

a clear sense of why some Hoosiers chose to be Methodists, others Baptists, others Christians, and so on.

To ask more of this work than it gives us is probably unfair. Instead, we should be grateful for what Rudolph has accomplished in *Hoosier Faiths*. That accomplishment is impressive and significant. What he leaves undone will set the agenda for a new generation of historians of religion in Indiana, for his work will be their starting point.

THOMAS D. HAMM is archivist and associate professor of history at Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana. His most recent published work is *God's Government Begun: The Society for Universal Inquiry and Reform, 1842-1846* (1995).

The Miami Indians of Indiana: A Persistent People, 1654-1994.

By Stewart Rafert. (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1996. Pp. xxvii, 358. Maps, tables, illustrations, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95.)

The year 1996 marked the sesquicentennial of the forced removal of 323 Miami people from their Indiana homeland to a reservation in the Kansas Territory. This removal was followed by a second forced migration in 1867 from Kansas to Oklahoma, where the federally recognized and officially named Miami Tribe of Oklahoma maintains its headquarters in the town of Miami today. But not all the Miami people left Indiana in 1846. Following allocation of former tribal lands in the valleys of the Wabash and Mississinewa rivers to village leaders and their families, 148 Miami Indians were permitted to remain legally on these family reserves. By offering refuge to others who had evaded removal and to still more who quietly returned from Kansas and Oklahoma, the Indiana Miami did not melt into the general population within a generation as had been predicted but remained a viable and growing, though largely invisible, community. As far as the federal government was concerned, the Miami tribal government was in the West after 1846, though the treaty rights of the Indiana Miami continued to be acknowledged in principle if not always in practice. Thus, before the end of the nineteenth century, two separate Miami tribes had emerged, one in Oklahoma, the other in Indiana, both enjoying federal recognition.

The year 1997 will mark the centennial of a calamitous turning point in the history of the Indiana Miami. On November 23, 1897, newly appointed Assistant Attorney General Willis Van Devanter (later a justice of the United States Supreme Court) rendered an administrative decision that terminated federal recognition and assistance to the Indiana Miami on the grounds that their remaining (and drastically diminished) allotted lands were individually owned and not tribal and that they were thus "citizens and

not Indians under federal law" (p. 173). Reflecting prevailing federal policy under the Dawes (or General Allotment) Act of 1887, Van Devanter's decision was in keeping with the stated objective that "all reservations were to be divided, surplus land sold, and Indians made over into small farmers. . . . tribal governments would cease to exist. Indians would be on their own to compete in American society" (p. 173).

Ironically, Van Devanter knew the Miami people well. His father had accompanied those journeying to the Kansas Territory in 1846 on their "trail of tears" and had later served as an attorney for the Indiana Miami. His grandfather's farm bordered the Meshingomesia reserve in the valley of the Mississinewa. Yet, like most of the general society at that time, he apparently believed he was doing the Miami a favor by hastening the demise of tribal ties and encouraging their complete acculturation into the larger American society. *E pluribus unum*. Out of many, one.

A century later, the tide of public opinion has turned and with it federal Indian policy. Encouragement is given today to the concept of diversity in a pluralistic, multi-ethnic society. Indian identity is now being celebrated, not hidden or submerged. As Chief Francis Shoemaker of the Indiana Miami expressed it so well in July, 1985: "We've come out from under a rock, and we're going to stay out" (p. 299).

The story of the Indiana Miami (officially the Miami Nation of Indians in the State of Indiana) is both timely and well told by Stewart Rafert in *The Miami Indians of Indiana: A Persistent People, 1654-1994*. His argument is that the Indiana Miami deserve federal recognition as a tribe. Indeed, much of his professional career has been spent working toward that goal. The fact that the goal has not yet been reached, even in the present favorable climate of public opinion and federal policy, lends particular poignancy to the telling of the story.

Rafert's work with the Indiana Miami began with his University of Delaware doctoral dissertation, "The Hidden Community: The Miami Indians of Indiana, 1846-1940" (1982). Rafert was the first recipient of a graduate fellowship for study in midwestern history from the Indiana Historical Society. After receiving his doctorate, he became an employee of the Indiana Miami, "a much different role than that of researcher of the tribe" (p. 269). He "spent two years preparing the Indiana petition for federal recognition . . . which stretched into another seven years before the Bureau of Indian Affairs rendered a decision" (p. 271).

Far more than a rehash of his doctoral dissertation, Rafert's new book appropriately considers the history of all the Miami people from the beginning of historical contact in 1654, when they were living in Wisconsin, to the removal of many from Indiana in 1846. For the period after removal, Rafert's attention centers almost

exclusively on the remaining Indiana Miami. He highlights not only the social, cultural, and subsistence changes experienced by them, but also the persistence of older ways that have allowed them to avoid complete acculturation and have kept them Indian.

Though once a nation of an estimated 12,000 people, the Miami at the time of removal and separation in 1846 numbered scarcely 500. In contrast, the Oklahoma Miami today number more than 1,500, while the Indiana Miami number more than 5,000. (Interestingly, Rafert rarely refers to either group by its official name, preferring instead to call the one the “Western Miami” and the other the “Eastern Miami.”) Notwithstanding their numbers, the hope of the Indiana Miami for restoration of federal recognition and attendant benefits remains just that—hope.

Despite a campaign that began in 1979, the support of the Indiana congressional delegation, and all of the research of Stewart Rafert, the effort to achieve federal recognition has been repeatedly rebuffed. The culmination of all this frustration came on June 9, 1992, when the Bureau of Indian Affairs made its final finding against recognition of the Indiana Miami “based on alleged insufficient evidence of a distinct contemporary tribal community and lack of tribal political process since the early 1940s” (p. 288). According to Rafert, however, the real stumbling blocks were: (1) the large size of the Indiana Miami population (as much as ten times the size of some tribes that have succeeded in gaining recent recognition) and consequent budgetary considerations for federal services; (2) the fact that the Oklahoma Miami were already recognized; (3) the opposition of “reservation tribes [that] did not want competition for federal dollars from a new tribe that they regarded as highly acculturated”; and (4) “the issue of casino gambling free of state regulation” (pp. 290-92).

In September, 1992, the Indiana Miami, led by Chief Ray White, marched from their tribal headquarters in Peru to South Bend, where they filed a lawsuit against the Interior Department to compel a restoration of federal recognition. That action, too, ended in frustration with a judicial ruling “that the tribe had waited too long to sue [1897–1992] and was blocked by the statute of limitations” (p. 293).

While their recent past has left some painful memories, the Miami Indians of Indiana have achieved a revitalization that few would have dreamed possible at the beginning of this century. With the help of Stewart Rafert and the Indiana Historical Society, they will celebrate their Miami-ness far into the future.

PHILLIP R. SHRIVER is author of several *Timeline* articles on the Miami and past president of the Ohio Historical Society. He is currently president emeritus and professor of history at Miami University, Oxford, Ohio.