Indians were from one of the indigenous California tribes. Los Angeles and the San Francisco Bay area have become the major Indian centers. Before the programs of the 1950s the predominant migrants to Los Angeles were Indians who were fairly assimilated: Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, and Seminoles from eastern Oklahoma (Price 1968). Many had come originally during World War II. In the 1960s Indians from the northern Great Plains and Arizona have been especially likely to arrive, occupying scattered with rent apartments in central or southeastern Los Angeles or in suburban cities.

The Southeast

Removal of the Southeastern Indians. The relatively few Indians in the southeastern states in 1800 was partly the result of epidemic diseases, warfare, and the capture of Indians as slaves two centuries or more ago. However, their small numbers are related more to the exodus of so many southeastern Indians in the 19th century. Indians were also pushed out of most of the lands in the Northeast and Midwest, but the process was more thorough in the South, partly because gold had been found in the Cherokee-held mountains of northern Georgia and prime cotton land awaited development where Creeks and Choctaws had their villages, farms, and hunting territories. The fact that the largest tribes so moved were substantially assimilated (and thus called the Five Civilized Tribes) did not prevent their being pressured and later forced to move west of the Mississippi River.

As early as 1820 government treaties with tribes resulted in land exchanges and the transfer of Indian groups west of the Mississippi River, ultimately to an Indian Territory in what would later become Oklahoma. Some Indians acquiesced in the move, but most resisted strongly. Technically, Indians who did not wish to move could remain and enroll as individual residents of their areas, but in the South this option was rarely permitted. Over 10,000 of the 60,000 or so who started died on the way, and the route taken by the Creeks during the winter of 1838–1839 became infamous as the Trail of Tears (Spicer 1980). Such migrations explain the large numbers of Creeks, Choctaws, Creeks, Chickasaws, and Seminoles in Oklahoma.

Survivors in the Southeast. Some of the Indians avoided capture and eviction from their lands by retreating into the mountains or the swamps. Years later they appeared again, usually to work at first as wage laborers or sharecroppers. For example, the Indians in southern Alabama, with their major concentration in Escambia County (near Atmore, 40 miles northeast of Mobile) are mostly descendants of Creeks who escaped to some of the swamps in 1820.

Choctaws in Alabama and Mississippi seemed to disappear for decades in the back country, but surfaced again in the 1870s. Many local blacks had left the older cotton lands of central Mississippi and moved west to the Delta, Arkansas, or Texas. Choctaws solved the labor shortage for white cotton farmers by becoming sharecroppers and, later, wage laborers (Kidwell 1986). Those who survived a second attempted removal to Oklahoma in 1903 and the influenza epidemic of 1918 were recognized as a tribe by the federal government. In 1944 a reservation was created in central Mississippi, focused in Neshoba County but including also several Choctaw settlements in neighboring counties (McKee and Murray 1986). Choctaw communities, always socially separate from both blacks and whites, have managed to preserve much of their culture while improving education and persuading some manufacturers to open plants in their industrial park.

About one thousand Cherokees dispersed northward into the Great Smokies of western North Carolina. These later received rights to lands in that area and organized as the Band of Cherokee, Most were small-scale farmers until the 1950s, when their location aside the major highway into Great Smoky Mountains National Park encouraged them to make handicrafts and open a group of shops, a restaurant, a motel, a museum, and a theatrical pageant for tourists.

Some Indians, predominantly Creeks from Georgia and Alabama, avoided removal by moving southward into the Florida swamps. Most of them became known as Seminoles; nearly all of them were later captured and taken to Oklahoma. However, perhaps two hundred Seminoles survived through wars and lived from the 1850s to 1920 essentially isolated in the Everglades of southern Florida (Coving- ton 1979). Then canal, drainage, and highway developments, as well as game hunting by whites, reduced the numbers of deer, bear, and turkey they had relied on, and nearly all had to adapt to some of the ways of the whites. However, a few hundred Seminoles near the Tamiami Trail (U.S. Route 41) west of Miami have persisted in traditional ways of living despite the need to trade pelts and hides for guns and groceries. Indians earn some cash by selling curios to tourists or working as hunting guides.

Lumbee Indians of North Carolina. In 1980 this was the largest group of Indians in the eastern states. They are a triracial population that has been living in the Robeson County area for at least 250 years. Hunting in the swamps and farming the lower lands near the Lumbar River and other streams, they avoided being pushed westward or shipped to Oklahoma because they lived in the backwoods and until the 1880s were generally treated as free blacks or mulattoes (Blu 1980).

