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## REVIEWS

**American Indians and State Law: Sovereignty, Race, and Citizenship, 1790–1880.** By Deborah A. Rosen. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2007. 340 pages. \$55.00 cloth.

In *American Indians and State Law*, Deborah Rosen tackles an important and underexamined subject within the history of Indian relations. Most scholarship on the subject has focused on federal Indian policy and law, with studies regarding the state treatment of American Indians limited to particular moments or subjects, or as part of federal-state battles for supremacy. Yet as Rosen demonstrates, state efforts to address what they conceived as their “Indian problem” were persistent throughout the nineteenth century. With federal officials either far off or unwilling to contest local governments, such state efforts may well have had greater impact on indigenous people’s lives. They may also, Rosen argues, have ultimately influenced federal policy.

Like the comprehensive compilation of colonial laws and treaties regarding Indians that Rosen co-edited, the current study is a valuable resource and hopefully will encourage future scholars to refocus their attention on state law. Rosen examines the statutes of the various states during this period, listing and categorizing them, and providing an appendix of examples of such laws. She also discusses many cases concerning state regulation of Indian affairs during this period and summarizes the different arguments made to justify state jurisdiction. For this alone, the book will be a useful tool for future research.

The substantive benefits of refocusing attention on state law are exemplified in chapter 1, in which Rosen examines in tandem New York’s efforts to assert jurisdiction over the Seneca and Georgia’s efforts to assert jurisdiction over the Cherokee in the 1820s and 1830s. The beginning of the Georgia story is frequently told as part of the process leading to *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1831) and *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832). Others, notably Sidney Haring and Tim Alan Garrison, have examined its aftermath, in which southeastern courts continued to assert jurisdiction over Indian people. Similarly, New York’s assertion of jurisdiction over Tommy Jemmy for his execution of a woman convicted of witchcraft by a Seneca council has also been the subject of scholarship. But Rosen effectively puts the cases together with their context as part of a state-level debate regarding state jurisdiction over Native people and Native attempts to resist such jurisdiction. Together the New York and Georgia stories present a new perspective on the debates and shifting perceptions of tribal sovereignty and state authority. Similarly, attention to Seneca

and Cherokee arguments in favor of their exclusive authority in these matters, although not unique in contemporary scholarship, is an important addition to the understanding of these conflicts.

Rosen's evidence, however, does not support her broader conclusions regarding state assertions of jurisdiction. She argues that state jurisdiction over Indians constituted a new form of "direct rule" over Indians that the federal government did not take up until the 1880s (79, 204–5). She further asserts that this state policy set the "precedent and model" for the federal government's policy. Such a statement can be made only by ignoring a great deal of federal Indian policy. The best evidence of widespread state regulation Rosen musters is the twenty-eight out of thirty-eight states with laws punishing Indians committing crimes outside Indian country or whites committing crimes in Indian country. Since 1817 the federal government had asserted jurisdiction over all crimes committed in Indian country, except those committed by one Indian against another. Since the earliest Trade and Intercourse Acts the federal government had suggested that special federal protections did not apply outside tribal lands. In addition, by 1817, the federal government was already asserting broad jurisdiction over all crimes in Indian country, excepting only those committed by one Indian against another. Similarly, many of the other examples of state regulation Rosen cites, such as removal of white intruders from Indian lands, prohibition of liquor sales to Indians, and refusal to enforce contracts against Indians, mirror federal Indian policy in these matters. Although the federal government might have challenged state jurisdiction to enforce these policies, this does not suggest that the state laws constitute a newly "direct" regulation of Indian country.

Rosen does cite examples of state regulation wholly contrary to federal policy such as the several southeastern states that upheld criminal jurisdiction over crimes between Indians in Indian country in the 1830s and Kansas's effort to tax the Shawnee Indians in the 1860s. The first, however, was closely related to the contemporaneous battle between the southeastern states and the federal government over Indian removal and should not be presented as a general example of state treatment of Indians. With respect to the second, it seems odd to quote the Kansas court's decision that the Shawnee could not retain their national existence and accompanying immunity from state taxation without a national domain but only mention the US Supreme Court's firm rejection of this opinion. Discussing the federal opinion would seem even more important in that it firmly rejected state attempts to decide without federal sanction that certain tribes had become so civilized as to abandon their tribal status and thus rejected an important argument for the assertion of state jurisdiction (see *In re Kansas Indians*, 72 U.S. 737, 757 [1867]).

Discussion of Supreme Court cases suggests, in places, not only lack of attention but even some lack of understanding of the decisions. Rosen cites, for example, *Elk v. Wilkins*, 112 U.S. 94 (1884), as having "effectively mooted" state debates regarding state citizenship and voting when the case decided whether Indians became federal citizens protected by the Fourteenth Amendment by moving off reservation and explicitly did not decide whether a state could on its own initiative recognize them as state citizens with voting rights. Similarly,

Rosen claims that *U.S. v. Kagama*, 118 U.S. 375 (1886), diminished state incentive to enfranchise non-Indian citizens by ruling “definitively that such Indians owed no allegiance to the states and the states had no authority over them,” when *Kagama* was actually about federal jurisdiction and was interpreted by state courts as not displacing state jurisdiction that might otherwise exist (150; see, for example, *Pablo v. People*, 46 P. 636 [Colo. 1896]).

These criticisms are perhaps unfair. Rosen’s contribution focuses our attention on the pervasiveness and variety of state regulation of Indian people and their interests; it may be too much to ask that she keep federal regulation in mind as well. But without acknowledging the federal context, it is hard to evaluate the significance of what she presents, or what it tells us about later Indian policy.

Parts 2 and 3 discuss state laws regulating Indian race and citizenship. Focus on federal law and policy excludes the primary locus for laws regarding race and citizenship; laws denying Indians the privileges of whites would largely only appear in the state definitions of who could marry whom, testify, vote, and attend school and where. Rosen importantly brings attention to such laws.

Some of what is valuable in this section, however, is marred by generalizations that are inconsistent with the evidence. Rosen asserts, for example, that in the antebellum period, “the racial theory dominant among whites assumed that whiteness embodied inherently different cultural qualities that could not be transferred to the Indians” (105). This statement, made without primary source support, is inconsistent with statements of numerous policy makers and the fascination with converted Indians reflected in the celebration of Pocahontas or bestsellers such as *Malaeska: The Indian Wife of the White Hunter*. Although Native people certainly faced racism, as well as some insistence on immutable difference similar to that faced by African Americans, the “dominant” theory regarding American Indians was characterized by racialized ideas of tribal culture and government and the pressure to reject them.

