

Book Reviews

Native America, Discovered and Conquered: Thomas Jefferson, Lewis & Clark, and Manifest Destiny. Robert J. Miller. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2006. 240 pp. Cloth, \$49.95. ISBN: 0275990117.

Shawnee legal scholar Robert J. Miller addresses another one of those “complexities” about Thomas Jefferson, the first being his advocacy of freedom while owning human beings—a daunting contradiction whether or not he was sleeping with Sally Hemmings. Jefferson has no popular reputation as an imperialist, but it was on his watch that the United States reached the Pacific by way of a constitutionally suspect commercial transaction with Napoleon, and the particulars of this transaction reveal more “complexities” about the scrivener of that great anti-imperialist document, the U.S. Declaration of Independence.

What is left out of mainstream history books, and what is corrected by Professor Miller in this revisionist look at American expansion, is that the Louisiana Purchase was not in fact a direct real estate purchase. What the United States acquired and the Lewis and Clark expedition set out to inspect was not a land owned in fee simple but an interest conferred by the European doctrine of “discovery.” Miller demonstrates with Jefferson’s own words that the third President was well aware of the real nature of the transaction. “Discovery” meant a right to acquire land from the aboriginal occupants by treaty or by warfare. *Terra nullius*, the idea that the Americas were empty and ownerless, was a legal fiction subsumed in the doctrine of discovery and was understood as a legal fiction at the time.

What, we might ask with Miller, of that great instrument of self-government, the U.S. Constitution? It was inevitable that whatever legal doctrines came to govern the relationship between the United States and American Indians would be crafted from whole cloth in the Supreme Court. This is not in itself a criticism of Chief Justice John Marshall, but a sober recognition that Indians are mentioned only twice in the entire document, in the commerce clause and again to exclude “Indians not taxed” from population counts for the purposes of legislative apportionment (to be distinguished from African-Americans, who were counted as “three-fifths of all other Persons.”).

Marshall took up the doctrine of discovery as a governing principle and Marshall’s choice lives to this day in federal Indian law, most famously in the 1955 case of *Tee-Hit-Ton Indians v. United States*, where the Supreme Court in the mid-twentieth century disregarded the aboriginal title of people who had enjoyed a peaceful subsistence economy on their lands from time immemorial, as the “rights” conferred by “discovery” passed from Russia to the United States.

Miller’s use of “manifest destiny” might be criticized as anachronistic. He recognizes that Jefferson never used the term. The earliest use of “manifest destiny” in those words was by J. L. O’Sullivan in 1845, in the context of debate over the annexation of Texas. However, Jefferson was the originator of manifest destiny as American policy in all but name. The same can be said, to this writer’s surprise, of “removal,” the policy of uprooting Indian tribes from more densely settled land to “new” lands west of the Mississippi (90-91).

Manifest destiny came to be understood as having three major themes (120):

1. The special virtues of the American people and their institutions;
2. America’s mission to redeem and remake the world in the image of America; and,
3. A divine destiny under God’s direction to accomplish this wonderful task.

Some of us living today are descendents of people who came to see the manifest destiny task as less than “wonderful.” My own people lost at least a fourth of our population to removal. To this day, many Cherokees are Republicans because the person we have always blamed for removal, Andrew Jackson, was a Democrat. Miller’s revelation, of course, does not get the Democratic Party off the hook; he just pushes the idea back to the intellectual father of the Party. I would ask those who find this an unreasonable grudge to hold how many generations you would expect to remember if one out of four people around you died for no good reason?

In Miller’s penultimate chapter, he traces the sordid history of the discovery doctrine in federal Indian law from 1774 to 2005. This is of course the reason for the book, to demonstrate to the scions of colonial America that “the United States and its citizens must face squarely the fact that many of the principles of federal Indian law and the modern-day treatment of Indian Nations and Indians are based on the

Doctrine of Discovery and on religious, racial, cultural, and ethnocentric prejudices that are many centuries old. These lamentable relics of our past should not and cannot continue to be perpetuated and tolerated in modern-day America.” (178).

Hope for change is the reason for the book and fear of change—the other side of the coin—will be the reason for some criticism of the book. That is, Miller will be called a suspect revisionist because of his Shawnee citizenship just as I, in recommending the book, am suspect because of my Cherokee citizenship. In response, I can only invite attention to Miller’s documentation. He is not citing Indian sources but rather the words of the people in charge of U.S. public policy written by them at the time. It is an understatement to point out that a lot of land changed from Indian to colonial hands as a result of these policies. Therefore, it seems to us on the losing end of those transactions that, while our biases are plain, the biases of those who created the dominant and conventional narrative should also be plain. Miller’s marshalling of the evidence is formidable, and his analysis deserves consideration on that basis.

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Remember This! Dakota Decolonization and the Eli Taylor Narratives. Waziyatawin Angela Wilson. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005. 320 pp. Paper, \$29.95; cloth, \$55.00. ISBN: 0803248148.

The telling of history takes on many forms. In *Remember This!: Dakota Decolonization and the Eli Taylor Narratives*, Waziyatawin Angela Wilson strives to “promote the incorporation of Indigenous perspectives into the written historical record” (23). This goal can only be achieved through consulting Indigenous peoples and learning the Indigenous language of their culture. For Wilson, this was done by interviewing her uKíáKna (grandfather) Eli Taylor in Sioux Valley, Manitoba, during the winter of 1992. She did so, for the most part, using the Dakota language with assistance from her father, grandmother, step-mother, and husband. The narratives of Eli Taylor serve to inform the reader of traditional Dakota history, knowledge, and worldview. Moreover, the stories of Eli Taylor “become a decolonizing agent, a means for Dakota people to assert an identity and worldview that will carry us into the future while at the same time assisting us in resisting the colonizing forces” (1).

The colonizing forces referred to in the book are colonial interpretations of Indigenous history, knowledge, and worldview that exist as truth amidst the vast writings which represent little or no Indigenous perspective. Colonial history when written from a non-Indigenous point of view, often rely on written documents with non-Indigenous perspectives, leaving Indigenous voices absent from written history. A decolonizing effect occurs when history is re-addressed with an

Indigenous perspective, including their voices, thoughts, and memories. For example, Wilson writes extensively about the U.S.-Dakota War of 1862. This conflict marks the Diaspora of the Dakota people, who were forced from their home lands, often while fleeing bounty-hunters in attempting to survive. The oral histories Wilson collected from her family looks at the events leading up to the conflict of 1862, including confinement to reservations, inadequate support and often late payments of treaty annuities, and the desperation and near starvation of a people. These factors, if endured long enough, can be reasonably expected to result in armed resistance from anyone. Such desperate acts of resistance mar the history of North America in a subtle and obscured manner. For example, the Cree word *ê-mâyikamikanhk*, “where it went wrong,” is used to describe the killing of ten non-Indigenous people at Frog Lake in 1885. In English this conflict is referred to as the Frog Lake Massacre, undermining the extreme difficulties and near starvation the members of *mistahi maskwa* (Big Bear) band faced before engaging in an armed resistance to fight for their survival. Unfortunately, the historical events leading to the moment of conflict are often not included in the colonial history taught in most public education systems.

Indeed, the need for education is a driving theme throughout Wilson’s book. Education neither begins with formal entry into elementary school nor does it end with completion of high school, trade school, undergraduate, or even graduate school. Rather, education is life happening all around us. An individual’s education begins with the day they are born and continues on until death. Every experience shapes how we view and interact with the rest of the world. Wilson was raised with a strong Dakota worldview stemming from many role models who encouraged and supported her participation in Dakota culture. These experiences led her to challenge western methodologies of collecting history. For her, decolonizing resistance takes the form of learning, recording, and communicating Dakota oral narratives. In doing so Wilson preserves the history and perspectives of the Dakota people in their own words.

Undoubtedly, Wilson’s determined journey to preserve the voice of the Dakota has brought her as much joy as it did frustration and at times heartache. The incorporation of large bodies of oral narratives in academic theses and dissertations, as presented in their original form and dialogue, is a relatively new phenomenon. In her introduction Wilson comments on how her work was, and still is, considered radical because of her reliance on the truths and stories of her relatives rather than the written historical documents of non-Indigenous anthropologists, missionaries, and fur traders. Wilson does not detract from the importance of these works, choosing instead to augment them with the stories as remembered by the Dakota people.

The use of Indigenous language in the body of the text brings the stories to life in an important manner becoming more common with Indigenous writers. Throughout the book, the English translations of the Eli Taylor interviews are paired with the original Dakota language. Incorporating the original Dakota into

the text serves to strengthen the revitalization of the Dakota language while underscoring the importance of language as a form of resistance. Authors such as Freda Ahenakew and H.C. Wolfart have similarly provided Cree and English translations when writing. This allows both a broader audience and a preservation of the Cree language and meaning for future generations. Wilson examines many related examples of the great strides Indigenous groups have made in preserving and revitalizing their languages.

I thoroughly enjoyed Wilson's presentation of Eli Taylor's narratives, particularly when followed by her interpretations of their meaning. As a long-time resident of Saskatchewan, Canada, I readily identified with the historical locations referenced by Eli Taylor; however, the stories themselves are so vibrant they would appeal to any reader. In discussing the Dakota diaspora, Wilson could only have improved by providing the reader with actual maps linking Minnesota, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan. Nevertheless, she admirably conveys the vast distances traveled by the Dakota while exemplifying oral narratives and Indigenous identity. Her commitment to revitalizing the Dakota culture is evident in her words, her writing, and dedication to the Dakota language. The preservation of Eli Taylor's narratives in *Remember This!* provides the reader with information on the history of the Dakota people from an important and often forgotten perspective: theirs. Waziyatawin Angela Wilson's ability to weave Dakota oral narrative into a clear and easy to follow text of Dakota history, language, and worldview makes this book enlightening and enjoyable.

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Melissa Blind

A Nation of Statesman: The Political Culture of the Stockbridge-Munsee Mohicans, 1815-1972. James W. Oberly. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005. 352 pages, \$34.95. ISBN: 0806136758.

A Nation of Statesmen provides a historical documentation of the Stockbridge-Munsee Mohicans and their political struggles for land and power from the seventeenth through the twentieth century as they were relocated from the east (New York and Hudson River Valley) to the west (Wisconsin). The information in this book originally was intended to be used for supporting the Stockbridge-Munsee Mohican Tribe in 1997, who were settling a boundary dispute between the Tribe and Shawano County, in which Oberly was the primary researcher. However, the research and documentation to support this legal dispute, which both the Tribe and Oberly thought was a "narrow task" (xi), turned into a seven year journey that resulted in a book that documents the political history of the Stockbridge-Munsee Band of Mohicans in Wisconsin from 1815-1972.

Oberly opens *A Nation of Statesmen* with an overview followed by seven individual chapters that provide a detailed the political history of the Stockbridge-Munsee Mohicans. These seven chapters represent Oberly's seven organized historical "polities" (11) in which the 159 year historical narrative of the Stockbridge-Munsee Mohicans is divided. Polities are defined by Webster's *Dictionary* (1913) as, "the form or constitution of the civil government of a nation or state; the framework or organization by which the various departments of governments are combined into a systematic whole." The seven historical periods are chosen by Oberly based on, in his words, "changes in the form of local, tribal government and politics as practiced by the Mohicans" (11). Most of the book's chapters explain each of these seven political periods. Through this linear account, Oberly provides rich contextual details prior to the 1800's and throughout the move westward as the Stockbridge-Munsee Mohicans relocated to Wisconsin. The chapters are strengthened through numerous maps, tables, figures, congressional acts, and tribal policies, which are interwoven throughout the text.

Listing not only a linear history of the Tribe's politics, Oberly also enriches the conversation through the deliberate structuring and explicit discussion of the multiple levels of politics that the Tribe participated in singularly and at times, concurrently: at the international level (between Tribes and U.S.), at the intertribal level (between the Stockbridge-Munsee Mohicans and other tribes, particularly in New York and Wisconsin), and at the intra-tribal level in which inner conflicts and struggles for powers were witnessed among the various families and factions within the Stockbridge-Munsee Mohican Tribe itself. This format allows the reader to see clearly the multiple levels of impact that federal policies had on the Tribe's decisions and activities throughout this history — including the rationale and struggles that accompany these matters. Finally, the author connects these concurrent activities and multiple levels of politics. Through a descriptive and inductive writing process the author assists the reader to comprehend the present political activity at hand and then moves the reader through the subsequent political action by describing the rationale for decision making and perspectives held by the Tribe.

In my opinion and as a matter of preferred learning style, I enjoyed the first and final chapter. Chapter one created the big picture and situated the Tribe within a larger political context. The first chapter also provided a brief linguistic and cultural history of the Tribe for readers who did not know about the Stockbridge-Munsee Mohicans including what our name (Moh-he-con-nuck) characterized and how the many manifestations of Tribal names came about for us through our travels from east to west.

The final chapter symbolized a cycle for me because the author brings us over time through history up to the present when the Tribe continues to be articulate and active participants in the political system *to this day*. Throughout the book, Oberly honors and describes the history of the Stockbridge-Munsee Mohicans while always implying and explicitly connecting the historical to the contemporary context. This is empowering to the Tribe as well as a long overdue change of pace

from most academic histories of Indigenous communities, especially those written by non-Native authors and publishers.

Oberly also demonstrates a fluid ability to weave contemporary with traditional, historical information. This is very important for Native and non-Native readers in that it honors the richness, political savvy, and sophistication of the Stockbridge-Munsee Mohicans. Oberly writes about the Stockbridge-Munsee Mohicans without the exclusionary and past tense drudgery. This past-tense viewpoint often is the literary style that authors choose (consciously or unconsciously) to construct and represent Indigenous people. In my opinion, it is this particular and unfortunate style of literary construction, (seen as well in other mediums) which perpetuates the pervasive and sustained stereotypes that Indigenous peoples have endured at the hands of mainstream authors, publishers, and institutions for centuries. Refreshingly, Oberly demonstrates that the Stockbridge-Munsee Mohicans have been and continue to be a vibrant and participatory society that interacts with other Tribal and non-Tribal polities. Oberly writes Stockbridge-Munsee Mohican history without making the Tribe or individual Tribal members “historical.”

Overall, any reader should understand the perspectives and painstaking detail that the author had to account for when researching and writing *A Nation of Statesmen*. As an academic researcher and evaluator, I can understand the overwhelming task of tracking down Indigenous information which is often oral and/or with written documents that are located in non-mainstream resources where fully comprehensive documentation is not the norm. Additionally, the author takes great care in working in ways that are culturally respectful through the utilization of member checks to providing an accurate and empowering voice for Indigenous people. As a member of the Stockbridge-Munsee Mohican community, I recognize that Oberly’s research was done with the community and not on the community, as traditional Western methodologies often teach academic researchers to do.

Efforts for depicting accurate portrayals of the Tribal individuals and communities extended over seven years while researching this book. *A Nation of Statesmen* is unique in that it goes into extensive length about explaining the methods for respectful acquisition of information from Tribal sources. This non-Native researcher, or “outsider” as western research defines it, appears to have strong support from the community evidenced by the endorsement and sale of the book in the Mohican Tribal Library and the many community networks identified in the preface and acknowledgement sections. Often this is not the case for a non-Native author/researcher who is studying Indian communities, making this aspect of Oberly’s research and writing particularly noteworthy.

Oberly recognizes his responsibility for the research as he reflects in the book on how his scholarly work is representing Mohican voices and perspectives. Reflecting on a U.S. District Court case (1998) where his research represented the Tribe, Oberly states that “a hundred or so [Stockbridge-Munsee Mohican] observers whose lives would greatly be affected by the outcome had no [written] report, no documents, no exhibits — only their oral testimony (xi).” Oberly goes on

to comment in the preface and acknowledgement section that this is very different than his [Western] classroom at the university and recognizes the implications of his work for the future generations when he states, "I hope that this book, and the documentary record on which it is based, will be helpful to those who want to continue to learn about the history [of the Stockbridge-Munsee Mohican]" (xii).

With all of its strengths, *A Nation of Statesmen* remains somewhat limited by the disciplinary practice to which it clearly is accountable. Rather than bow to academic customs, Oberly could have more deeply and broadly represented the various perspectives of Stockbridge-Munsee Mohican Tribal history. Instead he relies upon the conventions of academic history that construct seamless, linear narratives. The author provided some detailed accounts through several individual interviews with Tribal members. However by interviewing more modern-day descendents of the Citizen, Indian, and other Tribal factions seen throughout the Stockbridge-Munsee Mohican history, the author would have strengthened the book. The use of oral histories and present day narratives from cooperating as well as competing political factions within the Tribe would have provided useful information given from multiple perspectives which would have provided the reader with how the political decisions were manifested and received within the community. These accounts would also demonstrate the historical and contemporary variances that exist within one Tribe and would reinforce that diversity exists within all Tribal communities, a notion overlooked by most researchers when designing studies and/or analyzing data within Indigenous contexts.

Even with these limitations, *A Nation of Statesmen* nonetheless offers readers a greater and more accurate understanding of the Stockbridge-Munsee political history. Tribal policy makers, historians, and political scientists definitely should read this book. They would be well served by the strong first source documents that include ratified and unratified treaties, constitutional records and individual interviews, and maps, photographs, and other first and second source Tribal and non-Tribal sources. In addition, Tribal members and other professionals teaching American Indian Studies at the secondary or post-secondary level would benefit from this book because it would fill in the gaps of traditional history curriculums, offer great insight and material for including in the curriculum across several subject areas, and provide a written compilation of history that many Stockbridge-Munsee Mohican families do not have. *A Nation of Statesmen* also could be utilized by Tribal administrators, Tribal governments, and Tribal departments to provide historical insights on which they can make decisions about policy and practice. *A Nation of Statesmen* is an outstanding written account of the historical and political activities of the Tribe that previously did not exist, making it an innovative and sought after resource for Native and non-Natives alike.

On The Bloody Road to Jesus: Christianity and the Chiricahua Apaches. H. Henrietta Stockel. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004. 336 pp. Cloth, \$29.95. ISBN: 0826332080.

Recent historical trends place increased emphasis upon the actions of Indigenous Peoples in perpetuating distinctive cultures despite the imperialistic onslaught leveled upon the Americas by Europeans 500 years ago. With the rise of ethnohistory, studies on imperialism shifted into new realms that seek to illuminate Native American agency and autonomy in lieu of the inevitability of Euro-American supremacy and Indigenous decline, a common theme in prior historiography. Currently, a neglected component of Indian/white colonial experiences is religion. H. Henrietta Stockel's *On the Bloody Road to Jesus: Christianity and the Chiricahua Apaches* adds immensely to this dialogue. Stockel's central theme emphasizes the Chiricahua's ability to maintain their traditional belief system despite the best attempts by Spanish and Anglo imperialists to assimilate them to European culture and Christianity.

Stockel begins by examining the rise of Spanish colonial rule throughout Northern Mexico. The Spanish Crown, due to its willingness to appropriate funds to finance Missionary endeavors into Northern Mexico, became an extension of Papal authority to this territory. So long as the Crown promised to civilize the Native inhabitants through Roman Catholic indoctrination, the Pope would approve territorial expansion. While Spanish civil authorities favored a quick and succinct evangelization process against Jesuit and Franciscan insistence on gradual conversion, Stockel correctly surmises that the eventual goals of both parties was to civilize the Native inhabitants to the point that they could become tax paying citizens of the Spanish Empire.

Stockel also presents the Jesuit and Franciscan periods of mission work to Southern Plains tribes and bands within the larger scope of Spanish empiric ambitions. Viewing both European culture and Christianity as synonymous with civilization, the Jesuits set out to win converts utilizing strategies that would parallel later American missionary policies. One strategy employed by missionaries consisted of propping up missions on top of the sacred ceremonial centers of Indian Peoples. The Spanish believed that this served to instill a sense of powerlessness upon the Indigenes, inaugurating the first steps in dismantling Native infrastructures. Next, the Spanish removed Indian communities from their villages and sent them to large mission complexes, further undercutting tribal autonomy. This process also opened up large tracts of Indigenous land for settler exploitation. Stockel stresses that the less sedentary peoples, such as the Apache and Navajo, actively resisted such enactments through raiding the missions and in recruiting other tribal peoples from the missions themselves to join in resisting Spanish encroachments.

Acting in conjunction with the missionary process, the introduction of the *comienda* and *repartimiento* systems served to virtually enslave Native Americans. The purported goals aimed at preparing Indians for citizenship through hard work.

In essence, these exploitive systems closely resembled chattel slavery. Also, the end of Jesuit control in Northern Mexico witnessed an increase in hostilities between Chiracauha Apache and Spanish forces, further diminishing tribal autonomy.

The destabilizing forces that Spanish colonialism unleashed upon the Apache and their traditional spirituality culled different responses. However, Stockel's conclusion that the majority of Apache resisted overt acceptance of Catholicism rests upon Chiracauha pragmatism in accessing Christianity. For some Apache, outwardly professing Catholic dogma while continuing to adhere to traditional beliefs and behaviors became a mode of resistance. Still, others syncretically incorporated Catholic beliefs into their own traditions, thereby creating a middle ground between disparate cultural/religious traditions.

The third portion of Stockel's study focuses on the Chiracauha experiences as prisoners of war under American colonialism. Stockel continues her theme of espousing the fluidity of Apache spirituality to meet new crises and further incursions on their spirituality. Now under American supervision, traditional Apache religion, already tested under Spanish Catholicism, had to contend with the Protestant version of Christianity. Stockel expertly delineates Apache experiences under Anglo rule, first at prison camps in Florida, Alabama, Oklahoma, and later in New Mexico. Under Grant's administration, these prisons turned reservations became hubs of missionary frenzy, with various denominations vying for control of the spiritual destinies of the Chiracahua.

The alienation that Apache children underwent during the boarding school era and the outlawing of traditional religion on reservations are discussed in great detail, exemplifying the Chiracauha determination to control their own destinies and to maintain the spiritual beliefs of their ancestors. The degree of Chiracauha acceptance of Protestant beliefs, akin to their stance towards Roman Catholicism, depended upon how readily certain beliefs could be harmonized. For instance, Stockel presents the purported conversions of Geronimo and other former tribal leaders as lip service pronouncements, made in order to alleviate harsh living conditions or to maintain power amongst their own people. While remaining skeptical of outright Indian acceptance of Christianity, Stockel does allow for this possibility, particularly in her presentation of the Chiracauha and Protestantism. However, Stockel admits that there is no way to adequately address the authenticity of Chiracauha conversions.

While presenting an outstanding examination of cross-cultural studies between Europeans and the Chiracauha Apaches through the lens of religion, Stockel at times goes too far in her conclusions. By stressing religious parallelization where there is none to be had, Stockel glosses over the enormous differences between the two traditions. For instance, Stockel portrays the veneration of the Virgin Mary as somehow equitable to the Apache's White Painted Woman. Stockel's presentation of White Painted Woman focuses on her role as a personifier of "eternal life" and reincarnation. The Virgin Mary's role as a mediator and intercessor to Jesus Christ would seemingly resist this conflation of disparate

religious iconic symbolism. A similar misinterpretation stems from Stockel's allowing of the possibility that Christian crosses may have influenced Apache representations of the sacred four directions. In any event, similar religious symbolism does not equate to a shared consensus concerning symbolic meanings.

However, this small criticism aside, Stockel presents an engaging and important addition to European and Native American colonial history. This work will appeal to scholars interested in Indigenous/European cross-cultural exchange. Those interested in the religious dimensions underpinning this encounter will find Stockel's work particularly useful. Stockel illuminates the role religion played in fostering and maintaining traditional Indigenous religious beliefs despite the best efforts of Europeans to eradicate them. The fact that many contemporary Chiracauha Apache, like their ancestors, see no contradiction between traditional religion and Christianity, demonstrates that Apache religion is a living spirituality, capable of adapting to a changing set of circumstances in order to perpetuate and sustain tribal ways of life.

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Native American Studies. Clara Sue Kidwell and Alan Velie. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005. 160 pp. Paper, \$19.95, cloth \$70.00. ISBN: 0803278292.

In the preface to *Native American Studies* co-authors Clara Sue Kidwell and Alan Velie argue that Native American/American Indian Studies (NAS/AIS) programs are characterized by "certain basic assumptions about the nature of knowledge" (xii). Ever mindful of the diverse and dynamic nature of NAS/AIS programs, Kidwell and Velie do identify several core principles of the discipline: the importance of place to identity, sovereignty, and spirituality; the need for multidimensional approaches to history that include both Native and non-Native perspectives; the central role of sovereignty, in spite of its illusive definition; and the potential for using Native languages as keys to understanding Native worldviews. Kidwell and Velie objectively illuminate these "assumptions" in the hopes of defining NAS/AIS as an interdisciplinary area of study while creating a useful resource for students and scholars within the discipline.

Native American Studies is the first of six texts in the "Introducing Ethnic Studies" series, a series designed to evaluate the current status and future possibilities of African-American, Asian-American, Judaic, Arabic, and Latino Studies, as well as NAS/AIS. Kidwell and Velie attempt to answer the question "What is NAS/AIS?" with an overview of the content common to NAS/AIS courses, rather than offering a history of the discipline or a survey of active programs. Their on-the-ground approach is admirable, though daunting. As they attempt to find common ground among NAS/AIS programs by identifying themes that routinely

emerge within the discipline, Kidwell and Velie seem to encounter the same problem that plagues any introductory or survey course in NAS/AIS: how to cover so much material in so little space and time. The resulting text looks strikingly similar to a syllabus for a survey course designed with the best of intentions: a chapter on federal policy, two paragraphs on water rights, a paragraph each on economic development, gaming, repatriation, and so on. Other critical topics such as canons of construction, reserved rights, and activism are alluded to, but not given the attention they deserve. It is unreasonable to expect the authors to provide in-depth analysis of all issues relevant to NAS/AIS or to provide cutting-edge answers to problems decades — or centuries — old. Nevertheless, the text's breezy, impartial overview skims readers past some critical thinking opportunities.

As they draw attention to current issues in NAS/AIS, Kidwell and Velie deliberately attempt to maintain an objective, unemotional voice in the interest of good scholarship. Clearly Kidwell and Velie intend to list, not analyze or advocate, the issues. Their dispassionate voice, however, often undermines the rich complexities and deeply rooted controversies usually associated with issues such as identity, sovereignty, and language loss. Two chapters on literature and art are apparent exceptions to the goal of objectivity. These chapters do not adhere to the same organizational format or maintain the same matter-of-fact tone consistent in other chapters as they discuss Indian aesthetics; they delve into specific discussions of Native writers and artists. The chapters on Indian aesthetics disrupt the discussion of NAS/AIS as a discipline, but they are complimented by color plates of artwork by well-known artists such as T. C. Cannon, Julian Martinez, and Helen Hardin. Maps of Native land and language distribution also add visual appeal.

In the preface, the authors express hope that undergraduate students, graduate students, and scholars working in NAS/AIS will find *Native American Studies* useful. Both the content and tone of their text, however, appeal more to those currently working outside of the discipline. The brief overview of key issues, presented in a non-threatening manner, is useful to those who are interested in learning about significant issues in NAS/AIS or are considering further research in NAS/AIS. The subdued approach that does not stimulate lively debates for scholars within the field becomes an asset when petitioning for support from those outside of the discipline. Kidwell and Velie's well documented, albeit broad, overview of ongoing issues in NAS/AIS also presents a convincing argument for both the progress and possibilities for NAS/AIS as a respected academic discipline in the future. *Native American Studies* does not offer provocative new scholarship for students and scholars already in the field, but it is helpful addition to the extensive body of literature that grapples with ongoing concerns in NAS/AIS related to the incorporation of indigenous knowledge in the classroom, the need for a canon, and finding an appropriate name for the field.

In spite of its authoritative title, *Native American Studies* is not the definitive answer to the question "What is NAS/AIS?," though a single text could hardly

reconcile such a myriad of issues. *Native American Studies* does accomplish its goal of explicating some common themes in NAS/AIS and invites further research into understanding NAS/AIS as a discipline. The "Suggestions for Further Reading" section of *Native American Studies* offers a good starting place for new conversations about the past, present, and future of NAS/AIS programs.

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Cherokee Medicine Man: The Life and Work of a Modern-Day Healer. Robert J. Conley. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005. 160 pp. Cloth, \$19.95. ISBN: 0806136650.

In the United States and in this time, many of us live in a mainstream society where technology is king, truths are not true unless they have been proven by science; money buys more than love and speaks louder than words; achieving physical beauty is the pinnacle of perfection; seeking of self and happiness is an endless work aided by self-help books and talk shows; and life is about trying to get ahead and in some cases, by any means necessary. Within this context in recent times, Native peoples and cultures seem to bubble to the forefront of public consciousness within the context of this mainstream reality through the epidemic popularity of new-age books or through other books and films that glorify the noble. Yet often tragic, history and distant mysticism ascribed to Native ceremonies, beliefs, and practices. All of this is fueled by a ravenous non-Native hunger for identification and connection with anything Native. Recall, if you will, the repeated theme of the sympathetic figure of a white man who comes to be accepted or adopted by the Native tribe as one of their own, and in the process, finds his true calling and spiritual purpose in films like *Dances with Wolves*. Media images like these of Native culture seem to frame the experience of what it means to be Native, but in reality, may frame more of the experience of existential angst and social dilemma of what it means to white in this day and age.

Contrast all of this with a journey into the reality of an Oklahoma Cherokee world that Robert Conley takes us with his book, *Cherokee Medicine Man: The Life and Work of a Modern-Day Healer*. This is a world where spiritual forces work in unison with battling medicine men and women who seek to aid or impede the lives of everyday people with the ups and downs of the ongoing intra- and interpersonal conflicts that many of us know all too well. At first glance, this is a book that might seem to fall into that all-too-familiar category of the "chosen" white man who has been uniquely selected by the wise old medicine man to share ancient spiritual secrets known only to Native people until now, and only now are shared to prevent them from being lost forever. John Little Bear, an Oklahoma Cherokee, is the subject of this non-fictional work by Robert Conley who serves as

the vessel through which all of this cultural information flows. It quickly becomes clear that this book is just as much about the personal and spiritual journey of this Cherokee author in his own searching for purpose and direction as it is about Little Bear and the people he helps.

Conley offers a justification for the book being written by saying that, "Little Bear told me that he wanted me to write a book about him and about the medicine, to let people know 'what Indian medicine is really about'" (7). He goes on to explain that the purpose of the book is to "give the reader a basic understanding of the nature and purpose of Indian medicine" by essentially telling stories of the medicine man and what he does "for the people" (7). However, Conley also qualifies the content by explaining that the book is not intended to offer the reader a set of recipes, formulae, or how-to instructions, and that this aspect of Cherokee Indian medicine is reserved for trained medicine persons who understand the dangers of working in this medium.

Unlike so many books on Native peoples, this is not a book on history, religion, policy, or social commentary, and yet, it is. Readers can easily picture themselves hearing similar kinds of stories in a similar kind of way while sitting in the kitchen with grandma, or sitting on the porch with grandpa on any reservation in the country. The book begins by offering a brief history of the Cherokee people and the origins of medicine in that cultural context shared through select Cherokee legends that are indigenous and sacred to the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma, the Keetoowah Band of Oklahoma, and the Eastern Band of Cherokee in North Carolina. This is followed by an interview that Conley conducted with Little Bear, a summary of Little Bear's life story, and how the book came into being. The remainder of the book devotes much of its space to sharing testimonials of people whom Little Bear has successfully helped through the use of Indian medicine, and by implication, offers a fuller understanding of what Indian medicine consists of in the Cherokee world. Conley comments, "Amazingly, throughout all of the Cherokee Nation's turbulent history, there have remained people who cling to ancient traditions, and one of those traditions is the medicine" (14). He goes on to say:

But much Cherokee medicine deals with another kind of illness from a darker source. Many ailments are attributed by Cherokees to the dealings of jealous or disgruntled people with makers of bad medicine.... The suffering thus brought about may be financial, or it may be physical, mental, or all of these. It can even go so far as to cause death. Once this process has been set in motion, there is no hope for the victim other than to seek the services of another doctor, one who can not only determine the cause of the ailment but can also provide a cure for it. (18)

Hence, it becomes clear to the reader that in order to understand Cherokee medicine, one must understand the very foundation of a Cherokee worldview with all of the experiences and beliefs that go with it. Interspersed throughout numerous anecdotes are brief descriptions of significant Cherokee cultural beliefs and

practices such as the Sweat, Going to Water, the Little People, Stomp Dance, Green Corn Ceremony, and others. All of these descriptions and stories offer the reader an inside-view of what it means to be Cherokee and how one lives or is supposed to live in this world.

The style of the book is very conversational and clearly follows a style of oral tradition that is unique to Native peoples. Although some of the stories seem not to arise in particular order nor do they seem to connect specifically to anything before them, they all create a cultural tapestry that one would find, as mentioned, in talking with any Native elder who very subtly, but very intentionally drifts into sharing about the old ways through experiences of people he or she knows, or things that he or she was told by one person or another. Insights about the world of the Cherokee are never forced here, and never expected to be any more than they are. Conley himself, says, "Many readers will find the tales told in this book to be fantastic, even outlandish. I can offer no proof of their truth or reality" (148). But it becomes deeply apparent that unlike our mainstream society, sometimes, it is not about what an outsider is able to prove as true or real if it is true and real to the people who experience it as a part of their cultural world. That is the power of tradition, and the power of such ancient traditions as Cherokee medicine may only be overshadowed by the fact that "there seems to be no end to the evil machinations that take place among Indian people and around the home of a medicine man" (129). Conley effectively shows us that Cherokee Indian medicine is different for each person, and maybe that's part of what gives the medicine its true power as it has for generations. As one elder once commented, medicine is just medicine, take it or leave it.

University of Florida

Michael Telanusta Garrett

Citizen Indians: Native American Intellectuals, Race, and Reform. Lucy Maddox. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005. 205 pp. Cloth, \$35.00. ISBN: 0801443547.

Citizen Indians by Lucy Maddox is the first significant treatment of the Society of American Indians since Hazel Hertzberg's *The Search for an American Indian Identity*, published in 1971. Each book, however, reflects the substantial changes in Indian society — and its relation to mainstream America — that have transpired during the intervening years.