The Lumbees have long maintained that they were primarily Indians, but their origin is not known. As early as the 1730s they spoke English, used English surnames, and were English in other aspects of culture. They seemed never to have had any distinctively Indian cultural traits. Moreover, ever since the idea was first advanced in the 1880s, the group has claimed partial descent from white inhabitants of the English colony that had been founded on the coast (Roanoke Island) in 1587 but that had been deserted by the time an English supply ship returned three years later (Dial and Elades 1975). Despite occasional assertions of historical connections between the Lumbees and the Cherokees or Tuscaroras or Sioux that would explain Lumbee origins, there has been little evidence to link Lumbees to those Indian groups.

It seems most likely that the ancestors of the Lumbees were refugees from warfare, a smallpox epidemic, or advancing white settlement in the early 18th century (Blu 1980). The swamps provided a protective environment, and English could well have emerged as the lingua franca among those people of varied origins. Frequent in-migrations of people in similar circumstances have swelled their numbers in and around Robeson County.

For the last hundred years these people have been referred to by various names that stressed their Indian identity, such as Croats or Indians of Robeson County. Only since 1953 have they been called Lumbees—a new name consciously selected by the Indians and derived from the name of the local river. Their insistence on an Indian identity led to political efforts to legalize this status, and in 1956 they were recognized as a tribe by the federal government.

In Robeson County the Lumbees were formerly sharecroppers and tenants, but in the 20th century those who have remained in farming in that tobacco–specialty area have often owned their own land (Dial and Elades 1975). The predominately Indian town of Pembroke has been the urban focus, though not until the 1960s were Lumbees permitted to take jobs in local factories and businesses.

In a search for jobs many Lumbees have migrated to Detroit and Philadelphia, but the largest Lumbee concentration has been in Baltimore, where since World War II many Indians have found a niche in the nonunion building trades (Makofsky 1980). Nevertheless, ties to Robeson County have been strong and Lumbees have been very apt to move back if at all possible. In fact, a major part of Lumbee ethnic identity
is based on geographical roots in that county, which has been their real home.

Oklahoma
The concentration of Indians in Oklahoma is due almost completely to its former identity (apart from the Panhandle) as Indian Territory. Even before 1820 some southeastern Indians had been persuaded to move there to avoid the problems created by white squatters and others, and for about 60 years it was a place where the government could ship Indians who were obstructing white settlement or causing disruptions of any sort. In 1920 the state contained 23 percent of the entire country's Indians. It was the leading Indian state until 1950, when more Indians were counted in Arizona. In 1980, however, more Indians were reported in Oklahoma than in Arizona, probably the result of changing methods of enumeration and attitudes toward Indians, but migrations have given California a larger Indian population than any other state.

By the 1830s the Five Civilized Tribes had been assigned portions of Indian Territory, but they generally remained in the eastern portion. After the Civil War the U.S. forced those tribes to give up the drier western half of the territory and other portions for the use of other groups. Other groups that had moved from the area north of the Ohio River and the Great Lakes region to Kansas a generation earlier were uprooted again. Small areas were also found for the Plains Indians as they found themselves able to fight and raid no more, and from farther west some recalcitrant Apaches, Modocs, and others were shipped to the territory. Although this infilling stopped in the early 20th century, in the 1970s 39 different groups were still represented in Oklahoma (Spicer 1980).

Cherokees. Within the large area assigned to them the Cherokees chose to settle close to the Arkansas border, in the open woodlands and hilly areas at the edge of the Ozarks, and not unlike that which they had known in the South (Hewes 1978). Several thousand—who had previously moved to Arkansas in 1828 but had been evicted when that area became a state in 1836—were already well settled on land close to their former homes in Arkansas. They assisted the survivors from the Trail of Tears, and by the time of the Civil War the Cherokees had log cabins and small farms scattered over the area east of the Grand River (Adair, Cherokee, and Delaware counties). The grasslands west of the Grand became open-range pasture for herds of the cattle that many Cherokees drove with them from the South.

Many of the racially mixed (Indian-white) Cherokees, like the other so-called Civilization Tribes, had brought their black slaves to Oklahoma. The Civil War destroyed homes, farms, and cattle, and it freed the slaves. Nevertheless, in the 1870s free blacks were back managing the expanding Indian herds, picking cotton, and working in the towns that began to develop with the coming of the railroad. Also, in violation of tribal regulations, many Indians were leasing their cotton lands to newly arrived whites, resulting in a large white population even before Indian Territory was opened to homesteading.