In this section, moreover, Rosen relies on the statutes that did discriminate against Indians to conclude that “state laws throughout the country explicitly discriminated against Indians on the basis of race during the early national and antebellum periods” without acknowledging the significance of the many statutes that did not. This is particularly clear in the section on interracial marriage, where she notes that nine of the thirty-eight states she surveys prohibited Indian-white intermarriage (compared to thirty prohibiting black-white intermarriage). Her references to particular state prohibitions are also misleading. She cites, for example, Virginia’s 1691 prohibition on Indian-white along with Indian-black intermarriage but not the fact that the prohibition on Indian-white intermarriage was removed in 1753, long before her period, and cites Tennessee’s 1821 prohibition on marriage between whites and Indians, negroes, mulattoes, and mustees but not the fact that the reference to Indians in the prohibition was removed just a year later. Similarly, her statement that “typically, states that did not make express reference to Indians in their marriage laws categorized them as ‘persons of color’ or ‘mulattoes’” is made without primary support and is belied by the many

cases from many states stating that “mulatto” and even “free person of color” signified African descent (111).

Other portions of this section, in particular discussions of barriers to testimony and differences in rape law, draw more heavily from primary sources and are more useful and original. Here too, however, more analysis of the significance of different kinds of barriers and the differences with other racialized groups would have enhanced the discussion. Rosen notes tantalizingly, for example, that Nevada permitted African American and mulatto testimony but barred that of Chinese or Indians, while the southeastern states (which Rosen earlier condemns as unremittingly committed to Indian inferiority) began permitting Indian testimony and affirming Indian citizenship in the wake of Removal. Analysis of such differences is necessary for any understanding of the racial construction of American Indians.

The chapters about voting and citizenship are more nuanced and provide detailed and interesting portraits of debates regarding Indian citizenship in Minnesota, Michigan, Massachusetts, and New Mexico. The debates reveal a range of positions, from full racial bars on citizenship and voting, to enfranchisement of all Indians, to (the dominant position) citizenship for those Indians who had achieved some arbitrary definition of “civilization.” These debates, however, would be enriched by more recognition of the distinctive context within which each arose. In particular, the discussion of Pueblo citizenship only briefly mentions the fact that non-Pueblo Indians (largely Apaches, Navajos, and Comanches) were wholly rejected as potential citizens and fails to mention the ways the debate connected to the complicated racial negotiations between the majority Hispano New Mexicans, white federal officials, and the Indians of the state. Given the distinctive role of Indians in the racial pantheon of each state—not only New Mexico but also Minnesota with its Métis Indian-trader communities and Massachusetts with its African American–Indian communities—it is difficult to extrapolate the general perceptions of Indians from these stories.

This critique, however, only serves to illustrate the importance and difficulty of the task Rosen has taken on. Where scholars of federal Indian policy need only distinguish between national pronouncement and local implementation, full descriptions of state Indian policy must not only acknowledge the federal backdrop but also account for the different conditions and interests of the many different states. Rosen has convincingly demonstrated that by ignoring state laws and their implementation, scholars have overlooked an important site of debate regarding tribal sovereignty and Indian rights, as well as a significant influence on the lives of Indian people. Rosen has performed a great service in collecting and seeking to organize the many ways in which this occurred. Although many of the book’s conclusions must be carefully scrutinized to see if they comport with the evidence, it issues an important invitation for future scholars and will provide a valuable source of information for many years to come.

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**Architectural Variability in the Southeast.** Edited by Cameron H. Lacquement. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2007. 224 pages. \$59.75 cloth.

As indicated by its title, this edited volume of papers is a compilation from a 2005 symposium on Southeastern archaeology. It makes no pretenses other than to present findings in a standard cut-and-dry fare of excavated Native American sites and their probable usage. The chapters are replete with examples of excavations that show the variability of building types and construction techniques. The discussions may add a substantial footnote to the archaeological literature of sites and structures, but it woefully lacks any indigenous voice or interpretations.

However, it should come as no surprise that this compendium continues the mainstream tradition of excluding the living narrative. The Mississippian culture (AD 800–1500) had already been on the skids when Spanish explorer and conquistador Hernando de Soto entered the region in 1539. Although this was barely twenty years after the siege of Tenochtitlán (Mexico City) by Cortez, first-hand Iberian accounts had already indicated that enormous swaths of the Southeast cultures had been decimated by old-world disease and migration.

Due to that decline, there was little or no human or material wealth to be usurped. Incursions into the region were few and far between, and, gradually, the memory of its great Mississippi civilization dimmed. Oftentimes referred to as the “Mound Builder” societies—because of the monumental effigy or pyramid earthworks that their communities constructed—the lack of a direct historical link to indigenous memories would create a scientific mystery that became known as the “Myth of the Mound Builders.”

In 1894, the explanation that such earthworks had been constructed by Vikings, a lost tribe of Israel and the Greeks, to name a few, was debunked by Cyrus Thomas in a report published by the Bureau of American Ethnology. In the meantime, the myth became fodder for eighteenth- and nineteenth-century pseudoscientists, and this led to the excavation and pillaging of the mounds in hopes of uncovering evidence confirming their hidden roots in Euro-Western civilization. It was precisely this not-to-be-taken-seriously context that has made the Mississippi civilization a stepchild to the other great indigenous civilizations of the Americas. Rarely, does it even get a footnote in the annals of significant events that shaped the Western hemisphere.

*Architectural Variability in the Southeast* blithely forgoes that necessary historical context and concentrates instead on what can be characterized as the domestic mundane. The central theme of the volume’s architectural diatribe is limited to gaining clarification about the variations in housing types as seen at sites throughout the Southeast. The archaeologists gain insights by reproducing vernacular construction techniques using similar hamlet styles from throughout the world.

As a result, many chapters are filled with findings of “empirical” efforts gained through the reconstruction of so-called primitive structures by using local harvested materials and vernacular construction techniques. The process is described as “experimental archaeology” but doesn’t seem that far removed

from what Ohiyesa (Charles A. Eastman) instigated with teepee making and the Boy Scouts. To give credit to the efforts of the archaeologists, though, it's a daunting task because in most instances only the hollow postholes and ashen structural members at the excavations remain.