Hertzberg's book, for example, appeared at the peak of the Red Power movement, signifying the sea-change in Indian political history. More to the point, Hertzberg's analysis of Progressive Era Indian intellectuals underscored, by implication, just how far the fight for Indian rights had come since the time when "assimilation" was the prevailing ideology driving federal Indian policy. The Society of American

Indians' dignified meetings between 1911 and 1920, which are at the core of Hertzberg's text, contrast starkly to the early 1960s "fish-ins" in the Pacific Northwest, not to mention the late 60s occupation of Alcatraz Island, followed by what would soon become the Second Wounded Knee in 1973. Paradoxically, Red Power activists, despite their militantism, were fighting about the same issues and problems as their turn-of-the-century predecessors, namely, treaty rights and Indian services reform. Indians may have grown in their political sophistication over the generations, particularly after WWII, but apparently white Americans were lagging behind, therefore, creating the same obstacles as their "Friends of the Indian" predecessors, such as paternalism and romanticism. Consequently, one thing that Indian intellectuals have always had to tend to is educating predominantly white audiences about Indian cultures, histories, and politics. The language used may have changed, from the gentlemanly moralistic works of Charles Eastman to the caustic legal analysis of Vine Deloria, Jr., nevertheless, the objective has remained the same, specifically, to attain political freedom from American hegemony, as epitomized by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. On the latter point, it is worth pointing out that both Carlos Montezuma, in his self-published newsletter *Wassaja*, and the American Indian Movement, in their Twenty Points, called for the abolition of the BIA.

With the foregoing in mind, it is fair to say that there is no irony about a book on American Indian intellectuals coming out at the turn of the twenty-first century. Paralleling advances in tribal sovereignty since the Nixon administration have been advances into mainstream American institutions, especially academia. After more than thirty years of American Indian Studies (alternately known as Native American Studies, Indigenous Studies, and Applied Indigenous Studies) in a range of colleges and universities across the United States, the "Indian intellectual" is a sight that is more common than one might imagine. In fact, the author of this review counts himself as one of these contemporary Indian intellectuals. Because of this, Maddox's work ineluctably begs to be read from an indigenous perspective, which is something that she asks for in her conclusion, stating:

With increasing opportunities for Native people to go public, especially through the publication or performance of their own scripts, and with an increasing focus on political and cultural self-determination, there has also come an increasing sense on the part of Native intellectuals that the Native audience, from whom nothing needs to be hidden or perhaps can be hidden, is the one that really matters (175).

While I would not argue with the proposition that the "Native audience" ought to be the primary one, what remains unanswered in Maddox's book is why Lucy Maddox took it upon herself to write this work. Does she think she is writing from an indigenous perspective? Or is she the intellectual heir to Helen Hunt

Jackson or Henry Welsh? Unfortunately, Maddox does not bother to clearly define the purpose of her work. Indeed, despite being about the SAI, there are only two brief references to Hertzberg's seminal work, leaving it to the reader to assess what her work contributes to the study of transition era Indian affairs. What is more apparent is that *Citizen Indians* is part of a small wave of works that have come out recently, analyzing — from an American Studies perspective, if you will — aspects of the “transition period,” as Eastman and Zitkala-Sa called their epoch. These works include *Going Native* by Shari M. Huhndorf, *Shades of Hiawatha* by Alan Trachtenberg, and *I Remain Alive* by Ruth Heflin.

I do not mention either Philip Deloria's or Robert Warrior's books as part of this wave of works, for the simple reason that, similar to the transition period, there is a difference between works written by Indians and non-Indians. Indian writers not only start from an indigenous perspective but also tend to remain true to that perspective and its attendant subject-matter throughout their whole careers. Non-Indian writers like Maddox tend to exhibit a much more tenuous relation to Indians. In Maddox's case, she began with an interest in Nabokov before making her way into Indian studies. Her previous book, *Removals*, was about how nineteenth century white American authors, such as Melville, Hawthorne, and Thoreau, viewed “the Indian Question” of the day. Consequently, *Citizen Indians* is Maddox's first sustained effort at writing about indigenous society and politics, albeit from a very “progressive” perspective. What results is a work that combines Fred Hoxie's analysis of intellectual culture in *A Final Promise* with a critical look at Indian “performances” that sounds inspired by Robert Berkhofer's *The White Man's Indian*, making clear that Indian writers and activists did not have a simplistic choice between being “progressive” or “traditional.” The Indian intellectual's world, like most worlds, was more complicated.

With the above in mind, I will say that *Citizen Indians* is a perfect complement to Hertzberg's seminal work, not because Maddox provides an indigenous perspective, she does not, but because she provides — from the same point of view as Hertzberg — a cultural critique of American society that explains more fully the possibility and necessity of the progressive Indian intellectual. *Citizen Indians*, then, is not so much about the SAI as it is about contexts for explaining the SAI phenomenon. Curiously, Maddox only makes a brief allusion to the factor that WWI played in the SAI's drive for Indian U.S. citizenship. Furthermore, there are some factual errors in need of revision, such as stating that Senator Henry Dawes is from Minnesota (17), rather than Massachusetts. Lastly, Maddox uses questionable language to refer to “the Sioux uprising of 1862” (129), while writing about Eastman.

In the end, I do recommend this book. It is well written and researched, and it is about an era that current Indian intellectuals need to read about more than ever. For, in the last analysis, Maddox reminds us that there is a third way to the “assimilation” versus “going back to the blanket” dilemma, which is that of self-

determination. Or, as Eastman stated at the very end of *From the Deep Woods to Civilization*, "I am an Indian . . . Nevertheless, so long as I live, I am an American."

Arizona State University

David Martínez

The Cherokee Nation: A History. Robert J. Conley. Albuquerque: University New Mexico Press, 2005. 265 pp. Cloth, \$24.95. ISBN: 082633234X.

Robert J. Conley's work, *The Cherokee Nation: A History*, traces the Cherokee Nation's untenable ability to survive and prevail far beyond the tumultuous periods of European colonization, the hardening of American racial attitudes, United States demands for Indian removal, Christian missionaries as agents of change, the 1835 fraudulent treaty that led to ultimate dispossession of their American South domain, the 1838-39 Trail of Tears, the detribalization of Indian lands and governments, the 1887 Dawes and 1898 Curtis acts, twentieth century policy makers' solutions to "Indian Problems," and the corroding effects of tribal termination. His is a story of Cherokee perseverance that ultimately led to restoration of tribal recognition in the 1970s and the present progressive leadership of Principal Chief Chad Smith. Recognizing change as a constant and certainty, Conley embraces it as the overarching theme and exposes how Cherokees have encountered change both internally and externally. Although forces of change challenged Cherokees' stability, Cherokees, since the emergence of the United States as a nation-state, have pursued paths that have led them to negotiate with American policy makers and courts. Even though doubt and strain have obscured their perseverance as a people, as Conley argues, Cherokees have continually pursued a sense of collective, shared identity no matter how difficult the contests.

Conley contends that the Cherokee people throughout the ages are a people whose identity lay with land and its resources, to towns as their basic political structure and clan relationships that reinforce matrilineal, spiritual celebrations such as the Green Corn ritual, and their ties to the same Iroquoian based language. But, in the end, their identity lay with their unquenchable desire to maintain their connection with one another as Cherokee. Today's Cherokees can boast of tribal membership with 240,000 registered Cherokees, most of whom live in northeast Oklahoma. However, many claim their Cherokee heritage in communities in the states of New Mexico, Texas, Kansas, Oregon, California, Illinois, and Washington.

Their evolution to their current status as Cherokee has a long history. Conley chronicles their past and present in thirty one chapters revealing how Cherokees have sustained their viability and preservation. For example, Chapter One explores "Theories and Legends," pinpointing Conley's penchant for details as he describes Cherokee origin stories handed down from generation to generation through oral tradition. Today's Oklahoma Nighthawk Keetoowahs theorize that Cherokees began their journey towards North America in South America because the uncommon

North American Cherokee double-weave basket making technique reflects the fairly common South American method. In Chapter Fourteen, "Many Changes Taking Place," Conley exposes the insidiousness of American racial prejudice as the early nineteenth century Cherokee Nation strove to become a republican government to coexist with advancing settlement on Cherokee properties in the American Southeast. Cherokee Elias Boudinot, editor of the Cherokee Phoenix in the 1820s and early 1830s and a Christian educated in the Northeast, reasoned that perhaps white America would think them not "savage," since Cherokees had adopted a legal system similar to the American one. Yet civilizers expelled Cherokees from their southeastern ancestral domain anyway. In Chapter Twenty-Four, "The Dawes Commission and Red Bird Smith," Conley depicts how Cherokee Redbird Smith, a member of the Keetoowahs, rose up against the 1887 Dawes Act that demanded that Cherokees enroll on the Dawes Roll in order for their lands (in what became the state of Oklahoma in 1907) to be allotted. Thereby, "excess" Cherokee lands could be sold to encroaching whites. Redbird Smith and other Keetoowahs went to jail. Facing dissolution of Cherokees as a nation and people, a new organization, the Nighthawk Keetoowah Society, of which Conley is an associate member, rose up to defy "legal" measures that demanded that Cherokee lands become parcels owned by individuals rather than held in common. Even though Cherokees ultimately lost their communal ties to land ownership, Cherokee strength to survive as a people prevailed. In the last chapter, "What Greater Gift Can We Give Our Children?" Conley, quoting from present Principal Chief Chad (Comtassel) Smith's address to the Nation in November of 1999, stated that this gift to be passed on to the next generation is the sense of identity. In conclusion, Conley reminds the reader that to sustain that sense of identity Cherokee people must "remain alert and vigilant" (242).

What makes this book unique is that it is told from a Cherokee world view. Non-Cherokee scholars, such as William G. McLoughlin, *Cherokee Renaissance in the New Republic* (Princeton University Press, 1986), Theda Perdue, *The Cherokee* (Chelsea House Publishers, 1989), and Grace Steele Woodward, *The Cherokees* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), have written histories mainly from mining panoplies of government and missionary documents. While Conley's book complements these other histories, it is somewhat autobiographical as he details the history and lifeline of the Nighthawk Keetoowahs. An extensive autobiography, past Principal Chief Wilma Mankiller's *Mankiller: A Chief and Her People* (St. Martin's Press, 1993), serves as a parallel text. Furthermore, her autobiography supplements Conley's last few chapters, in particular, "First Woman Chief" (Mankiller served the Cherokees from 1985 to 1995). Moreover, Conley's associate membership in the Nighthawk Keetoowah Society, unlike the other writers of Cherokee history positions him in a unique relationship to the last few Cherokee administrations that have seen progress as well as internal turmoil. In particular, Mankiller's and the controversial Principal Chief Joe Bird's (1995-1999) that rocked the very foundation of the Nation.

Conley's straightforward and clearly understood work appeals to a general audience and one that particularly seeks a summative overview of Cherokee history and culture. Besides imparting information in a general way, the history of the Keetoowahs is a topic that is generally unknown to the wider, non-Cherokee public. The glossaries found at the end of each chapter are interesting but some of the information does not completely explain what that term meant in a given era and context. For example, his definition of conservatives fails to state what that word meant to early nineteenth-century Cherokees. At the end of his work, the appendices list major chiefs and treaties signed with the United States government.

Overall, Conley's work reminds the reader that whatever evidence Cherokees use to plot their past and identity, Cherokees remain a proud and hopeful people with a rich past to pass on to their offspring. So knowing one's identity as Cherokee is a gift to be given away to generations to come.

Southern Illinois University Edwardsville

Rowena McClinton

Tending the Wild: Native American Knowledge and the Management of California's Natural Resources. M. Kat Anderson. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005. 555 pp. Cloth, \$50.00. ISBN: 0520238567.

As I see wild fires ripping through parts of California on my television, it is ironic that I am reviewing a book which describes how the Indigenous peoples of California managed their environment in a way which sustained resources, maintained diversity, and prevented large scale forest fires before their land fell into the hands of non-Natives. In *Tending the Wild: Native American Knowledge and the Management of California's Natural Resources*, M. Kat Anderson counters the argument held by many anthropologists and other researchers that Native peoples in California were "hunter-gatherers," living in an environment so filled with resources that they did not need to develop horticultural skills. Anderson argues that throughout history the Indigenous peoples of California actively managed and coexisted with the environment around them. They used, and use, techniques such as pruning, burning, and planting, to produce the quality and variety of materials they needed to make things necessary for their survival and culture. For example, California Indians have used "light burning" to control pests, increase the growth of certain plants, and prevent of the kinds of wild fires that we now see or hear about annually in California. Using these land management techniques, the Indigenous peoples of California were able to sustain a large population without ravishing their environment. Anderson argues that when non-Natives first came to California, the land that they wrote about, painted, and so admired was not a "wilderness," but a carefully tended "cultural landscape" (158).

Anderson's sources for this very informative text include historic and ethnographic descriptions of Indigenous land management practices. Anderson also interviewed Native people who either had practiced techniques to manage the plants and trees around them or had learned about how to do these things from someone who had. After reading so many texts on Native histories, knowledge's, and languages written by people who have not talked to a single Native person, it is refreshing to read a text by a non-Native author who took the time to listen to people from different tribes and record what they had to say about managing the land on which they live.

This text would be suitable and useful to a variety of audiences. I will be including this text as required reading for my undergraduate course on Indigenous knowledge because it demonstrates the history, preservation, wisdom, and strength of that knowledge. Since historians generally leave Native peoples entirely out of history, or mention them as little as possible, teachers, students, or anyone interested in Californian, American Indian, or United States history would greatly benefit from reading Anderson's historical account of non-Natives stripping California's land, animals, vegetation, and people of everything possible. This text should be required reading for anyone in charge of making decisions on managing California forests. Anderson mentions a few recently implemented programs designed to bring Indigenous knowledge of land management to the California forest service, but there are only a few of these programs, and they do not begin to make up for the great depletion of California's resources. In *Tending the Wild*, Anderson includes knowledge, preserved for generations by the Indigenous peoples of California, on how to care for, manage, and preserve the resources of their land. To ignore this knowledge would be a great disservice to a land that has already been ravished by generations of people who did not know how to or simply refused to properly care for it.

For the Indigenous peoples of California, this book could be a terrific tool for cultural revitalization. Anderson has done a wonderful job of bringing information from a variety of sources together in a text which introduces readers to the concept of Indigenous land management and describes in detail the techniques used for that management. I would encourage Indian people from California who are working on or planning programs to bring traditions back into their communities to use this book as a first step. As a Native person who works with cultural revitalization projects, I can say that one of the hardest things about working on revitalizing Indigenous cultures is knowing where to start. The cultural practices of many California tribes are discussed in this book, but these practices are all mixed together. If I were a member of one of these tribes, I would use this book to learn about land management practices used by California Indians, and I would then discuss those practices with my elders to see if they also do these things. Perhaps there are slight differences between how different tribes manage the land around them, and when revitalizing a culture, these differences are important to know. It would also

be crucial to learn, step by step, how land management practices, such as “light burning,” are actually implemented.

One thing that is missing from Anderson’s research, which is very important to cultural revitalization programs, is Native language. This is understandable since Anderson discusses the practices of many tribes, all of whom have different languages. Anderson does use a few Native words in her text, but more is needed. My work with Ojibwe language has shown me that more meaning and understanding is given to land management and cultural practices when these things are discussed in a Native language. Participants in a cultural revitalization program gain a deeper understanding of what they are learning, if they also learn Native language at the same time. In the final chapter of this text, Anderson provides an annotated list of sources for more information on the cultures of California’s Indigenous peoples. This list includes information on archives as well as suggestions for working with Native elders, and it would be an excellent guide for anyone looking for more resources on the languages or cultures of specific California tribes.

Finally, people working anywhere to revitalize Native cultures could use this book as a resource or a guide for their programs. The concept of Indigenous land management and the loss of Indigenous resources is not a problem unique to California. I am currently working with Ojibwe elders to preserve Ojibwe knowledge about how to use plants and trees for food, basic remedies, and construction. The elders with whom I work often lament that the plants they need no longer grow where they used to thrive. Like the Native Californian peoples Anderson describes, if we had the opportunity to manage our resources as our ancestors did, my Ojibwe elders would not be facing these problems. I would encourage others to write books about or at least learn the Indigenous land management practices in their areas to help fight what has become a global issue for Indigenous peoples, and a loss of resources for all peoples.

Minnesota State University Morehead

Wendy Makoons Geniusz

The Great Confusion in Indian Affairs: Native Americans and Whites in the Progressive Era. Tom Holm. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005. 244 pp. Paper, \$21.95; cloth, \$50.00. ISBN: 0292709625.

Professor Tom Holm, a faculty member of the American Indian Studies Program at the University of Arizona, has published a book that is a revision of his doctoral thesis of 1978 written at the University of Oklahoma. The book’s title quotes a 1910 report written in the *Dial Magazine* by Fayette McKenzie about “the great confusion in Indian policies” as an indicator that at least some people in the Progressive Era were aware that federal policy-making was at odds with what Indian people, in tribes and outside of tribes, were making of their own lives.

Holm makes three statements to readers about why his book is worth reading. First, he tells readers that he feels there has been no groundbreaking work on the theory of federal Indian policy in the Progressive Era (1900-1920) for more than two decades and therefore his 1978 study is still fresh for readers in 2005. Second, he informs his audience that he will offer an interpretation based in part on the writings of Canadian constitutional revisionists of the 1980s and in part on the 1967 book of the late historian, Robert Wiebe, *The Search for Order*. The parliamentary report of 1983 classified Canadian Indian relations history in five historical periods or eras: displacement, restriction, assimilation, structural accommodation, and self-determination. Wiebe's classic book viewed the period up to 1896 as one of market chaos and the period after as a middle-class effort to impose order and efficiency on the market. Third, he tells his readers he has returned to the topic of federal Indian affairs and Native responses because of a renewed interest in the history of the years between 1890 and 1930, and what that period of U.S. history has to teach students today about American Indians and their resiliency as Indigenous people. This review will attempt to evaluate the book as a contribution to academic history and on the three points that Holm sets forth.

This reviewer disagrees with the first assertion that Holm makes, namely, that there have been no important interpretations of federal Indian policy published since Frederick Hoxie's 1984 *A Final Promise*. There have been important works published on the workings of the land allotment and the federal Indian educational policies of the years 1890-1930 by numerous scholars. There has also been a continuing flow of tribal histories that cover some of the years and themes that interest Professor Holm.

This reviewer is also doubtful as to the usefulness of relying on the 1983 Canadian Parliament report with its five-stage model of the changes in Canadian (or U.S.) federal Indian policy. It is not clear that the model helps explain why the assimilation policy of the U.S. Congress and the executive agencies charged with carrying out policy changed from assimilation to structural accommodation when it did.

And as for Holm's early references to the work of Robert Wiebe's *The Search for Order*, it does not appear that the usefulness of Wiebe's book extends much past its title as a description of federal Indian policy. Wiebe found a sharp break in American life around the time of 1896. Holm has not found a comparable one at that time in either federal Indian affairs or in the response of Indian people to assimilation initiatives such as land allotments and boarding school policies.

It is on the third contention of author Holm that this book is a success and well worth reading. His third assertion is that the period 1890-1930 is noteworthy for how American Indians as tribes and in new associations resisted federal policy and asserted what Holm calls their "people-hood" under colonial rule. He begins with a chapter on the "Vanishing Policy," or assimilation, mainly about the land allotment policy. Subsequent chapters address the successful efforts of Indian people to maintain cultural practices and beliefs and also adopt new ones. There is

a fine chapter on dances, including a treatment of the Sun Dance among the tribes of the northern Great Plains, and also a discussion of the spread of peyote and the Native American Church among tribes. Holm also offers an excellent chapter on the American Indian intellectuals who met and worked through the Society of American Indians, and another on the growing recognition of American Indian art and expression as a valuable part of the larger American nation. The efforts at asserting “people-hood” by American Indians made the federal assimilation policies unworkable, according to Holm. The eventual result was the abandonment of those policies and the movement to a new set of policies, what the Canadians termed structural accommodation, or limited self-rule.

The most valuable lesson of this book is that American Indian people-hood was one reason for why the federal Indian policy of assimilation collapsed by 1934. Alas, that people-hood was not enough to prevent the return of the assimilationist impulse after World War II, but that is a matter for another study. Professor Holm has succeeded on what counts in this book — the writing of good history.

University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire

James W. Oberly

Blood of Our Earth: Poetic History of the American Indian. Dan C. Jones. Art by Rance Hood. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005. 63 pp. Paper, \$19.95. ISBN: 0826338100.

In *Blood of Our Earth: Poetic History of the American Indian*, Ponca poet, Dan C. Jones (SaSuWeh), sets out to blaze a trail through Native poetry based on his journeying and living among several tribes in the United States. The astoundingly vivid landscape is provided by Comanche artist, Rance Hood. Rich reds, spare frozen white and vibrant blues thrill us along the journey. Unfortunately, the reader must rely solely on the illustrations for imagery and detail. The poems that ensue, of warriors and arrows, wisdom and the hunt, are what can be readily gleaned from the popular knowledge found in Native American gift shops. The wisdom is accurately and oft told, but leads one to question what this has to do with an actual poetic history. The title may be misleading to poetics scholars.

Perhaps of most interest in the poetry is that it points to the state of hybridity that has become Native America. The poems themselves employ the repetition that is inherent in the oral traditions of Native peoples, creating repeating end words in the lines that trick the eye and ear into reading them as sestinas or villanelles. Also perhaps surprising to the reader, is the Christian overtone that has become an element in many Native American cultures, especially among the strongly Southern Baptist tribes of Oklahoma. In the 1970's, Hollywood screenwriter, Ted Perry, made use of this hybrid Christian/Native wisdom when he rewrote Chief Seattle's speech as an environmental short film script titled, “Home”, for the

Southern Baptist Convention. The wisdom found within the lines of Native and Christian knowledge is solid, but not new.

Most informative to the Native American Studies reader is the foreword, with its description of the 1879 Ponca removal to their new reservation in northern Oklahoma, where they would help establish the Miller Brothers' 101 Ranch and Wild West Show. Smith's personal recollections and memories of relatives such as his great-aunt Julia Big Snake-Aden, exploited as the Fat Lady in the Miller's show, give us insight into the past shaping of one Native American culture, and its present revitalization based on pre-encounter strength.

Part I, Chapter 1, "From the Blood of Our Earth is Shed," contains the poem, "That Sunday Afternoon," which allows the reader the only reprieve from what has become the expected from Native American writers: the buffalo bones bleaching in the sun, the white man and his fire (water), and stepping gently on mother earth. Here, we are allowed into a both personal and imagistic poem of the unfortunate pain of alcoholism that affects so many communities of all races. While drinking at a bar, yearning for the children that have been taken away and the all-too-brief visitations, a man laments, "When a man can't even walk in the sun/ because its warmth reminds him of you,/ it's a damn, black Sunday afternoon"(9). From here, the book will take you back to "the ancestors" and the solid old wisdom, more prophesy than poetry.

This is not to say that much of the traditional wisdom is not just as relevant today. In looking at the current state of the world, our warrings and bullyings, our insistence at proving superiority through battle, poems like, "Stumbling Man," about foolish man in a foolish war against nature remind us, "A stumbling man/ with all his great wisdom,/ when loses his balance/ will fall"(13). The wisdom of our tribal elders is undeniably needed in our present global situation, and it exudes from every section of this collection.

The book is divided into two parts with two chapters each. In Part I, "Blood of Our Earth is Shed," Chapters I and II, "From the Blood of Our Earth" and "Men Did Walk This Way before the Horse," cover prophecy and contemporary observations (including environmental) respectively. Part Two, "Blood of Our Earth is Sacred," Chapter I, "Beautiful Dreamer Awakens to the Real Earth" offers warnings and guidance, while Chapter II, "God's Country," exhibits the clearest examples of hybrid Christian/ Native ways. In the poem, "Feather," (56), Smith writes, "The teachings of Christ, so simple,/ yet the strongest words of all nature." The poem immediately following, "The Sweat Lodge," (57) begins, "Though my synagogue is made of willow."

With stunning illustrations and the wisdom of countless generations, this book serves as an introduction to Native American wisdom and oral tradition, yet begs the question, what of the poetic history of the American Indian? While one can argue that there is poetry inherent in everything, recitation, incantation and prayer are no more poetry than the catechism if not conceived of with the conscious art and artifice of poetry in mind. To understand the poetic history of Native

Americans, we must look back to poets first consciously writing poems, writers like E. Pauline Johnson (Tekahiwake) publishing poems in 1885. Native American poetry per se had a slow beginning and until the publication of anthologies such as, *Songs from this Earth on Turtles Back*, edited by Joseph Bruchac in 1985, was studied rarely. As the field of poetics, not just poetry, grows, questions concerning intent become key. This reader leaves the prophetic landscape, the beautifully rendered plains and the frozen white fields, wondering at these spare words poking through the snow. The resilience of their wisdom promises regrowth, while their long glyph-like shadows are unrecognizable as poetic history.

State University of New York at Fredonia

James Thomas Stevens

Wasáse: Indigenous Pathways of Action and Freedom. Taiaiake Alfred. Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 2005. 313 pp. Paper, \$24.95. ISBN: 1551116375.

When friends and colleagues ask me which Indigenous scholarship to read, I generally recommend works by the late Vine Deloria, Jr. (Standing Rock Sioux), Devon Abbott Mihesuah (Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma), and Taiaiake Alfred (Kanien'kehaka). These scholars' writings contribute to the body of Indigenous decolonization studies like few others have. They have challenged and continue to challenge Indigenous and non-Native readers to effect change for Indigenous Peoples. Alfred's *Wasáse: Indigenous Pathways of Action and Freedom*, a "contribution to the larger effort to catalyze and galvanize the movements" (34) started by Indigenous Peoples, is no exception, as it asks crucial, hard-hitting questions: "How can we regenerate ourselves culturally and achieve freedom and political independence?" (20); "For us today, here in this land [dominantly known as Canada and the U.S.], how will the overthrow of our unlivable existence come about?" (25); "What is the path to meaningful change in our lives?" (30); "What does it mean to be Onkwehonwe [the Kanienkeha term for 'original people']?" (32); and "What is the way to restore meaning and dignity to our lives?" (33). Alfred's response to these and other inquiries is found throughout his book's explanation of Wasáse (pronounced wa-sáwz-say), the Kanienkeha word for a "ceremony of unity, strength, and commitment to action" (19). Alfred describes it as a "spiritual revolution and contention" (27) that intended "to confront an empire made of lies and to restore truth as the reality of people's lives" (206).

Alfred's twenty-page "First Words" introduction efficiently initiates the discussion of accessible and interrelated ideas to be developed further in the book. Among them is the theory that the paths to true justice in today's time entail non-violent ethical resurgences implemented by Indigenous Peoples against the state. Closely related to the Gandhian strategies of militant pacifism and non-

cooperation (e.g. strikes and sit-ins), Alfred's description of non-violent militancy (55) teaches readers that responding to violence with violence does not generally recognize the "inextricable bonds between means and ends" (51), such as was the case with Argentinean Che Guevara's failure to stop the growth of capitalism through the means of Leninist-influenced revolutionary violence (50-51).

The three main sections of *Wasáse* — "Rebellion of the Truth," "Colonial Stains on Our Existence," and "Indigenous Resurgence" — explore ways and strategies for Indigenous Peoples to locate and maintain strength, clarity, and commitment, respectively. Throughout the text, Alfred impressively leans on and debates philosophical and theoretical work by revolutionary figures from around the globe, such as Albert Memmi (North Africa), Aung San Suu Kyi (Burma), Gandhi (India), Frantz Fanon (Martinique). *Wasáse* encourages readers to embrace, as these individuals have, "a dangerous dignity to safe self-preservation" (24). The third section, in particular, clarifies how Indigenous Peoples can commit to decolonization for themselves and then their communities. Commitment is illustrated through Alfred's conversation with a Nuxalk woman, whose community work began through her volunteer efforts to help the Nuxalk Nation's chief reach their people (190). As he did in his previous book *Peace, Power, and Righteousness: An Indigenous Manifesto* (1999), Alfred effectively employs this interview methodology in *Wasáse* to bring strong Indigenous voices, including a Mi'kmaq warrior, a Ditidaht artist, a Zapoteca political scientist, an Oneida leader, and Six Nations elders and clan mothers, to the forefront of the discussion.

Alfred relentlessly and rightfully questions how Indigenous pathways to justice can occur and why they matter. Recognizing in *Wasáse* "the practical realities of quite extreme dependency and complacency" (224) rooted in many Indigenous lives, which he admits that his earlier book ignored, Alfred knows that motivation is crucial to produce change. For many, it could be a self-serving question of what good decolonization can do for them. Decolonization, "a process of discovering the truth in a world created out of lies" (280), starts, as Alfred argues, with the self, "the primary and absolute manifestation of injustice" (164). Steps towards decolonization involve a personal realization that the imperialist sources of "pain and discontent" need to be eradicated "from the spaces we inhabit" (201) if Indigenous freedom is to replace colonial abuse. The "antidote" to "the colonizer's disease," Alfred reasons, is "self-transformation" (279), which can lead Indigenous Peoples to collectively break free from the postmodern empire and to decolonize their minds, bodies, hearts, and spirits.

For his audiences, Alfred has in mind *Indigenes* traveling similar paths to justice and non-indigenous readers who can listen to "a decolonized alternative to the Settler society" (35). He says that most *Indigenes* "are assimilated into the racist propagandas" (36) and that "the problem we [Indigenous Peoples] face is Euro-American arrogance" (101). While this candid and decolonizing rhetoric could dissuade some [assimilated] readers, I see it as refreshing and a challenge to readers to re-think what they say (i.e., to decolonize their minds). Besides, with the

rapid continuation of language and cultural losses in many contemporary Indigenous communities, the “edge of extinction does not afford the luxury of mincing words” (36). What is apparent upon close reading of Alfred’s ideas, including his insightful interrogation and explanation of non-Indigenous-controlled terms (e.g. “aboriginal” and “colonization”), is the author’s love and compassion for Indigenous Peoples and respect for and acceptance of their ways of life. *Wasáse* is, in my opinion, intended to invigorate and inspire, not disparage and demoralize, the Onkwehonwe, to whom Alfred devotes his life’s work.

A philosophical treatise that I would recommend to all Indigenous Peoples, *Wasáse* speaks to what Alfred sees as the root of the problem in Indigenous communities today: “spiritual crisis, a time of darkness that descended on our people when we became disconnected from our lands and from our traditional ways of life” (31). Because of the book’s emphasis at times on spiritual disconnections, I would like to have seen more content about Euro-American Christian missionaries’ and contemporary Indigenous Christians’ respective roles in that process of despiritualization. “Our born-again Christian relatives,” Alfred says, “who love their people and are otherwise caring, are swept up in a mission to wipe out the remnants of indigenous spirituality” (108). Yet this binary of being Indigenous or Christian does not allow space for those Indigenes who attempt to live in both worlds. Of course, *Wasáse* is not intended to have such a religious focus as is found in, say, Vine Deloria’s *God is Red* (1973), but Alfred’s discussion of Christianity has prompted me to ask, “What are readers to make of today’s Indigenous Christians who reached that decision of faith with the help of influential Christian relatives, such as parents and grandparents?” Second, “How do contemporary Indigenous Christians reconcile their adherence to Christianity with the fact that so many self-identified [Euro-American] Christians have committed atrocious acts, which go against the teachings of Jesus yet were often done in His name, for hundreds of years against the Indigenous Peoples of North America?”

Overall, such inquiries are part of what makes *Wasáse* so valuable to read. It is intended, as Alfred states, “to provoke. To cause reflection. To motivate people” (35). *Wasáse* should become a staple text in academic departments of Indigenous studies, political science, and philosophy, just to name a few. Unfortunately, too many departments will likely continue for now to rely on the settler’s interpretations of the world rather than to have their antiquated methodologies challenged by decolonization studies. Yet with the continuing increase in Indigenous Peoples who are holding onto or returning to their own ways of life, *Wasáse* will find its way to readers who can and will contribute to the changes that the book passionately and convincingly calls for.

So You Want to Write about American Indians? A Guide for Writers, Students, and Scholars. Devon Abbott Mihesuah. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005. 158 pp. Paper, \$16.95. ISBN 9780803282988.

In *So You Want to Write about American Indians?* Choctaw scholar Devon Abbott Mihesuah responds to the often-raised query of how to research and write about Indigenous nations and peoples. This guide is intended to serve academics, students, and writers covering a range of literary genres. Mihesuah addresses common concerns and questions regarding writing about American Indians by inquiring about the writer's motivating factors, delineating often cited stereotypes, examining various approaches and ethics of research and writing, and demarcating the practicalities of publishing. Specific chapters offer approaches for starting projects, paying attention to the challenges of writing fiction and nonfiction, and suggesting practices for editing your work.

The study provides its readers with useful tips for approaching a research project as well as troubleshooting the difficulties that can arise with the craft of writing. Mihesuah lays out organizational tools that can save writers time and energy. She discusses tips for reading, urging writers to read a variety of material ranging from books and articles to newspapers and commentaries in order to be better-informed writers. She also probes writers to consider the usefulness of their topics and to ask whether other writers have already covered their topics adequately. Writers who have established their topics and considered these questions can still benefit from the organizational tips provided in *So You Want to Write about American Indians?* This text is filled with suggestions for organizing research and discusses methods for note gathering, outlining, and sorting information.

Additionally, Mihesuah shares helpful approaches for overcoming that bane of all writers—writer's block—as well as the process of publishing. She outlines techniques for maintaining enthusiasm for writing, reveals keys for staying focused, discusses issues to consider when forming writing groups, and lists practices for jumpstarting the process of writing. This text will prove most beneficial for those writers looking for guidance and tips for submitting their articles and manuscripts to publishers. Three chapters are focused on the publication process alone. Mihesuah also outlines useful steps for submitting work to journals and presses, delineating the various types of presses as well as methods for determining which press would be most interested in a particular type of work. She also discusses the seemingly minor protocol and practices that might make the difference in whether an article or manuscript is accepted for publication.

So You Want to Write about American Indians? attempts to address the needs of both Native and non-Native writers interested in writing fiction or non-fiction works intended for both academic and popular audience. Although trying to connect with such a broad readership, the text primarily focuses on the needs and issues facing non-Native writers who typically have little or no experience with

Native peoples or the field of Native studies. Chapter one, in particular not only sets the tone but also demonstrates the target audience of this text. In Chapter one, "Think on These Things First," Mihesuah includes a section on "Sure Ways to Make Money," in which she satirically calls for writers to follow in the footsteps of previously successful authors by including "stereotypical, biased work that includes no Native voices or perspectives and is patriotic in tone, that is, write about Indians in detail, but be sure to include 'facts' that tell us white Americans were superior and tribes who lost lives, land, and culture really had it coming" (3). While she touches on realistic problems surrounding writings on American Indians, Mihesuah tends to aggravate the realities that exist within such scholarship by offering superficial strategies such as "for every drunken Native you plan to include in your book, be sure to include a drunken white person" (24).