White squatters were also intruding on Indian lands, and in 1889 unoccupied lands in Indian Territory could be legally claimed by non-Indians. In 1906 the U.S. government forced the Cherokee government to dissolve and allot its former tribal holdings to individuals, who frequently sold the flatter lands to whites (Vas 1971). Whites had become dominant in numbers as well as power, with Indians and blacks together making up but 15 percent of the population in the eastern half of the new state of Oklahoma.

In general, the more conservative "full blood" Cherokees have been apt to continue small-time farming in a dis-
tinctively Cherokee region, which has also contained many whites and "mixed bloods" (Hewes 1978). Most "full bloods" have remained in rural areas, especially in the hollows of the hillier country—in countless tiny settlements in Adair, Cherokee, and Delaware counties, in eastern Mayes and northern Sequoyah counties, and in adjacent Arkansas. With few jobs, these Cherokees have survived on government assistance and their own family networks for exchanging goods and services (Wax 1971).

Other Groups. Although Indians from all tribes have scattered to towns and cities in Oklahoma, as well as to California, the regional tribal distributions and headquarters in 1980 still roughly corresponded to the locations of 19th-century reservations. Major Indian centers included the Cherokee nation's capital at Tahlequah (Cherokee County) and the capital of the Creeks at Okmulgee, only 50 miles away. In the southern part of Oklahoma was Anadarko (Caddo County), the scene of a large pan-Indian exposition and pagant and headquarters for the Kiowas, Comanches, Kiowas-Apaches, and Caddos in Oklahoma.

The Northern Plains

In the first half of the 19th century a variety of Indian groups controlled portions of the broad plains that stretched from the Rocky Mountains on the west to the forested lands of Minnesota, Arkansas, and other states to the east. Most tribes, and the ones that became best known, were those that excelled at hunting bison and fighting from horseback. However, other tribes farmed the river valleys much of the year or trapped beaver and other furbearing animals. After about 1840 white families migrating to Oregon and Utah and others seeking gold in California were cutting more and more frequently across the middle of the Plains, intruding on the vast hunting grounds and forcing the Indians to defend their land and people.

Late 1851 the U.S. government began a policy of attempting to clear Indians from areas on either side of the key routes west. Government agents negotiated and troops attempted to enforce shifts and reductions of tribal territories. Where possible, Indian groups were pushed either southward into Indian Territory (Oklahoma) or north into the Dakota and Montana territories. This geographical division of the Plains into Indian and non-Indian areas was one of the few small number of Indians in Nebraska and Kansas compared to states to the north and south.

Late 19th-century decisions about reservation locations and subsequent boundary modifications explain the high percentages of Indians in numerous counties in the Dakotas and Montana. In 1980 the largest of these were highly focused geographically, with most Indians living in a single county, because most reservations had been so drastically reduced in area since originally created. Some large Indian concentrations have also appeared in cities close to reservations, where wage work has become available. This has occurred in Billings (Yellowstone County) and Great Falls (Cascade County), Montana, and in Rapid City (Pennington County), South Dakota.

South Dakota. After the Civil War the nomadic Sioux warriors dominated much of the northern interior plains. In 1868 the federal government and Sioux leaders negotiated a treaty, which created an official homeland (the Great Sioux Reservation) in the western half of what later became South Dakota. However, by 1874 whites had found gold in the Black Hills within the southern half of Oklahoma was Anadarko (Caddo County), the scene of a large pan-Indian exposition and pagant and headquarters for the Kiowas, Comanches, Kiowas-Apaches, and Caddos in Oklahoma.

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land. The Indians in the next county to the east (Rosebud County) are mostly Northern Cheyenne, who arrived there after the Crow.

The Southwest
Arizona and New Mexico, plus neighboring portions of Utah and Colorado, have contained by far the largest populations of Indians living in their traditional territories. The many different tribes can be thought of in four groups: the Apaches, the Navajos, the Pimas and Papagos, and the Pueblo Indians.

On the 1880 map the great area east of counties in Arizona and New Mexico obscures the intricate rural distributions of both tribes and the larger aggregations. Distinct urban and rural settlements are also not discernible because they are concentrated within single county units.