Other chapters, however, do provide more historical and cultural grist as exemplified in a chapter on historic Creek household architecture. Although this discussion decidedly strays from the prehistoric era, it frames the context regarding incursions of white settlers and the US government on the Creek domicile as a discourse on sociocultural transformation and evolving form. In an odd way, this seems reminiscent of the sociocultural transformation waged by policy makers through the imposition of the 1960s Housing and Urban Development programs on Indian reservations.

One can easily argue that there is no historical counterpart to reconstructing similar social changes before precontact. Nonetheless, there is little or no indication that the living tribal descendants of this vibrant civilization were given even a courtesy call during any phase of their research efforts.

Case in point—another chapter on the architectural grammar of a late Mississippian house goes to great lengths to supplant a Euro-Western nomenclature on space and production of the indigenous house. The approach is heavily informed by Christopher Alexander's seminal treatise on spatial "pattern language," which employs a Lego-like approach to explaining form and function. Although the author postulates that the current nomenclature is woefully inadequate in capturing the nuances of meaning and social ordering in Southeast architecture, there is not one indigenous word or descriptor used. Amazing.

Aside from the linguistic challenges that this may present, one wonders if it really might be the case that tribal languages are that "stone dead." The odds-on favorite is that they are not. Among the ancestral languages that are spoken today in the Southeast, one should wager that some, if not all, of that the architectural terminology and descriptions already do exist. With that language comes inherent meaning and the most suitable manner for characterizing those bygone and, yes, ongoing traditions.

In summary, the overall body of this work can be characterized as something that only a mother can love. In this case, the "mother" is a select body of archaeologists who appear to be living in their own minds. They could benefit by breaking their collegial bubble and conducting cross-disciplinary work with the living and breathing ancestors of the Mississippian civilization. Doubtless to say, both communities would benefit enormously, and, from the dialogue, a definitive Mississippian architecture book that, finally, does justice to the topic might emerge.

*Ted Jojola*

University of New Mexico

**Art from Fort Marion: The Silberman Collection.** By Joyce M. Szabo. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008. 208 pages. \$49.95 cloth.

*Art from Fort Marion* focuses on a set of drawings made by Plains Indians (primarily Kiowa and Cheyenne) imprisoned after the close of warfare on the southern Plains at Fort Marion, Florida, from 1875 to 1878. Already coming from a rich tradition in Plains pictographic painting and drawing and encouraged by Captain Richard Henry Pratt to make drawings during their incarceration and for sales to tourists, a unique genre of pictographic drawing or ledger-style art emerged. The late Arthur and Shifra Silberman of Oklahoma City collected a number of these drawings, later donating them to the National Cowboy and Western Heritage Museum in Oklahoma City. This collection was analyzed and described by art historian Joyce Szabo. Although the majority of the collection consists of eighty-seven drawings on paper, one fan, one vase, and one shield are also examined (7).

Szabo provides a thorough examination and description of the collection. She elicits many useful details such as Zotam's focus on panoramic views that chronicle the group's selection and trip to Fort Marion and his use of miniature abbreviated references, and Making Medicine's focus on individual scenes and activities in Florida with fine linear lines and great attention to detail. Although the majority of the drawings depict groups of men engaged in a variety of activities before their arrival at (portraits in traditional dress, warrior society gatherings, hunting, their surrender at Fort Sill, their selection for imprisonment), on the way to (transport, trains, boats, cities they passed through), and at Fort Marion (landscape, work details, sailing, shark hunting, dances, army staff, lighthouses, interaction with tourists), a few are portraits of individuals.

Useful aspects include spatial experimentation and captions, the influences of daily interaction with members of the other tribes, and the shift away from warfare-related themes typical in traditional Plains Indian graphic arts. The author also shows that primarily younger warriors engaged in the making of the drawings—perhaps due in part from the need to secure their status in contrast to older, more established warriors, and the focus of the works as auto-ethnographic and as representations of not only what the men experienced but also of what they deemed important and chose to depict (34–35).

Although the limited number of drawings in the collection and the artists that produce them restricts the breadth of analysis beyond a few topics (clothing and paraphernalia, warrior society membership, narrative vs. close-up *foci*, Kiowa vs. Cheyenne styles), the author not only recognizes these limitations but also links them to the broader patterns in the numerous studies of Fort Marion art. She concludes by discussing factors of collecting Indian art to larger issues of colonialism, romanticism, and individual interests.

There are a few weaknesses in this work, which suggest opportunities for future research. Aside from two phone interviews from a relative, there is little data on the Silbermans from people who knew them well such as Kiowa artisan Vanessa Jennings, Cheyenne artists, scholars (including myself), and local museum staff in Oklahoma. This would have contributed to a more



well-rounded presentation of the Silbermans' personalities, their motivations and methods in collecting Native art, how they interacted with others in the field of Indian art, and how Native peoples viewed the Silbermans and their collection. Some scholars and Native peoples found Mr. Silberman rather difficult to interact with. The role and impact of the collection in previous museum exhibits could also have been explored further (8). Furthermore, the anthropological concept of syncretism and the principals associated with this process of cultural blending and its contexts would aid Szabo in her discussion of hybridity (172).

In comparison with some earlier and more general works on Fort Marion art, this book focuses on a specific collection of drawings from this period. Whereas *Kiowa Memories* and the recently published *A Kiowa's Odyssey* focus on the drawings contained in specific books or ledgers, this work focuses on those of a specific couple's art collection. As additional Fort Marion works are brought to light through publication and analysis, our larger knowledge of this unique period in Plains Indian art, its artists and their experiences, and the genre of works they produced is enhanced.

Overall, I like this work and enjoyed reading it. It is concise, clear, easy to read, and beautifully illustrated. It synthesizes many seminal aspects of the Fort Marion experience in salient fashion and the Indian art produced there, makes another set of works from this unique experience accessible, and represents a solid contribution to studies of Plains Indian and Fort Marion art. As such it will be a useful contribution for scholars of Plains Indian cultures and arts.

*William C. Meadows*

Missouri State University

**Bad Fruits of the Civilized Tree: Alcohol and the Sovereignty of the Cherokee Nation.** By Izumi Ishii. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008. 260 pages. \$45.00 cloth.