Chapter 2, "Stereotypes and Other Mistakes," delineates various stereotypes and misconceptions that are replete within many works pertaining to Native peoples. Mihesuah covers a range of misconceptions about American Indians maintained within various pieces of fiction and nonfiction. While she seeks to counter each misconception, some of her responses are often simplistic and leave an absolute tone to them that might actually further perpetuate notions of uniformity across Native nations and peoples. For instance, in response to the misconception that "All Natives Have an 'Indian Name'," Mihesuah tries to address the continual application of fabricated "Indian Names" that include an animal, color, or force of nature (such as "Red Thunder Eagle") to Native characters in novels. In doing so, however, she argues, "while it is true that some Natives have 'Indian names,' those names are not for public knowledge and you'll never know what they are" (29). While it is true that some tribal members refrain from using their names outside of specific contexts, this fixed comment ignores the reality that some Native people only maintain or prefer to use their common name established within their tribal language and teachings. Instead, Mihesuah argues that Native peoples do not use their names and claims "you" will never know them, raising further questions as to who her audience is for this text.

Mihesuah does however make a number of sound points throughout the text. Within her critique of inaccurate application of "Indian names" she states the need for writers to research the names utilized within specific tribes during a situated time period. Still, these constructive statements are often clouded by other more underdeveloped arguments that actually perpetuate misconceptions of American Indians. In fact, she often relies too heavily on the reader having implicit knowledge of the controversies and concerns she discusses throughout the text.

The reader, therefore, is continually forced to question just who the intended audience is for this work. Non-Native writers who have little or no familiarity with American Indians and American Indian studies may find a false sense of guidance from this text, misconstruing Mihesuah's sarcasm for sound advice. Some Native scholars and activists might actually lose confidence in the text after reading the first few chapters and finding many Native issues and concerns being rendered to

mere lists of do's and don'ts. Graduate students and independent writers will probably find the chapters on publishing useful in their endeavors to attain publication of their work. Unfortunately, while there is certainly a collection of practical and pertinent information in this book, it does not provide enough discussion of the many serious and complex issues that continue to surround the writing and researching of and about Native nations and peoples.

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Don't Let the Sun Step Over You: A White Mountain Apache Family Life, 1860-1975. Eva Tulene Watt (with assistance from Keith H. Basso). Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2004. 340 pp. Paper, \$24.95; cloth, \$50.00. ISBN: 0816523924.

In reflecting on her reasons for deciding to create *Don't Let the Sun Step Over You*, Eva Tulene Watt tells us, "White people . . . make up lots of stuff about us Indians that's not true. I don't know why they do that. They should hear our stories first, 'cause then they can make better stories for themselves. It's better that way" (xiv). With this book, Mrs. Watt has given non-Indians a chance to hear a White Mountain Apache person talk about her family's life, rather than hearing it through a non-Apache intermediary. And, it is better that way.

Fortunately, increasing numbers of American Indians — in the past four decades especially — have been creating their own books, and they have done so through a variety of genres, including short stories, novels, poems, histories, memoirs, and autobiographies. Eva Tulene Watt's book — which would probably fit most closely, though not completely, into the category of "autobiography" — is a very welcome addition to this very important and continuing trend.

As the book's cover openly announces, this text was created by Mrs. Watt "with assistance from" Keith H. Basso, a professor of anthropology at the University of New Mexico. This fact naturally and appropriately gives rise to questions as to how much Professor Basso imposed his own ideas onto the work. The ultimate impetus for recording the stories, Basso notes in his introduction to the book, came from Mrs. Watt herself, who approached him with the idea in 1997 and then spent the next five years telling him her stories. Basso is open about how the stories went from over two hundred hours of tape recordings, to seventeen hundred handwritten pages of transcripts, to the 285 pages here. Mrs. Watt chose which stories to put in the manuscript, decided on the organization, and "read every page, making as she did a handful of minor changes" (302). Basso adds, "Aside from transcribing the narrative texts, the only major tasks I undertook alone were writing the introduction and endnotes, which offer supplementary information and suggestions for further reading. Otherwise, I have tried to stay out of the way" (302). Indeed, his comments do not at all intrude on Watt's narrative; they only provide some aids towards helping readers understand it better.

Mrs. Watt has arranged the stories in a rough chronological order, starting with stories of her grandparents in the late 1800s, moving into stories of her parents in the early 1900s, and culminating with the stories of her life, from her birth in 1913 up to the time of the book's publication. The text is enhanced by good maps, a Western Apache pronunciation guide, a glossary of Apache terms and expressions, a timeline, and a truly impressive array of over fifty photographs, many of them coming from Watt's family's personal collections. In the pages of Mrs. Watt's book, readers can gain insights into all sorts of aspects of White Mountain Apache history and culture in the last century and a half. One overarching source of illumination is Watt's corrections to all kinds of misconceptions and stereotypes about Native Americans.

Most obviously, Mrs. Watt's stories should further counteract the still widely held notion that Indian history somehow "ended" in 1900. Nor could any honest reader could walk away from this book still clinging to the idea that Indians are in some way "lazy." Mrs. Watt and her family were always working, whether in the "modern," industrial, European sense of "work" (wage work outside of the home) or in the broader sense of the word (cooking, raising children, farming, gathering, hunting, etc.). Indeed, the very title of the book — *Don't Let the Sun Step Over You* (don't lay around in bed after sunrise) — is derived from an Apache saying that exemplifies their work ethic (xxii). Furthermore, if some non-Indians are still wedded to the "stoic, humorless Indian" stereotype perpetuated by Hollywood, they will have that view shattered by the jokes, word play, and comical situations that show up throughout Watt's narrative.

A somewhat more subtle stereotype that Mrs. Watt's book helps dispel is the idea that, even if Indian people physically survived into the twentieth century, their cultures did not. That inaccurate view is corrected by the numerous examples of enduring cultural traditions that appear in these pages, from medical practices (see, for instance, 12, 73, 119-123), to traditional games (84-86, 99), to "coming of age" ceremonies for girls (see, for instance, 71-73) and boys (202). Of course, the Western Apaches have had to confront cultural changes as well: some of them small and some of them large, some of them coming slowly and some coming with great speed. Mrs. Watt notes, for example, that the knowledge and use of traditional medicinal practices — knowledge that she, her mother, and her grandmother were particularly full of — had waned in recent years. "I learned about that medicine from my grandmother Rose," Eva says. "She was just like a doctor. She cured people all the time. Nowadays, there's hardly any ladies like that" (276). Indeed, her understandable wistfulness over these and other changes is an important part of book's value.

Mrs. Watt's stories contribute to our understanding of Indian culture and history not only in general ways, but also in more specific, detailed ways. To those who might believe that Indians only and always lived within their reservation boundaries, Watt tells of how she and her family were highly mobile, both on and off the reservation. Their journeys took them from nearby off-reservation towns,

to the more distant growing city of Phoenix, to even more distant locales such as Washington, Oklahoma, and California. Watt's book also makes some very significant contributions to our growing understanding of boarding school experiences for American Indians. She personally seems to have been quite fond of the time she spent at St. Johns Indian School (located southwest of Phoenix), but she also reports at length on the horrendous treatment that many, including her brother, had to endure at that school and others (see, for instance, 312).

Adversity — whether boarding schools, sicknesses, injuries, poverty, or other challenges — certainly has been a major part of Mrs. Watt's family's life. But pervading Mrs. Watt's stories of her family's lives is a powerful, if humble, sense of perseverance and determination in the face of a world that, to say the least, did not make life very easy for American Indians in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. "Some of those families had hardly nothing," she says of her people during some of their toughest times, "but they just made up their minds to keep on keeping going" (xviii).

Ultimately, Mrs. Watt had not only a wider, white audience in mind for this book, but also the very local audience of her fellow White Mountain Apache people. She notes, "[I]t's not for me I'm doing it — it's not for me myself. It's for those younger generations that come along here in later years. See, they're not gonna know how we used to live. They're not gonna know all the places we went to, or how we got food, or all the things we done. They won't know hardly nothing from long years ago. But it's good for them to know" (xiv). She then added, with her characteristic humility, "You know, it just could be that maybe some will read it" (xiv). Some definitely will read it — the more the better. And all those readers — whether they are a White Mountain Apache high school student or a white undergraduate student at a New England college, whether they are an anthropologist or a historian, whether they are in academia or outside of it — will be educated and enriched by it.

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Mapping Identity: The Creation of the Coeur d'Alene Indian Reservation, 1805-1902. Laura Woodworth-Ney. Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2004. 234 pp. Cloth, \$31.95. ISBN: 0870817612.

Laura Woodworth-Ney's ostensible history of the creation of the Coeur d'Alene Indian Reservation in the nineteenth century is a welcome addition to the works on the tribe. Welcome, because the author has done a comprehensive search of the archival materials, academic theses, published works, and review of the historical context for the events described. She has produced, to my mind, hands down, the best book about the Schitsu'umsh, or Coeur d'Alene people.

I say ostensible history, because the cleverness in the very title is this: "Mental mapping," she tells us in a footnote, "refers to the abstractions people create to interpret geography, identity, and place." In the case of the Coeur d'Alenes, who came to at least the consciousness of the U.S. Government in the mid to late nineteenth century, the tribe's identity was a "shifting construct used by outsiders to apply generally to the tribe and used by tribal leaders to enhance the tribe's ability to negotiate with outsiders." Hence, as Woodworth-Ney chronicles the contact period for the Coeur d'Alenes, she accomplishes two things prominently lacking in many other works on the tribe. She is thorough, and therefore draws on primary sources, overlooked works, and sometimes the thinnest of theses, for gems and insights and relevant evidence. Secondly, her interpretations are first-rate, and unmatched by prior accounts that sometimes narrowly focus on episodes of warfare, the Euro American settlement of the intermountain West, treaty negotiations, or the Jesuit mission to the Rocky Mountains.

Mapping Identity details events from the fur trade period to the turn of the twentieth century, only glossing subsequent events in the new (last) century that were, of course, ramifications of the period Woodworth-Ney describes. I would argue that present and future historians of the Coeur d'Alenes in the twentieth century will be influenced by this book or ignore it at their peril.

The Coeur d'Alenes at contact were a Salish-language speaking society of bands or extended family groups, occupying nearly five million acres of forested lands surrounding a fresh water lake in what is now north Idaho. The best ethnography of the tribe was collected in 1904 by James Teit and published posthumously in 1930 (*Salishan tribes of the Western Plateau*, edited by Franz Boas (reprint, Fairfield, WA: Ye Galleon Press, 1985). Teit's work was based on one family's recollections of nineteenth century practices. Neither that ethnography nor any other work on the tribe considers that severe epidemics around 1830 might have not only completely altered the structural organization of Coeur d'Alene society, but given us, in all post-contact accounts, a people for all purposes dramatically different than their forbearers. Woodworth-Ney, though not concluding this exactly, at least presents the mechanisms which might have resulted. I make this point relative to the kinship organization and the Coeur d'Alenes' relations with outsiders. I illustrate the first here. The second is the theme of *Mapping Identity*.

The Coeur d'Alenes, for instance, were less than marginal to the Corps of Discovery who twice wintered with the Nez Perce, immediate neighbors to the south. The Lewis and Clark journals mention only that two Coeur d'Alenes were observed fishing, once, and no contact was made. The sentiment, obviously, was mutual. As Jack Nisbet, author of one book (*Sources of the River: Tracking David Thompson Across Western North America*, Seattle: Sasquatch Books, 1994) and several articles on episodes in the fur trade, points out, Lewis and Clark later greatly enhanced our geographical data on the intermountain region of the Columbia Plateau (the region between the Cascade and Rocky Mountains). Reliable information about the Coeur d'Alenes, however, remained scanty for another forty

years. Their reputation for keeping fur trading posts out of their homeland, and practice of tribal endogamy, created information voids in the geography of their aboriginal territory. In other words, they avoided becoming part of the earlier versions of the Euro American mental maps Woodworth-Ney describes for the development phase of expanding settlement.

One striking feature of the Coeur d'Alene social organization, one in common with other Plateau societies, is its openness to history. This was and is evident in practice in the ability to call oneself Coeur d'Alene by claiming descendency through either the mother's or father's lineage. It allows now and in the past individuals and families to move and live with extended family and relatives in neighboring Plateau groups, calling oneself by that group's (or family's) designation (e.g., their name, their tribe, or sometimes, in translation, "People of _____"). As the anthropologist Lillian Ackerman points out, shallow genealogies are an element of this structural feature. That is, one can be Coeur d'Alene, Kalispel, Spokane, Colville, or other, contingent on one's residence, practice of local customs, and whether one claims, for a time, descendance through a parent or ancestor of that family. Self-definition can change throughout one's lifetime, and differ for parents and children, or full siblings. Enrollment regulations for the Coeur d'Alene Tribe now allow one to petition to change one's tribal enrollment once in a lifetime, from or to the Tribe.

Consider the degree to which this differs from societies worldwide, where one's clan or lineage membership is fixed at birth, by gender. In such societies the original social structure is created anew in each generation. Whether the Coeur d'Alenes' tradition is ancient or a consequence of, or an adaptation to severe population losses from European pathogens is unknowable. (The distribution of this type of organization in neighboring tribes argues for its longevity, however.) If the history of the tribe begins with scanty references from fur traders or the records of Jesuit missionaries after 1840, it is also true that oral traditions go no further back in time. Other than the apocryphal prophecy of the arrival of the Black Robes, there are now no other family lineages that name persons predating those from the era of the first baptisms.

There are, perhaps, anthropological explanations and not just historical contingencies that may elucidate the context for Coeur d'Alene encounters with the same Jesuits, their opposition to Federal efforts to remove the tribe from its extensive aboriginal territory to either distant, foreign areas, or to restricted corners of its homeland, and their negotiations with the representatives of farm and extractive industries. That supposition matters little, however, to our ability to appreciate Woodworth-Ney's stand-alone account of the history that unfolded; we do so whether the structural features of Coeur d'Alene society are understood, or explained. In all other respects, her account trumps the quasi-social science literature on the Coeur d'Alenes. Some examples of that other literature, for example, are hampered by ahistorical perspectives that lack the power of explanation Woodworth-Ney demonstrates. In others, failures to differentiate individuals and family groups from among generalized assumptions of Schitsu'umsh/Coeur d'Alene

culture gloss over the very mechanisms by which the tribe constructed, let alone participated in, its own history. At worst, there is an unfortunate trend toward obliterating distinctive features of Coeur d'Alene culture in service to the depiction of a pan-Indian straw man that is history's victim. *Mapping Identity* is the remedy for those deficits in the literature on the Coeur d'Alenes.

To make another point about that trend, I have chosen to use "Coeur d'Alene" here to refer to the tribe and its heritage language. The ethnographer James Teit told us that Coeur d'Alenes referred to themselves by band designations, often family names or place names, and not as members of a larger tribal organization. There is still strong oral history evidence of that practice.

The evidence of Coeur d'Alenes referring to themselves as Schitsu'umsh is very thin, by comparison. Rather, it seems historically or prehistorically to have been the practice of other (especially) Salish-speaking tribes to refer to the tribe in this manner, as those who spoke a different language. In other words, Laura Woodworth-Ney's main thesis is relevant to the period prior to that of her study: the bands were collectively, mentally mapped by fur traders who gave them a French appellation, and known as Schitsu'umsh by neighboring tribes. Their descendents today include a majority of tribal members who have considered themselves Coeur d'Alenes for most of their lives and history, and a smaller number, politically and personally motivated to call themselves Schitsu'umsh. (The identity formation is on-going and relevant.) Laura Woodworth-Ney uses "Coeur d'Alene" when citing the historical record and "Schitsu'umsh" in the manner of some contemporary practice.

Those are very general reasons to admire this account. It is a straightforward history of the contact period, when a resource-rich, but small tribe — a society of three divisions of extended family groups, speaking a common language — found itself in the path, literally, of a developing West. The aboriginal territory was north of the Oregon Trail but nevertheless within the mental maps of a region destined for Thomas Jefferson's republic of yeoman farmers, Lt. John Mullan's military road, Isaac Stevens' railroad to the Pacific Northwest, and fortunes in white pine timber, gold, and silver.

Woodworth-Ney begins with the landscape of the first half of the nineteenth century, but the history begins in the second chapter with the establishment of a Jesuit mission after 1840. Presentism in our current era often clouds our full understanding of this episode. Despite the noise and clutter in some current revisionism about this era, there is an active dialogue about this period in print and in the life of tribal members, as well as among the professionals who now work for, or engage the Coeur d'Alene Tribe. At the ends of the viewpoint spectrum, the founding of the mission either caused an irruption in a static culture, or the transformation of destitute people. There is too little generalized sense of the most intriguing elements of how that story actually begins. Representatives of (at least some) Coeur d'Alenes actively sought Jesuits to create a mission in their midst. The Coeur d'Alenes wanted the Black Robes, the ones without families, (not

merely Christians, and definitely not the Presbyterians,) to bring the Cross and Book and its teachings to the tribe. In one of the few places where Woodworth-Ney misses a relevant point in a source, she glosses over Robert Carrick's account of how the decision was made about where to locate the first mission. There were arguments, as the first missionary Nicholas Point recorded, over where the mission would be located, and not, apparently, whether the Black Robes would be kept away, as the commercial interests had been. However, once a neutral site had been negotiated by some consensus among the families and their headmen, jealousies ensued when the decision was overruled by Point's supervisor, and the mission founded in the territory of one clan (Carricker's point). There was subsequent resistance to the Catholic teachings within some families, but no violence or threats of violence to the newcomers. Mapping Identity contains an excellent chronology of the creation of the Sacred Heart Mission, and perhaps the best attempt, and most successful, to imagine how the opposition to the mission grew out of the fabric of Coeur d'Alene society and the cultural interchange.

The prior seminal history of the tribe in the nineteenth century, Robert Ignatius Burns' account of the Indian Wars of 1858, details some of this. Woodworth-Ney is as thorough as Burns. In both works we are convinced by the investigator's attention to every scrap of the scanty documentary evidence, insightful interpretation of the primary material, and cogent argument with prior interpretations of the evidence, persons, and events. Woodworth-Ney in this regard engages in an exercise that Burns does not, and here she is at least influenced by her own time and training. She makes a point that Coeur d'Alene women are lacking in the documentary evidence of the early historical period, a factor she correlates with the fact that the chief correspondents were Jesuits. (As is Burns.)

I am indebted to another Jesuit, Father Thomas Connolly, for much of the past fifty years and currently the pastor of the Sacred Heart Mission, for this rejoinder: in all of his Indian contacts, the only biographical sketch of any length penned by Fr. Pierre-Jean De Smet of the Rocky Mountain missions is that of the Coeur d'Alene woman Louise Syukhwim. Granted, this treatment is accorded the person (woman) most noted for her tireless proselytizing. However, her biography likewise affords us the best contemporary account of family life in her era. She became a nurse, a midwife, a foster parent, a caregiver to a disabled husband, a mother, and catechist. She also acted contrary to the wishes of some of her own relatives. She traveled throughout Coeur d'Alene country in all of these duties, not just in the territory of her own family. De Smet also documents, in essence, discussions with her about the language barrier. The first Jesuit assigned to the Sacred Heart Mission, Fr. Nicholas Point, despaired that the proposed reduction would be unable to compete with the corrupting influences of the trade centers, like Fort Walla Walla. He suggested that the Coeur d'Alenes be "confined to their own language" to forestall the degradation of white contact. In his letters De Smet recounts Louise's struggles with English after thirteen years, an enormous dedication to her tasks. From our historical vantage we see her resiliency in the result that her grandson Paul Polatkin graduated from the early days of the boys' boarding school in the

village of DeSmet to become a translator for the chiefs who negotiated with the U.S. Government in the 1890s.

My argument is not with Woodworth-Ney's specific point. There aren't a lot of women mentioned in the historical record of the Coeur d'Alenes prior to the 1930s and adoption of a Tribal Council form of government. What we do not know about women's roles in decision making, contributions to family economy, or responsibility for bringing children up in Coeur d'Alene culture, would perhaps take a book in length to the one she has written. At least one chapter would be devoted to the formal education of girls in the boarding school. I work in Coeur d'Alene country now and have for ten years and do not believe we have an adequate account of women's roles now, nor could one expect to find a level of self-consciousness about such things to make the distinctive features of Coeur d'Alene society transparent to an outsider. Now, as then, I suppose, we too often attend to spokespersons and results that typically reveal little of roles or process. Furthermore, beyond our focus here on the tribe, in the larger world of even the surrounding Inland Northwest, an area extending into Montana and Eastern Washington, from Canada to Oregon, and including the Spokane metropolitan area, the amount written on the Coeur d'Alenes as a people is not proportionate to their longevity, their singular inhabitation of the region, or, until very recently, impact on the development of the area around Lake Coeur d'Alene. It is, as mentioned vis a vis Lewis and Clark's (lack of) contact with them and strongly suggested here, a matter of cultural practice as much as historical inattention.

Woodworth-Ney has rightly, elegantly concluded that Coeur d'Alene culture was transformed and shaped by the events of the period of her thesis. Her most notable contributions to the analysis are her points explicating the manner in which Coeur d'Alenes shaped that history. By the same token Coeur d'Alene culture thrives today and matters of identity and cultural mapping are relevant and crucial to an understanding of how political, family, public, and media events unfold. I would argue that it is not women's history that would fill the lacunae in Coeur d'Alene history, but the alliances, interactions, deaths, and persistence of certain Coeur d'Alene families.

To illustrate, one could learn some things about a few of Woodworth-Ney's sources from the provenience of their production. One, *The Saga of the Coeur d'Alenes*, by Joe Seltice, is an account by the second son of the prominent Coeur d'Alene chief Andrew Seltice. The old chief told his story (only) to his older son sometime after the turn of the twentieth century. Seltice had twenty-three children by two wives and two boys survived to adulthood. The son Peter, the recipient of the oral history, died from gangrene after losing his arm. The manner in which the family history was transmitted from father to son may not have been unusual, save for the possibility that it would otherwise have been the duty of the father's mother. The circumstance here, in which the older brother passed it on to his sibling, who kept a journal and manuscript for many years, is new. It becomes more interesting that that manuscript might have been buried with him, had not a daughter

(not a son, and not the oldest daughter) removed it from his casket and given it to a Jesuit priest, friend, and advisor to edit. When that priest handed the uncompleted duty to a second Jesuit, the manuscript was published in 1990. That we are able to read even an edited account of the chief's perspective on events is a factor of family decisions made by a woman who must answer to her own relatives now (for the decisions to let the work be edited and published), but who otherwise remains mostly anonymous to us as outsiders to family matters. Yet we consider ourselves more knowledgeable about Coeur d'Alenes for having read it, and for having read Woodworth-Ney's use of the source in her own book.

Similarly, the record of the Coeur d'Alene language is a matter of scholarly interest to but a handful of specialists, among scholars who work on American Indian languages. Those scholars of the Salish language family likely know of the remarkable contributions of tribal member Lawrence Nicodemus (1909-2004). Some of those know of his collaboration with the anthropologist Gladys Reichard from 1929-1935. Very few realize the significance of the work Reichard accomplished with the assistance of Lawrence's mother Julia Antelope Nicodemus and his paternal grandmother Dorothy Nicodemus. Lawrence was the recognized world authority on the Coeur d'Alene language in the last century. Most of what we know about the language was provided by the three women mentioned, and given added reliability in the 1990s by the linguist Ivy Doak and her consultants, tribal members Margaret Stensgar and Blanche LaSarte. The latter work followed the prior decade's contributions by anthropologist Gary Palmer, who worked significantly with tribal member Lavinia Felsman. In my experience, I am saying, even knowing the prominent roles of Coeur d'Alene women, and given a forum for renown, it is not necessarily the case that anonymity on our terms is interpreted the same way in Coeur d'Alene culture, or undesired, or unsought.

What I do have utter faith in is the idea that the history of the Coeur d'Alene people is one of active engagement with people, institutions, pathogens, and events that were seemingly larger, more dangerous, and less yielding than the tribe. However, the persistence of the tribe is likewise a testament to dynamics more obdurate than the random confluence of American settlement in Coeur d'Alene country. The relationship between the Coeur d'Alenes and their Jesuit brethren, for one, is a fascinating component of that story. Laura Woodworth-Ney's bold effort to understand and explain that relationship, and her lucid conclusions, deserve credit and praise.

For students of American history, for those interested in tribal cultures or of this especial region of the world, this is a highly readable, entertaining, and insightful book. For those of us who specialize in these things, this account is a welcome delight.

Native Pathways: American Indian Culture and Economic Development in the Twentieth Century. Edited by Brian Hosmer and Colleen O'Neill. Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2004. 354 pp. Paper, \$26.95; cloth, \$65.00. ISBN: 0870817752.

Merrill E. Gates once told fellow reformers convened at Lake Mohonk “we must strive to make the Indian more intelligently selfish.” Only then, Gates reasoned, would indigenous Americans shed their “primitive” notions of community and fully embrace capitalism and rugged individualism. The essays in *Native Pathways* underscore the one-dimensionality of Gates’ thinking. Although American Indians indeed adopted capitalist strategies, they frequently did so in ways that reinforced tribal sovereignty and community. In fact, co-editor Colleen O’Neill cautions scholars to abandon such limiting concepts as modernity, traditional versus progressive, and dependency when studying native communities. These constructs, she argues, are shamefully tied to manifest destiny and thus capable of generating only linear, western-based historical narratives. The dance between historical actors and power structures is far more complex, and it is this complexity that contributors to this book attempt to analyze.

Inspired in part by groundbreaking works on indigenous populations in Latin America and Africa, the interdisciplinary essays in *Native Pathways* examine Native America primarily west of the Mississippi and throughout the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Collectively they argue that stripped of land and resources, wed to paternalistic federal policies, and forced to assimilate, Native Americans learned the system and devised alternative avenues to economic change that strengthened tribal economies, political structures, and cultures. As historian Donald L. Fixico aptly notes in the foreword, the focus is on native ingenuity. Overall, essays are well written and thankfully not overly burdened with theory or jargon. A few contributors are well established historians, anthropologists, and sociologists, while the majority of them are new scholars.

It is impossible to do these fourteen essays justice in such a limited space. Most of them focus on the decades before World War II, and it is not surprising that the Indian Reorganization Act comes in for scrutiny. However, it is the altered relationship between tribes and government and the opportunities for innovation that interest these authors. The Blackfeet, readers discover, accepted revolving funds offered through the IRA to protect their oil lands. The Hualapais of California used the IRA to piece together an economic system that included a mosaic of wage work, contract labor, commercial ranching, and traditional farming. Both expanded their tribal governments. Similarly, Tlingits in Alaska sought loans to upgrade fishing boats and establish salmon canneries, and they used their IRA-style government to secure aboriginal fishing rights. Two main themes link these studies: the loans were a godsend, and in these instances at least, IRA governments enabled tribal leaders to more effectively deal with outsiders. Historian David Arnold further notes that competition and individual success were always traditional Tlingit values,

and capitalism merely encouraged families and clans to acquire more wealth and maintain old ways.

Several essays explore the decades before the IRA. Historian Clyde Ellis does an excellent job of highlighting governmental duplicity in the late nineteenth century when after advising men and women to leave their reservations in search of wage work, the Indian Office criticized them for performing in Wild West shows. Although dancing and performing provided an all-important paycheck, government officials labeled the work “too Indian.” In contrast, during the same time period, Navajo women wove rugs and sold them to reservation traders to create a cash income. Kathy M’Closkey, herself a weaver, argues that although weaving rugs embodied prayer, song, and ritual, and thus reinforced Navajo culture, the so-called experts — anthropologists, agents, and traders — failed to see any spiritual dimension and thus classified Navajo rugs as purely commercial products.

Two essays in this collection investigate Indian gaming, a particularly timely topic with a growing historiography. Both argue that with few other options available, casino-style gambling has meant economic survival for tribes. It is perhaps difficult to gauge cultural advances among the tribes of southern California considering the two hundred years of physical and cultural genocide imposed on them, but gaming revenue has stimulated retribalization and increased tribal clout in regional politics. For the Florida Seminoles, gaming has fostered self reliance and an upswing in cultural expression. These essays are provocative, but sometimes at odds with other recent studies on the impact of Indian gaming. In a pioneering essay, anthropologist Tressa Berman investigates how women on the Fort Berthold reservation created survival strategies to challenge 1980s welfare reform and nutritional program cutbacks. The author notes that this is just one more government failure reaching back more than a century.

The essays contained in *Native Pathways* cover a broad spectrum and the final three critiques the scope and direction of contemporary scholarship as narrow and often lacking adequate understanding of native communities. Certainly this collection invites further research including comparative studies of American Indians and indigenous communities in other parts of the world. Although the essays in *Native Pathways* offer fresh interpretations and are generally quite convincing, they also leave questions unanswered. For one thing, does this ingenuity apply broadly across Native America? How do nations struggling with crushing poverty and social disintegration fit into the paradigm? None of the essays here examine relocation programs of the 1950s or the experiences of urban Indians. Have they, too, devised innovative assimilation strategies that have enabled them to remain culturally Indian? Do the essays indeed offer a unique, non-western interpretation or simply a positive spin on old assimilation rhetoric? Will native creativity continue, or as Marxist ideology claims, will the capitalist bulldozer ultimately mow down all other cultures including native communities? Fortunately, however, good questions breed in-depth discussions, and the complexity of the questions raised makes

Native Pathways ideal for university classroom adaptation. I look forward to debating these views in my graduate-level course. The book is a highly readable and has a lot to offer. Scholars, students, and general readers with an interest in Native American studies will all find something of value here.

Eastern Michigan University

Kathleen P. Chamberlain

The Red Man's on the Warpath: The Image of the "Indian" and the Second World War. R. Scott Sheffield. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2004. 232 pp. Paper, \$29.95. ISBN: 0774810955.

The Canadian public, like their non-Native American neighbors below the 49th parallel, are most comfortable with the mythical Indians of stereotype-land. Readers be wary. *The Red Man's on the Warpath* is not a book about Indigenous/First Nations peoples. Rather, it is a discerning assessment of English Canadians' imagined "Indians" as they concocted them between 1930 and 1950 in mass print media and in correspondence that circulated among ministerial functionaries of the state. In these different locations of cultural production "within a single cultural system of knowing, defining, and ruling indigenous peoples," R. Scott Sheffield finds "a broad range of representations, stereotypes, and assumptions" (11).

Over the duration of seven chapters in *The Red Man's on the Warpath* — his first book — Sheffield offers us both a cultural study of representation and an historical study of colonial policy formation and its administration. In its concern with discourse, power, and colonialism, *The Red Man's on the Warpath* is a cultural study of representation in conversation with the classic scholarly work, *Orientalism* (1978) by Edward Said. The "single cultural system" with which Sheffield centrally is concerned was not inflexible as he traces the way it variously functioned to racialize national community, imbuing it with raced-white privileges, and as his analytical focus shifts from print media to correspondence in government archives. In these two sources, he finds evidence of an unmistakable incongruity that separated the malleable "Indian" English Canadians read about or viewed in their magazines and newspapers from the uncompromising stereotype forged in communication among officials of the Indian Affairs Branch.

The Red Man's on the Warpath also is an historical study concerned with Canadian Indian policies and the actions and attitudes of representatives of the Indian Affairs Branch responsible for implementing them. As an historian concerned with policy formation, the author is at his best in chapter seven, "Whither the 'Indian'?" where he blends the methodologies of history and cultural criticism. What makes this chapter particularly powerful is the object of study located at the intersection of colonial policy formation, cultural representation, and First Nations desires for independence and self-government. Here, Sheffield is concerned with how the "Indian" manufactured through print media and its administrative

counterpart collided with the views, attitudes, and politics of actual Natives from 1946 to 1948 during deliberations of the Special Joint Senate and House of Commons Committee to reconsider the Indian Act. Five pages in chapter seven — beginning, finally, on page 156 — mark the entrance *and* exit of Native voices as well as Sheffield's regard for how Natives shaped the formation of so-called "Indian" policy. First Nations peoples, Sheffield suggests, "wielded significant influence" (160) but had limited impact. In the committee's final report, he argues, the widely shared portrayal of the "Indian" as a problem of one kind or another for the national community of English Canadians remained generally undisturbed.

Said's *Orientalism* was a dazzling attack on traditional scholarship. Sheffield's *The Red Man's on the Warpath* is not. Said brilliantly embodied in his life's work the difference between knowledge of other peoples and other times that is the result of understanding, compassion, careful study, and analysis for their own sakes, and knowledge that is part of an overall campaign of self-affirmation. Are English Canadian scholars prisoners of the colonial establishment — the old-boy heterosexual raced-white network of government, business, and Christian religion? In what ways are English Canadian scholars similar to or different from the newspaper-consuming public and the class of ministerial functionaries? By introducing the intellectual presence of Said in his introduction, Sheffield assumes the burden of turning the discerning eye on the academy itself — for some of us, "home" — and not only on mass media and the administration of colonial affairs. This said, *The Red Man's on the Warpath* nonetheless makes a substantial contribution to our understanding of the imagined "Indian." Unfortunately, it offers precious little in terms that affirm demands among First Nations peoples for sovereign governments that are politically independent and intellectually autonomous.

University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

D. Anthony Tyee Clark

Demanding the Cherokee Nation: Indian Autonomy and American Culture, 1830-1900. Andrew Denson. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004. 327 pp. Cloth, \$55.00.

I recently met Andrew Denson as part of a joint effort between the Cherokee Nation and the Eastern Band of Cherokees to produce an expanded version of the award-winning Cherokee (Nation) History Course. As a professor at nearby Western Carolina University in Cullowhee, North Carolina, Denson is part of a team that is tasked with incorporating the Eastern Band's post-1819 history into the course so the Eastern Band, too, may ultimately develop a program for employee development, as the Cherokee Nation has done. Being previously unaware of his scholarship, I was absolutely delighted to discover in Denson's *Demanding the Cherokee Nation* an approach to the interpretation of Cherokee history that mirrors that undertaken by the Cherokee Nation itself in the past five years.

Denson's study examines the Cherokee Nation's strategic use of political rhetoric in the decades between 1830 and 1900, with a particular emphasis on the post-Civil War decades from 1870-1890 in the Indian Territory. Thus four of the work's seven chapters detail an era that has been crucial for the Cherokee Nation, but which has been given only passing attention by mainstream historians, since it does not contain a big event such as removal or civil war. Its theme rests on investigating an apparent paradox: contemporary Indian sovereignty depends upon and functions best in conjunction with a strong federal presence to defend it. This is not, however, an argument in justification of federal paternalism; it is, rather, a study of the innovative ways in which Cherokee political leadership restructured the apparent paradox to support their nationality. Many of the rhetorical strategies will be familiar to modern tribal governments. Although the Cherokees were among the earliest to employ the language and arguments of nation, the insistence on national self-determination continues today, echoed by Indigenous Peoples throughout the hemisphere.