Pueblo Indians. The compact villages of flat-roofed adobe buildings that characterized some groups' settlements were called pueblos by the Spanish when they entered the area in the 16th century. Most Pueblo Indian tribes lived in or near the Rio Grande Valley of New Mexico, but a few groups were located to the west, in tributary valleys or on mesa tops. All these Indians were farmers, irrigating their corn and other crops with water diverted from nearby streams. After the Spanish appeared, many Indians also raised sheep for wool. Some villages have been abandoned since the arrival of the Spanish, but most Pueblo Indian tribes have survived in the same areas they have long occupied.

Because the Indians in the Rio Grande Valley were easily accessible to the Spanish missionaries, government administrators, and traders, they received the brunt of the Spanish efforts to control them and remake them into Christians. Some of those who became Catholic and Spanish-speaking led the Indian pueblo (the many Spanish Americans who came to form their own villages in the area are discussed in chapter 11).

In the 19th century, when Mexicans and later Americans controlled the Rio Grande Valley, the Indians found that some of their best agricultural land and water resources were being taken from them (Spicer 1962). White Americans began to penetrate the valley in greater numbers in the 1880s, and since the 1940s, rapid in-migration from the East and Midwest has made tiny, almost invisible enclaves of the 16 remaining, heavily depopulated Indian villages in the Rio Grande Valley. The pueblos range from Taos in the north to Isleta, just south of Albuquerque (Bernalillo County).

Some pueblos lie to the west of the Rio Grande Valley. Laguna and Acoma are located in Cibola County, about 80 miles west of Albuquerque, but the largest Pueblo popula-

Pimas and Papagos. In the lowland desert country of southern Arizona are the Pimas and the closely related Papagos who traditionally cultivated their corn and, after the Spanish arrived, wheat, using floodwaters of the Gila and other rivers (Spicer 1962). On both sides of the Mexican border the Papagos also farmed, but gathering mesquite beans and cactus fruits and herding cattle were more common. The small reservations of the Pimas reflect that intensive farming heritage, whereas the Papago reservation is many times larger. It is the early 20th century with diminished water due to diversions and well drilling by Anglo cattlemen and farmers, many Indians survived by working on well-watered cattle ranches and cotton farms, in the cotton operations at nearby Ajo, and at other jobs in Tucson and Phoenix.

Apaches. Originally hunters and gatherers, the Apaches became traders and raiders after the coming of the Spanish. They supplied Plains Indians as slaves to the Spanish for stolen cattle, wheat, and corn from the Spanish and the Pueblo Indians. Defiant of white authority, they were the last of the Indian groups to be defeated by the U.S. Army. By 1890 most Apaches had been restricted to four reservations. Some of the Apaches brought to the San Carlos reservation worked later in the construction of railroads and large dams in the Southwest. A successful cattle-raising operation on the Hopi reservation is including some Navajos who had moved onto HoPI land.

Many Indians have moved out of the multilithic adobe structures of the old pueblos. A tract of modern homes has been built for the Laguna Indians not far from Old Laguna, which by the late 1970s was used mostly for ceremonial functions (Eiggin 1979). Both the Acoma and the Hopi pueblos had been located atop steep-sided mesas, presumably for protection against raids by nomadic Indians, particularly Apaches. With no advantage to such locations in recent decades, few if any Acomas live permanently on the mesa. Most Hopis have left the pueblos on their three mesas and settled in small new homes, many built with government assistance and dignified by the name of their former pueblos. Some Pueblo Indians have continued to do part-time subsistence farming. Others have made jewelry, pottery, baskets, and other craft items for sale. Most, however, have looked for laboring work in nearby towns or more distant metropolitan areas. Laguna and Acoma have mined uranium, and track work for the Santa Fe railroad has resulted in colonies of various Pueblo groups along the line to California (Spicer 1962). Albuquerque and the Los Angeles and San Francisco areas have probably attracted the most Pueblo migrants.

Navajos. Although the 1870 census reported a greater number of Cherokee, the Navajos have been considered to be easily the largest tribe in the country (Spicer 1980). In 1980 their reservation, also the largest in the U.S., covered a large portion of northern Arizona and northwestern New Mexico and included a corner of Utah.

After contact with the Spanish, often by way of the Pueblo Indians, both Navajos and Apaches came to use horses and to raid Spanish and Pueblo Indian villages for livestock (Spicer 1962). The Navajos bred the horses and sheep they obtained and so developed their own livestock industry with a shepherding specialty. However, Navajos were also farmers and their homes were typically located in areas where water permitted irrigation of crops.