In this well-written and accessible book, Izumi Ishii aims to examine "the ways in which the Cherokees integrated alcohol into their society and used it both culturally and strategically" from the early eighteenth century to the beginning of Oklahoma statehood in 1907 (2). She calls for scholars to move beyond simple tropes of Indian drunkenness, to consider the ways Indians brought alcohol into their lives, and to investigate how particular Indian groups dealt with this European innovation. Her research "demonstrates that the history of alcohol among the Cherokees was not simply a narrative of the conquest and destruction of Native society," but was far more complicated than that (11). The use of alcohol certainly became a problem at times, she argues, but there were other possibilities, and "Cherokees managed to regulate consumption in ways that asserted their sovereignty and demonstrated their morality" (165).

Specialists may not find these arguments entirely surprising, but Ishii does a fine job of showing us aspects of the constantly evolving Cherokee

engagement with alcohol. For example, her book begins with a chapter that summarizes the Cherokees' initial experiences with alcohol during the eighteenth century and argues that, in these experiences, we can see both "Cherokee vulnerability" and "Cherokee cultural adaptability" (36–37). She then turns to twin chapters devoted to Cherokee experiences in the pre-Removal nineteenth century, with a particular emphasis on politics and national sovereignty. Ishii shows first how Cherokee leaders used alcohol regulations as part of their debate with the US government over the powers and prerogatives of Indian nations, and then how Cherokees integrated alcohol policies into their efforts to adopt—and to be seen as having adopted— aspects of Euro-American "civilization." For those who have read William McLoughlin's work, this material will be recognizable, but Ishii has provided an effective, in-depth discussion of one facet of his Cherokee renaissance.

Her later chapters follow the same basic strategy: focus on a particular period of Cherokee history and then put alcohol-related issues at the center of the book's narrative about that era. Thus, she argues in chapter 4 that, in the immediate aftermath of Removal, social trauma led to increased alcohol consumption but also to "a reinvigorated temperance movement that promised to transcend [the] political factionalism" tearing apart Cherokee country (104). Chapter 5 turns to the years immediately following the Civil War, during which time, Ishii suggests, the "inability to regulate alcohol epitomized the erosion of Cherokee institutions, values, and sovereignty" (111). Likewise, chapter 6 chronicles the ways in which Cherokee temperance advocates' criticism of the nation's enforcement of its own laws helped to undermine Cherokee sovereignty and bring on Oklahoma statehood, while other Cherokees used prohibition as a way to argue for Indian political autonomy. Throughout, she is sensitive to gender issues, noting how the temperance movement moved from excluding Cherokee women from the nation's political life to encouraging those women to make a substantial contribution to their nation's public debates. Each chapter is clearly argued and well researched, with the exception of chapter 1, which relies almost entirely on published primary sources and attempts to cover too much ground in too few pages.

It is not clear if these chapters—either as discrete entities or as a whole—fundamentally alter our understanding of Cherokee history and Indian experiences with alcohol. That said, however, Ishii's book does provide a solid case study, one that offers readers both a well-focused narrative about a Native people's struggles with alcohol and an accessible overview of two centuries of Cherokee history. Ishii's decision to focus on the Cherokee Nation materially enhances the book's value and will hopefully win it a wide readership. Putting the Cherokees at the book's center allows us to particularize Indian experiences with alcohol. It thus furthers the effort to counteract the drunken Indian stereotype, and it helps us to understand the many roles alcohol and alcohol-related debates played in the history of real Native people.

That said, I do have some concerns about *Bad Fruits*. Although the book's tight focus on alcohol has its advantages, a willingness to venture further afield topically would have allowed Ishii to make a more significant

contribution. She might, for example, have compared Cherokee debates over alcohol with contemporaneous Cherokee efforts to deal with other socially charged issues. The obvious point of comparison for Ishii's material on alcohol would have been the Cherokee conversation about race, an issue that surfaces all too briefly in Ishii's discussion of the nation's post-Civil War efforts to deal with intermarried white men. A more sustained engagement with the work of scholars such as Tiya Miles, David Chang, and Fay Yarbrough would have opened up the possibility of using alcohol not simply to illustrate the Cherokees' developmental trajectory but also to weigh the many forces that have shaped the nation's history.

There are also, it seems to me, two problems with this book that transcend its narrowness of field. To begin with, Ishii has an unfortunate habit of assuming that the Cherokee Nation's laws and even the activities of Cherokee temperance societies manifest the almost entirely unchallenged will of the Cherokee people. In so doing, she neglects the political nature of politics—the contests and disagreements, the tensions and arguments. Ishii is willing—in describing the Euro-American temperance movement—to quote the historian Ian Tyrrell's view that temperance involved “the social control by one group over another,” but she exhibits no sustained interest in what that might mean within Cherokee society (61). The end result is a narrative that flattens Cherokee politics and homogenizes Cherokee society. To be sure, Ishii makes the occasional nod toward dissent, but she never investigates the dissenters' perspectives, and she portrays Cherokees who failed to fall in line with the “national consensus” not as resisters with their own social, cultural, and political agendas but rather as dysfunctional deviants (108).

That emphasis on deviance connects quite clearly to the book's second significant problem: Ishii's uncritical adoption of the perspective put forward by temperance advocates that alcohol is a “bad fruit,” full stop. Once the leaders of the Cherokee Nation began advocating for temperance in the years leading up to Removal, her earlier analysis of the positive or neutral ways Cherokees could incorporate alcohol into their lives goes out the window. The perspective of those Cherokees who did continue to drink is almost completely missing. From the late 1820s on, in Ishii's view, those people were simply a problem and so was the liquor they drank. Thus, she writes of the temptation and vice of alcohol, notes that “individual Cherokees faltered,” and asserts that failing to regulate alcohol undermined Cherokee values (166). When national leaders failed to sign a temperance pledge, it indicated “a decline in moral standards,” and when “Cherokees managed to regulate consumption” of alcohol, that “demonstrated their morality” (148, 165). This antidrinking rhetoric even leads to factual errors, as when Ishii refers to “drunkenness and other forms of lawlessness” despite an earlier discussion noting that, while selling alcohol was prohibited in the nation, “Cherokees did not make drunkenness a crime” (167, 129). It is a slight exaggeration—but not as slight as I would like—to say that, if Ishii intended to write a protemperance brief for Lyman Beecher and his ilk, she hit the mark.