The work exhibits an admirable clarity of language and organization, especially considering the complexity of the rhetorical arguments and Denson's analyses. Each chapter opens with an overview of the topic or era (removal, the Civil War, the Okmulgee Council, etc.). The rhetorical arguments of the primary parties are compared with the Cherokee government's stance appropriately receiving the greatest attention since we are often quite familiar already with the positions of the United States, for example, as enacted through policy. Denson often isolates from one to four strategies and/or goals of the rhetorical stances, providing the reader with ready reference points for his analysis. For example, Denson identifies the paired arguments of Cherokee entitlement as an aboriginal government whose existence pre-dates that of the United States, with shared interests that would indicate that Cherokee autonomy could benefit both Cherokees and the United States. The assertion of Cherokee rights is thus linked with the pragmatic self-interests of both parties in ways that continually recast federal policy objectives to support Indian sovereignty. The paradoxes and pitfalls of such an approach are weighed as it reappears, with variation, throughout Cherokee political writings. Although elements of the strategy are uncomfortable for the contemporary reader (for instance, the apparently uncritical acceptance of ethnocentric notions of civilization, and ethnology's early theories of stages toward civilization), the Cherokees are recognized as nevertheless presenting a calculated and well-informed argument.

This approach to Cherokee history derives much from postmodern and postcolonial theory and cultural studies, and thus will be of interest to scholars in related disciplines, as well as history, Native American studies, and anyone interested in nation-building. Along with referencing Homi Bhabha and Arnold Krupat in establishing the work's frame, Denson himself states that even as he draws on traditional historical scholarship, "I want to tell a different story" (174). It is a starkly honest admission of the interpretive character of producing history.

Denson has chosen to situate himself with the Cherokee political leadership; we are not seeing Cherokees through American eyes, but rather seeing America (and their place in it) through Cherokee eyes. As a result, Denson seems to have avoided what even many “sympathetic” social scientists have not in recent productions about the Cherokees. Texts about the Cherokees (and Indians generally) are often shaped to support what Theda Perdue has recently characterized as a “master narrative” about race relations, class stratification, or gender roles as they are constructed in the United States, without first questioning whether this narrative is even relevant when applied to another cultural and social group. Yet conflicts within the Cherokees have been typically described as race or class based, and gender relations are seen as having been severely upset by Euroamerican interactions. Thus historians and anthropologists, even in very recent years, have often illuminated more about their own social biases than they have about the Cherokees. They are writing about America, and the Cherokees are primarily a foil.

I do not discern any underlying need on Denson’s part to employ the Cherokees as veiled commentary on American social structures. The overt agenda is to herald and admire a largely unacknowledged and unexamined political intellectualism within the Cherokee republic of the 1800s. Narrative is central to the work, both as a story created by the Cherokees and a story created about the Cherokees. However, the work moves postmodern notions of narrative from their sometimes disconnected theoretical lofts to the real political world of an indigenous nation. And it does so in a language and analysis that is eminently readable.

Narratives by the Cherokees in the 1800s evidenced vision and agency that attempted, and to some degree succeeded in creating a political reality. As a narrative about the Cherokees, Denson’s work carries on the same effort. It continues to interpret the Cherokees in a way that is ultimately empowering to them. For the emphasis in this work is not on eternally-problematic racial or cultural definitions of Cherokees and Cherokee identity. Thus it is atypical in that it does not focus on oppositional categories of mixed-bloods or fullbloods; elites or subsistence farmers. While diversity within the Cherokees isn’t, and should not be, ignored, the Cherokee social strata are posited as often in symbiotic relationships, the bicultural elites, who are often devising the political strategy, as acting to protect and buffer their more cultural countrymen and women, even as the subsistence classes employ grassroots actions to weigh in alongside their leaders. These Cherokees are not victims or losers, hopelessly divided, but a people with shared values — a reverence for education and its own particular meanings for the Cherokees, and the goal of retaining autonomy — that cut across all segments of this complex society, and were enacted by a smart, strategic, sophisticated, and popularly-elected Indian leadership. Several generations of Cherokees have internalized histories with messages of loss and division; we need more histories such as this one that allow us to internalize the message of our own intelligence and capacity.

From the work's "Introduction," Denson recognizes that "nation" is the structure that has provided the Cherokees the continuing ability to participate in contemporary life, "because it [gave] them the power to choose the terms of their participation" (6). This has been so not only in relation to the United States, but also in their own internal negotiations and determinations about citizenship and sociocultural processes. The work concludes with the recognition that the modern Cherokee Nation is returning to this awareness, "carrying on the work of the nineteenth century, the work of adapting the Indian nation to a changing modern America" (251).

University of California at Davis

Julia Coates

Viet Cong at Wounded Knee: The Trail of a Blackfeet Activist. Woody Kipp. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004. 157 pp. Cloth, \$24.95. ISBN: 0803227604.

Woody Kipp's short (151 small pages, including Epilogue) autobiographical book, *Viet Cong at Wounded Knee*, manages to cover a lot of living in spare, straight-forward prose. He starts with a brief overview of the labyrinthine family history that binds him as a Blackfoot.

The old stories and traditions were gone; and Kipp laments the loss of the culture and the supportive web of tribal life which was supplanted by what he calls the "cowboy culture" in his family. He says, "tenderness was foreign to my father, who had turned to cowboying after the buffalo culture was gone, and had grown up in the toughness of the American West. . . . And something vital departed when that happened. . . . The rituals of the Blackfoot Confederacy and other buffalo-hunting peoples offered a sense of spiritual connectedness. Cattle kept the body alive for my Blackfeet family and others, but something essential was gone...something necessary" (8). Later he remarks, "We no longer run buffalo. We have remained horsemen, but the attitudes that the old people had towards horses, the spiritual attitudes, have been replaced by the attitudes of white cowboys. We treat horses roughly. . . . We have changed. . . . We, tribally, were all horse whisperers at one time, communicating with the horse" (66, 67).

This theme, the loss of empathy, sympathy and spiritual awareness is a major thread in the book. And what was lost (or forcefully taken away by conquest, force and continued colonization) was replaced by the phony machismo of John Wayne movies and alcohol.

At four, Kipp moved with his folks to the small town of Cut Bank where he believes his mother thought he would be less exposed to the hopelessness, poverty, and extreme pervasiveness of alcohol than if they had remained on the reservation. He believes she thought white schools would be better. In fact, Cut Bank was a den of overt racism, and as little Woody moved through the school system, he was usually the only Indian child. Here he was to be subjected to harsh discrimination

and gross acts of racism, including physical violence and assault by teachers and principles; some of the treatment could be considered torture.

In high school Kipp's lot became less onerous once it was discovered he could play basketball. He also developed a love of reading, although he was, by and large, far from an academic standout. He also began what would become a way of life; he became a heavy drinker, the bane of so many Indians.

From this point on, Kipp's writing centers on alcohol abuse and violence. It is this thread that actually becomes the major thread of the book, running through the warp and weave of the tapestry of his life. He viewed everything through the hazy perceptual filter of drunkenness, spiced up by fighting and, somewhat later, whoring. Dropping out of school, he joined the Marine Corps, no doubt further influenced by John Wayne movies, as well as the veterans he knew. If he had heard of Vietnam, it was only vaguely. (It is not surprising that overall, Indians serve in the military in numbers far out of proportion to their actual numbers in the general population, and many of them choose the marines, with their reputation of toughness, unstinting machismo, and bravery, characteristics highly valued in the many male cultures and subcultures that idolize these warrior aspects.) Soon enough, Kipp found himself in-country as a heavy equipment operator.

Kipp is oddly reticent about most of his experiences in Vietnam, and the reader has no idea whether he was exposed to the true brutality and killing of that war. He speaks mainly of his fighting, whoring and drinking; only telling of one incident of an unprovoked attack upon a harmless old man by a white soldier. He recounts in great detail his peccadilloes, disobedience of orders and general disregard for his role as a Marine, and focuses on the racism he encounters, as well as his burgeoning feelings of common cause with the black men he meets, but he never mentions the horrors and shattering victimization of the Vietnamese people one would expect. If one reads only this book, one comes away with the feeling Vietnam was simply one long, drunken, womanizing party interspersed with rousing, salutary fights and the occasional stint in the brig. Like so many military men in Vietnam, he began smoking dope.

He does, however, relate the beginning of his awareness of the similarities between himself and the Vietnamese people. Later, at Wounded Knee he would have an epiphany that he was involved in the same thing the Vietnamese people were in their own country; he likens the occupation of Wounded Knee to the Vietnamese people's defense of their homeland. This is Kipp's intended thesis.

Back Stateside, Kipp's awareness level of the oppression and racism Indians had endured, and continue to endure, grew and solidified. He became involved with the fledgling American Indian Movement (AIM) which flared briefly into a beacon of hope and resistance. Through AIM he became more and more knowledgeable of history and the spiritual legacy to which he was heir. As he came into contact with the phenomenon of 1960s hippies he began to hear whites who were disenchanted with many aspects of American life as well.

Kipp was discharged in 1969, and began his long, wandering journey home with many a misstep along the way. By then, he notes, drinking had become a way of life for many on the reservation as well as himself, and children were deprived of even the hunting, gathering and exploration of at least their reservation world that he had experienced.

In time, Kipp married, begat some children and entered college. As he progressed, his knowledge and awareness of who he was grew. He admits he was neither a good husband nor a good father, continuing his chosen lifestyle of booze, dope, fighting and womanizing. Meanwhile, AIM was influencing and educating him more and more deeply. He and some friends joined the soon-to-be notorious caravan known as the Trail of Broken Treaties, which traveled from California to Washington D.C. to raise awareness of Indian issues. With thousands of Indians and sympathizers, the caravan descended upon Washington and the Bureau of Indian Affairs, occupying the B.I.A. building in a riotous scenario that lasted for a week.

AIM's activities escalated and tensions rose as the paranoid federal government became increasingly threatened by these militant Indians. In February of 1973, the infamous occupation of tiny Wounded Knee on the Sioux Pine Ridge reservation began. Soon, Woody Kipp and some of his AIM friends decided to join the siege. The Indians were poorly armed and inadequately supplied, and the feds responded to what they viewed as a grave threat to national security with heavy armament, and virtually full-scale warfare. It would have been laughable if it weren't so deadly serious. The successful occupation lasted 10 weeks; 10 weeks of inadequate food, warmth, ammunition to defend themselves, and it changed the way Indians in general, and Woody Kipp in particular, saw themselves.

This book is an important work, giving considerable insight into the sadness and desperate hopelessness that is Indian life in too many instances. It opens windows into the beginnings of many individuals' and tribes' attempts to make the journey back to who they were in order to save themselves. With rare candor, it speaks of the depredations and insults to the human soul racism, poverty, ignorance and hopelessness make. It painfully illuminates the destruction of Indians as peoples that alcohol makes. No one who cares about these issues should shirk this book; yet it is not without flaws.

The author delineates in loving detail some of his many brutal fights and drunken episodes; he points out in painful remarks his own failures, as well as too many mothers and fathers how children are left to wander their paths of life alone, without even basic parenting or nurturing, and he shows in poignant honesty his own spiritual journey back to the beliefs and rituals of the past as he attempts to heal himself. But it isn't enough.

The primary intended thesis — the comparison of Vietnam and Wounded Knee — doesn't hold up with the small amount of discussion he allows himself. As it is, the skeleton of the idea lacks flesh. As a reader I want to know more; yes, in a way, Wounded Knee was a defense of the homelands, in a way, depending upon whether one is speaking of the Viet Cong or the South Vietnamese, parallels can be

drawn, but this can be said of any war of invasion. Kipp's reticence regarding almost everything except his drinking, doping and whoring is almost pathological; what did he think? What did he feel? Does he now have any empathic acknowledgement of the others' lives he has impacted? Has his journey continued? Even in his narrative of his experience in Wounded Knee he spends little print on what happened. Wounded Knee is of monumental import in Indian-white/federal government relationships, and Kipp's more expansive story of AIM's glory days told by a "foot soldier" as opposed to the more commonly known perspectives of the luminaries like Dennis Banks, Russell Means and Leonard Crow Dog who led the occupation could be of great interest.

To this reviewer the most stunning and moving facet of this work is the clarity with which it illuminates the appalling toll alcohol takes on several generations of Indians. Kipp's candid tales of his own devotion to that master are vividly told. Most tribes are now making Herculean efforts to stem the rising tide of violence, abuse and waste of human lives alcohol wreaks on the Indian peoples, and Kipp's conjecture that some sort of return to the traditional spirituality and respect for those things with which humans share the Mother Earth does seem to hold the most hope. Many Indians, adult and child alike, are involved in that new "tradition" pow wow dancing, the heartbeat of our Mother Earth is heard on Indian drums throughout the land, and it is a loving, healing sound. The old stories are being told again, and many Elders are leaving the young with knowledge of the skills and sustaining beliefs of the before times.

Independent Scholar

Donna M. Dean

At the Risk of Being Heard: Identity, Indigenous Rights, and Postcolonial States.
Edited by Bartholomew Dean and Jerome M. Levi. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004. 356 pp. Paper, \$27.95. ISBN: 0472067362.

The essays in *At the Risk of Being Heard* are thematic, descriptive, and in some cases normative assessments of Indigenous struggles and state responses drawn from a variety of international contexts. The work is primarily that of anthropologists associated with the advocacy organization Cultural Survival, including case studies on the Zapatista movement (Stephen) and the Rarámuri (Levi) in Mexico, the Urarina and Amazonian Indigenous confederations in Peru (Dean), issues of reconciliation and aboriginal rights in Australia (McIntosh), Khoisan resistance and renaissance in South Africa and Namibia (Lee), developmentalism and indigenous lands in Malaysia (Endicott), and challenges to indigenous ethno-nationalisms in the former Soviet Union (Balzer). Dean and Levi present these chapters as case studies of local, national, and transnational dynamics affecting particular Indigenous Peoples and distinct regions. Two chapters fall outside this pattern. These include the comparative historical discussion of

relationships between indigeneity, cultural survival and modes of anti-colonial nationalism in Southeast Asia (Anderson), and a comparison of “western” and “African” notions of human rights (Shipton). While the latter present provocative ideas on nationalism, indigeneity, and rights, neither are satisfactorily linked to contemporary dynamics of Indigenous struggles. The introduction by Levi and Dean is an excellent primer on the current state of debates on “indigeneity.” The conclusion by David Maybury-Lewis, co-founder of Cultural Survival, is a moral plea for continued attention to, and support of indigenous rights by non-indigenous people.

This politically engaged work also places into consideration — at times critically, at times less so — the role of non-indigenous actors who engage and support indigenous struggles. As such the volume succeeds in the important and ongoing task of documenting indigenous struggles, one way of keeping these themes in the public arena. Presented from the point of view of non-indigenous academics with histories of on-the-ground collaboration, this combination of descriptive, theoretical, and practical political concerns represents the recent resurgence of engaged anthropology. Nonetheless, the editors could have made an effort to include indigenous authors and activists, who are entirely absent with the exception of Winona LaDuke who provides a brief foreword.

The essays demonstrate some unity in the treatment of three central themes — debates on “indigeneity” and the meaning of “rights”; the complexities of indigenous cultural heterogeneity and local intra- and inter-cultural relations; and political tactics and inequalities that shape indigenous-state relations, pitting various modes of resistance against distinct forms of state control and violence (cooptation, silencing, militarization, appropriation, economic exploitation, etc.).

The debate on indigeneity and rights, though often promising resolution, is more frequently a salvo in an ongoing political battle against radical liberal individualism as it is here. The more problematic examples include that of Africa and Southeast Asia, where indigeneity has always been highly contested given shared histories of occupation between dominant and non-dominant peoples. Lee addresses these tensions between historical processes and contemporary struggles, describing in very useful terms the battles of representation that contribute to the production of indigeneity claims in southern Africa. Colonialism and modern nation-building have both inscribed and erased markers of identity on the Khoisan peoples — at times highlighting, at times negating their status as Indigenous Peoples. Current shifts in international debates create contexts in which contemporary intellectuals compete with each other, and with tourists to reconstitute and reimagine the “Bushman” identity in terms of indigeneity and its associated rights claims. In Malaysia, where “indigeneity” is at once recognized and appropriated by the dominant Malays, Endicott discusses the dismal conditions for those who have some claim of being the “real” indigenous peoples. The Dayaks are relegated, ignored, or victimized despite the apparent defense of indigenous rights in the country. Where the discourse of indigeneity least clearly identifies historical and

cultural differences between aboriginal inhabitants and colonial occupiers, it is most easily appropriated by the largest or dominant national ethnic group.

Conflicts over the rights that flow from indigeneity are treated in various essays. Stephen considers local constructions of indigeneity and nationalism that shape demands for and dilemmas of mono- and multi-ethnic autonomies in Chiapas. Balzer discusses Buryat attempts to defend land and autonomy against regional elites and energy companies in Siberia. Both cases illustrate the obstacles to indigenous rights claims even where indigeneity is somewhat clear: state and regional elites tied to national and multinational capital mobilize entrenched political and economic interests, often through violence, against Indigenous lands and subjects.

Complexities of indigenous cultural heterogeneity and social relations within and between indigenous societies and those who surround them appear in most detailed forms in chapters by Dean on the Urarina, Levi on the Rarámuri, and McIntosh on the Yolngu. The ethnographic texture is thickest here, revealing internal complexities of indigeneity and contradictions between ethnic, racial, gender, and class categories within indigenous societies and between these and non-indigenous others. These richly descriptive chapters ironically suffer from the absence of narrative voices of those whose lives are otherwise discussed in great and sympathetic detail. The dilemmas of women's agency and social space in the Urarina region, the practical tactics of silence as resistance for the Rarámuri, and the place and meaning of myths of "dog consciousness" for aboriginal Yolngu are each tied to wider contradictions of Indigenous struggle. These essays highlight the risks of essentialism, which in the case of the Urarina (also highlighted by Stephen in Chiapas) silences women as bearers of "tradition" and hides struggles and hierarchies within the new indigenous confederations. Dean's chapter treads on the very delicate terrain of outsider critique of indigenous forms of leadership, a necessary task even though such critiques run the risk of being used against Indigenous movements. In the case of the Rarámuri, indigeneity as an essential identity is appropriated by a range of virtual colonizers, from railroad companies to travel agents, even as it provides useful symbols for politically marginalized peoples. McIntosh's use of myth and its resignification to discuss the potential for "reconciliation" in Australia highlights the importance of local aboriginal understandings of history and personhood for decolonizing forms of belonging and remembering that shape current political and racial relations. Against these efforts at intercultural engagement, political conservatism, reactionary racism, and entrenched opposition to Aboriginal land claims limit reconstructions of Aboriginal consciousness.

In the area of practical politics the essays describe situations that range from horrific state violence and the brutality of paramilitary agents to the more mundane processes through which Indigenous movements and lives have been absorbed into the bureaucracies and machinations of NGOs, international laws, and various modes of western advocacy, litigation or commercialization. It is here, perhaps that

such volumes may have most to contribute to Indigenous peoples and activists themselves. However, it is also here that these volumes usually disappoint. Despite the best intentions and astute insights and beyond the unquestionable importance of public representation, anthropologists (like myself) are often those least prepared to offer concrete tactical suggestions or provide “real” power in support of native peoples. Gleaning some lessons from the various chapters, we see the promise and limitations of bilingual education (Peru); the dire reality of absolute political subjugation in Malaysia; the significance of a paradoxical combination of outsider solidarity networks and armed struggle in Chiapas; the role of new intellectuals in creating spaces of public identity in South Africa; and the possibilities and limits of marches, blockades, and demonstrations in Siberia.

Though thought-provoking, the historical and theoretical chapters by Anderson and Shipton offer little in this practical arena. Nationalisms of all sorts, suggests Anderson, are inevitably erasures of diverse traditions and differences, often making of anti-colonial natives (or Indigenous nationalists) into new oppressors themselves arrayed against the impossibility of cultural “survival.” This should lead some to think more creatively — as Stephen suggests the Zapatistas do — about the possibilities of cultural plurality and reproduction within new modes of political unity. Shipton’s discussion of “rights” replays an old dichotomy pitting the abstract “legalisms” of Europe against the contextualized and personalized “loyalisms” of Africa. (Similar dichotomies have long been used as colonial tools like those arguing for absolute distinctions between literate and non-literate peoples). Even so, the chapter is useful for its empirical critique of Western claims of “natural law” and its tentative critique of western human rights discourse, as often used to mask colonial pursuits as to pursue human betterment. Because of this combination of thematic, descriptive, and practical material, the text would be quite useful in undergraduate courses on Indigenous Peoples and struggles, and is an indispensable reference for Indigenous activists, advocates, and specialists.

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Demanding the Cherokee Nation: Indian Autonomy and American Culture, 1830-1900. Andrew Denson. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004. 327 pp. Cloth, \$55.00. ISBN: 0803217269.

Indians and U.S. Indian policy have a well-established place in histories of American political thought. Scholars recognize that ideas about Indians have influenced Americans’ conceptions of their nationhood. But where are the studies of comparable Indian political thought? How many historians have carefully investigated Indian conceptions of their nationhood, Indian views on their own

significance for the American nation, or Indian efforts to participate in American discourse on such weighty subjects? Far too few. With the publication of *Demanding the Cherokee Nation*, Andrew Denson joins that select group of scholars and sets an example for others to follow. His analysis of nineteenth-century Cherokee political rhetoric shows that it is appropriate and important to include Indian political thought in the field of American intellectual history.

Denson's focus is on "messages" that Cherokee leaders directed at American lawmakers and citizens during a seventy-year effort to secure support for Cherokee sovereignty. Most of the messages took the form of memorials or petitions from men appointed by the Cherokee government to represent the tribe in Washington, D.C. Denson also examines pamphlets, speeches, letters, and newspaper editorials by Cherokee spokesmen. The writers and speakers addressed such issues as the nature and basis of Cherokee nationhood, the tribe's relationship with the United States, the virtues of the Cherokee political and economic system, and U.S. Indian policy in general. "Taken together," Denson asserts, "these statements amount to a Native American political literature" and "commentary on the 'Indian question'" (2-3).

It must be said that such political literature was not typical of Native Americans in the nineteenth century. The Cherokees were nearly unique in creating a large volume of English-language records documenting years of sophisticated political advocacy. For that reason among others, the historical literature on Cherokees is already extensive, and people familiar with it might doubt that Denson could find anything new to say about Cherokee politics in the 1800s. However, as Denson remarks, histories of the Cherokees "have made poor use of the...petitions and appeals" that he examines (4). In the book's preface, Theda Perdue and Michael Green call Denson "the first scholar to pay serious attention to the Cherokee position on Reconstruction, economic development, territorialization, and allotment, except as resistance." By dissecting that position with skill and sensitivity, Denson offers fresh insights on a much-studied tribe's history. Because he presents his insights in a narrative that clearly explains the context of events, the book is suitable not only for old hands at Cherokee history but also for readers with little or no prior knowledge of the subject.

Denson analyzes Cherokee arguments made in four periods and seven different circumstances: during the 1820s and '30s when they faced pressure to move west of the Mississippi; in the aftermath of the U.S. Civil War, which prompted the Cherokee government to sign a treaty with the Confederacy and Cherokee citizens to fight on both of the warring sides; when Ulysses S. Grant's administration adopted a policy of promoting peace by putting Indians on reservations to learn "civilized" ways; during the early 1870s when Cherokees and neighboring tribes discussed the possibility of chartering a federated government for the Indian Territory; throughout the post-war period as railroads and other profit-seekers plotted to open Cherokee country to American exploitation; and at century's end as Americans campaigned to force the allotment of Cherokee tribal land and

dissolution of the Cherokee government. In addition, one chapter of the book examines the Indian International Fairs of the early 1870s, which gave Cherokee leaders another platform for indicating their preferred relationship to the U.S.

Under Denson's lens, an image emerges of Cherokee political analysts who were impressively sophisticated — well versed not only in the American system of government but also in the aspirations, values, and fears that motivated U.S. politicians and their constituents. Cherokees had to be smart in order to explain and justify the paradoxical nature of their nation — a sovereign entity, but one whose autonomy depended on the recognition and protection of the United States. To keep Americans from sabotaging their sovereignty, they skillfully balanced boasts about their “civilized” achievements with pleas for continuing U.S. goodwill. They were clever enough to construe U.S. paternalism as an endorsement of the right they cherished most: tribal autonomy. At the same time, Denson shows, the Cherokees were almost naively hopeful about their chances of getting the response they wanted from Americans. And when suggesting the causes and likely solutions of political problems, they were apt to oversimplify, though probably no more so than most Americans of the day. Thus, Denson's interpretation and appraisal of Cherokee arguments is both fair-minded and frank. He is respectful of the spokesmen's aims and abilities, but he does not shy away from pointing out where their rhetoric reflected political pragmatism or possibly even selfish personal interests.

One of Denson's most important insights is summarized in his statement that the Cherokee writings “form a record of Cherokee *engagement* with non-Indian America” (6; his italics). The Cherokees commented on issues of American life that were broader than the Cherokee nation's status or even U.S. Indian policy as a whole. In particular, they had much to say about American political economy and political morality. For example, in the chapter on railroad construction and other economic development questions, Denson notes that the Cherokees “placed the tribe's struggles in the context of one of the era's great public issues — corruption in the midst of industrial development” — and called on Americans to reaffirm their commitment to democracy and economic equity by protecting the Cherokee institutions that purportedly served those ideals (187). In fact, the Cherokees often claimed to embody or abide by ideals that Americans endorsed but were increasingly prone to betray. Throughout the period covered in the book, they depicted their U.S.-sponsored nationhood not only as “a civilizing institution” and “a barrier to decline” for Indians but also as “a test of American morality” (51).

Andrew Denson's prose and analysis are sober and straightforward but models of clarity and carefulness. They make this book accessible to most undergraduates and amateur history lovers as well as graduate students, college teachers, and other history specialists. And because Denson makes a case for treating Indian texts as essential sources on the history of American ideas, *Demanding a Cherokee Nation* deserves an audience that extends well beyond people who are interested

in Cherokees, American Indians, and U.S. Indian policy. It is a book for anyone who wants a more inclusive brand of American intellectual history.

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Waccamaw Legacy: Contemporary Indians Fight for Survival. Patricia Barker Lerch. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2004. 184 pp. \$29.95. ISBN: 0817351248.

Waccamaw Legacy: Contemporary Indians Fight for Survival takes on the ambitious effort to tell the story of a nearly invisible group of Indians who live in the southeastern swamps of North Carolina, the Waccamaw-Siouan. The goals of the book are straightforward. It responds to the general lack of awareness about Southeastern tribes and their ongoing effort to maintain their Indian identity.

Using colonial era documents to trace the early historical records of the tribes indigenous to the southeast, anthropologist Patricia Lerch describes an extensive network of tribes and language groups that predate settlement. She follows the historical record to understand how these tribes negotiated the pressures of war, disease, loss of land and cultural transformation to survive into the twentieth century. She then takes us into the more contemporary story of the strategies used by the Waccamaw to maintain group identity: a decades-long fight for separate Indian schools and local acknowledgment of their racial identity; creative use of tribal naming to respond to the pressures of political trends; a bid for federal recognition in the 1950's; and the adoption of pan-Indian cultural symbols and a powwow when schools were integrated.

For anyone wanting to learn more about southeastern tribes, this book will prove invaluable. Although the book is listed as Anthropology/Native American Studies, it has a much larger scope. Lerch thoroughly lays out the historical record and engages in some fairly thoughtful and creative ethnography as she tells the story of her involvement with the Waccamaw community. Lerch's writing style can be a bit cumbersome and her prose somewhat dense at times, but researchers will certainly benefit from her careful referencing of sources and her attempt to cover the topic with a broad perspective.

It is worth noting that Lerch first began her research with the Waccamaw Siouan when she was invited by the tribe to research their second bid for federal recognition in the 1970s. One of the interesting issues in the histories of southeastern tribes is their lack of legal federal status. Because their interactions with European born settlers predate the U.S. government, these southeastern tribes do not meet federal definitions that require records of government to government relationships between federal entities and sovereign tribes. The Federal government does not have a formal, treaty-based responsibility to these group

(according to their policies) because it did not even exist to have such relationships at the time of earliest contact. Looking at this issue as a key one, Lerch succeeds in putting the Waccamaw-Siouan story into the larger context of political climates and policies.

She also takes on the difficult issue of racial identity in the South and how it played into the Waccamaw fight for separate Indian schools. At a time when the South embraced two racial designations, "white" and "colored," the tribe resisted political efforts to group them into "colored" schools. The role of Indian schools in the development of leadership and group identity among the southeastern tribes cannot be overstated and Lerch helps explain these dynamic using oral histories, school board meeting documents, and other official records.

In a similar way, Lerch sheds useful light on the seeming paradox of the popularity of powwows among the southeastern tribes. It can feel odd to outsiders that southeastern Indians would adopt a pan-Indian cultural expression that seems so far from their own local heritage. She explains the significance of its emergence by putting it in the context of school desegregation. At a time when Indian communities felt threatened by the loss of control over their schools and their children's social peers, the powwow became a significant way to counter that loss. She also argues that because of the powwow's longevity in the Waccamaw community, it has become a significant tradition in its own right that enhances and strengthens cultural values that predate the first 1970 powwow.

A final useful discussion centers on the often bewildering range of names used by North Carolina's tribes at various times. By looking at the wider national trends, local state politics and regional attitudes, she is able to unravel the ways that the tribe used particular names at particular junctures in response to prevailing political winds and attitudes. If being "Cherokee" or "Croatan" would get them what they needed, they were willing to make a change.

I approach this book with a folklore background and personal interest. While pursuing a masters degree at University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in the early 1990's I had the privilege of doing extensive fieldwork in the Buckhead community and becoming familiar with many of the families and leaders Leach mentions in her book. At the time I was pursuing my quilt research and documentation, I struggled to find outside sources to better understand the history and culture that I was encountering. As people told me their stories and described their lives, there persisted many holes and gaps in my understanding. One tribal leader encouraged me to approach Lerch. I called her and she graciously invited me to her office in Wilmington. She willingly shared some of her own work and materials and offered support for my efforts. Members of the tribe consider her as someone knowledgeable about their history and as a friend and ally. Obviously, her work with the Waccamaw has been significant to both and them and to her. Her commitment to bring years of work into a useful record should be commended.

Indians, Missionaries, and Merchants: The Legacy of Colonial Encounters on the California Frontiers. Kent G. Lightfoot. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004. 355 pp. Cloth, \$55.00. ISBN: 0520208242.

Comparative studies of Native peoples and their responses to different colonial nations are unfortunately still rare. Kent Lightfoot, a professor of anthropology at the University of California at Berkeley, has helped address this deficiency by studying multiple Native Californian strategies during the era of Spanish missionary and Russian mercantile colonization. His book utilizes an impressive volume of historical works and documents, Native oral histories, and archaeological studies. Lightfoot's main thesis argues that the lack of federal recognition for certain California tribes in the twentieth century can be traced back to the complex interactions and disparate historical outcomes among colonial regimes and Native peoples. The other crucial factor according to Lightfoot is anthropological theory in the early twentieth century, which consisted of "memory culture methodology" that emphasized "pristine" aboriginal cultural practices. This methodology, Lightfoot argues, often faced difficulties when confronted with those California Native peoples who had changed culturally to varying degrees due to encounters with outsiders.

While a main underpinning of Lightfoot's arguments involve early twentieth-century anthropologists in California, only two of the book's nine chapters deal directly with this topic. The other chapters deal almost exclusively with the era of Spanish and Russian colonization. Spanish colonization of California began in 1769 and consisted of a series of religious missions established in the California coastal region as far north as the San Francisco Bay Area. These missions lasted until the 1830s when the Mexican government initiated a policy of mission secularization. The Spanish missions usually were highly structured places that intended to transform Native Californians into Hispanicized Catholic peasants. Lightfoot argues that the main exceptions were Missions San Diego and San Luis Rey in the far south of California, which in his opinion was less rigid than the northern missions of the central and northern California coast. The San Diego and San Luis Rey Natives had some freedom of movement between the missions and their villages, and held on to close associations with their homelands and village identities. The northern missions in Lightfoot's opinion evolved very differently, since they initiated a massive resettlement program that took Miwok, Ohlone, Esselen, Salinan, Chumash, and many other Native Californians from their homelands. This resulted in new kinds of Indian identities and cultural practices. Lightfoot persuasively argues that Indian identities persisted in new forms after the northern mission period, contrary to the belief of many scholars that these people had become "Hispanicized" and went culturally "extinct."

Lightfoot compares Native responses to Spanish colonization with Kashaya Pomo responses to the Russian mercantile colony at Fort Ross, which lasted from 1812-1841. The Russian-American Company (RAC) founded the colony 110 kilometers north of San Francisco to harvest marine mammals for furs (notably sea

otters) and to establish a reliable agricultural base for the RAC's Alaskan colonies. Fort Ross was a sprawling settlement that included distinct ethnic neighborhoods and several agricultural ranches in the nearby hinterland. The Kashaya Pomo, Coastal Miwok, and other local Pomo tribelets developed multiple strategies in interacting with Fort Ross employees—ethnic Russians, Siberians, and Alaska Natives, the latter being the most numerous. The RAC workforce was almost entirely male, and periodically RAC employees would cohabitate with or marry local Pomo and Miwok women, creating very dynamic social interactions among spouses and children. The company also recruited Native Californian workers, most of who worked on a voluntary and temporary basis. Native Californian conversion to the Russian Orthodox Church was voluntary, and adoption of certain Russian and Alaska Native cultural practices was also mostly voluntary, unlike the Spanish missions. However, Fort Ross was certainly not idyllic. Some Native Californians were imprisoned by the RAC for dubious crimes, a few Pomo and Miwok spouses and prisoners were forcibly taken to Alaska, and the RAC conducted a few raids to force some Natives into RAC agricultural labor. Still, these incidents appear to be exceptions to a larger pattern of peaceful cooperation.

