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Book Review: Citizen Indians: Native American Intellectuals, Race, and Reform

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outside their own mythic and racialized images (often expressed in pageants depicting a savage or vanishing race), this generation of boarding school educated Indians co-opted those performative images in order to reassure whites, even as they negotiated with and challenged them for control of Indian policies. Maddox argues that SAI leaders were not simple assimilationists mouthing social and racial evolutionary solutions to “The Indian Question.” Rather, they were staking out a distinct middle ground within the reform community, cultivating the idea of Indianness as essential to their adjustment to imposed modern conditions while arguing that their intellectual capability and basic humanity made Indians acceptable citizens.

Citizen Indian is an important intellectual history of this generation of American intellectuals who also happened to be Indian. Maddox does not reinvent Hazel W. Hertzberg’s careful institutional history of the SAI (*The Search for an American Indian Identity: Modern Pan-Indian Movements*, 1971), but rather complicates its intellectual context. At the center of Maddox’s analysis is Arthur C. Parker (Seneca), founding member and editor of the SAI’s quarterly journal, but she also considers the writings of Gertrude Bonnin, Charles Eastman, Carlos Montezuma, and Luther Standing Bear, among others. Maddox explores the rhetoric of racial universalism employed by Parker to counter notions of racial determinism, and compares and contrasts concurrent racial reform efforts among African Americans. She uses ideological conflicts within the organization—between Parker and Montezuma in particular—to highlight how these intellectuals negotiated the paternalism of progressive reformers and the Bureau of Indian Affairs, crafting a message of adjustment and incorporation while maintaining the necessity of Indianness and Indian leadership. While ultimately frustrated in their policy proposals by white progressives, Maddox argues that reformers like Parker accomplished their primary goal of engaging the nation in intellectual debate. By creating a space for an Indian public opinion where none had existed

Citizen Indians: Native American Intellectuals, Race, and Reform. By Lucy Maddox. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005. 205 pp. Images, notes, index. \$35.00 cloth, \$18.95 paper.

Lucy Maddox explores issues of race and progressive reform in the early twentieth century by examining how American Indians positioned themselves to claim a place and a voice in American public life. Maddox focuses on “Indian intellectuals,” individuals who wrote and spoke publicly about pan-Indian issues arising from federal wardship, and who organized the Society of American Indians (SAI) as a space for disseminating that Indian voice. Responding to an American public that could not comprehend Indian culture and history

before, they enabled the next generation of Indian leaders and intellectuals to fashion a modern pan-Indian political base and identity within American society.

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