It is difficult to see how this material matches up with her call—made in the introduction's invocation of “the complexity of Indian drinking,”

reinvoked in the conclusion's reference to "a complicated" Native relationship to alcohol, and enacted to some extent in chapters 1 and 2—for a more nuanced approach to Indian experiences with alcohol (2, 165). Ishii writes, "a focus on alcohol as simply a problem threatens to objectify the Cherokee people who consumed it, incorporated it, abused it, regulated it, and opposed it" (167). Readers will wish that, in this case, she had profited from her own wisdom.

That said, however, Ishii's book has much to recommend. It would certainly work well in an undergraduate classroom and will take its place on my ever-growing shelf of books devoted to the eminently worthwhile project of explicating and evaluating Cherokee responses to the nineteenth century's challenges and opportunities.

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University of Oklahoma

**Border Fictions: Globalization, Empire, and Writing at the Boundaries of the United States.** By Claudia Sadowski-Smith. Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 2008. 208 pages. \$57.50 cloth; \$20.00 paper.

In her book, *Border Writing: The Multidimensional Text*, Emily Hicks asks, "If writing is always a rereading, is not reading always a rewriting?" (1991, 11). Although literary critics had explored the topic for decades, Hicks's rigorously nonessentialist deployment of theory, historiography, and literary criticism set the standard for "border theory" in 1991. *Border Fictions* by Claudia Sadowski-Smith also focuses on the ragged edges of American culture and politics. By using the methodologies of ethnography and comparative literature, Sadowski-Smith examines the narrative record of spaces where countries and communities collide at national and personal levels. Her work is continental, important, and new in many ways. A few topics were not mentioned, and there is a great deal of politics in this volume of literary criticism, but for the most part, she pushes readers to "reread" the stories of the borderlands and to think differently about identity and community.

The "borders" examined by Sadowski-Smith are the political and historical result of US empire building. Her focus is primarily on the northern area where the United States meets Canada and the southern divide between the United States and Mexico. Although these areas appear to be well defined, she argues they are fragmented environments where economic, cultural, and political distinctions are magnified.

The "fiction" examined includes novels, short stories, autobiographies, and drama. She does not limit herself to a single genre, gender, or ethnicity and mentions in several places the ways in which stories of these borderlands become emblematic retellings that apply more broadly to entire communities, time periods, or events. She also notes which texts were published in the author's first language and traces their distribution to show how they often only gain recognition when translated into the "official" language of the

empire as a representation of writing by an ethnic minority. This pattern of requiring demonstration of assimilation in order to speak as one from another culture is pernicious and worthy of examination. In several of the chapters Sadowski-Smith challenges the notion that identity can be controlled, asking readers to consider ways identity can be on the one hand proscribed but not always accepted or on the other hand practiced but not always recognized.

Her discussions include work by well-known authors Leslie Silko, Gloria Anzaldúa, Carlos Fuentes, and Thomas King. However, she also introduces readers to the work of Karen Yamashita, Kelly Rebar, Clark Blaise, Guillermo Verdecchia, Rosina Conde, and many other voices from the border. One of the book's best features is her careful inclusion and analysis of widely popular texts sold by large publishers and texts with a much smaller distribution, in some instances self-published chapbooks and novellas. She also critiques the way these "border fictions" have been sold to readers and understood by the marketplace. For instance, Leslie Marmon Silko was marketed first as a "southern writer" recommended by men. Later, her writing was sold as the work of an "ethnic woman." According to Sadowski-Smith, these changes in perception of the indigenous voice, specifically the slow acceptance of Silko's highly political book, *Almanac of the Dead*, underscores "the radical nature of the novel and its defiance of the established categories of identity that continue to guide the reception, production, and marketing of literary texts in the United States" (75). Finding the radical stories that describe sites of change and resistance is the reason Sadowski-Smith recommends border reading. She demonstrates how the border is a line that can be crossed repeatedly and for many reasons, as individuals and their nations work to define themselves.

The political landscape of the borderlands is vast and ever changing, which is one reason an update like the one provided by Sadowski-Smith is important. As Scott Michaelsen and David Johnson wrote in *Border Theory: The Limits of Cultural Politics*, borders are the sites of shifting boundaries, changing diasporas, and continued colonization and confinement of various groups people. The places where nations divide are home to what Mary Louise Pratt calls contact zones. *Border Fictions* is one of several more recent volumes examining these "contact zones" against the backdrop of twenty-first century—post 9/11 America. One comparable title, *Literature and Ethnicity in the Cultural Borderlands* by Jesús Sánchez, Jesús Benito, and Ana María Manzanás, looks at recent border fictions for new cultural, linguistic, and semiotic spaces but only along the southern US border and primarily one ethnicity. Sadowski-Smith offers a review of the next generation of Chicana/Chicano writing as well as the view of the border from the vantage point of several Native nations whose indigenous cultural and political identities are often blurred by the two more dominant groups in the Southwest.

Native identity is also part of Sadowski-Smith's review of literature from the northern borderlands. The 5,000-mile US-Canadian border has been the site of much Native crossing and redefinition from as early as the 1400s. Eventually it became known as a "medicine line," a means of erasing, hiding, or confounding preset identities. The same border is also discussed as the

site of circuitous entry for those who fall out of favor as immigrants when the nation has economic or security concerns. Sadowski-Smith explains that the connection can become extremely complex as Latin Americans travel to Canada in order to enter the United States and Chinese writers move from Montreal to San Francisco. She finds an “inter-American” framework used by authors to convey the constant manipulation and re-creation of identity in a number of plays and stories about life between nations.

Not mentioned in her book are the numerous boundaries between sovereign nations, which could be examined as an interior frontier rendered less visible but never actually erased as sovereign nations were established in the early 1900s. Perhaps this is an example of how Sadowski-Smith’s work can be deployed by specialists in other areas to continue the conversation of identity, citizenship, and complex zones of contact.