When looking at the entire twenty-nine year interaction at Ross among the RAC, Kashaya Pomo, and other Native Californians, this era of California history was quite harmonious when compared to the Spanish mission colonies. The Kashaya Pomo emerged somewhat culturally transformed, but their fundamental identity as a distinct people with an inseparable attachment to their homeland remained intact after 1841. The contrast between the Russian and Spanish colonies in California is startling, and makes Lightfoot's conclusion of RAC policies very puzzling: "Their (Russian merchants) colonial program was, in its own way, no less harsh or disruptive to local natives than that of the Fernandinos (Spanish missions) in Alta California" (153). Lightfoot's own evidence tends to suggest the opposite conclusion. There were very real differences between Russian and Spanish colonial policies and intended outcomes. The RAC had no intention of culturally transforming Native Californians as did the Spaniards. Additionally, the Kashaya certainly had more flexibility and options in negotiating Russian colonialism than their Native counterparts did in the Spanish missions. Also, if Lightfoot's statement were correct, then how can one explain the undeniably distinct historical outcomes of the Kashaya Pomo versus other Native Californians like the Ohlone, Esselen, and other tribes by the middle nineteenth century? Overall, Lightfoot tends to force similarities in his comparisons of Russian and Spanish colonialism. He downplays the impact of the Spanish missions on Native Californians while accentuating the impact of the Russians on the Kashaya Pomo. This is unfortunate, because it fails to respect the differences between colonial policies and Native responses in distinct areas.

The other major subject Lightfoot analyzes in his book, the role of anthropologists in influencing federal recognition of California tribes, is extremely valuable for the information it provides. Lightfoot argues that the decision-making

process leading to federal recognition and a land base for certain California tribes “depended mostly on the outcome of a people’s encounters with Franciscan missionaries and Russian merchants” (233). However, that the process of federal recognition “depended mostly” on RAC and missionary interactions is problematic. Many bands and tribes who survived the Spanish mission era largely intact were later overwhelmed by Mexican and especially Anglo-American settlement in the middle and late nineteenth century. Also, it is very doubtful that the Kashaya Pomo would be what they are today if gold had been discovered in Kashaya territory as it was in the Sierra foothills in 1848-1849. The decades from the 1840s to the 1900s pose a serious methodological problem to this book’s conclusions. Lightfoot does devote twelve pages to these years, but this section should be developed much further to better support his conclusions on early twentieth-century tribal recognition.

Lightfoot’s conclusions on federal recognition of California tribes in the early twentieth century face an additional difficulty. U.C. Berkeley Anthropology Professor Alfred Kroeber and Smithsonian Institution Anthropologist John Harrington carved out areas of California to study on their own during the early twentieth century, and the two men did not cooperate professionally. Harrington compiled massive amounts of notes and data on central and southern coast tribes despite the prevailing “memory culture methodology” of the time period. As Lightfoot indicates, Harrington’s research might have resulted in federal recognition of some central and southern coast tribes, but Harrington remained out of contact with federal officials and Professor Kroeber. Harrington’s notes and data were not released to other researchers until his death in 1961, well beyond the time when particular California tribes were receiving land and federal recognition. Tribal recognition in early twentieth-century California thus appears to be more heavily influenced by communication problems, personality conflicts, and egos than by methodology.

This book presents problems for the undergraduate classroom and the general reader, since Lightfoot’s prose is unnecessarily academic in many areas, repetitive, and sometimes obtuse. For example, how many undergraduates and members of the public use “diachronic” in their everyday vocabulary? Due to its comparative approach and use of diverse sources, this book could have had a much larger impact had it been written more for the general reader. Despite my reservations about many of Lightfoot’s core conclusions, I still recommend the book to scholars and graduate students interested in California history. The maps, artwork, charts, notes, and bibliography are all excellent. *Indians, Missionaries, and Merchants* will also be useful to Native leaders and government officials concerned with issues of tribal recognition and sovereignty in California.

Beginning Creek: Mvskoke Emponvkv. Pamela J. Innes, Linda Alexander, and Bertha Tilkens. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004. 256 pp. Paper, \$29.95. ISBN: 0806135832.

We have been using a draft of this text in the classroom since 2003, and now the published book is used in the Oklahoma State University (OSU) system, where the Mvskoke language is offered as a “foreign” language. In this review, I will look at its positives and shortcomings, as well as make suggestions for future efforts.

Beginning Creek includes the most current theories on teaching a second language, as illustrated in the table of contents and in the preface. Early parts of the book are divided into pedagogical units and provide a good solid introduction to the structure and grammar of the Mvskoke language. In the first three chapters the basic ideas of the language are presented, beginning with the smallest units, the phonemes, then moving on to the distinctive features of the language embodied in the tonal system and, finally, the syntax. Parts of speech are then introduced in the next two chapters — such as the adjectives, adjective phrases and adverbs. The last half deals with the main focus of most native languages — the verb. Its morphology includes subject markers, object markers, various forms of aspect such as completive/incompletive, past tenses, negation and interrogative forms. Together these give a fairly complete picture of what is happening within the Creek language.

Many examples are given within the body of the text that illustrates the grammar feature being introduced. The vocabulary fits many of the cultural concepts that are contained in that chapter essay. Many exercises help solidify grammar details, reinforced by two audio compact discs to help with the pronunciations and sounds. A fluent speaker/teacher can add many other points of interest that the vocabulary and essay only touch on, giving the text a much-needed link to the living native community.

Difficulties with the text are somewhat minor. Mostly it has to do with the technical level which may prove too difficult for the native speaker/teacher, especially one without any linguistics background. Understanding the writing level of this text, it seems, would require someone proficient in linguistics and not made for the native speaker to easily teach from. A co-taught class is envisioned, where a native speaker teams with another teacher with linguistics training. Both teach the class until more native speaker/ teachers are trained in basic linguistics.

Other items of note are the following, the dialect of the main consultant, Linda Alexander should be made a part of the discussion within the text and differences of dialect should be attributed more explicitly. Acknowledging dialect differences will cause less confusion among the more fluent speaker teachers who will use this text.

The examples contained within the text, although plentiful, are not always integrated with the chapter vocabulary. Some examples seem out of place because of poor arrangements of vocabulary and meanings. Some of the examples also

have ambiguous meanings — according to many of the more fluent language learners. We were not sure if these were mistakes either in the typesetting or the elicitation of the forms.

Another area of concern is the amount of material presented within a three-hour semester or even within a two semester 10-hour sequence. It is either too much or too little respectively. A quick note of how to proceed within a particular semester setting would be of great help in planning out how to present this text. Although, these errors exist, they are considered very minor to the overall text.

All too often, Native languages are at the brink of extinction before any type of description is made, yet any pedagogical material of a language has the effect of reinvigorating a language, a culture and a way of life. These authors — Pamela Innes (linguist), Linda Alexander (a much-respected Seminole/Creek elder) and Linda's daughter, Bertha Tilkens (fluent speakers) — are to be commended for this fine effort.

The authors have put much of themselves into this work. Innes and Alexander helped begin the Native Languages department at the University of Oklahoma. Linda Alexander and I have been teaching the Mvskoke language at the OSU campuses of Stillwater, Tulsa, and Okmulgee since 1997 and we have been awaiting the text with much anticipation, knowing it has direct benefit for Mvskoke language at the collegiate level. Mrs. Alexander's presence as a kind and caring teacher will be seen for years to come in this text. Her patience and wisdom with both the academics and students — native and non-native — shines through this work.

Each lesson shows a depth of understanding about the theories of teaching a second language, as well as its linguistic structures. For non-speakers with little or no knowledge, it guides us through the complexities of the grammatical structures, with a good balance of technical and cultural insights. As a team effort by both an academician (Innes) and cultural experts (Linda, with her daughter, Bertha), such efforts turn the tide of much of the history of the native peoples, who had to extinguish one form of language/culture for another imposed 'foreign' one. How apropos, then, to have come full circle under the guise of teaching an aboriginal language as a 'foreign' one. Hopefully, we will see the growth of the Mvskoke language from the use of this textbook. Hooray for us all!!

The Mvskoke language has had a long history of contact without much in the way of producing a working textbook to learn the language. Not since the Baptist and Methodist missionaries came to the Creek people in the 1850s, where they produced many religious materials to assist in the conversion to Christianity of the Creeks, has there been much pedagogy produced to aid in teaching the language.

Tribal languages are much lessened with the passing of each elder. As the language goes with them, so does the ability to self-teach from our own elders. Tribal languages are now in need of documentation to produce teaching materials, if our languages are to survive into the future.

Diversity is what the world needs if we are to be full of the richness that other languages bring to us. It is indeed a sad day when a language dies, despite the

best efforts to prevent its demise. Now that we are out of the colonial mindset we should again embrace real diversity, and move away from the ideas and attitudes that once overtly attacked Native languages. Works such as this one are fine steps in the right direction. They allow for both the scientific and the native communities to have as a resource for future generations to counter threats of endangerment.

A written grammar can turn language loss into language gain by allowing more and more learning by tribal citizens. By most accounts, the Mvskoke (Creek) language situation according to Joshua Fishman's Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) is in level 7 quickly moving to level 8. At this level there are no, or very rare cases, of intergenerational mother tongue transmission (IGMTT) occurring among the language community. Within a generation or two, the language can become extinct because there are no children learning the language.

Native speakers can learn, discuss, extend the domains of use, and teach others, when there are pedagogical materials. The teaching community has to be expanded beyond the informal, grassroots institutions of the past, if the language is to survive. A grammar textbook is a big aid in any effort. Every Tribe should focus future language preservation on pedagogical materials.

Beginning Creek is a crucial aid in teaching a native language, taking that teaching into the twenty-first century and providing a much needed source of documentation of the language. Overall, it is a nice start and the authors are to be commended in presenting so much information in a teachable fashion. Clearly, more of this sort is needed, especially as more Mvskoke speakers are to be utilized as teachers.

Now we need to ask, what comes next? I look forward with much anticipation, as when this text was being published, to the follow-up effort. It is good when the elders of our respective communities are involved in creating works such as this. It gives much credence to the work as a whole and it makes it representative of the people it describes.

Mvto pomvhayackes cekicees ci!

Mvtekosan makaranis ci!

Mahoks ci!

Creek Council House Museum, Okmulgee, Oklahoma

Ted Isham

Peyote and the Yankton Sioux: The Life and Times of Sam Necklace. Thomas Constantine Maroukis. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004. 386 pp. Cloth, \$39.95. ISBN: 0806136499.

With *Peyote and the Yankton Sioux: The Life and Times of Sam Necklace*, historian Thomas Constantine Maroukis succeeds in presenting an informative biography that also addresses important issues facing Native American religions.

As the title indicates, Maroukis focuses upon the life history of Yankton Peyotist, Sam Necklace, who lived from 1881 to 1949. In discussing Necklace's family, life on the Yankton Reservation, and Yankton and other Plains Indian Peyote communities, Maroukis touches upon individuals and topics that are of interest to many scholars. His book will thus appeal to a wide audience, not just those concerned with biographies of Native American religious specialists. Indeed, *Peyote and the Yankton Sioux* is much more than a biography. In this compelling book, Maroukis argues that Yankton Peyotism is an expression of traditional Yankton religiosity, instead of a Pan-Indian deviation from it. This argument makes the book appealing and valuable to anyone interested in the changes and continuities that Native American religions have undergone in the last century.

Maroukis begins his book with a history of the Lakota, Dakota, and Nakota peoples, to which the Yanktons or Ihanktonwans belong. He pays special attention to the religious traditions of these peoples. Maroukis then proceeds to detail the Yankton dealings with the United States government during the 1800's, which led to their being placed on their present South Dakota reservation in 1858.

In chapter three, Maroukis begins to detail the life of Sam Necklace. He continues to discuss the Yankton people as a whole, however, emphasizing that other Yanktons shared many of Necklace's experiences. He clarifies the value of this when he writes, on page 53, that we study the lives of people such as Necklace "as a way to focus on the larger themes of American Indian history during the early years of the reservation era."

The "larger theme" that Maroukis focuses upon is the Yankton reliance upon religion as a means of making the transition from buffalo culture to "modern" reservation life. In so doing, Maroukis explores the early missionization activities on the Yankton reservation. He also discusses Necklace's experiences with Christianity as a child, and his education at the Flandreau Indian school, both of which served to make Necklace somewhat fluent in both Indian and white worlds. Maroukis notes, however, that young Necklace, like many of his peers, was a troubled man, probably unhappy with his lot in life. According to the author, this life took a positive turn between 1910 and 1915, when Necklace discovered the Peyote religion, which was brought to the Yanktons from the Winnebago Reservation. After this, Necklace worked hard to support his wife and family and channeled his apparent dissatisfaction toward political and religious activism. Eventually, he became a respected roadman and priest of the Native American Church, which is the name under which most Peyote churches are incorporated.

Throughout *Peyote and the Yankton Sioux*, Maroukis offers a great deal of detail about varieties of Peyotism and the Native American Church, in general. For instance, he explores the differences between the practices of Cross Fire and Half Moon Peyotists, emphasizing that the former combine more Christian elements with their sacramental use of the Peyote medicine than do the latter. Maroukis also argues, however, that Peyotists of both groups, though particularly the Half Moon Peyotists, integrate elements of traditional Yankton religion into their ceremonies

and daily lives. To illustrate this, he points toward “commonalities in ritual and symbolism” found between Yankton Peyotism and traditional Yankton religion and contends that both spiritualities are “operating within the same theological structure” (159). He describes the Dakota language, the theme of the sacred circle, and the reliance upon sacred numbers, plants, and vision experiences, as examples of things shared by Peyotists and practitioners of traditional Yankton religion (158-180).

Maroukis reinforces his argument that there is a strong continuity between Yankton Peyotism and traditional in his exploration of Sam Necklace’s spiritual legacy. Here, he discusses the beliefs and practices of Necklace’s descendents, particularly grandson Asa Primeaux, Sr., who became a highly respected roadman in his own right. Maroukis explains that many of Necklace’s descendents became active in the Peyote religion and, in the 1960’s, began to participate in the “cultural renaissance” of traditional Yankton religion (269). In other words, in addition to participating in the Peyote meetings of the Native American Church, Necklace’s descendents began to use the Sacred Pipe, Sweat Lodges, and even served as sponsors of the Sun Dance (270-276). Maroukis offers this as evidence that Peyotism can be seen as a compliment rather than an alternative to Yankton traditional religion. Maroukis acknowledges that the mixing of these religions was not supported by all Yankton Peyotists at the time; this might be read as an implicit acknowledgement, on Maroukis’ part, of the controversial nature of his thesis (270, 275). Still, he provides undeniable proof that many people have had little problem reconciling Peyotism with traditional Yankton religion. He also offers a great deal of evidence to suggest that the Yankton inclusion of traditional themes in the otherwise pan-Indian, Peyote ceremonies received from the Winnebagos facilitated this reconciliation.

Maroukis writes clearly and in a way that shows his respect for Sam Necklace and his descendents. The information he provides in his book is thoroughly researched. In writing the book, Maroukis consulted textual sources and relied upon extensive interviews with Yankton Peyotists. The accuracy of his interpretations and representations of Yankton Peyotism is bolstered by his long relationship with Necklace’s descendents and by his own participation in the Native American Church. The respect the author enjoys among Yankton Peyotists is evidenced in the “Foreword,” written by Leonard R. Bruguier, the director of the Institute of American Indian Studies at the University of South Dakota and member of the Native American Church. Bruguier notes that Maroukis participated in all “social, spiritual, and other activities” of the Yankton Peyote community (xii) and commends Maroukis for writing the book (xiii).

Some minor problems do impact the readability and academic value of Peyote and the Yankton Sioux. At times, Maroukis’ writing is a bit repetitious; for instance, certain events in the lives of Sam Necklace and his family are described several times. Also, the book would be strengthened if Maroukis had, in addition to looking at the commonalities between Yankton Peyotism and traditional religion, considered the differences. For example, attitudes toward proselytization, which was firmly

embraced by Sam Necklace and other early Yankton Peyotists but which is rejected by practitioners of the traditional Yankton religion, seems to distinguish these two types of religion clearly. In some people's minds, it might even set them at odds. Many traditionalists across Native America, after all, emphasize that their traditions are indigenous, that they can only be practiced in their native locales, and that proselytization is completely foreign to their religious worldviews.

Still, *Peyote and the Yankton Sioux* is an informative, provocative, and, tremendously useful book. Maroukis' focus upon the life of Sam Necklace makes this book an important resource for individuals involved in researching Native American biographies, the Yanktons, Peyotism, or religious freedom. His ability to relate Necklace's life to the larger issues of change and continuity in Native American religions will make this book appealing to an even wider audience of scholars and other. With *Peyote and the Yankton Sioux: The Life and Times of Sam Necklace*, Thomas Constantine Maroukis thus makes an important contribution to the literature of Indigenous Nations studies.

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Kenneth H. Lokensgard

Indigenizing the Academy: Transforming Scholarship and Empowering Communities. Edited by Devon Abbott Mihesuah and Angela Cavender Wilson. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004. 245 pp. Paper, \$19.95; cloth, \$50.00. ISBN: 0803232292.

Devon Abbott Mihesuah and Waziyatawin Angela Wilson, in *Indigenizing the Academy: Transforming Scholarship and Empowering Communities*, bring together 13 different Indigenous scholars from a range of disciplinary and tribal backgrounds to tackle head-on the key issues confronting Native intellectuals in the twenty first century. The activist scholars in the volume — who represent disciplines such as psychology, history, archaeology, political science, and literature — advocate for changes that fundamentally transform the academy from “an agent of colonialism to a center of decolonization” (5). The tasks are many for those that are engaged in this project and the book is a call to action for both Indigenous scholars and their allies.

Racism, ethnic fraud, exclusionary practices by those in power (defined by Devon Mihesuah as “academic gate-keeping”), making one's scholarship relevant to Indigenous nations in our fight for cultural survival, empowering the next generation of Native students and scholars, affirming sovereignty in our scholarship, and transforming western disciplines that have systematically tried to undermine Indigenous ways of knowing, are some of the key concerns addressed by the contributors. All of the scholars successfully rise to the challenge in considering how to decolonize research methodologies in an effort to make the

academy more relevant to the needs of Indigenous communities. Their reflections on how to carry on the difficult work of “indigenizing” their respective disciplines are informative, thought provoking, and at times inspirational.

The volume begins with an essay by the Dean of the previous generation of Native American Studies intellectuals, Vine Deloria Jr. entitled, “Marginal and Submarginal.” His essay provides important insights on the challenges facing Indigenous scholars in the academy, many of which remain unresolved today. He hits some of the usual notes regarding unfair power structures, racism, and the unique challenges and demands on Indigenous scholar’s time. But his most important point is advocating for Native people to confront the injustices occurring in the academy that seek to undermine the well-being of Indigenous Peoples. He argues that “regenerated racism,” reflected in the anti-Indian writings of Shepard Krech and others, needs to be challenged by the current generation of scholars for, as he writes, “any challenges to anti-Indian articles must come from Indians themselves” (23). In his essay he is clear in offering support and understanding to many of the complex issues and challenges facing today’s contemporary Indigenous scholars. But he is also there to remind us of our most important responsibility, demanding that we take a leadership role in defense of our communities.

The call for Natives to take action that is central to Deloria’s argument permeates the entire volume. As Wilson and Mihesuah state in their introduction “with this volume we are drawing a line in the sand,” and implore all of us to do the difficult work of challenging the status quo and overcome those forces that serve to undermine our positions as Indigenous scholars. These forces, defined in a concluding chapter by D. Anthony Tyeme Clark (following Elizabeth Cook-Lynn) as “anti-Indianisms,” include ethnic fraud, “academic gatekeeping,” racism, and marginalization.

The challenge is not only to confront the “anti-Indianisms” that permeate the academy, but we also must continually attempt to make our scholarship relevant to our communities. In his article “Warrior Scholarship: Seeing the University as a Ground of Contention,” Mohawk scholar Taiaiake Alfred, the author of *Wasáse: Indigenous Pathways of Action and Freedom* (Broadview Press, 2005) and *Peace, Power, Righteousness: An Indigenous Manifesto* (Oxford University Press, 1999), argues that we need to engage in warrior scholarship to “turn away from defining our purpose and methods by Western academic standards and be accountable to our cultural heritage and to our people” (95). Similarly Mihesuah and Wilson write “As academics committed to our nations, we must resist institutional cooptation and continue to challenge the dominant conventions of our disciplines, and at the same time we must use whatever authority, benefits, and power that derive from our positions to promote the causes of our people” (14). Wilson, author of *Remember This! Dakota Decolonization and the Eli Taylor Narratives* (University of Nebraska, 2005), goes on to argue in her moving essay, “Reclaiming Our Humanity: Decolonization and the Recovery of Indigenous Knowledge” that we must use these skills and resources gained in the academy in the recovery of our language, history, and epistemologies to decolonize and heal our communities.

The need for this volume rose out of a desire by Mihesuah and Wilson to revisit and expand on the themes explored in *Natives and Academics: Research and Writing about American Indians* (University of Nebraska Press, 1998) that brought many of the problems facing Native people in the academy to the forefront. This volume successfully challenges all Indigenous intellectuals to continue in the important work started by the preceding generation of Native scholars — to engage in the hard work of “indigenizing” our respective disciplines, produce scholarship that contributes to the well being of our tribal nations, and work to make the academy a site for decolonization. It should be required reading for students and practitioners in the discipline given its interdisciplinary content and scope, and for providing a road map for Indigenous activist scholarship for the future.

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Amy Lonetree

Memories of Lac du Flambeau Elders. Edited by Elizabeth M. Tornes. Madison: Center for the Study of Upper Midwestern Cultures, University of Wisconsin, 2004. 284 pp. Paper, \$24.95. ISBN: 0924119217.

How often do we think wistfully about our grandparents — the questions we never thought to ask, the memories never shared, the anecdotal treasures lost forever? Writer Beth Tornes has given her adopted Lac du Flambeau Ojibwe community a precious gift in *Memories of Lac du Flambeau Elders*, a volume of personal narratives collected from fifteen tribal elders. Some of the memories, especially those about the Lac du Flambeau boarding school, are painful. Other recollections about sports, recreation, and friends are joyful. One elder’s narrative — about a stubborn mule and a burning wagon full of popped corn — is an exercise in good old-fashioned leg pulling and a wonderful insight into Indian humor.

Memories of Lac du Flambeau Elders emerged from a 1995 oral history project funded by the Wisconsin Humanities Council. Inspired by the stories she heard from elders during her frequent visits to the reservation, Tornes took some time off from teaching at Beloit College to help organize the project. Lac du Flambeau is now her permanent home.

Tornes enlisted the friends and family members of the tribe’s elders to conduct the interviews, reasoning that the elders would be more comfortable talking candidly with people they knew. Some of the questions dealt with lineage and will be useful to anyone doing genealogical research. However, most of the questions focused on broader issues, including work, ceremony, holidays, recreation, etc., making the interviews invaluable resources for scholars and tribal historians. Elders described traditional activities such as gathering wild rice and making maple sugar as well as how their families adjusted to mainstream events such as war and relocation.

Although some elders described their pride in acquiring new knowledge, most of the interviewees had strong words about the Lac du Flambeau boarding school. Participants described being locked in their dormitories with sick and even dying children. They recalled having to march to classes and the dining hall and kneeling for hours on end as punishment for laughing or speaking out of turn. Many spoke Ojibwe at home but were forbidden from speaking it at school. Gilbert Chapman voiced a lament expressed by several elders that when the language is not used, “it just gradually disappears.”

Although the outside world wrestled with the Great Depression, Lac du Flambeau elders recalled that the reservation was relatively untouched by the economic downturn because hunting and fishing was good and everyone had a garden. “We never thought of being poor,” Liza Brown said in her interview, “because we always had something to eat, and the love and care of our folks.”

The narratives are windows into an under-researched period of Native life, the 1920s and 1930s, when most history books about Indians are driven by policy and told by outsiders. The recollections of the Lac du Flambeau elders are social histories shared by the people who lived them and now tell them in their own words. Theirs is a community where on their birthdays people *gave* gifts, not received them, and, where, as one woman put it, “the spirit [of Lac du Flambeau] has ingrained itself in my soul.” One of the most interesting interviews is that of Ben Chosa, conducted by his daughter, Barbara Olson. Chosa, a professional fishing guide whose clients included President Dwight D. Eisenhower, focused many of his comments on the declining quality of the environment. As a child, Chosa recalled drinking clean water from reservation lakes. Today because of acid rain, logging, and over-development, according to Chosa, “the lakes are so polluted that we can’t eat the fish.” He shared a story about chasing away a tourist with a “big outboard motor” from a loon’s nest. The visitor ignored a sign on one of the lakes saying “Loon Habitat: Do Not Disturb” and set the birds crying. Chosa implored younger members of the tribe to work to protect the environment and wildlife.

Memories of Lac du Flambeau was truly a collaborative project. After family members and friends gathered the interviews, Tornes took the transcriptions back to the elders who had the opportunity to edit out any material they wished. The interviews were then published monthly in the *Lac du Flambeau News*, the community’s tribal newspaper. Tornes’ bound volume includes not only the interviews, but also handsome portraits taken by photographer Greg Gent and historical photographs of Lac du Flambeau from the impressive Guthrie Collection at the George Brown Cultural Center. The book benefits from a brief history of Waaswaagoning Ojibweg (Lac du Flambeau Chippewa) by tribal historian Leon Valliere, Jr.

Preceding each interview, Tornes introduces the elder, provides a brief biographical sketch and context for the narrative. Sadly, many of the elders interviewed have since passed on, punctuating the importance of having preserved their memories.

In her preface, Tornes expresses the hope that readers will appreciate the many changes the Lac du Flambeau people had to navigate and their resilience. "Above all it is the humanity of these elders that touched me deeply," Tornes writes. In that spirit, each interview concludes with a question not on Tornes' original list, but one recommended later by the elders themselves: "What advice would you give to a young person who wants to live a good life?" "Get an education" and "stay away from alcohol and drugs" were some of the admonitions. Ben Chosa offered this: "Respect the old people for their knowledge . . . If they see that you want to learn, they'll teach you," he said. "A lot of the old ways are being lost because of that, nobody asks. Nobody asks."

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Patty Loew

Converting California: Indians and Franciscans in the Missions. James A. Sandos. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004. 272 pp. Cloth, \$35.00. ISBN: 0300101007.

In perhaps the first such treatment to successfully negotiate and balance the often contentious scholarly, religious, and political landscapes of Spanish colonial California mission studies, James Sandos' *Converting California: Indians and Franciscans in the Missions* goes one step beyond the fray. In his insight-filled assessment of the broader impact of the Franciscan missions on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Spanish colonial exploits in Alta California, Sandos advances a number of significant questions and observations regarding the role of California Indians in said experience. In assessing the effect and affect of Amerindian conversion in early California, Sandos critically reexamines some of the most persistent and politically volatile popular myths and scholarly diatribes that continue to distort progress in the field of California mission studies. In sum, this book challenges, and ultimately dismantles, cherished, albeit often contentious and pernicious, myths, metaphors, and characterizations for what the California missions are thought to have accomplished in so far as Native American conversion is concerned.

Amerindian conversion frames the central theme of the Sandos' book. In an effort to weigh the merits and impact of the Hispanic missions on the California Indian, Sandos brings into question those prevailing accounts of the relative success of the Franciscan mission enterprise based solely on baptismal registers and counts. By such counts, tens of thousands of California Indians were baptized, and thereby, converted in the period extending from 1769 through 1834. Sandos, however, argues that conversion constitutes a dynamic process, and thereby, largely remained an unfinished agenda for the so-called California Indian "converts" of the time. With that as his premise, he goes on to review the many and varied forms of active — passive and violent — resistance to the mission program

undertaken by California Indians as varied as the Diegueño, Gabrielino, Esselen, and Chumash. Sandos assembles a fascinating constellation of accounts and methods by which California Indians sought to subvert and or challenge the Hispanic Catholic agenda of that day. By contrast with the works of Douglas Monroy, Lisbeth Haas, or Virginia Bouvier, Sandos reads like an anthology of individualized case studies assembled around the theme of Amerindian conversion and resistance in early California.

With the California missions and their “gentile” and “neophyte” Indian communities as setting, context, and scope, the book spans a temporal and geographical range that encompasses the initial mission founding at San Diego de Alcalá in 1769 through to Indian emancipation in 1826 and mission Secularization in 1834. As such, the temporal and geographical range spans a broad cross section of the California coastal zone extending some 700 miles from San Diego de Alcalá in the south to San Rafael Arcángel in the north. Along the margins of this colonial frontier, Franciscans founded missions, and soldiers and civil authorities their presidios or forts and pueblos or towns, in an effort to see through the colonization and settlement of Alta California. Sandos projects that of an estimated contact era tribal population of 310,000 in 1769, 65,000 or twenty percent of California Indian tribal peoples occupied the coastal zone. Such groups included the Diegueño/Kumeyaay, Juaneño, Gabrielino, Chumash, Costanoan, Esselen, and Coast Miwok, among others prominently featured in the Sandos’ narrative and analysis. Moreover, the impressive breadth of the author’s interdisciplinary approach, integrating as it does disciplinary findings from history, anthropology, ethnohistory, theology, demography, epidemiology, musicology, gender studies, and conflict theory; not to mention what the author terms Theohistory (theology/history), provides for a particularly rich and compelling narrative.

While presenting a sorely needed recounting of the role of California Indians through their own personal histories of accommodation and resistance to the California missions, Sandos nevertheless limits much of his discussion of Amerindian agency and agents of change to those who sought to overthrow the mission system. Significantly, while Sandos ultimately discounts, and necessarily dismantles, the myth of Indian slavery in the California missions, he necessarily employs Theohistory to redefine the relationship as one of “spiritual debt peonage” based on Franciscan cosmology and European notions of indentured servitude. What he neglects to more fully consider is the extent to which Native Americans also willingly accommodated and or collaborated with Hispanic Catholic and other colonial institutions and agendas. While Sandos does focus on some of the benefits of Native collaboration with the missionaries, particularly in so far as Indian choristers and musicians were concerned, little else is said of those who more fully supported the missionary religious program, or its political and ideological manifestations at the local and family levels of analysis. Such unquestioning devotion to the “faith” and its ecclesiastical institutions is by contrast made more or less evident in the history of Amerindian martyrdom throughout Latin America.

Moreover, while Sandos offers much in the way of explanations and descriptions of California Indian systems of belief and ritual performance, he skirts discussion of pre-contact or contact era California Indian material cultures and attendant social texts that figured into those patterns of accumulation, acculturation, and accommodation that saw through the cultural transformation in question. Instead, his focus is with those aspects of Spanish colonial cultural mores, language, clothing, and related manifestations that were readily assimilated by the mission Indian communities under consideration. Because conversion, acculturation, and assimilation necessarily entail two-way cultural borrowings and intercultural exchanges, further elaboration and discussion centered on California Indian traditional technologies and material cultures might prove instructive in the final analysis.

Converting California should be construed as required reading by anyone whose scholarly interests center on the Hispanic colonial mission enterprise in California, the American Southwest, and colonial Latin America more generally. Those whose interests and or expertise lie with the study of California Indians, particularly in so far as native enculturation and conversion, and evangelization and revitalization movements, should seriously consider reading this seminal, albeit controversial, treatment of the California Indian experience. Other areas of particular interest include that dimension of Theohistory underlying the beliefs of Fray Junipero Serra and other early California missionaries, musicology and the leadership roles of Indian choristers in the mission community, Amerindian self determination and resistance to the missionary agenda, and significantly, a compelling account of the catastrophic and tragic consequences of European disease on Indigenous nations peoples. Sandos' review of the debilitating effects of venereal disease on the California Indians constitutes a sobering, lucid, controversial, and significant scholarly contribution to the literature on the California missions, if only for the social and cultural implications brought to the fore. The author's innovative use of epidemiology or disease studies in order to interpret demography, social patterns, Hispanic and indigenous medical practices and contagion, and the social, psychological, and emotional consequences of syphilis and gonorrhea on Indian women in particular stands as a benchmark contribution to the literature. It is here that the tragedy and dire, albeit unforeseen and unanticipated, consequences of Spanish colonization is fully brought to bear through the eyes of the missionaries, administrators, and tribal peoples of California. The reasons that anyone would wish to read this book are perhaps as diverse as the many academic, religious, ethnic, and political constituencies that have a vested interest in that social, political, religious, and cultural terrain trodden in what promises to serve as a model for future such studies.

Mission studies specialists — whether historians, anthropologists, demographers, political economists, musicologists, or theologians — will find a rich and varied content and critically significant discussion immediately pertinent to each of those areas of inquiry so noted. Sandos' discussions on social control

(Chapter 1), Franciscan evangelization (Chapter 3), armed conflict (Chapter 4), the epidemiology and social consequences of European diseases on “virgin soil” populations (Chapter 8), music and conversion (Chapter 9), and Indian resistance (Chapter 10) stand out as distinct and unique in approach and content. In each of these sections the author introduces novel and innovative interpretive frameworks and analyses such as that pertaining to what he terms Theohistory, or for that matter, taxonomies for rendering conflicting scholarly perspectives, such as those pertinent to the Christophilic Triumphalists, or Sandos’ Christophobic Nihilists and material culturalists. Whereas the “Triumphalists” are prompted to proclaim and promote the benevolence and success of the California missions program and Fray Junipero Serra’s founding role in that regard, the Christophobic Nihilists necessarily tout the oppression, subjugation, and victimization of the California Indian to the detriment of fostering, and thereby, promulgating the emergence of an Indian voice in the dialogue on resistance, accommodation, and self-determination. In effect, it might be argued that the latter perspective ultimately undermines the historical underpinnings of Indigenous self-determination and agency. These two opposed perspectives in particular have stymied the evolution of California mission studies and the place of the California Indians as independent actors and agents of change and resistance within their own cultural histories. The role of agency, and the extent to which Sandos integrates a California Indian perspective in his treatment, particularly where Native religious systems of belief and covert forms of resistance are concerned, should surely serve to leverage a more broadly construed Native American readership among Indigenous nations scholars and students alike. Ultimately, if recent symposia and related scholarly interactions dedicated to discussion on the Sandos’ book are any indication, *Converting California* has already provoked a ground-swell of scholarly reaction — and polarized, albeit largely complementary, in-fighting — within the California Indian and mission studies communities. That, in my assessment, says volumes and pays homage to the substantive and long-term impact that Sandos has already had in a field often construed as theoretically parochial and scientifically complacent in its entrenched patterns of dogmatic polarization and academic and political obscurantism.

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Rubén G. Mendoza

Crude Chronicles: Indigenous Politics, Multinational Oil and Neoliberalism in Ecuador. Suzana Sawyer. Durham: Duke University Press, 2004. 312 pp. Paper, \$22.95; cloth, \$79.95. ISBN: 0822332728.