In 1864 the U.S. government subdued the Navajos by destroying their homes, fields, livestock, and some of their people (Koessl 1983). The starving Navajos who surrendered were then made to walk to a new reservation 800 miles away, where the plan was to turn them into farmers. After four years, however, the scheme was acknowledged a failure, and the remaining eight thousand Navajos were given a reservation in their old territory and permitted to walk back home.

Within a few years after their return the Navajos were issued some 24,000 sheep, which became the basis for rebuilding their old way of life (White 1983). The reservation was later expanded to extend the grazing land and support their rapidly increasing population. In the 1930s a drastic reduction in livestock was ordered by the U.S. government because of overgrazing and consequent sedimentation of Lake Mead. Although sheep and cattle remain a symbol of prosperity and security, sheep-raising has become marginal to the Navajo economy.

With their homes in small log hogans scattered over the plateau or in canyons, most Navajos before World War II had contact with whites only at the nearby trading post or, as children, at Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) or mission schools. Since the war, however, Navajo men have looked for wage labor off the reservation and some families have moved to
from Siberia in folk migrations, the Eskimos of Alaska represented the largest group within a population that had also spread into the Canadian Arctic and Greenland.

Two different Eskimo languages have been spoken in Alaska, the basis for a former distinction between the Inuit in the north and the Yuit to the south of Norton Sound (Hippler 1980). However, by the late 1970s English was the everyday language of most Eskimos outside the home, and most identified themselves as Eskimos or, within the last decade, Inuits.

Settlement Patterns

Most Eskimos were living in 1980 in approximately the same places that their ancestors had occupied over many centuries. These traditional Eskimo settlements were situated to take advantage of the presence of particular sea-mammals, fish, or caribou—basic subsistence foods of the Eskimos.

Village Settlements. The distribution of Eskimos has been primarily related to the two ecological systems that were still partially the basis for survival in 1980. Most Eskimos have lived along the coast and hunted sea-mammals, especially seals and whales, and a wide range of smaller animals and birds (Oswalt 1979). Except for the few Chugach Eskimos on Alaska’s richly forested south coast near Prince William Sound, the coastal villages have been in the treeless (tundra) environment.

By contrast, other Eskimos have lived in the valleys of rivers that flowed westward into the Bering Sea. Many of these settlements have also been on the tundra, at the lower end of valleys like the Yukon and Kobuk. But others have been further upriver in very forested areas. Because the staple of the inland Eskimos has been fish, particularly salmon and whitefish, their villages were close to the rivers (Oswalt 1979). Often using seasonal camps, the inland Eskimos also hunted caribou, moose, and other large animals and, for cash income, trapped such animals as beaver and white fox.

Altogether there have been about 100 predominantly Eskimo villages out of a state total of 209 officially designated Native (including Aleut and Indian) villages (Census 1984). In 1980 over three-quarters of the Eskimos in Alaska lived in such traditional settlements. These ranged in size from a

Eskimos

1980 Summary Statistics*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reported Ethnic Population</th>
<th>42,180</th>
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<tr>
<td>Complete count</td>
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<tr>
<td>Edited sample</td>
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Counties with Largest Eskimo Population**

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<tr>
<th>Borough or City, AK</th>
<th>Population</th>
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<tr>
<td>Bethel</td>
<td>8,944</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nome</td>
<td>5,118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wade Hampton</td>
<td>4,355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kotzebue</td>
<td>4,075</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anchorage</td>
<td>3,650</td>
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Counties with Highest Percentage of Eskimos in Population**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Borough or City, AK</th>
<th>Percentages</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wade Hampton</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kotzebue</td>
<td>84.35%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bethel</td>
<td>81.32%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nome</td>
<td>78.29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Slope (Barrow)</td>
<td>70.03%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* County statistics map and text interpretation are based on complete-count data.
** Major cities or towns may be indicated in parentheses.

The ancestors of today’s Eskimos occupied small scattered settlements along parts of Alaska’s coast and some lower river valleys long before white people penetrated that territory. Among the last of the peoples to cross the Bering Straits
Economic and Cultural Changes

Items of new technology like nylon fishnets and outboard motors have replaced older ways, but more significant have been economic and social changes that have revolutionized life for Eskimos. Christian missionaries divided up Eskimo territory among the potentially competing denominations, and many Eskimos become converts (Hippel 1980). Some whites helped Eskimos to develop a handicraft industry and to market goods in Seattle and elsewhere. During World War II and more recently Eskimos were employed in the construction of military installations, as at Nome and Fairbanks.