Reading *Border Fictions* is much like being shown a new way to make a basket (which in Native culture is a form of high art and in American culture is an idiom used to describe a task for a simpleton). Sadowski-Smith’s basket is the former, a complex vessel, woven of several themes as indicated by the subtitle “Globalization, Empire, and Writing.” Strands of realism, travel, justice, economics, and imagery all are visible as they blend in the literature. “Border fictions,” she says “require new interdisciplinary models of academic inquiry that bring together approaches from the humanities and social sciences to address questions of globalization, U.S. empire, and nationalism of the hemisphere” (143). If her goal was to use a model of interdisciplinary inquiry to begin an important conversation, she succeeds. The only problem is that the book does leave the readers wanting more.

*Margaret Noori*

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**The Comanche Empire.** By Pekka Kalevi Hamalainen. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008. 500 pages. \$35.00 cloth.

*Comanche Empire* is not simply a history of the Comanche people; it is a reanalysis of the history of the entire Southwest. Pekka Hamalainen makes a strong case for the existence of a vast indigenous empire that has been all but ignored by historians. This book will be of great interest to readers interested in Native American history and the American Southwest; it will also appeal to those interested in borderlands history, the Mexican-American war, and critical geopolitics. Hamalainen presents a provocative reordering of the conventional narratives of the Southwest, and his book is nothing less than the history of an “American Empire that, according to conventional histories, did not exist” (1).

Hamalainen’s work is a significant addition to the literature of the Southwest in that it reorients the state-centered notions of power that dominate histories of the region. This new telling of Comanche history demands a fresh assessment of conventional notions of “state.” According to

Hamalainen's central thesis, the Comanches exercised control over a large swath of land in the heart of the American continent, though "their aim was not to conquer and colonize, but to coexist, control, and exploit" (4). Power politics for the Comanches was a complex and flexible interplay of violence and diplomacy. The key word is *flexible*, and Hamalainen frequently reminds the reader that the shifting and nebulous nature of Comanche power does not fit neatly into the state-centric narratives that present the history of the Southwest as a steady progression of state power from the metropolitan centers of Spain, France, Mexico, and the United States.

Throughout the eight chapters Hamalainen describes the origin, rise, and eventual collapse of Comanche power. He begins with their emergence from the Rocky Mountains and their relations with other mountain tribes as well as with Spanish settlements. As their power expanded there was an unexpected role reversal as Comanches reworked the regional order to fit their own economic and political ends. Hamalainen describes an indigenous people at the center of power: "By the late 1770's, Spain faced an ominous situation in the far north: rather than bases for a great imperial extension beyond the Rio Grande, New Mexico and Texas had become peripheries in a new imperial order that pivoted around Comanchería" (101). Hamalainen deftly portrays the complex kaleidoscope of allies, enemies, and trading partners from which the Comanches shaped this new order. The transforming element was the horse; the acquisition of this animal drew the Comanches out onto the southern plains where they soon become masters of the bison hunt. This new power structure, based on a monopoly of the horse trade and located in the heart of the continent, became Comanchería—the Empire of the Comanches. Located at the intersection of several imperial states and numerous tribal ranges, they found that "by controlling the diffusion of animals from the livestock-rich Southwest to the north and east, they could literally control the technological, economic, and military evolution in the North American interior" (170).

The eventual decline of Mexican power and the rise of the American imperial presence marked the high-water mark of Comanche ascendancy. Hamalainen emphasizes that it was possible for these two empires to coexist as they operated on different levels and with differing conceptions of power. The reorientation of Comanche trade toward the US market set off a period of unrivaled growth; it is fascinating to read how this relationship unfolded and about its consequences for other tribes. For example, Hamalainen points out that this increase in commerce brought about a time of peace between the United States and Comanchería. In turn the resulting decrease in violence facilitated the removal of indigenous nations of the Southeast to the newly created Indian Territory, and Comanche trade boomed as it found new trading partners in the Territory. At the same time, this increase in peaceful trade to the north required launching attacks deeper and deeper into Mexico in order to obtain items for market. It is startling to read of the reach of Comanche power during this period as these raiding parties pushed almost to Mexico City and even seemed to threaten the nation-building projects of the Mexican government. When US troops invaded Mexico in 1846 "they entered

the shelterbelt of Comanche power” and found a nation already exhausted from previous invasions (234).

The Comanches’ rise to power is fueled by a combination of access to markets, a seemingly unending supply of bison, and a near monopoly on the horse trade of the southern Great Plains. Hamalainen describes in detail the cultural factors that helped them achieve this ascendancy. Their ability to adapt to a changing environment and to integrate new technologies is crucial; the Comanches were “a nation that was in a state of constant and at times uncontrolled change, a society that constantly re-invented itself” (239). Comanchería expansion created an insatiable desire for labor, a need that drove far-reaching changes in cultural concepts of slavery and marriage. For a time Comanches were able to feed this need through their willingness to integrate captives, allies, and slaves into their kinship systems effectively.

In the end it is a combination of American encroachment and ecological collapse that doomed the Comanche empire. Hamalainen shows the Comanches as victims of their own success as Comanchería produced a population that was no longer sustainable. The description of their downfall ties into one of the book’s key goals: to be a study of indigenous agency and the Comanche “role in the making, and unmaking, of colonial worlds” (360). The author fills a significant gap in the Comanches’ story as the previous literature on this nation typically treats them as roadblocks to the progress of civilization. This criticism of the popular perception of the region’s history is perhaps one of Hamalainen’s more intriguing insights; he presents a rare Comanche-centric vision of the Southwest. For example, the opening of Texas to American colonizers and its eventual loss to the United States is a result of the desperate need to colonize an area depopulated by sustained Comanche attacks.

What makes this perspective so different from many conventional histories is that it portrays an indigenous people as agents in charge of their own destinies: “Instead of perceiving Native policies toward colonial powers simply as strategies of survival, it assumes that Indians, too, could wage war, exchange goods, make treaties, and absorb peoples in order to expand, extort, manipulate, and dominate” (7). In the conclusion Hamalainen warns against idealizing the Comanches, an all-too-common portrayal that removes agency from indigenous peoples. The Comanche power politics the author describes in this work is unabashedly aggressive and exploitative. What makes his account particularly noteworthy is the central role he assigns to Comanchería in the development of the West. Not only did this imperial polity displace other empires, it also establishes a pattern for an entirely new type of culture, a pattern that inspired imitation by other indigenous peoples.