Suzana Sawyer’s *Crude Chronicles: Indigenous Politics, Multinational Oil and Neoliberalism* in Ecuador is a lucid, compelling, and captivating ethnography that you can not put down. This book vividly describes the mutually constituting

relationships between multinational corporations' exploitation of Amazonian territory, state efforts to implement neoliberal policies, and indigenous mobilization. Focusing on ARCO's petroleum exploration in Pastaza province and on state efforts to reverse land reform, the author argues that efforts to "liberalize," individualize, and marginalize indigenous peoples led to the exact opposite: a collective consciousness raising among indígenas who sought to reposition themselves as citizens, members of indigenous nations, and historical subjects. In the process of struggling over petroleum concessions or land rights, Sawyer argues, indígenas challenge dominant assumptions about nation, democracy, and about who is (and who is not) part of the body politic. Following four important indigenous marches held between 1992 and 1997, Sawyer claims that these challenges have not entirely blocked unrestricted oil exploration or privatization of land, but have questioned neoliberal logic and curtailed some of its worst excesses.

In a rich ethnographic style, the book draws readers to the Ecuadorian case by introducing them to specific events, meetings, and marches that vividly illustrate opposing logics and epistemologies as indigenous activists confront multinational executives and top state officials. Sawyer was present at several private meetings as translator and transcriber and is able to provide a detailed account of the understandings and misunderstandings made explicit in these encounters. After each description of the words exchanged she provides the historical and political context needed to understand the relevance of these exchanges. More importantly, she effectively argues that differences in perspective are intimately linked to deep-seated social and economic inequalities and that the unmasking of these inequalities is a key objective for indigenous activists.

This is most evident in her analysis of the different uses of democracy in exchanges between ARCO executives and activists from the Organization of Indigenous People of Pastaza (OPIP) who wanted ARCO to recognize their organization as an important actor representing thousands of indígenas in the area. In an initial meeting, OPIP complained that ARCO had created and funded the Intercommunal Directive of Independent Communities of Pastaza (DICIP), an organization that represented only a few families allied with ARCO, while ignoring OPIP. Posing as a neutral arbiter, an ARCO executive claimed that DICIP should have equal standing in a democracy. After several meetings with ARCO executives in Ecuador and the United States, local ARCO representatives agreed to include OPIP in a broader indigenous front to negotiate oil exploration issues, and to view OPIP as representing a majority. However, Sawyer argues, ARCO's continuing linkages with DICIP, its refusal to discuss issues that were considered political and not technical, and opposing interpretations of ARCO's social and economic responsibility continued to plague the relationship.

Indigenous activists also sought to unmask inequalities in their protests against an agrarian modernization law that reversed land reform and privatized water rights. Landowners who sponsored the law claimed that Indians had equal status to them as they were also private producers and would benefit from the law. Indígenas pointed out that their lack of economic resources meant that most indigenous

small landholders would lose their lands to large landowners who did have the means to expand their landholdings. Hence, in both land and oil issues appealing to a liberal notion of equality has served to justify inequalities and challenge indigenous claims. Indigenous activists, by contrast, have attempted to show how differences across regions, nationalities and class actually do determine life chances and therefore should be taken into account in the drafting and implementation of policy. Sawyer argues that the feigned equality claimed by landlords is not only unmasked by indigenous activists' arguments, but by the myriad racist comments and arguments used to show that indígenas are primitive, dirty, incapable of modernizing production, and ultimately not part of the nation.

However, using the compelling metaphor of a mosaic by artist Osvaldo Guayasamin, Sawyer claims that indígenas have actually always been considered part of the nation, but the part that must be sacrificed for the nation-state to prosper. Just as the indígenas depicted in Guayasamin's mosaic had to die in order for the Spaniards to reach and "discover" the Amazon, indígena sacrifice appears to be a central condition for the flow of petrodollars and the modernization of agriculture required in a neoliberal era. Sawyer points out that while landowners and state officials see indígenas as pre-modern by essence, they are denying their own role in making indígenas remnants of the past.

Neoliberalism also requires a complicit state and the social control of "well-conducted" individuals who are willing to behave in anticipated ways. Sawyer uses the Foucaultian phrase "conduct of conduct" to refer to the many ways in which ARCO and state officials established what was proper and improper behavior for indígenas. OPIP activists, however, transgressed by persistently crossing the lines and, more importantly, by questioning the premises on which rules of conduct were based. For example, even as state officials created artificial political units and boundaries aimed to create new internal divisions and facilitate corporate control, OPIP indígenas were able to organize a common indigenous front.

Herein lies the hope in these crude chronicles, as this book shows not only that indigenous people can contest dominant power structures in the harshest of contexts, but that neoliberalism's demands are such that they create new possibilities for contestation. Attempts to privatize and individualize identities, resources, and power have led indígenas to generate new counter discourses and practices that render Guayasamin's mosaic of colonial power a bit more complicated. Viewed up close, the mosaic no longer resembles the official story of domination, but becomes a jumble of colors and shapes, pieces that from another perspective or in another location may be altogether something different.

If the book's main strength is its nuanced and sophisticated understanding of indigenous political discourse, its main weakness lies in a much less nuanced portrayal of dominant political actors. The author tends to group all Ecuadorian politicians who oppose indigenous demands into a reactionary or conservative camp, overlooking important distinctions between the far right and the center. The identities, rationales and policy positions of the political parties are very different,

and indigenous activists themselves have been able to use these differences to their advantage. While Sawyer calls former president of the Izquierda Democrática (Democratic Left Party) Rodrigo Borja a reactionary, his response to indigenous demands was quite different from the response of Conservative President Sixto Durán Ballén, who was far more effective at advancing a neoliberal agenda, as Sawyer herself acknowledges. Likewise, the different factors shaping the changing policies of petroleum transnationals are not sufficiently explored. For example, was ARO's change towards OPIP solely the effect of OPIP's lobbying, or were there other political and economic factors that came into play? However, some of these absences are undoubtedly a consequence of the genre's constraints. It is not, after all, possible for a critically engaged ethnographer to delve deeply into the inner recesses of the dominant classes and simultaneously retain the trust of the people who are struggling against them.

In sum, Sawyer's book is an outstanding example of contemporary politically engaged ethnography that will attract readers interested in indigenous peoples, environmental issues, social justice, and human rights. Its accessibility and sophistication render it useful for both undergraduate and graduate courses on native populations, environmental politics, Latin American development, cultural anthropology, and ethnography.

University of Illinois at Chicago

Amalia Pallares

Unaffected by the Gospel, Osage Resistance to the Christian Invasion 1673-1906: A Cultural Victory. Willard Hughes Rollings. University of New Mexico Press Albuquerque, 2004. 255 pp. Cloth, \$45.00. Paper, \$22.95. ISBN: 0826335586.

There should be no mistake about the subject matter of *Unaffected by the Gospel*, because when Willard Hughes Rollings sets the stage with such an ambitious title he means not to err in his quest to convince everyone who reads it that his claims are correct. Through skillful manipulation, shrewd negotiation, violence and non-violence, the Osage secured the ongoing existence of their culture and sacred ways despite the best efforts of European and American efforts to use their foreign religion to undermine and conquer them. Rollings is a truly outstanding and skillful researcher who was able to acquire bits and pieces of Osage history from various arcane European-American resources and skillfully thread them together into a masterful narrative. The extrapolation of raw data and Rollings ability to assemble this story is phenomenal and inspiring. He congealed small slices of Osage history to support his argument that the Osage effectively resisted unwanted elements of Christianity. The insight provided in this book on the matter, unfortunately, comes only in brief and brilliant flashes. At times, *Unaffected by the Gospel* comes across as exactly what the reader expects from its

title. At other times, the author repeats himself over and over, leaving readers feeling as if they have already been through well-worn terrain earlier in the book and are having to relive it again. Rollings goes out of his way to convince the reader his claims are correct, leaving little room for disagreement or debate. All of this seems unnecessary given the evidence presented.

For two centuries of unrelenting efforts to colonize them, the Osage used their unique geography, warrior reputation, and shrewd bargaining tactics to manipulate every population they came into contact with in order to help them gain the best advantage possible. When white traders intruded into Osage homelands, Osage citizen-soldiers prevented them from traveling west, halted them from supplying weapons to their western enemies, and even played competing colonial powers against each other. The Osage made requests to the U.S. government to send missionaries, however it was not because they were interested in hearing about Christianity. They invited these missions into their homelands to create a buffer between the newly arriving eastern tribes — those Native peoples forcibly removed from their homelands — and existing Osage towns. They gave the missions just enough attention to keep the proselytizers hopeful of converting their “savages” in order to secure trade goods and a safe location to repair their metal tools and weapons.

Several different Protestant church organizations, as well the Catholics (twice) made efforts to win the souls of these “heathens” who seemed dead set on maintaining their identity as Osages. This fiercely independent tribe withstood a barrage of missions seeking to Christianize the tribe lasting over 200 years, only to convert, as an entire tribe, to the Native American Church at the turn of the twentieth century. Rollings stresses that although this conversion involved elements of Christianity, it was not wholly Christian, and furthermore came from within Native America, and not solely from among Euro-American ways of worship. Rollings minimizes the Christian elements in Peyotism, one assumes, because not doing so could damage his claim that the Osage were “unaffected” by the gospel.

To his credit, Rollings battled cancer while writing this book and surviving cancer is an amazing accomplishment, but doing so while writing a book is nothing short of spectacular. Clearly, his experiences are reflected in *Unaffected by the Gospel* when he emphasizes Osage resistance, perseverance, and survival to their changing world and circumstances.

Unaffected by the Gospel resonates with the Osage concept GA-NI-THA (translated into English as chaos) encountered by Rollings (in his own life) and the Osage during the span covered in this book. Overflowing with solid arguments and incredible archival research, the book captures the experiences of eighteenth-, nineteenth-, and twentieth-century Osages — their lives dreadfully disrupted by Euro-Americans and, although changed, were left intact, coherent, and functional for the later generations the necessary cultural and political governing bodies for the People to survive and even thrive.

It would have been nice to see a unified phonetic orthography in this book. Osage words have been written down by various linguists and non-linguists in

the last 200 years. This amounts to several different “historical” spellings of the same words. By not unifying the orthography of Osage words in his book, Rollings continues the tradition of scholars writing down letter for letter Osage words that come from these “historical documents.” This minute detail is truly a matter for linguists to decide, but it would have been appropriate to expand his research to that area given the nature of the book and its use of the Osage language.

The twenty-first century Osage elders can always be heard saying, “We can’t do it like they did, but we do the best we can. We have these ways, and we do it like this every year, but every year it seems a little different. But it’s still the same thing.” Those words permeated throughout this book, perhaps without the author having ever hearing them personally. *Unaffected by the Gospel* for the most part seems removed from the Osage perspective it hopes to tell the story from, but remains effective nonetheless. Rollings, delightfully, makes sense of some subtle Osage characteristics that exist in a very real way today within the tribe. This can be found in his thorough examination and explanation of Osage political structure and effectiveness, and the Osage ability to adapt and overcome from sources born within, much like Rollings himself.

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Thomas Ryan Red Corn

The Struggle for Indigenous Rights in Latin America. Edited by Nancy Grey Postero and Leon Zamosc. Portland, Oregon: Sussex Academic Press, 2004. 272 pp. Paper, \$27.50; cloth, \$67.50. ISBN: 1845190068.

In recent years, there has been a veritable explosion of scholarship on indigenous politics in Latin America. *The Struggle for Indigenous Rights in Latin America* is intended to move beyond initial studies attempting to explain why powerful movements based on indigenous identity and rights have emerged in the contemporary period. The contributors to this book are concerned with understanding the great diversity that exists among indigenous movements in terms of their political demands and strategies, and ultimately, with examining the impact of indigenous groups on the democratization of Latin American polities. In their introductory chapter, Nancy Grey Postero and Leon Zamosc outline for the reader the task set for the contributors of examining the specific factors that shaped the trajectories of the indigenous movements in seven Latin American countries. The editors propose a conceptual framework for identifying patterns within diverse struggles for indigenous rights based on the Indian Question, defined as “the crucial issue of what kinds of rights indigenous people should be granted as citizens of democratic nation-states” (5). This thought-provoking and well-edited volume provides sufficient substantive detail and analytical rigor to appeal to both the novice and the seasoned scholar of Indigenous nations studies.

Gunther Dietz's chapter provides a good historic background of the evolution of Mexico's indigenous movement. His case study illustrates how contemporary struggles for territory and identity are redefining the Mexican nation-state and its relationship with indigenous communities. In his chapter on Pan-Maya activism in Guatemala, Edward Fischer emphasizes the protagonist role that indigenous groups are increasingly assuming in that country. He analyzes the trajectory of the Maya movement from an initial focus on safe "non-political" issues, such as language and cultural revival, to more radical calls for recognition, autonomy, and representation. However, he is careful not to overstate the strength and organizational capacity of Guatemala's indigenous movement when compared to other cases. According to Fischer, "[i]n contrast to the cases of Bolivia and Ecuador (discussed by Postero and Zamosc in the present volume), Maya leaders do not have an active base of grassroots support that they can call on to protest and demonstrate — or even vote" (92). In his chapter on Colombia, Theodor Rathgeber diverges from the national-level emphasis of the book to examine several examples of local struggles for indigenous rights. Despite the minuscule size of its indigenous population, the indigenous movement of Colombia has come forward as a major force for progressive socio-political change.

The strongest and most well-organized indigenous movement in the region is the focus of Leon Zamosc's chapter on Ecuador. Zamosc artfully argues that a key component of the success of Ecuador's indigenous movement is its strategy of combining direct confrontation and mass mobilization tactics with institutional initiatives, including electoral competition. He suggests that CONAIE, the national-level umbrella organization representing indigenous interests, has emerged as the most powerful contemporary civil society actor due to the broadening of its discourse to include the demands of the entire popular sector in its resistance against neoliberalism. Zamosc suggests that in order to understand why the indigenous movement has assumed popular sector leadership we must remember "that many Indian movements cannot be seen as purely ethnic phenomena. Insofar as most Ecuadorian Indians are peasants, their position in the class structure is another fundamental element in the definition of the character of their movements" (145). Similar to what is occurring in Ecuador, in Bolivia we also see the indigenous movement entering into strategic alliances with other popular sector actors to oppose the government's neoliberal policies. The chapter on Bolivia by Nancy Grey Postero analyzes the shift in strategy of the nation's indigenous movement as a result of the fracturing of articulations between indigenous groups and dominant political parties claiming to represent their interests to the state. By launching their own indigenous-based political parties, Bolivia's indigenous movement is also combining protesting with proposal-making, or what Zamosc terms in his chapter, moving from the 'politics of influence' to the "politics of power."

One of the highlights of the volume is undoubtedly the chapter by María Elena García and José Antonio Lucero on the case of Peru's emerging indigenous movement. In this chapter, the authors tackle the conventional wisdom that there

is no indigenous movement in Peru. García and Lucero offer an alternative interpretation, arguing that the failure of scholars to recognize the stirrings of an indigenous movement in Peru is the product of the frameworks and models they employ. The authors suggest that ethnicity is expressed in different ways in different countries and call for a rethinking of Peruvian indigenous politics and indigenous movements in general. In another highly original and thought-provoking chapter, Jonathan Warren discusses the less-than-optimal experience of Brazil's indigenous movement under the Workers' Party administration. He warns us against the perils of socialist nostalgia and its dismissal of ethnic-based demands and concerns. Warren's chapter brings into focus the limitations of indigenous representation through non-indigenous intermediaries, however well intentioned, and highlights the importance of autonomous political action and direct representation in the struggle for indigenous rights in Latin America.

Postero and Zamosc, in their opening chapter, offer a number of suggestions for future avenues of research on indigenous politics. In particular, the authors propose that a potentially fruitful focus of research would be on the relationship between the size of a nation's indigenous population and its political strategies and demands. According to Postero and Zamosc, "[t]he relative weight of the Indian population is a major factor influencing the direction of the movements' demands" (25). However, a close reading of the essays in the volume reveals demographic factors to play a relatively minor role in shaping the trajectories of indigenous movements. For example, the case of Bolivia, where the indigenous population constitutes a slight majority of the population, has more in common with the case of Ecuador, where indigenous people are in the minority, than it does with the case of Guatemala, where indigenous people also constitute a sizeable portion of the population. The authors also suggest that the interaction between demographic factors and other variables warrants further investigation. I would propose that future research also include an examination of the impact of historic patterns on popular political incorporation and mobilization on the articulation of ethnic identities and autonomous organizational forms. In general, the present volume has much to offer and makes an important contribution to the burgeoning literature on indigenous rights in Latin America.

University of Toronto-Scarborough

Roberta Rice

Indian and Nation in Revolutionary Mexico. Alexander S. Dawson. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2004. 222 pp. Cloth, \$45.00. ISBN: 0816523452.

Alexander Dawson's new study of the origins of Mexico's post-revolutionary Indian policies opens new directions in our understanding of the complicated relationship between the state and the Indigenous peasantry. Thinkers and policy-makers of the 1920s onward attempted to craft agencies of development and

education which would improve the condition of the Indians, but ultimately foundered on matters of both theory and practice.

In order to appreciate the issues of *Indian and Nation*, it is important to map out some historical context. The condition of Indigenous peoples in Mexico differs fundamentally from that of their counterparts in either the United States or Canada. Rather than marginalizing or attempting to eradicate its Indigenous peoples, Spain incorporated them as part of its American empire. Imperial policy did away with Indigenous authority above the level of the village or municipio, but at the same time reinforced Indigenous village autonomy and cohesion. The native peasants were kept in a subordinate status as laborers and tribute-payers, but with a guaranteed land base as well as certain rights and protections. Tribes per se did not exist, nor did the treaties so familiar in the North American historical landscape. But the empire did leave tightly-knit communities which, by 1800, had borrowed heavily from Spanish culture. After 1821 the independent Mexican nation did away with census by ethnicity; this, combined with ethnic intermarriage and varying degrees of social mobility, forever blurred distinct ethnic lines while not necessarily eliminating awareness of different ethnicities that were strongly linked to language, location, and socioeconomic practices. The years of the dictator Porfirio Díaz (1876-1910) witnessed a severe erosion of the village land base under the coming foreign investment and increasing privatization; it justified these practices with a quasi-official ideology that portrayed Indigenous culture as barbarism. While not couched in terms of Indigenous rights, the Revolution of 1910-1920 did have as its motor the demand to restore earlier land tenure practices.

In 1920, then, the triumphant revolutionaries thus found themselves in a position of simultaneously having to resolve land issues, formulate a new national ideology, and deal with a diverse rural people. But a theoretical quandary immediately surfaced. If focusing on socioeconomic issues, these object peoples might be seen as campesinos, rural peasants whom unfair political arrangements had relegated to poverty. Or, if seen through a cultural lens, they might be Indians, people of fundamentally different ways and heritage which the state might choose either to protect or rework in their own image. Early revolutionary indigenismo actually had its roots in a strain of Porfirian thought, epitomized by educator Justo Sierra Méndez, who rejected the idea of biological inferiority but replaced it with a man-made inferiority rooted in isolation, poverty, and indigenistas' favorite villain, malnutrition. After 1920 these views, particularly as articulated by theoreticians Manuel Gamio and Moisés Saenz, translated into the CEI (Casa de Estudiante Indígena or "House of the Indian Student"), in which reformers imparted literacy along with a heavy-handed assimilationist program. The program's insensitivity and heavy-handedness condemned it to failure, and tempted the more open-minded Saenz to conclude that Mexico needed something more accommodating to cultural difference, and which made far greater efforts to identify and address the concerns of the Indigenous peasants themselves. The first ten years of indigenism thus achieved little more than an example of how not to approach the matter.

Under reformist president Lázaro Cárdenas (1934-40) the Casa gave way to the Departamento de Asuntos Indígenas (DAI, or Department of Indian Affairs), which organized extensive investigations into Indian wants and needs, and also undertook projects of development and education. However, this project eventually bogged down in politics and doctrinal conflicts over the aims and theoretical framework of the DAI itself. Saenz aimed at preserving cultural difference, but Cárdenas himself was more concerned about loyalty, and appointed a faithful lieutenant to run the agency to suit his larger political goals. It accomplished little in the way of material development, certainly failed to bring about the modernist transformation that many (including Cárdenas) had hoped, and was eventually replaced by underfunded and far less ambitious rural development projects as Mexico moved rightward after 1940. With the failure of Indigenous empowerment, the system fell back on caciques or local bosses who have been accorded considerable power in exchange for loyalty to the ruling party. This system has allowed some room for defense of community interests, but has more often permitted caciques to monopolize resources, exclude rivals, and even murder their critics and opponents.

Consistent with other studies of the past decade, the book's analysis of cardenismo suggests a movement with profound limitations and contradictions. Like many political leaders, Cárdenas himself had little patience with theoretical subtleties, and inclined more toward action. He rejected the indigenista line, instead insisting dogmatically on the campesino identity of rural Mexicans: a "backwards proletariat," not a separate culture. Moreover, appointees often owed their position less to ability or knowledge of the issues, and more to their loyalty to Cárdenas himself. (In fairness to the president, most of the polls and investigations among this target population pointed to economic problems as their main concern, and only secondarily to issues such as language and dress.) Consonant with recent studies of cardenismo in the Yucatán peninsula and elsewhere, severe budgetary constraints hampered the reform process throughout Mexico. Meanwhile, the two main thinkers of this study, Moisés Saenz and Manuel Gamio, emerge as complicated and evolving figures. Saenz began with many of the developmental preconceptions of his time, but by the 1930s came around to a view of the inherent dignity and necessity of Indigenous culture. Gamio, the former student of Franz Boas, remained true to the more orthodox view of Indians as the creation of poverty and malnutrition, and found it much easier to retain his policy influence over the course of decades. Contrary to the relativism of his mentor, Gamio consistently labored for programs to transform the native peoples of his own region, albeit in a way far less brutal and callous than his Porfirian predecessors.

Indian and Nation captures the subtleties of political formulation, but is somewhat less exhaustive in exploring another of its basic points, namely that the CEI and DAI facilitated Indigenous initiative. Much of the initiative in question, and of the book itself, remains confined to reading the tea-leaves of community petitions. An exception to this tendency is Dawson's study of Ixtlán de Juárez, r

Zapotec community that was the birthplace of Benito Juárez. Although the DAI's attempt at ground-up development met with ostensible failure, the program did prompt young males from the town to expand their education, adopt an ethic of self-betterment, and involve themselves as political leaders. Much of this self-improvement, however, remains at the level of generalized assertion. Our knowledge of rural Mexico will profit from future studies which reconstruct individual lives and actions of the people in question.

What is perhaps most striking is how the basic debates sketched in this book have persisted into the twenty-first century. The question of whether to promote economic development and integration, versus ethnic autonomy and a respect for diversity among the dominant culture, remains very much alive today, and dramatic political events of 1994 onward have failed to generate consensus regarding either the goals themselves or the proper method to achieve them. Scholars interested in the ramifications of this debate will be well advised to search for policy origins in Dawson's fascinating work.

University of Oklahoma

Terry Rugeley

The Invention of the Creek Nation, 1670-1763. Steven C. Hahn. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004. 338 pp. Cloth, \$59.95. ISBN: 0803224141.

According to Theda Perdue and Michael D. Green, editors of the series on Southeastern Indians, "students of Creek history have long been frustrated by the term confederacy" (xi). In his first book, Steven Hahn has attempted to reshape and refocus attention away from the notion of a Creek Confederacy. In its stead he argues for the existence of a verifiable Creek Nation centered on the Creek town of Coweta. According to Hahn, the concept of nationhood differs from the idea of a confederacy in that the latter rivets our attention to the ever-shifting, and often fractious world of politics between various Creek towns. Whereas, a reorientation of our thinking toward Creek nationhood focuses on "the drawing of territorial boundaries, the creation of institutions of national leadership, and the invention of ideologies that legitimize the existence thereof" (8). With an analytical emphasis on the drawing of territorial boundaries, it comes as no surprise that the picture presented by Hahn is one of Creek reaction to the escalating encroachment of the three major European colonial powers. In particular, Hahn sees the British, operating first out of South Carolina and then Georgia, as a critical threat against which the Creeks adopted a strategy of nationhood.

In the initial chapter Hahn superbly utilizes the techniques of ethnohistory to trace the origin of Coweta. By blending traditional Creek creation stories with anthropological and written accounts, he crafts a thorough and plausible account of the town's rise to prominence among the Creeks. The Coweta Creeks originally

deferred to the Apalachicola's of Florida (who favored the Spanish), in foreign and trade policy. However, by the 1670s, the Coweta Creeks came to favor a trade relationship with the newly established English colony of South Carolina. This trade relationship soon turned against the Cowetas as their involvement in the Indian slave trade, and their increasing indebtedness to South Carolina traders threatened to reduce them to slavery themselves. In an effort to prevent themselves from abject dependency at the hands of the English, the Creeks seized upon the upheaval brought about by the Yamasee War to refashion their relationship with all of the European powers. What emerged was a policy of triangulation in which the Creek towns closest to each colonizing power established separate trade and diplomatic relationships with them. This policy, directed by the self-styled Creek Emperor Brims from his seat at Coweta, came to be called the "Coweta Resolution." Over the next fifty years the Creeks (with varying degrees of success) played the English, Spanish and French against each other to achieve their own economic and political ends. Only with the growing factionalism of the Creeks after the establishment of Georgia, and the removal of the French after the Treaty of Paris in 1763, did the policy dissolve.

Or did it? The latter portions of *The Invention of the Creek Nation* seems strangely discordant with the thesis as delineated in the introduction. Hahn argues that the Creek policy of triple-nation diplomacy constituted the backbone around which the nation formed. According to Hahn, the end of the Seven Year's War signaled an end to the Creek's ability to play one European nation off of another. However, within one page of stating that "the day of British encirclement had finally come," Hahn argues that the Creeks managed to find "many opportunities to replicate the conditions of imperial rivalry after the American Revolution" (271-272). In particular, the return of Florida to Spanish control in the Treaty of Paris provides these opportunities. This raises questions as to whether or not the French role in Hahn's triple-nation diplomacy really mattered. Additionally, one is left to wonder if the Treaty of Paris did or did not bring about British encirclement. If it did not, then Hahn's choice of 1763 as the end of his study appears somewhat dubious. One other statement at the end of the book stands out as problematic. Toward the end of the Epilogue, Hahn acknowledges that Lower and Upper Creeks have constantly disagreed on the importance of Coweta. The fact that even the Creeks themselves there exists no consensus on the supremacy of Coweta seriously undercuts the effectiveness of a book that bases its argument on the preeminence of that town in the creation of Creek nationhood.

Those criticisms aside Hahn has provided us with an interesting and distinctly ethnohistorical account of Creek politics in the colonial period. His blending of oral tradition and written sources serves as an excellent example of the value of the interdisciplinary approach. The concept of a Creek Nation organized around protecting territory from encroachment, as opposed to a Confederacy of towns that seemed to disagree more than they agreed, has much merit, and for most of the book Hahn succeeds in proving the concept. The argument falters somewhat in

the concluding chapter, and thus the book ultimately leaves the reader interested, but unsatisfied.

Texas Tech University

Ethan A. Schmidt

Invisible Indigenes: The Politics of Nonrecognition. Bruce Granville Miller. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003. 248 pp. Cloth, \$49.95. ISBN: 0803232268.
Forgotten Tribes: Unrecognized Indians and the Federal Recognition Process. Mark Edwin Miller. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004. 464 pp. Cloth, \$59.95.

When I first moved to El Paso in 2002, a local television station sent a reporter to interview me about a conflict between the Tiguas (Ysleta del Sur), Texas, and the federal government regarding the closure of the tribe's casino. I tried to talk generally about Indian law as it relates to casinos and sovereignty because I did not know much about the specific situation. The erstwhile reporter replied to my comments with a barrage of questions that seemed more fitting for a tabloid journal than a metropolitan newspaper: "Well, are the Tiguas really Indian, anyway?" and "Why should they get special benefits when they look like the rest of the Hispanic population?" "Didn't they kick a bunch of people off their roles after they built the casino?" Knowing that I could not succinctly discuss the numerous factors comprising Indigenous identity, casinos, enrollment, and the historic relations between the state of Texas and the tribe, I replied with a favorite phrase of historians: "It's very complicated."

Complicated indeed! As these books indicate, Indian identity is one of the most contested and volatile "issues" facing Native America today. Billions of dollars, millions of lives, and massive amounts of land hinge on whether or not unrecognized Native groups can convince nation-states that they are Indigenous peoples "worthy" of official recognition. While the nonrecognized groups struggle for recognition, they must frequently begin by proving that they are "really" Indigenous. Competing perspectives on and visions of history, the vagaries of culture, language, law, politics, environment, and other factors shape the often contradictory meaning of terms that are themselves ambiguous or paradoxical. Tribes must confront government bureaus that employ nameless workers with little connection to Indian communities and they face antiquated anthropological notions of culture that force applicants seeking recognition to "play Indian" in ways that are ahistorical and degrading. In the end, nation-states may still reject the applications for recognition.

Two recent books tackle the thorny issues surrounding recognition and nonrecognition in a national and global context. Bruce Granville Miller's *Invisible Indigenes* and Mark Edwin Miller's *Forgotten Tribes* represent two sides of this recognition coin. Both books make important contributions to understanding the

myriad ways Indigenous peoples have been defined out of existence or included for recognition by the nation-states surrounding them. Both books frame their discussions within a broad and international scholarship that seeks to draw parallels across and between indigenous communities around the globe. Through case studies, participant observation, oral history, personal interviews, and extensive archival research these books will appeal to policy makers, tribal leaders, scholars, and graduate students concerned with Native American Studies and the status of Indigenous people world wide.

Bruce Granville Miller offers a global perspective detailing how nation-states have managed and controlled Indigenous populations to reduce their officially acknowledged numbers and thereby decrease Indigenous peoples' rights and claims vis-à-vis non-Indian governments. He argues that states actively and tacitly ignore Native groups, pass laws that define them out of existence, pursue economic agendas that threaten the lands of Native people, or thwart Indigenous movements with military repression and/or bureaucratic opposition. Altering the definitions of Indigenous-ness has also become one of the most pernicious strategies used by nation states to deny recognition to groups seeking acknowledgement. Miller even scrutinizes terms such as "tribe" and proposes that the concept is a historical construct that sometimes encompasses unrelated peoples lumped together by historical forces, anthropological discourse, and the power of the state. He also notes that the idea of a tribe can obfuscate Indigenous kinship networks and social organization by reifying a mercurial anthropological notion into a static political structure. Miller covers the dualities of treaties as compacts acknowledging Indigenous sovereignty and as tools facilitating land dispossession, removal, and incorporation into the state. Blood quantum and campaigns to assimilate Indigenous communities into capitalist economies and civil society have also undermined Native claims against states, according to the author.

With a particular emphasis on the American Pacific Northwest, where Bruce Granville Miller served as an expert witness and researcher for several tribes, the book nonetheless covers much of the globe. The first three chapters provide a framework for analyzing the mechanisms used by nation-states to refuse recognition to Indigenous people. He discusses anthropological, legal, cultural, and historic perspectives on identity; relations between the state and Indigenous people generally; and Indigenous views on what constitutes Native identity. Chapters four and five look more closely at the historical roots of nonrecognition in the United States by highlighting how treaties, blood quantum, land policy, assimilation, racial ideology, anthropology, and the structure of the federal government worked against native claims. He closely examines the origins of the Bureau of Acknowledgement and Research, and the Federal Acknowledgment Process created to examine the status of tribes. Chapters six and seven cover nonrecognition issues in Canada, India, Africa, Indonesia, and elsewhere.

Mark Edwin Miller's *Forgotten Tribes* provides a useful contrast to nonrecognition with an analysis of four tribes and their struggles to gain federal acknowledgment. Like Bruce Granville Miller, Mark Edwin Miller uses participant

observation, interviews, oral history, and archival research to chart the recognition experiences of the Tiguas (Ysleta del Sur) of Texas; Pascua Yaqui of Arizona; Timbisha Shoshone of California; and the United Houma Nation of Louisiana. *Forgotten Tribes* compliments *Invisible Indigenes* by picking up the international concerns with nonrecognition and focusing closely on case studies of tribes gaining recognition by the U.S. federal government.

Mark Edwin Miller's work makes an important contribution to Native American Studies and Indian History with this detailed look at how and why Native leaders and Indian tribes have invested millions of dollars and several decades into pursuing formal government-to-government relations with the United States. He provides a balanced account of why some tribes have alternately refused to pursue recognition efforts because the process itself is arduous, ambiguous, and highly biased. Moreover, Mark Edwin Miller insightfully discusses why recognition has repelled other tribes because it requires (according to some tribal leaders) a reduction in sovereignty. Some tribal leaders view acknowledgment as an acceptance of colonization and domination by the very same government that reserves the right of recognition.

Unlike Bruce Granville Miller's broad discussion of myriad factors influencing (non)recognition, Mark Edwin Miller uses the Federal Acknowledgement Process (FAP) and the Branch of Acknowledgment and Research as windows upon contestations over Indian identity generally speaking. He argues that the experiences of these four tribes reveal "the clear relationship between Indian ethnic identity and state bureaucracy" at the core of the acknowledgement process. He also discusses Indian and non-Indian representations and perceptions of Indianness and tribalism as they influence how the public, federal officials, attorneys, historians, and others think about Native identity in America. Mark Edwin Miller's case studies are book-ended by introductory and concluding chapters covering general questions of ethnicity, blood quantum, Indian law and politics, debates over the nature of tribalism, racial formulation, state hegemony, and some of the ways in which non-Indians have created Indians into the "ultimate other" (3).

Both books have strengths and weaknesses. On the plus side, they offer a useful framework for grappling with recognition and nonrecognition issues, and they place that framework within the larger scope of Indigenous-state relations more broadly. The authors balance this important approach with concrete examples of how and why some Indigenous peoples are recognized by the state. They emphasize Indigenous agency and perspectives on these struggles by including examples of Native groups who have refused to pursue recognition because they feel it will reduce sovereignty. Irony, racism, and colonialism figure into their perspectives and interpretations of these processes. Perhaps the best aspect of Bruce Granville Miller's approach is his discussion of how international agencies and transnational alliances of Native people have factored recognition campaigns. Mark Edwin Miller's greatest strength lays in his use of case studies and comparisons to illuminate trends and patterns in the efforts of tribes and the

responses of the federal government. The cross-section of sources and interdisciplinary approaches are also refreshing.