Chinese, Filipino, and other workers formerly provided the labor at the many fish canneries because the companies believed Eskimos were not reliable, but with the labor shortage during World War II Eskimos were hired (Hippel 1980). Together with Alaskan Indians they have constituted most of the cannery work force since then.

Since about 1950 the pace of change has accelerated. The low-cost housing, food stamps, and much-improved health care have resulted in a growing population (Oswalt 1979). Some Eskimo men have become commercial fishermen and own substantial boats, but more typical have been the unemployed and those who work seasonally in fish canneries or temporarily on construction or make-work welfare jobs. Wage labor and welfare have become predominant in the towns, although Eskimos in the villages are still supporting themselves partially by subsistence hunting, fishing, or trapping (Berger 1985).

Aleuts

1980 Summary Statistics*

| Complete count | 14,265 |
| Reported Ethnic Population | 13,715 |

| Counties with Largest Aleut Population** |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| Aleutian Islands (Adak Station), AK | 1,815 |
| Kodiak Island (Kodiak), AK | 1,710 |
| Anchorage, AK | 1,532 |
| Dillingham, AK | 1,225 |
| King (Seattle), WA | 591 |

| Counties with Highest Percentage of Aleuts in Population** |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| Bristol Bay, AK | 27.88 |
| Dillingham, AK | 26.54 |
| Aleutian Islands (Adak Station), AK | 23.37 |
| Kodiak Island (Kodiak), AK | 17.21 |
| Valdez-Cordova (Valdez), AK | 4.23 |

* County statistics, map, and text interpretation are based on complete-count data.
** Major cities or towns may be indicated in parentheses.

Aleuts and Eskimos represent the most recent populations to enter North America over the Bering Straits land bridge from Siberia, arriving about 10,000 years ago (Laughlin 1980). The fact that Aleuts and Eskimos speak separate but related languages is due to the fact that after arrival near what is now the edge of the Alaskan Peninsula, Aleuts migrated westward into the Aleutians and Eskimos toward the north and east.

At one time the Aleuts lived in hundreds of villages, but by 1980 they occupied less than 20 villages on the islands and the adjacent portion of the Alaskan Peninsula. Other Aleuts have become residents of the southern coastal port of Valdez, the southeastern islands, or the Anchorage area. The greater
concentration of Aleut villages on the eastern islands and the mainland near the end of the Alaskan Peninsula is centuries old. The seas accessible to villages in those areas have long been more productive than those to the west (Laughlin 1980).

If Aleut identity is defined in terms of traditional language, then the modern-day Aleut villages lie west of 160 degrees west longitude. However, because the data in this atlas are based on self-identification, some Aleuts appeared in coastal villages east of this line. These were the Koniag Eskimos of Kodiak Island and the Koniag and Peninsular Eskimos of the eastern Alaskan Peninsula (part of Dillingham Census Area)—people who have identified themselves as Aleuts ever since Russian occupancy of the area but whose language has been Eskimo rather than Aleut (Oswalt 1979).

A linguistic definition of Aleut ethnicity would mean that most of the population recorded as Aleut in the Kodiak Island and Dillingham Census Areas would be Eskimos.

The Russians had a greater impact on the Aleuts than on the Eskimos or the Indians in Alaska. Aleuts were reduced by the usual epidemic diseases that plagued all Native American peoples, but the Aleuts converted to Russian Orthodoxy and it has become a basic component of their identity (Jones 1980). Aleuts did the work of hunting the sea otters that provided the furs the Russians wanted.

In the 20th century the American military has had key installations in the Aleutian Islands, but more significant changes have come with the large commercial fishing operations. The rich seas have been exploited for fur seals, fish, and crabs, and life in the villages has continued to revolve around those harvests.

For example, the largest Aleut village, Saint Paul in the Pribilof Islands, has remained dependent on fur seals. Aciutan, a village of less than 70 people in 1980, had a whaling station in the early 20th century and later a codfish company (Rose 1983). More recently both floating and shore-based fish-processing plants were set up, and in the 1970s an increasingly successful king crab operation was centered there. In some villages Aleuts have managed to preserve some independence and status as independent fishermen and crabbers, but in others the large companies have kept most skilled jobs in the hands of whites from the outside (Jones 1976).