The author does an admirable job of explaining the cultural and environmental factors that make this success possible to the reader. The book has many maps (a trait too often lacking in otherwise good history books), exhaustive footnotes, and a detailed bibliography. *Comanche Empire* is part of the Lamar Series of Western History (one of the forthcoming titles in this series, *War of a Thousand Deserts*, will cover some of the same themes as it discusses Indian raids in the Mexican-American war). Because its readability



does make it appealing to a general audience, it would be an improvement to present even more cultural background on the Comanches, perhaps with an expanded introduction. Although Hamalainen does devote chapter six to the structure of Comanche society, it seems that there could be even more information on this aspect of the culture in order to allow the reader to understand these concepts from an internal perspective better. This discussion perhaps could be better placed toward the beginning of the work. One weakness of this work might lie in the very use of the word *empire*. Hamalainen argues for the existence of an empire ignored by historians while at the same time explaining how this Comanche empire had characteristics that defy many of the typical meanings of the term. It would be enlightening to have a discussion of the nuances that relevant terms have in the Comanche language. This is a minor absence, however, in a work that is well researched and eminently readable.

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**Encounters of the Spirit: Native Americans and European Colonial Religion.**

By Richard W. Pointer. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007. 312 pages. \$39.99 cloth.

Starting with the now accepted premise that the culture shock brought about by colonialism affected the colonizers as well as the colonized, Pointer sets out to demonstrate how Native Americans influenced the Christianity of Catholic and Protestant settlers. This was true, he proposes, whether colonists sought to convert the Indians or to destroy them. In the former case, they had to develop strategies to appeal to potential converts; in the latter, they had to justify the carnage. In exploring these two conflicting approaches, Pointer examines six different case studies of the missionary-Indian encounter. His well-tailored prose, free of the excessive jargon that blemishes so many works in the social sciences and literary criticism today, is as lucid as his thesis. What is sometimes not so readily apprehensible, however, is how the examples he chooses support or even relate to his basic assertion.

This is especially true of the first case study, called "The Sounds of Worship," which concerns the use of Native singers, musicians, and instruments in Mexican church services from the 1550s to the 1580s. This short-lived collaboration, Pointer avers, led Catholic missionaries to use music as a form of evangelism, not only in the Americas but also throughout the world. He asserts, "the lives of natives and Europeans alike, including their religious lives, were simply different because of it" (17). On the part of the missionaries, however, this seems a tactical adjustment rather than an authentic strategic change. It appears in no way to have altered basic practices and the fundamental theology of the Catholic Church. What is true, and what may be said to have altered Catholic and Protestant beliefs, were the needed alterations in ways of thinking to account for the presence of peoples and lands

not mentioned in the Bible and, beyond that, to explain why, until 1492, the saving grace of Christ's sacrifice was denied these peoples. Pointer deals with these issues. Ironically, in doing so, the lesser importance of the particular occurrence he has chosen is highlighted. It would seem that the use of Native singers, musicians, and instruments, and whatever alteration they may have produced in church music and recruitment practices (indigenous Mexican peoples were often anxious to join church choirs and orchestras because this exempted them from taxes imposed by the Spanish), is not unlike the use of Native artisans in building and decorating Mexican colonial churches. These artisans, employing indigenous artistic styles, did make modifications of European designs—particularly in the realm of church ornamentation—but one would hardly claim that constituted a significant change in Roman Catholic doctrine or practice.

His most persuasive case, the concluding chapter, "Encountering Death," explains quite cogently how Quaker pacifism actually developed and was defined through interactions with the Indians and non-Quaker fellow colonists. As Pointer puts it, "Quaker pacifism was not a fixed doctrine but instead a set of principles in the process of being defined in practice by individuals in specific circumstances" (169). This discussion of the Quaker "holy experiment" is forcefully contrasted with the belief of Puritans and others that the death of Indians by European-introduced diseases, as well as by enslavement and warfare, manifested the will of God and the favor he displayed toward Christian Europeans.

Between these two extremes of persuasiveness—the use of Native singers and orchestras in Mexico and the evolution of Quaker pacifism in New England, New Jersey, and, especially, Pennsylvania—are four more interesting case studies that vary in their ability to convince the reader of Pointer's overarching thesis. These chapters deal with such varied topics as the influence of Indian oratory on the preaching style of missionaries or the death of Jesuit priests and converts intensifying a preexisting Jesuit tendency to view martyrdom as the ultimate form of Christian devotion. In addition to varying degrees of relevance, another problem is pervasive in these studies. Most of the time Pointer seems to be analyzing the work done by missionaries, while on other occasions he seems to be discussing the laity's actions and attitudes. These two points of view may reinforce one another. One would be misled in conflating the two as well as by assuming that they are exactly the same.

In the course of his investigations, Pointer has come across numerous incidents and personages that contributed to forming the type of society that America was to become, the kind of religion that was to be practiced here, and the course of relations between the American Indians and the Euro-Americans. One development described by Pointer that is of particular importance for subsequent events in US history is the alliance between church and state in dealing with the Indians during the earliest years of the republic, along with the willingness of American Christians to accept such an association while seeking an amendment to the Constitution that would legally separate church and state. Relatively unknown even to those interested in US government-Indian relations, this early church-state connection set a

precedent for such subsequent policies as the conferral of control over Indian reservations to various Christian denominations or, later, the separation of Indian children from their families in order to place them in church-run boarding schools. One wishes that Pointer had touched upon this disastrous legacy of the early collaboration he describes.

If Pointer's arguments are sometimes hypothetical or suppositious (if A had done this, and B had done that, then C might have done something else), often debatable, and not always completely germane to his major thesis, he has, nevertheless produced an engaging work. *Encounters of the Spirit* is an interesting, intriguing read. It does not always deliver quite what it proposes at the outset, but it does provide an excellent starting point for anyone interested in topics related to colonial missionary activities in particular and questions of culture contact and exchange in general. This is thanks to the obviously extensive research done by Pointer in preparing the book. His investigations extend not only to the work of fellow historians, but also, for example, to that of anthropologists, colonial chroniclers and diary writers, and to the writings of various Christian missionaries. Owing to this foundation of wide-ranging scholarship, including primary and secondary sources, and to the excellent notes and extensive bibliography, *Encounters of the Spirit* furnishes an entry into a dimension of New World history that warrants further attention and beckons to future scholars. In this respect it occupies a niche that so far it seems to have to itself, there being no other work quite like it. It is, in short, a valuable addition to the realms of colonial studies, "Religion in North America" (the name of the series to which it belongs), the American past, and New World history in general.