The weaknesses are important but do not fundamentally hurt either work. Bruce Granville Miller's introduction and discussion of ethnic identity and racial construction seems somewhat forced and unfocused. Further into the book he expands on issues of blood quantum, but the book as a whole lacks a stronger foundation in the literature on race and the ways in which dominant racial ideologies shape state formation and national identity. Mark Edwin Miller's introductory arguments also glance over race, but he tries to further tease out the complications behind Indians status as a racialized other. Moreover, both authors could have broadened their intellectual and theoretical stance by decentering and deconstructing the fundamental conceptualization of "recognition." A deeper analysis of the political, discursive, and colonial facets of the concept could help Indigenous nations better grapple with a process that is biased and stacked against their favor in the most basic sense. The authors could have elaborated on why recognition implicitly and inherently ties indigenous subalterns to the rhetoric and power dynamics of the nation-state because the very act of asking it for recognition confirms its dominance and legitimacy. The authors might have used this acknowledgement process as a window into the paradoxes and "devil's bargains" associated with neo-colonialism and the ongoing forces of colonization.

Ultimately, however, these are books make important contributions to the fields of Native American Studies and Indigenous history. Their insights as scholars and participants in a complex process further enhance the value of the books. Their attention to detail and their respect for Native voice places them in a small crowd of authors whose scholarship narrows the gaps between academia, tribal leaders, and policy makers. And while their theoretical perspectives might have more directly engaged recent discussions on decolonization, these two studies will be of interest to many people for years to come.

University of Texas at El Paso

Jeffrey P. Shepherd

Vine of the Soul: Medicine Men, their Plants and Rituals in the Colombian Amazonia. Richard Evans Schultes and Robert F. Raffauf. Oracle: Synergetic Press, 2004. 290 pp. Paper, \$29.95. ISBN: 090779131X.

Vine of the Soul, by Richard Schultes and Robert Raffauf, is an intriguing collection of photographs and short essays about how plants are used by Indigenous peoples in the Amazon region of Colombia. The book is based on the author's field work in Columbia the 1950s and 1960s. The present edition is a reprint of the original 1992 edition.

The phrase, “vine of the soul,” is a translation of the name of ayahuasca, a medicinal plant that is native to the upper Amazon. However, this book is about far more than ayahuasca — the text and photographs provide a wealth of information on the uses of food and medicinal plants, cosmology, customs, religious beliefs, rituals, and the daily life of several groups of Indigenous peoples in the upper Amazon region.

Both of the authors of *Vine of the Soul* are now deceased (Schultes died in 2001, Raffauf in 2002). This 2004 edition of the book includes a preface by one of Schultes’ former students, Wade Davis; a forward by Sir Ghillean T. Prance; and an epilogue by Michael J. Balick. In his preface, Davis points out that Schultes collected more than 30,000 herbarium specimens during his Amazon fieldwork, encountered 300 species new to Western science, and described the use of more than 2000 medicinal plants by Indigenous peoples. Davis also mentions that the first edition of the book was dedicated to Gerardo Reichel-Dolmatoff, a Colombian anthropologist who was instrumental in enacting legislation in Colombia to provide protection for the rights of Indigenous peoples. In the introduction to the first edition, Schultes wrote that “This book is the story of a time that was — a time when the Amazon Indian was free to roam the forests and the rivers, happy with the social institutions that he had developed, unencumbered by acculturation, the cultural destruction of his ancient societies and his virgin forests brought about by the intrusion of commercial interests, missionary efforts, tourism and supposedly well-intentioned government or bureaucratic attempts to replace this precious heritage of an aboriginal people with something alien to their culture and its natural environment” (4). Nevertheless, in his foreword to the 1992 edition, Prance added that “Although some acculturation of the people has since taken place, the Colombian Amazon is where the future of tribal peoples has the most hope” (1). Sadly, this situation is now changing rapidly — the cultures described in *Vine of the Soul* are now all threatened due the pressures of the Colombian guerilla war, cocaine production and trafficking, and the United States government’s war on drugs (Plan Colombia).

The text (pages 4-272) is organized into ten thematic sections — plants in cosmic communication, payés in the community, plants of secondary importance, Indian beliefs, sacred dances, abodes of the spirits, births and contraception, art and architecture, and hunting and fishing rituals and plants. The glossary (pages 276-279) provides definitions of key Spanish, Indigenous, and scientific terminology used in the text. There is an index of quotations, which also functions as a bibliography (pages 280-282).

Although the subtitle of the book includes the term “medicine man,” in the text the authors explain that they do not like the term. The authors prefer the name payé, a word used widely in the region covered by the book, as it is more descriptive of the role the individuals play in society than is the Western construction, “medicine man.” The authors consistently use payé throughout the text.

This is primarily a collection of photographs and essays. The photographs (all black and white) are of high quality, particularly considering that they were

taken 40-50 years ago under difficult field conditions. Due to the quality and subject matter of the photographs, a reader can approach this book equally well as a collection of artistic photographs or a collection of photographs that serve as ethnographic documents. The short essays are uniformly clear and well-written. The format of the book makes for easy reading and stimulating browsing. Each two-page section includes a photograph (or, in a few cases, a line drawing) with a brief quote from an historic text, accompanied by a short essay concerning the subject of the photograph. The photographs include plants, landscapes, and Indigenous peoples engaged in daily tasks or ritual activities (e.g., descriptions of the music performed with panpipes, rattles, and drums). The historic text quotes come from an impressive series of Amazon travelers. The oldest source quoted is Sir Walter Raleigh (1595). The quotations add a rich texture to the book, providing additional information and, in some cases, adding literary color to the text.

Schultes and his students were instrumental in bringing many plants with medicinal properties to the attention of Western scientists. Indeed, many of the plants described in this book have derivatives in use in Western medicine. Although exploitation of medicinal plants has become a political issue in much of the world during the last decade, at the time when the field research reported in this volume was conducted, the endeavor was viewed differently. In this regard, a feature of the text that stands out is that at a time when there are many serious questions regarding the exploitation of native peoples, it is refreshing to find the essays written with such an obvious respect for the *payés*, their belief systems, and their extensive knowledge of plants. Schultes conducted his field research in an open and straightforward fashion, taking a direct approach to the communities he worked with, and demonstrating his respect for their customs and beliefs.

The book addresses several important groups of plants, including medicinal plants, food plants, hallucinogenic (magic) plants, sacred plants, and plants used for hunting (poisons). Although the plant species presented in this book may not be familiar to the general public, some of the products derived from them will be, including coca (the leaves are refined to make cocaine paste), rubber, achiote (used as a spice and a food coloring), kapok (used as stuffing in furniture), and curare (a derivative is used as a painkiller). Some of the plant descriptions include information that is very intriguing, but not explained further in the text. For example, a plant that is used to make the latex masks that are worn during the Dance of the Yukunas (184) is in the same family as St. John's Wort, which is a natural antidepressant. The Dance of the Yukunas is part of the Kai-ya-ree ritual which restores and maintains balance in Yukuna society, much like St. John's Wort can be used to restore and maintain balance in one's life.

Because ayahuasca (also known as yage) is a hallucinogenic plant, the quest for it has drawn many explorers, scientists, and nefarious characters to the region. The long list of popular books about the search for ayahuasca includes Nicole Maxwell's *Witch Doctor's Apprentice: Hunting for Medicinal Plants in the Amazon* (1990) who described an "ayawasca ritual" that she witnessed in 1958; Bruce Lamb's *Wizard of the Upper Amazon: The Story of Manuel Córdova-Rios* (1971),

which presented a somewhat romantic view of the role of the shaman in native society; and the joint effort by novelist William S. Burroughs and poet Allen Ginsberg, *The Yage Letters* (1963). Burroughs visited Schultes in the US before setting off on his quest to South America to experience ayahuasca. To Schultes, Burroughs was just another one of the many experimenters that he had to put up with.

Interest in medicinal, magical, and sacred plants, particularly in ayahuasca, has grown immensely since Schultes and Raffauf visited the payés of the Upper Amazon 50 years ago. This interest has produced many books, articles, and web sites (few of very high quality) and most recently, ayahuasca-sampling experiences for tourists. Given the vast amount of misleading information available on the subject of Indigenous plant use in the Amazon, it is refreshing to have this thoughtful collection of photographs and essays that carefully places the plants and their use in an historic and environmental context.

Penn State University

John E. Simmons

The Bear River Massacre and the Making of History. Kass Fleisher. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2004. 348pp. Cloth, \$71.50; paper, \$25.95. ISBN: 0791460649.

In *The Bear River Massacre and the Making of History*, Kass Fleisher strives for more than a simple recounting of this act of genocide. Rather, she problematizes the forgetting and subsequent remembering of the atrocity by asking how historians and others have colluded to shape the memory of it to suit modern interests. Fleisher wants to raise awareness of this little-known tragedy, but she seeks to do so without privileging any one version of it, particularly because significant discrepancies distinguish Northwestern Shoshoni from non-Native accounts. Fleisher explores reasons why Americans do not know about the Bear River Massacre and uses this silence to launch an investigation into problems with the production and consumption of history. Does the process of bringing these stories back into public discourse matter, she asks, and how does the knowledge of such events change us as we continue to create new versions of the past?

Fleischer answers these questions in three parts. In the first section of the book, she provides several accounts of the Bear River Massacre. On January 23, 1863, members of the California militia attacked a band of Northwestern Shoshonis encamped along the Bear River in Idaho. Most accounts concur that the militiamen killed at least three hundred men, women, and children, but the versions diverge on what happened next: some say the troops raped female survivors, including those who lay dying of their wounds. Others consider mass rape to have been unlikely.

In the second part, Fleisher recounts the process through which this event was forgotten and how it is now being remembered by individuals involved in creating a National Historic Site out of the location of the massacre. She explains how she came to learn about this act of genocide, and then she devotes a chapter each to several other people's telling of the event and relationship to the story. She discusses the significance of Brigham Madsen, a historian whose interpretation of local history has alienated him from his fellow Mormons. She relates her conversation with Kathy Griffin, a non-Indian leader of the opposition to the National Park Service's campaign to commemorate the event. She talked with Allie Hansen, the "keeper of the massacre story for the local Mormon community" (176). She explains how Mae Timbimboo Parry, a Northwestern Shoshoni elder who serves as the oral historian of the event for her community, remembers the event. Finally, she discusses her friendship with Curtis Warner, a Northwestern Shoshoni man whose experience working both for his tribe and with local white farmers gave him a unique perspective on the problem of commemorating one version of a contested event on land valued by competing interests for different reasons.

In the tenth and final chapter, entitled "Ten Digressions on What's Wrong," Fleisher comments on the significance of the silencing and recovery of this tragedy. In particular, she explores how racism and sexism intersect in obscuring the role of rape in acts of genocide and how she and other white literary women have and have not participated in this process in relation to Native Americans.

Fleisher is a novelist, not a historian — a point she emphasizes in her preface. Her training as an author of fiction does not disqualify her from writing history or asking pointed questions of the historical profession. Any thoughtful scholar — not just a fellow historian — can launch a justified challenge to the profession to critique the process through which we privilege some stories and ignore others. Being outside the discipline, however, Fleisher did not relate her inquiry to that of historians who are tackling this problem about other tragic events in American history. Historians are turning a thoughtful and self-reflective eye to our narrative process, and the study of memory in American history has flourished in the last decade as scholars, particularly of race relations between black and white Americans, question not just "what happened" but the meaning of why we remember what we think happened. Grounding her critique in this literature would have sharpened her study and served as a bridge connecting American Indian Studies to this literature that has yet to fully engage the Indigenous past.

Similarly, her analysis of rape lacked needed context. Fleisher deftly relates her understanding of the significance of sexual violence in this massacre, but she failed to provide sufficient information to enable readers to understand the perspectives of those who disagree as to whether the rapes took place. It would have been useful to know why Northwestern Shoshonis and their non-Indian Mormon neighbors were reluctant to acknowledge interracial rape — Fleisher points out that both communities have distinct cultural traditions — does sexual violence have meanings that readers are unfamiliar with Shoshoni or Mormon

culture should know about? Also, how did this genocidal event resemble or differ from other attacks in the region during the era, such as those discussed by Albert Hurtado in his work on California or James Brooks on the Southwest Borderlands? Do we remember those events or not? Did interracial sexual violence remain a problem in the area following the massacre? In other words, was the massacre an event or a process, one that may continue to the present day and contribute to the debate about what actually happened on January 29, 1863?

Nevertheless, *The Bear River Massacre and the Making of History* provides an interesting model for other scholars of the Indigenous past. Readers interested in Comparative Genocide Studies will find her first section particularly interesting. Feminist scholars, or those who seek to understand sexual violence, would be well served to look at her third section. In raising questions about the remembering of the event as the National Park Service moves to commemorate the massacre site, Fleisher's study is a useful case study for those concerned about public history.

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Rose Stremlau

Living in the Land of Death: The Choctaw Nation, 1830-1860. Donna L. Akers. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2004. 202 pp. Paperback, \$24.95. ISBN: 0870136844.

Moving Indigenous Peoples to the center of the discussion and privileging their voices and perspectives is the new standard in historical scholarship and this movement is led by a new generation of Indigenous historians. Choctaw historian Donna Akers takes this charge seriously as she examines the tumultuous period directly preceding and following Choctaw removal to Indian Territory. Rather than focusing primarily on removal policy and the actions of politicians in Washington, she instead illuminates the ways in which Choctaw people "alternately innovated, adapted, maintained, incorporated, rejected, submitted, and defied Euro-Americans and their civilization" (xiii). In pushing non-Choctaws to the margins and focusing the lens on the Choctaw Nation, Akers easily challenges the long tradition of scholarship that portrays Indigenous people as passive players on their downward slope toward dependency and powerlessness that have come to symbolize to the colonizing society the triumph of civilization over barbarism. We learn instead how the Choctaw people used multiple strategies of resistance and capitulation to try to maintain the survival of their nation and how they continuously adapted to their rapidly changing circumstances.

The importance of this Indigenous-centered history is most apparent in her chapter on the post-removal conflicts among Native Peoples already existing on the lands encompassed in Indian Territory and the invading white settlers and Native newcomers to the land. Previous scholarship has largely omitted intertribal conflict in Indian Territory from the story, leaving generations of Americans

to assume that southeastern tribes were even benevolently removed from the violence of their former homelands to unoccupied places of refuge and safety. Even in Indigenous circles, the discussion of inter-tribal struggles over land as a consequence of European and Euro-American invasion, conquest, and colonization is often ignored especially by the Native invaders to other Indigenous lands. Akers courageously and insightfully addresses the complexity of relationships on a landbase illegally stolen and re-distributed by the U.S. government with competing and warring populations. Present in these contested lands were the Indigenous populations forced there through the government's genocidal removal policies (such as the Cherokees, Choctaws, and Chickasaws), the Indigenous populations already occupying the lands (such as the Osages, Pawnees, Caddos, Wichitas, and Kiowas) and the white squatters who anticipated attaining eventual title to their illegally occupied lands. She describes, for example, the newly-arrived Cherokee people who "staked their claim with a ferocity that stunned many white observers" (76) and their 1821 massacre of an Osage camp filled with women, children, and elderly men, a camp they attacked while the Osage able-bodied men were away on a hunt (77). In another example she explains how the Osage were near victims of an extermination plot planned by an alliance of Delawares, Cherokees, Kickapoos and Sauks in 1826 (82). This plot was hatched in retaliation for killings the Osage perpetrated against Delaware people in defense of their homeland. While this war was averted with the signing of a peace treaty in October of that year, those hostilities remained. These are conflicts rarely addressed in standard American history texts, yet they are important stories to both Indigenous and American history because they demonstrate the horrors erupting from U.S. actions against Indigenous groups that rippled across the continent as the colonizers played atrocious games with entire Indigenous nations.

In addition, Akers employs additional decolonizing strategies when she questions the use of benign terminology that disguises the horrors of historical events. She challenges even the long-held concept of removal as one that is ultimately much too favorable to be used in reference to the experiences of Indigenous Peoples. She argues that removal is "a euphemism that implies the native people voluntarily elected their own dispossession and permanent exile to the West" (22). She then demonstrates throughout the text that the U.S. government used all manner of despicable dealings to ensure their access to Choctaw lands in the Southeast.

The most serious flaw with *Living in the Land of Death* is the framework employed by Akers for examining this period of Choctaw history. Following in the footsteps of scholars of the new Indian history, Akers attempts to eliminate Indigenous victimage from her historical interpretation and demonstrate instead that Indigenous peoples had the power to shape and transform their futures. In doing so she demonstrates the failure of that school of thought to accurately reflect the reality of Indigenous experience in the face of conquest and colonization. Indeed, while Akers intended to challenge the notion of Indigenous powerlessness, her own evidence suggests a different story. For example, Akers ultimately tells a

story of the U.S. colonization of the Choctaw Nation through deliberate and horrendous attacks on culture and sovereignty, though she does not consciously frame it in that way. For example, we learn how the indebtedness of individual Choctaws was used to wrest control over Choctaw lands and “became one of the most effective weapons in the American arsenal of conquest” (12), “forcing the entire Nation to pay debts owed by individuals” (14). Similarly, “The United States used whiskey as an agent of conquest” (23) because liquor rations were regularly distributed at treaty negotiations to smooth the U.S. acquisition of land cessions. Or, she acknowledges the very limited options available to a greatly weakened Choctaw Nation in the years leading up to removal (24-25). In reference to the Armstrong Roll on which only men were allowed to make land and improvement claims in a society in which the women had traditionally controlled the land, Akers writes “the Americans succeeded in dealing a deathblow to the traditional organization of Choctaw society and culture” (108). In the decades following their arrival in Indian Territory, Akers describes how “Disaster followed disaster. Death and disease swept the Nation” (115). Levels of despair were so great, many Choctaws believed their devastated lives had “resulted from the abandonment of their sacred obligations to the spirits of their dead in leaving the ancestral homelands” (113). Thus they believed they were facing the consequences in the “Land of Death” described in their ancient prophecies. These examples do not reflect the experiences of empowered people, but rather conquered and colonized peoples. Despite her efforts to highlight the survival of Choctaw people, traditions, stories, values, and beliefs, it is clear from her evidence that all these aspects of being Choctaw had been severely compromised by American conquest and colonization during the 19th century. The new Indian history is clearly unable to accommodate that reality and a framework of colonization would have much better served Akers’ history of the Choctaw Nation.

In spite of this criticism, the strengths of Akers’ work certainly outweigh whatever flaws exist. Most importantly, with graceful writing, Akers beautifully and seamlessly incorporates Choctaw language and worldview into her analysis and announces herself as an important new Indigenous voice in historical scholarship. Her ability to center the story on the Choctaw Nation and interpret historical events from a Choctaw cultural perspective establishes this volume as an invaluable contribution to the body of scholarly work on Choctaw people. Furthermore, because this work illuminates events and circumstances central to understanding American history, this is also an important contribution to American historical scholarship.

Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism. Noenoe K. Silva. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2004. 260 pp. Paper, \$22.95. ISBN: 082233349X.

In *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism*, Hawaiian scholar and University of Hawai'i at Mānoa professor Noenoe K. Silva explores how Hawaiians used print media to resist American colonial efforts to transform lāhui Hawai'i, the Hawaiian nation, from a sovereign society to a colonized one in the late nineteenth century. She comes to this work with a deep personal and professional knowledge of Hawaiian cultural and political history, cultivating a profound respect for a history of Hawaiian resistance heretofore marginalized in academic studies of Hawai'i. It should also be pointed out that Silva represents an emergent number of Pacific Islanders who are now publishing monographs with university presses. Her book is an important, welcome, and much needed edition to the dearth of written materials by indigenous peoples from Hawai'i, the Pacific Islands, Native America and elsewhere.

Separated into five chapters, Silva's study examines a variety of palapala, or documents, written in the Hawaiian language; palapala also means reading and writing. Focusing primarily on Hawaiian language newspapers, Silva explores how these texts served as public spaces where Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians alike engaged in discursive alliances and conflicts for cultural, economic, political and religious power. The Hawaiian language newspapers under consideration include *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, *Ka Hae Hawaii*, *Ka Hoku Loa*, *Ke Aloha Aina* and *Ka Makaainana*, among others. They comprise a corpus of seventy-five newspapers produced between 1834 and 1948, an impressive product of Hawaiian ingenuity and innovation vis-à-vis American commerce and print media. As Silva explains, moreover, the palapala "functioned as sites for broad social communication, political organizing, and the perpetuation of the native language and culture" among a Hawaiian society conversant in oral and written traditions (13). Unlike most oral-centric Pacific Islander societies at that time, many Hawaiians grasped the art of reading and writing, complementing a rich oral archive of song, sorcery and story with their new-found literacy. Silva demonstrates that American missionaries and government officials did not introduce palapala for merely the sake of advancing colonial agendas and motives. Instead, she reveals a dynamic, politicized and contested environment of public debate, exploring the ways in which different individuals used palapala to support or resist the encroaching presence of American "civilizing" missions.

Chapters one and two discuss the introduction of American forms of "civility" in the Hawaiian archipelago, from the late eighteenth century to the mid nineteenth century. Silva demonstrates that although American missionary notions of civilization remained marginal to the larger and more dominant kapu (sacred) cultural system, these notions of a perceived, higher moral order nevertheless affected Hawaiian understandings of themselves and others. Palapala played a central role

in efforts by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the first Christian mission to Hawai'i, to present the Bible and the moral codes that accompanied it. The later creation of newspapers like *Ka Hae Hawaii* and *Ka Hoku Loa* devalued Hawaiian understandings of medicine, regulated Hawaiian women to domestic roles and privileged haole, or foreigner, notions of civility. But just as much as American missionaries were using palapala to attempt to eradicate Hawaiian values in favor of white, puritan values of morality, Silva shows that Hawaiians were likewise using palapala to assert a collective sense of national belonging and cultural identity premised on lāhui Hawai'i.

Comparably, Silva makes a point—and this is a key theme of her book—that Hawaiians had begun to view palapala as an extension of their mo'olelo, or oral narratives of cultural, literary and political resistance. That Hawaiian chants, editorials, essays, genealogies, poems, songs and stories soon comprised much of the content of the newspapers speaks greatly to the fact that Hawaiians had transformed newspapers into familiar mediums of expression. For example, Silva's reading of the Hawaiian historian Samuel Manaiakalani Kamakau's description (1866-1867) of Captain James Cook's arrival to Hawai'i in the eighteenth century reveals a pattern of writing unique to Kamakau and perhaps other Hawaiians of that period. Silva argues that Kamakau's account, written in the Hawaiian language and based on knowledge drawn from mele (song, chant, poetry) and mo'okū'auhau (genealogy), placed Cook within an older Hawaiian calendar of non-Hawaiian visitors to the archipelago. According to Silva's interpretation of Kamakau's work, Cook figures as one of many travelers to the region, rather than what most Western accounts would praise as the first European explorer in the region. Silva's translation of Kamakau's representation of Cook, however, reads no less or more "authentic" than other accounts. Instead, what she exercises is a critical situating of Hawaiian language sources, urging writers to ask why certain events, peoples and views are included or excluded in language sources of Hawai'i and Hawaiians.

To paraphrase Silva's historiographical and methodological concerns, she asks, for example, how can one write about Hawai'i without consulting indigenous language sources? What kinds of "myths" do writers about indigenous societies generate when their sources are primarily written in colonial languages? Can colonial, indigenous and settler societies find a common ground in their translation of ideas? And what can writers do to resist colonial narratives about indigenous peoples? In response to these kinds of questions, Silva compels writers to revisit and reconsider the partiality of long-standing anthropological and historical studies of Hawai'i and, by implication, other colonized areas of the world. Given the poor use of indigenous language sources in these studies, Silva encourages writers to consult, analyze and integrate indigenous language sources in their work as equally important forms of knowledge. To this effect, and with respect to the Hawaiian case, one can refute what Silva calls the "most persistent and pernicious myth of Hawaiian history," that is, the idea that Hawaiians "passively accepted the erosion of their culture and the loss of their nation" to the United States in 1898 (1).

Chapters three to five challenge this myth, illustrating that the Hawaiian ali'i, or Hawaiian chiefly class, actively employed palapala to deliberate the political future of lāhui Hawai'i. These efforts attempted to resist American colonial motives to debase further the cultural values upon which the lāhui Hawai'i was founded. Interestingly, as Silva herself notes, the concept of lāhui Hawai'i was not entirely indigenous in origin, but was comprised of values considered both native and foreign to Hawaiians. These chapters evidence, then, an endeavor on the part of the Hawaiian political elite to articulate a collective identity and nationhood. The context, 1897-1898, signaled a moment—a time of “crisis” in Silva’s words—in which increasing American maritime and naval activities in the Pacific prompted some American political leaders to consider the colonization of lāhui Hawai'i (9). The Spanish-American War of 1898 occurred during this period, for example, as did the United States colonial acquisition of areas then under Spanish rule, such as Cuba, Guam and the Philippines. At stake was the question of how American notions of commerce and governance, as well as Hawaiian notions of aloha 'āina (love of the land), could merge to inform and especially sustain public imaginations of the Hawaiian nation. In these chapters, Silva examines King Kalākaua's revival of cultural performances, anti-annexation petitions directed toward the United States in 1897, and Queen Lili'uokalani's attempts to reinstate sovereignty to lāhui Hawai'i. She demonstrates that the Hawaiian political elite drew from a variety of genealogical and originally-composed mele to justify their right to rule. *Ke Aloha Aina, Ka Leo o ka Lahui* and other newspapers made public the desires of the Hawaiian political elite, as descendents of akua (gods) and as representatives of the maka'āinana (commoners), to retain hold of their nation.

In outlining the contours of a political resistance movement, Silva shows how Hawaiian men and women forged networks to oppose United States' economic and political interests in the region. The inter-island activism directed by Emma 'A'ima Nāwahī, a key leader of the political organization Hui Aloha 'Āina, represents one of many examples of Hawaiian female authority examined by Silva. Though not an explicit goal of her work, Silva figures prominently the roles of Hawaiian female ali'i in shaping discourses of resistance not only in Hawai'i but in the wider spheres of international and global politics. This reviewer commends Silva for engendering the study of history, for privileging Hawaiian language sources, and for stressing the significance of Hawaiian resistance narratives in palapala.

Above all, *Aloha Betrayed* offers readers a probing dialogue about the promise and problematic of the language of resistance. As Silva has demonstrated, the Hawaiian political elite used a variety of palapala to resist attacks on the cultural and political legitimacy of lāhui Hawai'i by American missionaries, diplomats and business people. What begs further explanation, though, are the nuanced dimensions of the language of resistance, as revealed in the everyday social relations among ali'i, haole and maka'āinana in and beyond palapala. The polarization of classes and ethnicities in this study, for example, posits Hawaiians as agents of resistance whereas Americans come across as agents of hegemony. While Silva probably did not intend to create such hardened distinctions, it is

important to note that Hawaiians adapted, negotiated and resisted all forms of colonialism. Questions of Hawaiian complicity with the American colonial project likewise come to the fore, encouraging more debate about the language of resistance among natives and foreigners alike. Silva has raised compelling inquiries, indeed, for writers engaged in studies of indigenous resistance, cross-cultural contact and colonialism. *Aloha Betrayed* makes a meaningful contribution toward the decolonization of lāhui Hawai'i, and the complex language of resistance it fosters.

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Keith Lujan Camacho

Toward a Native American Critical Theory. Elvira Pulitano. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003. 233 pp. Cloth, \$55.00. ISBN: 0803237375.

Elvira Pulitano's, *Toward a Native American Critical Theory* examines "whether there is such a thing as Native American critical theory and what fundamental assumptions characterize it" (187). Her interest in this question leads her to the works of six Native American authors: Paula Gunn Allen, Robert Allen Warrior, Craig Womack, Greg Sarris, Louis Owens, and Gerald Vizenor. From Pulitano's perspective, this particular cadre of authors has produced a "corpus of works that could represent a Native American critical theory" (3).

Before she begins her analysis, the author identifies a couple of "basic premises" that inform her study. First, she notes that her reference to the selected works as "theory" and not "literary criticism," is based on her assumption that "there is no nontheoretical criticism" (4). Second, she maintains that no theory, regardless of its "marginality" (i.e. Native American theory), operates outside of the "dominant" (i.e. Western-European) discourse. Pulitano enfolds this assertion in the work of Louis Owens, Arnold Krupat and other theorists who recognize the "conjunction of cultural practices" (4). As Krupat states, "from 1492 on, neither European intellectuals nor Native American intellectuals could operate autonomously or uniquely, in a manner fully independent of one another, for all the differences in power relations" (Arnold Krupat, *The Turn to the Native: Studies in Criticism and Culture*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 18). From this standpoint, Pulitano builds her own argument against the existence of any "pure" or "authentic" form of Native discourse. She maintains that since Native American literature is an inherently "hybridized project" — due to centuries of "contact" — assertions of "purity" are not only unfounded but also amount to a "dismissal of the mutual interdependencies that more than five hundred years of history have thrust on the American continent" (81).

These two basic premises form the foundation for the texts guiding questions: Where, in the contemporary landscape of critical theory, would a Native American critical theory fit? Is the project of defining a Native American critical theory an

inherently colonialist (read: assimilationist) enterprise? And finally, should Native American critical theory be a “separatist” discourse that argues for a “Nativist” approach or, rather, an attempt to “mediate between differing discourses and epistemologies” (5)? From the outset, these questions appear to be asked disingenuously since Pulitano begins with her own definition of what a Native American critical theory should be. Specifically, she sees it as “a complex, hybridized project” that remains “deeply embedded within the narratives of Native American oral tradition and Native epistemology” at the same time it “conducts dialogues with the larger critical discourse of contemporary theory” (3). She also only selected authors who have not only “begun to define the characteristics that make Native American theory different from Eurocentric discourse” but also “shuttle back and forth between worlds and worldviews and ‘mediate’ strategies that challenge Western ways of doing theory” (7).

Pulitano’s commitment to the notion of “hybridity” comes from her strong orientation toward post-modern/structural/colonial theories. While she does not explicitly name her theoretical orientation as such, her analysis relies heavily on post-al critics such as: Arnold Krupat, Jacques Derrida, Franz Fanon, Edward Said, Trinh Minh-ha, Kwame Appiah, Mikhail Bakhtin, Gayatri Spivak, Homi Bhabha, and Michel Foucault. While I recognize the value in maintaining a dialogic relationship between “Native” and “Western” theories (see my *Red Pedagogy: Native American Social and Political Thought*, Lanham, Maryland: Rowan and Littlefield, 2004) I also think it is important to recognize that this “exchange” is and never was “mutual” but rather inherently problematized by the history and ongoing pressures of colonization. This renders the already slippery post-theoretical landscape as dangerous terrain for Native Americans. As Arif Dirlik (1999) notes, “Today Native Americans struggle not only with colonial histories but with postmodern and cultural critics who take for granted that nations are imagined, traditions are invented, subjectivities are slippery (if they exist at all), and cultural identities are myths.”

In this context, Pulitano’s obdurate adherence to post-al interpretations of “identity” (as unfinished, shifting and radically contingent) is problematic, leading her to be overly critical of Native authors who continue to construct Native subjectivity and intellectualism as a discrete or “sovereign” project. As such, the first two chapters unfold as strident critiques of the works of Paula Gunn Allen, Robert Allen Warrior and Craig Womack who dare to articulate a “Native” theoretical perspective while the last two chapters are highly complimentary of the works of Sarris, Owens and Vizenor, all of whom are highly suspicious of the dreaded “Nativist” approach.

In the first chapter, while Pulitano recognizes the important contributions of Allen’s work, she ultimately characterizes it as a “separatist solution” (26) hopelessly trapped in the binary thinking of Western metaphysics. She takes particular issue with Allen’s “insistence” on articulating the distinctiveness of tribal and/or gynocentric thoughtworlds as well as of her own positionality as a “traditional”

Indian woman, calling both assertions into question. First, she dismisses the very idea of a discrete Native American thoughtworld, challenging its proposed root metaphors (i.e. harmony, ceremony, interconnectedness, spirituality, land, dynamism) as romantic tropes and “manufactured products” molded after European idealizations of the Native (28). Second, she questions Allen’s own self-identification as a “traditional” Native American blithely quipping “whatever that might be” (36). In the end she charges Allen with “dangerously essentializing Native identity and Native American Studies in the mold of Euroamerican conceptions of Indianness” (57).

The works of Robert Allen Warrior and Craig Womack receive similar treatment in the second chapter where Warrior’s, *Tribal Secrets* and Womack’s *Red on Red*, are categorized as tribalcentric, Nativist and nationalist. Despite Warrior’s multiple proclamations to work against the kind of essentialism that Pulitano finds problematic, she reads *Tribal Secrets* and its call for American Indian intellectual sovereignty as “separatist” merely reinscribing the binaries of Western thinking that pit essentialized constructions of the “Indian” against “white.” She takes particular issue with Warriors use of the terminology of self-determination, tribal, and sovereignty, viewing these constructs as problematic categories of identity and authenticity. Specifically, Pulitano argues that since such terms are actually “Western epistemological concepts” (70) that they cannot be employed to articulate a “Native” perspective. While this is certainly a well-rehearsed argument in the field of Native studies, it seems odd that Pulitano would be so concerned with the purity of (epistemological) origins at the same time she rejects the very notion of origins. To argue that Native scholars should not theorize sovereignty, self-determination, or tribal as Native constructs because they have Western epistemological roots is the same as arguing that American scholars should not theorize democracy since it has Native epistemological origins. This essential argument reappears in her critique of Womack who taken to task for his “insistence” on defining a distinctive Creek and/or Native perspective. She maintains while this is problematic, that “even more problematic . . . is insisting on an essentially Creek or Native perspective in novels when the novel itself is . . . a genre rising out of social conditions antithetical to whatever we might consider ‘traditional’ Native American oral cultures” (90). In the end, the works of both Warrior and Womack are dismissed for “embracing literary separatism and refusing to acknowledge their implication in the dominant discourse” (100).

On the other hand, Owens, Sarris and Vizenor escape the critique of “Nativism” by “envisioning a Native American critical theory as a constant and delicate balancing of Western and Native forms out of which people can indeed cross boundaries and explore differing cultural worldviews” (143). While she affirms the approaches of all three authors, she clearly places Vizenor in a league of his own, viewing his work as the quintessential template for Native critical theory, stating “his approach is more revolutionary than (Owens and Sarris’) attempting as it does to fuse, at every level of discourse, the tribal with the non-tribal, the old with the new, the oral with the written” (186).

While my own work testifies to the importance of a dialogic approach, Pulitano seems to insist on something beyond a “conversation” or interchange between and among Native and non-Native theorists. Rather, the expectation is to blur the boundaries between Native and non-Native so much so that the “identities” themselves become meaningless. As a self-identified non-Native critic she does, to her credit, raise the question of motive though this aspect of her analysis is undertheorized, limited to the spaces of the introduction and conclusion. In the introduction she begins with the questions: “As a non-Native critic, am I entitled to define (a Native American critical theory)? Does my ‘speaking about’ necessarily mean ‘speaking for’? Would my attempt be a further heavy-handed appropriation of the Other, since, for more than two millennia, theory has been, as many would argue, the product of Western thinking?” While these questions are worth interrogating, they operate rhetorically in her analysis where the answers are yes, no, and no respectively.

Pulitano returns to the spirit of these questions in the conclusion where she is admittedly more reflective. She writes, “As a non-Native critic . . . it appears quite natural for me to embrace the crosscultural dialogic approach of Sarris, Owens, and Vizenor, rather than the separatist stances of Allen, Warrior, and Womack. . . . However, even though my ideological position might lead me to favor one critical position over another, I do acknowledge the importance of them all in attempting to generate a criticism whose discursive modes originate from the cultural traditions of the texts themselves” (191). This is perhaps the texts greatest insight. It is too bad it comes at the end. That being said, I think it is important to recognize that we are all scholars working to map an undeniably murky terrain and therefore need to allow for moments of mis-navigation (e.g. Allen’s arguments in the *Sacred Hoop* are quite different than those in *Off the Reservation*). In this spirit, I would encourage Pulitano to abandon her quest for certainty about what a Native American critical theory is or is not and rather consider that the “answer” may be more of a both/and rather than either/or proposition.

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Cherokee Women in Crisis: Trail of Tears, Civil War, and Allotment, 1838-1907. Carolyn Ross Johnston. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2003. 227 pp. Paper, \$29.95, cloth, \$48.00. 081735056X.

Domestic violence victims were honored at a recent candlelight vigil on the Qualla Boundary in Cherokee, North Carolina. One statement repeated time and again was, “Violence against women is not a tradition of the Cherokees.” While reflecting on the depth and truth of that statement, four books came to mind, Sarah Hill’s *Weaving New Worlds: Southeastern Cherokee Women and Their Basketry*

(1997), Theda Perdue's *Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change 1700-1835*, (1998), Carolyn Ross Johnston's *Cherokee Women in Crisis: Trail of Tears, Civil War, and Allotment, 1838-1907*, (2003), and Virginia Moore Carney's *Eastern Band Cherokee Women: Cultural Persistence in Their Letters and Speeches* (2005). If one never had the opportunity of knowing Cherokee people and understanding the legacy and traditions of women in their society, the scholarship and stories within the pages of these texts provides the confirmation that would convince even the most skeptical ethnocentrist that Cherokees would have never tolerated that behavior. In fact Johnston shows through Cherokee court records from the late 1800s that "Cherokee women were highly assertive and sometimes even combative. Their matrilineal, matrilocal tradition survived in many ways even into the nineteenth century" (121).

Like most North American and European histories, few have addressed the status and involvement of Native women in society. Johnston's book provides an important contribution that sheds much needed light on how pervasive the influence of Cherokee women was on politics, economics, military endeavors, and social life. Traditionally, women owned their dwellings, controlled tribal property, and engaged in land management (where and when crops are planted and harvested). Unlike European society, women shared in power and were respected for their contributions and perspectives socially and politically. They determined one's clan and therefore one's "core" identity. They were agrarians, aunts, mothers, and spouses. They were keepers of the land, keepers of the seed, keepers of the kinship system, and often keepers of the law. As Johnston writes, "They were neither subordinate nor superior to men: the Cherokee division of labor based on one's sex did not imply hierarchy, but equality" (13).

Johnston bridges the timeline between Perdue's work of Cherokee women at contact, resulting in the accompanying assault on gender roles and Cherokee society overall, and the scholarship of Carney which moves the story of Cherokee women from their early interest in education, through boarding schools and into contemporary political and community leadership. Each of these works exemplifies the intelligence and resiliency of Cherokee women and their important position at the center of all Cherokee families, communities, and events.

Critical among the contributions of *Cherokee Women in Crisis* are the personal details and perspectives of women via their letters, speeches, and legal documents. These perspectives emerge from such sources of historic record as mission archives, the Payne papers, and a vast number of manuscript collections. These documents are important because they have for many years provided much of what we know about Cherokee culture and history. What makes their use interesting in this work is that Johnston skillfully mines a multitude of these resources for a clear understanding of the transformations and concessions that Cherokee women have made during the past five hundred years of colonization and assimilation. Concessions the author mentions, such as the loss of "political power since the

passage of their constitution and because the Civil War had further undermined the traditional clan function” (123). By keying in on what has been identified as the three most dramatic and traumatic events that have impacted Cherokee society (Removal, the Civil War, and Allotment), Johnston clearly shows the sweeping and comprehensive changes which have forever altered gendered roles of this matrilineal society. At the same time, she is able to demonstrate the adaptability of a people, who historically have been challenged to survive as uniquely Cherokee.

Demonstrating courage and moral character, the voices of these women, many of whom witnessed murders, endured exploitation, and experienced the shift to patriarchy first hand, provides the reader with vignettes of how Cherokee women from different social classes, regions, and positions spoke and fought vehemently for their families and culture. However, she reminds us that, “even today women occupy a different status in Cherokee society than in mainstream American society,” (155) referring to the election at the end of the twentieth century of Wilma Mankiller to the Cherokee Nation’s highest office, as well as Joyce Dugan’s election to office of Principal Chief for the Eastern Band of Cherokees. This is quite a feat considering that “white” society can only aspire to have a woman occupy our nation’s highest office on television in the twenty first century, more than 200 years after the birth of American democracy. This text reminds us that only within that relatively recent time frame, Cherokee women saw their legal, political, and civil rights be threatened time and time again by wars and governmental legislation as tribal sovereignty was denied and then challenged.

Some might argue that an even more insidious factor that threatened women and their family relationships was alcohol. Mentioning alcohol early in her work, Johnston notes that many Cherokee men who were impacted by the economic and political forces to “civilize” them, were coping through alcohol abuse. References to Cherokee men killing, raping, and disregarding traditional familial taboos, were often inclusive of them drinking too much or being drunk. For example, Johnston writes, “Domestic disputes frequently arose over property matters or suspected infidelities, and they were sometimes fueled by alcohol. Alcohol exacerbated domestic violence and frequently led to fights and even, at times, to murder” (117). This along with intermarriage, conversion to Christianity, and assimilation forced Cherokee women to adapt and re-invent to some degree what traditions and values to internalize. Again, Johnston writes, “By the end of the eighteenth century, Cherokee women no longer agreed among themselves on what it meant to be a woman” (37). Everything central to being a woman, apart from bearing children, had been altered, the importance of clan identity, division of labor, and participation in legal matters to name but a few.

What is important to understand is that Cherokee women, even in the midst of these rapid changes, even in dealing with a dominant society who did not respect a woman’s opinion, continued to keep their voice, continued to stand up and speak for their people and culture. For those Cherokees who had endured the

trauma of removal and loss of loved ones and place, the allotment policy was yet another attack on their Cherokee identity. In response to this policy, which was meant to further steal away lands and eliminate the core values of Cherokee culture — group emphasis and tribal ownership — women organized themselves into the Four Mothers society to protect and perpetuate their sacred ceremonies. Johnston shares with us the importance of these traditional women and their contributions in preserving sacred ceremonies. To strengthen their purpose, they joined forces with those Creek, Chickasaw, and Choctaw women who would also strive to return to traditional matrilineal ways of life. The author explains, “The name of the organization is highly significant as it honors the mothers of the tribes. Cherokee mothers were believed to be direct descendents of Selu, the Corn Mother. The Sacred Fire is the physical manifestation of the life-giving Sun, the Creator” (133). She adds, “The Green Corn ceremony honored Selu, and the stomp dance reinforced the authority of the clans and the traditional power of the Cherokee women” (133).

Unlike Carney’s book on Eastern Cherokee women, Johnston does spend a good amount of time referring to the events that impacted Cherokee women who accompanied their families west to Indian Territory during and after Removal. However, it is important their stories also be shared and understood, providing a larger context in how government and “white” relations shaped gendered roles for the Cherokee people. Unlike their counterparts of the Four Mothers society in Indian Territory, women in the east didn’t have a formalized organization with political overtones that provided unity for “Traditionals” among the Cherokee. Yet many women and clan mothers privately kept knowledge they deemed as cultural and important for their families. Boarding schools and Christianity were factors that played a major part in how “assimilated” they would become. Many Cherokee women in the east were focused on surviving, initially their escape from Removal, and then dealing with the dictates of state and local governments. As one young Cherokee mother explained, she felt Eastern Cherokee women have then as now, been consumed providing for and trying to protect their families. Many had to go to boarding schools where some had favorable experiences and others did not. Some used their knowledge of culture to help their families survive during very lean times in Western North Carolina, and some found refuge in Christianity.

Chapter by chapter, *Cherokee Women in Crisis* provides a history of how Cherokee women adapted, changed, and also remained consistent in their dedication to cultural preservation and the interests of their families. No less true today, in a meeting I attended several years ago to discuss the organization of a Cherokee community healing and sobriety walk, it was noted that every one of the attendees were women. “It will take women to heal this community if it is to get done,” observed one of the participants. Everyone nodded in agreement. Books like Johnston’s make us keenly aware of why.

Red Ties and Residential Schools: Indigenous Siberians in a Post-Soviet State.
Alexia Bloch. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003. 264 pp. Cloth,
\$42.50. ISBN: 0812237595.

Between 1992 and 1999 American anthropology graduate student Alexia Bloch conducted eighteen months of field work in the Evenk district of central Siberia, as well as in the more southerly Siberian city of Krasnoiarsk. This was an exciting and unsettling time to be in post-Soviet Russia, as the formerly communist-ruled societies adjusted to the disappearance of central regulation, the rapid spread of privatization, and the increasing role of the market. Bloch had a ringside seat as tensions between communists and anti-communists, the Indigenous Evenki and traditionally dominant Russians, and, not insignificantly, women and men played themselves out. No doubt partly because of her own involvement as a part-time English instructor in the residential school that the Soviet regime had established to acculturate the reindeer-herding Evenki, Bloch chose to make the residential school the centerpiece of her analysis of social change.

To pursue her twin objectives of analyzing the role of gender in social relations and assessing the impact of dramatic change on the Indigenous population, Bloch followed a participant-observer methodology and relied heavily on interviews with members of the local population. "I conducted extensive interviews with activists and local administrators, but the more compelling material that forms the crux of this book was gathered in conversations with ordinary people drawing on and thinking about the place of government structures in their everyday lives" (11). As well as her contacts in the school and in the town of Tura, Bloch also made use of the local pediatric clinic, where twenty of the twenty-four women she asked agreed to be interviewed. The clinic was especially useful as "a point of entrée for contacting parents, and predominantly young women, who had attended the residential school recently (in the past ten years or the early 1980s)" (12). From the interviews and other research in archives, she produced an analysis of the role of the residential school at a transitional moment in the life of the Evenk district of Siberia.

The school that served "as a key axis of these identity politics" in which Bloch was interested had been established by the Soviet regime in the 1920s as part of its campaign to bring the blessings of centralized planning and modernity to groups the Communists styled "the small peoples of the north." Soviet attitudes to retention of Indigenous culture in Siberia were complex. While Moscow administrators promoted the use of the Russian language aggressively, they were prepared to tolerate and even celebrate folkloric Indigenous practices and attributes such as traditional Evenk costume and dress. So, for example, although the local language was used in the first two years of schooling during the 1920s, the practice disappeared by the late 1930s. Evenki activists succeeded in getting instruction in the Indigenous language restored in the 1970s, only to see its use curtailed in 1998 when a non-Evenk school administrator cut language instruction in response to a

financial crisis precipitated by a rapid decline in grants from Moscow. As important as language was as a marker of ethnic assertiveness and persistence, there were other aspects of the residential school that revealed social change, particularly among women, in the Evenk district in the 1990s.

Alexia Bloch's interviews uncovered important distinctions between different age groups of female former students. Older women who had attended the school not infrequently recalled the experience fondly, because, Bloch says, they had come to identify with the modernity that was part of the Soviet campaign of acculturation. One visible manifestation of this attitude was a fondness among older women for the "red ties," which members of the Pioneers and Komsomol, the youth division of the Communist Party, had worn, which symbolized the materially better conditions that had prevailed under the Communists. Mature women also were likely to use the residential school instrumentally, as a refuge for children they could not afford to maintain, or as a site at which those favoring cultural revitalization could concentrate their efforts on Indigenous language instruction and other branches of traditional culture. Younger women in the 1990s were more conflicted about the residential school and the Soviet system from which it had sprung. They tended to see the school purely in functional terms — as a place to send their young for specific purposes. Others manifested the impact of the changes of the 1990s on them, either rejecting the school outright as one successful business woman did, or seeing it as a marker of dependence, and therefore attendance at it as a stigma. As Bloch concludes, the residential school was "a site for reproducing ideologies" in a complex manner, showing a "wide range of ambivalences, resistances and types of power that are imbricated in this institution" (184).

Red Ties and Residential Schools makes a strong case for avoiding simple binaries such as oppressor and oppressed in favor of more nuanced and subtle analyses of power relations. For that alone it is a major contribution. However, it does have some minor defects. One is the relatively slender base of oral evidence on which some of its conclusions rest. Most notably in that regard, the conclusions about the views of younger former female students towards the institution are based on interviews with four women, two of whom had positive attitudes, and two of whom were negative about the school. Other groups are not represented by much larger numbers. One also wonders if more effort to collect the reminiscences of male former students would have enabled the author to present her "gendered perspective" (xiv) more persuasively.

When compared with the literature on custodial schools elsewhere in the world, *Red Ties and Residential Schools* is remarkable for how little it says about abuse. It contains only one explicit reference to verbal abuse of students by staff, (140) and the striking observation "I have not seen any official reports or heard of any abuse in these residential schools" is reserved for an endnote (200, n 1). The author says that "For the Indigenous Siberians I came to know, there was a wide range of perspectives on residential schooling, some negative but also many positive" (xiv). Even so, the absence of testimony about abuse is remarkable in light of what has been uncovered elsewhere.

Red Ties and Residential Schools is a fine piece of scholarship that demonstrates how the participant-observer method can reveal the complexities of relationships between apparently dominant and subordinate groups. In its skill and subtlety of analysis Bloch's work ably follows the model set out by political scientist James C. Scott (*Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989). No doubt Alexia Bloch would be complimented by the comparison. It is equally beyond doubt that the comparison is justified.

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Choctaw Prophecy: A Legacy of the Future. Tom Mould. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2003. 304 pp. Paper, \$34.95; cloth, \$65.00. ISBN: 0817312269.

As a child, Choctaw elder Billy Joe heard his grandfather prophesy that spider webs would one day cover all of the earth. Recounting this tale for anthropologist Tom Mould, Billy Joe explained that his grandfather had foreseen the electric grid. These types of prophecies, recounted in the daily flow of conversation within the eight communities of the Mississippi Band of Choctaw, are at the heart of Mould's analysis. Mould argues convincingly that Western scholars' narrow conceptualization of American Indian prophecy — focused on millennial movements, the formation of new religions, and charismatic prophets — should be broadened to include prophetic stories told in everyday life. He considers the prophetic tradition of the Choctaw in the performance of the story and in the daily discourse that negotiates understanding of the past, present, and future. By analyzing prophetic insights operating in more commonplace settings, Mould offers a fresh perspective on prophecy as a social and spiritual practice among the Mississippi Band of Choctaw.

Mould recounts and analyzes individual performances of prophecy that he collected over several years of working with the Choctaw. He asserts that, while prophecy can provide insight into Choctaw culture, it is the genre itself — its structure, functions, and artistry — that is his primary interest. This approach means that the book is sometimes dense with specialized analysis of individual stories that are more suited to professional scholars of folklore and literature than to general readers. Nonetheless, this tightly organized and well-written work is rich with insights on how prophecy operates among the Choctaw.

Mould distinguishes between spiritual visions that individuals experience and prophecy, which is communal in nature and an integral part of Choctaw identity. While the Choctaw no longer have specialized prophets — *hopaii* — people still share prophetic stories passed on by tribal elders. These narratives, told in interpersonal relationships, maintain Choctaw oral traditions, teach the young how to negotiate the moral universe, and caution the community of potential

dangers. Mould divides prophecy into three categories — fulfilled, ongoing, and unfulfilled. The fulfilled prophecies usually concern technological advances such as automobiles, TVs, and telephones. Ongoing prophecies are narratives about the current state of affairs — there will be more intermarriage with outsiders, more materialism, etc. Unfulfilled prophecies foretell cataclysmic events such as war and famine. In this latter category, fears of the disappearance of the Choctaw people or a third removal are prominent. For Mould the objective reality of these three types of stories is not the point. It is their structure, and function that interests him.

The structures of prophecies reveal Choctaw conceptions of their history and re-enforce tribal culture. In recounting fulfilled prophecies, such as the one about the electric grid, speakers move between historical context of when they first heard the forecast and its fulfillment in the present. While Mould surmises that predictions of technological advances were most likely told by those who had left the reservation and encountered them, he concludes that concern with the “facts” and the sequence of the prophecy represents the perspectives of outsiders. For the Choctaw, these prophecies reinforce respect for the elders, who pass down their knowledge, and allow the speakers to think about the changes they have experienced in their lifetimes. Fulfilled prophecies of technological advances can also invoke links to unfulfilled prophecies, such as the disappearance of the Choctaw people. Thus, the Choctaw celebrate “advances” such as electricity cautiously, mindful of unintended consequences. Linking fulfilled and unfulfilled prophecies also buttresses the authority of those who currently predict the future.

Interpretation of prophecy is individual and fluid. For example, fears of a Third Removal are certainly understandable given the Choctaw’s history. Yet this story appears in very different forms among Mould’s informants. Estelline Tubby, dining with Chief Phillip Martin, heard him caution that the next chief might not protect the Choctaw’s new-found prosperity. Rather than interpreting his remarks as a warning to make sure that Chief Martin’s successor is competent, Tubby filtered the words through prophecies of a Third Removal, wondering if losing Martin might precipitate this process. Other Choctaw used the same prophecy to oppose building casinos, which some feared would lead to another Removal. Still others construe the prophecy of a Third Removal through Christian scriptures, believing that this is the Second Coming of Christ. Elucidation of prophecy, then, functions in numerous ways — as a framework for understanding current issues, as a method to blend religious traditions, or as social control.

Prophecies, of course, are ultimately concerned with time, and Mould argues that Choctaw prophecy complicates the simple view that American Indians operate overwhelmingly by notions of cyclical time. Choctaw prophecy reflects both linear and cyclical time — events happen in a sequence of cause and effect that moves the community forward through the larger cycle of time, in which events often repeat. Stopping the destructive predictions in the cycle of time is, of course, one of the purposes of prophecy; the Choctaw believe that the future can be changed by heeding the prophet. In contrast with a Judeo-Christian tradition, in which God

dispenses eternal rewards and punishments to those who heed or disregard His words, Choctaw prophecy places the burden of fulfillment of the prophecy on the individual. While Mould noted a gradual shifting towards the former view of prophetic realization among some Christians, Choctaw prophecy remains more focused on the temporal world than on the eternal.

In keeping with this pragmatic nature, prophecy remains a key element in Choctaw identity. The words of the elders warn all of the effects that “progress” has on such fundamental cultural markers as the family and language and reinforce Choctaw values and ideologies. In this sense, prophecy binds together the disparate Choctaw communities.

Mould has crafted an erudite and multi-layered analysis of an important topic. The book’s greatest strength, however, is its sensitivity to its subjects and the insights it provides into the world of the Mississippi Choctaw. This work is clearly collaboration between equals. While Mould offers an etic perspective of prophecy by interpreting how it functions, he does not propose his analysis as a substitute for emic systems of understanding. Rather, as one who is working with the Choctaw to capture their unique lived experiences, he respectfully engages their worldview. I recommend this book to anyone with an interest in the Choctaw or in American Indian religion.

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Surviving Conquest: A History of the Yavapai Peoples. Timothy Braatz. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003. 301 pp. Cloth, \$29.95. ISBN: 080321331X.

The territorial Arizona master-narrative, otherwise known as the standard historiography, has traditionally revolved around the American /Apache Wars, featuring determined but ultimately defeated chiefs such as Cochise, Victorio and of course, Geronimo against American military characters like Generals George Crook and Nelson Miles. When viewed in historical perspective, the significance of the American/Apache wars — Geronimo’s surrender in 1886 marked the last major armed resistance of Native Americans against Anglo colonial forces in the west — is apparent. But twenty-first century historians have begun to investigate the history behind the history in territorial Arizona, unearthing previously overlooked tribal stories to form a more complete understanding of Americanization in Arizona.

Timothy Braatz’s *Surviving Conquest* supplies a long-overdue chronicle of the birth, death and twentieth-century rebirth of the Yavapai peoples of central Arizona who began enduring white encroachment in the 1860s as American miners discovered the mineral wealth of the Yavapai homeland. Often confused in nineteenth-century literature with the Mojaves, to their west, or with the Tonto Apaches and Western Apaches to the east, Braatz distinguishes the Yavapais

from their neighbors, especially the Apaches whose lives also revolved around casual small-plot agriculture, hunting and the gathering of natural foods. But unlike the Apaches, the Yavapais were less likely to raid Mexico; they remained largely undisturbed in the vast wilderness of central Arizona until fur trappers from Santa Fe infiltrated Yavapai territory in the 1830s. Few in number, the trappers were welcomed or rejected by the indigenous people of Arizona as necessity dictated; not until the arrival of miners, the military and inevitable settlers did the Yavapais feel the pinch of manifest destiny.

With the establishment of Prescott and smaller communities in the Verde Valley, Yavapais found themselves increasingly encumbered by the American presence. The arrival of General Crook in central Arizona tolled the beginning of the end of the Yavapais' traditional life in the 1870s. Although the master narrative usually emphasizes the prowess of Crook and his men as Indian fighters and the inferiority of Yavapai warriors to Western Apache scouts in this era — even though most Western Apaches had never set foot in Yavapai territory prior to acquiring a military escort — Braatz's work examines the internal realities experienced by the Yavapais in a chaotic world of involuntary change. Where the master-text usually details the systematic and infamously bloody decapitations and otherwise murders of the Yavapais traditional leadership by American military opposition throughout the 1870s, Braatz considers how the Yavapai survived the slaughter of their traditional life and their forced relocation to Apache territory. Where most accounts of the Yavapais as a distinct society end with their dramatic, reluctant relocation to the hostile and inhospitable San Carlos Apache reservation in 1875, Braatz's Yavapais re-emerge like the sun after rain to reclaim their homeland and traditions after the west was 'won' by Americans. With diligence based in part on interviews and contemporary sources, Braatz traces the Yavapais' creative adaptations to modernization, their quiet, but determined refusal to surrender their attachment to their central-Arizona homeland, and their ultimately triumphant, if initially timid, return to their ancient home in the west.

Braatz's work must also be acknowledged for having utilized the understudied Mike Burns narrative, (housed at the Sharlot Hall Museum in Prescott) the unpublished autobiography of a Yavapai taken captive by the American Army and given a modest education in an Indian school in the east, only to return to the Yavapais but little removed from his traditions. Unlike his contemporary, Carlos Montezuma, who survived captivity by Americans and went on to become a physician and early Native American social activist, Mike Burns did not rise to the same level of public attention as Carlos Montezuma in his lifetime, but left behind a rare, detailed primary account of traditional Yavapai life as well as his own experience as a captive. And good news to those who may yet wish to use the Burns' narrative — even the thorough Braatz left room for further exploration.

But even if Braatz's work were not important for its primacy or for the incorporation of the neglected Burns narrative, his deconstruction of traditional texts in the opening pages is worth the sticker price. Arizona historians have been reluctant to step beyond the confines of the dominant narrative, implanted as it

has been in the American past by vain-glorious writers and an ignorant Hollywood. Braatz exposes the bias in no-nonsense phrases, courageously throwing open the gates to alternative Arizona histories that rely less gullibly on 'authorities' and invite more participation by the Indians under discussion, as well as other, previously dismissed sources.

Although Braatz's book recalls Yavapai individuals not usually featured in Arizona histories, such as Quashackama and Soulay, as well as many others, this book is not biographical; it focuses instead on the general history of the Yavapais. But Braatz has illumined the way for other historians to explore Yavapai history. Still left untold are the thorough biographies of Delche and Chali-pan, Yavapai war chiefs and resistance fighters of the highest status. Even more mysterious, Braatz has left unexamined the relationship between early trapper Pauline Weaver and a young Yavapai woman, hinted at by Edmund Wells, one of the founders of Prescott, in his nineteenth-century book *Arizona Argonauts*. Braatz has admirably introduced a thorough history of the Yavapai peoples, but Yavapai history still has many stories to tell.

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Victoria Smith

To See with Two Eyes: Peasant Activism and Indian Autonomy in Chiapas, Mexico. Shannan L. Mattiace. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003. 222 pp. Paper, \$24.95. ISBN: 0826323154.

The 1994 Zapatista uprising in Chiapas, Mexico has elicited worldwide attention from a variety of scholars. The volume of literature analyzing the plight of indigenous peoples in southern Mexico since that event represents an admirable study in its own right, and Shannan L. Mattiace's book, *To See with Two Eyes*, contributes to this genre academically by situating Chiapanecan indigeneity within a civil society-state framework of interaction. She helps to illustrate the dynamics of Mexican Revolutionary (post-1910) indigenous self-determination and autonomy exertion efforts, shedding further light on how marginalized populations have taken both violent and non-violent action in response to state-sponsored projects aimed at assimilation and incorporation in post-colonial societies.

This is the key to Mattiace's book, for the indigenous-state discourse over the definition of self-determination reveals the inherent difficulty in rectifying the results of colonization in a post-colonial world. In order to contextualize this story properly, Mattiace traces the Mexican government's efforts to incorporate Chiapas Indigenous communities within Mexican society. The mindset rested on the concept of indigenismo, which simultaneously validated Indigenous heritage while working to assimilate them into the dominant nation-state culture. She also focuses on Indigenous reactions, sometime negative, sometimes positive, to those efforts.

The result of Mattiace's work is a panoramic comprehension of the negotiation of power between the marginalized populations of Chiapas and the federal government. Her discussion demonstrates how the government's paternalistic strategies to assimilate Indigenous Peoples often failed to incorporate the Indigenous interests into their planning, thus precipitating an increase in autonomous Indigenous organization and action. Therefore, the process follows that the government's indigenismo-based programs poured resources into Chiapas, the shortcomings of which inspired the Indigenous communities to foment their own separate institutions to support their lifestyles.

The strengths of this book rest on Mattiace's management of a wide variety of events, groups, actors, concepts, and her ability to maintain a cohesive narrative throughout. While the historical parameters she works with span decades (between the Revolution to today), the array of participants competing and coordinating for their voices to be heard, from unarmed to armed Indigenous groups to armed and unarmed government officials, and all the NGOs and international institutions in between, makes this topic in itself challenging to ponder. That at times may become tedious for the less patient reader, but Mattiace's writing style accounts for the volume of issues by consistently reminding us of her thesis that situates the discourse over the Indigenous struggle for autonomy within the civil society-state relationship.

At the same time, the author relies heavily on long quotations that, while contextualized, tend to stand out superfluously in the text. In all, however, this book adds great depth to our understanding of the conundrum of government-level institutions tasked with treating the problems of marginalized peoples, as well as how those dealings shape the decisions marginalized peoples make in response. That this conceptual framework could apply to many other post-colonial societies makes Mattiace's book a worthwhile addition to upper division undergraduate seminars and graduate seminars and colloquia studying post-colonialism, development, civil society-state relations, as well as any course on Latin American or Indigenous Nations studies.

Marshall University

Christopher M. White

Reserve Memories: The Power of the Past in a Chilcotin Community. David W. Dinwoodie. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002. 120 pp. Cloth, \$39.95. ISBN: 0803217218.

History is not only, or simply, a description of what has come to pass. Rather it is a human expression to decipher and imagine previous events — to root our lived experiences in a sense of origins and the lives of our ancestors. North America's native groups have provided an especially rich social topography to contemplate how ideas of the past intersect with the social and political present.

Dinwoodie's study offers us another engaging look at why history is not so much a method of investigation as a dynamic of cultural experience.

Reserve Memories examines the historical consciousness of contemporary Chilcotin people to reflect on the ways in which history is a living force that balances tradition and modernity. Following from Marshall Sahlins, Dinwoodie seeks to understand change from the view of the local. Sahlins' "structure of the conjuncture" focuses our attention on the moments in which concepts of the past meet with the uncertain and unstable realities of the present. This approach allows us to navigate different interpretations of social continuity. But more, as Dinwoodie astutely points out, this approach directs anthropological methods because people negotiate these concepts through narratives, forming an array of contending "voices." Thus, in this work Dinwoodie focuses on language and the ethnography of speaking.

In 1989, when still a graduate student, Dinwoodie began making contact with Chilcotin people, northern Athapaskan communities, in the Williams Lake area of British Columbia. In subsequent years, he returned, eventually completing a dissertation at the University of Chicago in 1995. This book is the fruit of that labor, as well as additional research conducted between 1997 and 2000. In addition to an introduction and conclusion, four chapters provide the core of Dinwoodie's concise and compelling book. The first chapter, "Ethnographic Contexts," is largely descriptive and situates the time and place of the research, its social, political, historic, and linguistic context.

"Historical Narrative," the second chapter, closely examines a local story of people's interaction with Tsil'os, a sentient mountain body. Through a detailed discourse analysis, Dinwoodie demonstrates that the occasions in which the story is told fits the narrative, such that storytellers can use the chronicle of past events to describe the "historical conjuncture" in which contemporary people are positioned. Importantly, this conclusion is reached through a method of "entextualization" in which narratives are approached through a synthesis of structure, ethnopoetics, and performance.

"Contemporary Myths," the third chapter, suggests the complex contexts in which myths are related today and the elasticity — yet formality and sanctity — of these stories. Addressing the poetics of context, Dinwoodie explains the importance of parallels between when and where a story is told and when and where a story's events originally took place. While the telling of myths allows individuals to relate to current problems, these narratives reveal genuine experiences of the ancestral past and so are deeply historical. Chilcotin myths are not only about socialization, but serve as a kind of "ideological becoming" that relates the individual to the community. In these ways contemporary myths are used as bridges between the ancient and modern, known and unknown, and the perceptible and unseen worlds.

The fourth chapter, "The 'New' Discourse of Public Politics," centers on a declaration issued in 1989 by the Nemiah Valley Indian Band, which includes two parallel texts in English and Chilcotin. Dinwoodie insightfully examines how this text is an attempt to enter modern politics within the structures of Chilcotin cultural

traditions. The hybrid text, in two languages expressing two distinct ideas is not a complete whole, yet successfully balances the traditional and modern so that it holds different meanings to different people. To the non-local population, the English text signifies a statement on Chilcotin core values and collective action. For Nemiah Valley residents, however, the Chilcotin version invokes the traditional through parallels with mythic narratives, thus framing the current situation in relation to historical processes and providing a framework to confront and resolve conflicts. The declaration is at once new and old.

Reserve Memories is a richly detailed and thickly analytical volume. It is probably too advanced for most undergraduates, but will engage advanced students and scholars of identity and language, memory, ethnohistory, and historical consciousness. Dinwoodie incorporates personal stories into the text, providing a subtle reflexive backdrop; his presence and authorship is a clear presence while the reader gets a real sense of Chilcotin community members. By focusing on the actual and local experiences of history, Dinwoodie is able to explain how Indigenous nations are not merely traditional or modern, but something uniquely in-between. This is an important contribution Dinwoodie has made.

Denver Museum of Nature & Science

Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh

We Are Not Happy Natives: Education and Decolonization in Hawai'i. Haunani-Kay Trask and edited by Jon Kikuo Shishido. Los Angeles: in-D press, 2001. Compact disk, \$25.00. ISBN10: 189380111X. ISBN13: 9781893801110.

Why are we not happy Natives in Hawai'i? Haunani-Kay Trask provides us with an understanding of the many outside influences that have made some major impacts on the Native people of Hawai'i in the multimedia presentation on compact disk: *We Are Not Happy Natives: Education and Decolonization in Hawai'i*. This compact disk provides the focus of the Hawaiian Studies Department at the University of Hawai'i and initiatives in Native Hawai'i country.

Haunani-Kay has the rewarding task of delivering courses to many Native Hawaiians at the University of Hawai'i. She is very eloquent about how she reaches a balance of theory and practice utilizing the academic organization as the delivery mechanism to reach her people. The underlying history and the Hawaiian experience with colonization convey many similarities that have been experienced from the First Nation perspective in Canada and American Indians in the United States.

The historical events are the underpinning of Hawaiian society. However, these events seem to be kept from the general public as many contemporary people shrug these events off as not having anything to do with them. The sad statements from the tourists and settlers of Hawai'i are of non-interest or non-support because of their lack of understanding and ignorance.

The struggles for Indigenous rights have many similarities around the world. We understand that there is a process to colonization. Along with colonization comes the colonial mentality and attitude. Part of colonization is to develop the process so that the mentality and attitude is self-sustaining and continues on its own from generation to generation. It is not until an intervention or some other event takes place in individual's lives which will disrupt this negative cycle.

Students describe how they have taken some of the words or ideology from Haunani-Kay and have incorporated this into their identity. What comes forward and stands out is how the process of decolonization is personal and begins with the individual and then becomes a shared phenomenon. Developing empirical processes and higher level thinking skills such as understanding theory and how it is applied in practice tends to be a result rather than a focus.

Haunani-Kay provides this opportunity for Native Hawaiians to look at the historical events that have a definite impact on the community and give individuals a new lens for their worldview. She also provides and presents frameworks to organize the many political ideologies and theories. Other important issues are addressed such as the voice from a Native Hawaiian perspective as well as the importance of a land base and political power. The struggle and fight for sovereignty is continuous and requires much dedication.

The information presented on video is very easy to understand without going through preparatory materials or chapters. From my own preference, I enjoyed the ease of watching the well organized presentations of context, theory, practice and reflection. The writing section was helpful although I prefer to read from hardcopy and there was no option to print materials from the disk.

Haunani-Kay addressed many issues of the university and of the Native Hawaiian community. There was the focus on politics yet there was no hint of what structures that would develop from change. It is good to see that there is a focus on sovereignty rather than on rearranging the system of dependency. I think one of the major obstacles to developing a Native Hawaiian government is how to address the influence of the world economy. I also found myself wondering what the Native Hawaiian system of government would look like.

We Are Not Happy Natives generated my interest to look deeper into the real history of Hawai'i and try to visualize the systems and organization of Native Hawai'i. Native sovereignty is a worthwhile pursuit. Happiness is congruent with a land base, a system of government and sovereignty.