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**Leslie Marmon Silko's *Ceremony: The Recovery of Tradition*.** By Robert M. Nelson. New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2008. 197 pages. \$32.95 paper.

Because of its length and its workman-like quality, Robert M. Nelson's contribution to the critical discussion of Leslie Marmon Silko's first (and some say most important) novel *Ceremony* may seem relatively modest. He maps the embedded texts in the novel—fragments of stories, short poems, and elements of myths and legends—in an attempt to understand their relationship to the core text. But because these embedded pieces are so central to Silko's storyline and to the overall structure of the novel, Nelson's discussion not only gives us a much clearer reading of the novel's overall design and purpose, but also opens a window on the larger controversial issue of American Indian authors using traditional stories in their fiction.

Nelson's book, after a brief introduction, first describes—or maps—the nine series or individual segments of embedded texts in the novel. Then he points out that although Silko may well have heard these stories and poems as a child growing up at Laguna Pueblo, there are also important ethnographic

pretexts for almost all the embedded materials. Nelson argues that this distinction is vitally important for understanding Silko's novel. He makes an interesting distinction between texts that make an analogy to a previous text versus texts that have a homological relationship to a previous text, meaning that both texts in question derive from a third, original source. In the case of Silko's work, Nelson argues, her embedded texts are based in part on existing ethnographic pretexts, and yet all these texts—as well as the storyline of her own novel—derive from a third source, the Keresan Pueblo oral tradition.

Nelson's basic thesis is that Silko's postmodern, intertextual novel uses the art of storytelling to "repatriate" segments of the oral tradition lost or deadened by the ethnographic record. Like her character Betonie, the Navajo medicine man who alters the traditional ceremonies in order to make them more viable in the contemporary world, Silko takes traditional stories and poems that have been recorded by ethnographers and anthropologists such as Franz Boas, alters them in significant ways, and uses them intertextually with her own storyline (which is a contemporary version of a traditional restoration series) in order to recover the storytelling tradition, the hama-ha stories of Keresan Pueblo mythology, what Silko refers to as the "long story of the people" or "the story still being told."

The value of this approach is the way it so directly connects the embedded texts with the various elements of the main storyline (Tayo's struggle to fit back into Laguna after his experiences during World War II), describes the ongoing dialogue between texts, and frames Silko's overall purpose in the narrative. The approach also illuminates the often controversial issue of American Indian authors using traditional stories in their fiction, a practice condemned by many—including Paula Gunn Allen in reference to Silko's embedded story about Pa'caya'nyi and the Ck'o'yo magician. Seen from Nelson's perspective, however, such retellings of traditional stories breathe new life and new authenticity into materials that were taken out of the living oral tradition and made permanent, or fixed, in the ethnographic record. Rather than revealing sacred stories to a secular audience, storytellers like Silko, Nelson argues, repatriate and recover stories that had been appropriated by the recording process years before.

Another value to Nelson's work is the painstaking way he tracks down the pretexts and context of each embedded series. He moves from the Hoop series to the Arrowboy story, offering detailed explanations and a variety of sources for each series or embedded piece in the novel, something of enormous value for scholars as well students, both graduate and undergraduates alike. The seven appendices alone make this book a valuable resource. The book's true value, however, lies in the way it offers a genuinely fresh look at a mainstay of American Indian fiction, a novel that has been critically discussed at length since it was published in the late 1970s. Nelson's truly useful and refreshing approach to that novel is as delightful as it is surprising.

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Bridgewater College

**The Life and Traditions of the Red Man: A Rediscovered Treasure of Native American Literature.** By Joseph Nicolai. Edited and with a summary and introduction by Annette Kolodny, preface by Charles Norman Shay, and afterword by Bonnie D. Newsom. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007. 256 pages. \$74.95 cloth; \$21.95 paper.

Joseph Nicolai lived between worlds, imagining for himself—in his book, as in life—a place of sovereignty not unlike “the third space of sovereignty” posited by Kevin Bruyneel in his 2007 book of that title. Nicolai worked in different ways throughout his life to challenge the temporal and spatial boundaries constraining him and his people. Written about the time when the Penobscots appeared as part of a “living museum” on the “south lagoon, next to the Anthropology Building” (37), an exhibition at the World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago, Nicolai’s *The Life and Death of the Red Man* (1893) offers a number of traditional stories, some of them with Nicolai’s own spin on them, so as to illustrate the resilience—what we today might call the survivance (Gerald Vizenor) or the indigenism (Elizabeth Cook-Lynn)—of Indian peoples, the Penobscots in particular, despite their presumed consignment to “history.”

As Annette Kolodny’s useful and important “Summary History of the Penobscot Nation” and her compelling and detailed interpretive essay serving as an introduction to this republication point out, Nicolai was well aware of the effects of the changing cultural, political, and legal scene American Indians faced. He wrote his book at the moment when the General Allotment Act (1887) began to undermine communal Indian landholdings in the West and when the Penobscot peoples began, on their own, to find answers to the divisive problems they faced as a result of colonization. Their problems included internal divisions over competing religious practices, differing political orientations (some favored hereditary leadership and others, elections), tribal versus public education, and the difficulties associated with a wage economy as opposed to the traditional subsistence economies based on the homeland environment. Nicolai favored the ideas of the Old Party, which sought to keep in place the hereditary chiefs as leaders but also wanted Indian children to receive general public schooling on Penobscot lands (20, 39, 68). Nicolai was a product of education in tribal ways and formal schooling. He came from an important family lineage. He inherited on his father’s side a singular tradition of survival as a direct descendant of “Half-Arm” Tomer Nicola, who with only 150 of his people managed to thwart the 1724 extermination attempt by Massachusetts militia against the Norridgewock Indian village on the upper Kennebec River. His mother was Mary Malt Neptune, a “powerful woman and a prodigious storyteller,” daughter of John Neptune, who served the people as shaman and chief. Nicolai taught himself land surveying and served influentially as an elder and leader. As Kolodny explains it, he became known as “the lawyer of the tribe” for his use “of his political acumen in tribal disputes” and his representation of the Penobscots’ interest in the Maine state legislature (38–39).

In creating *The Life and Traditions of the Red Man*, Nicolai engaged in a twofold project to dispute the negative implications foisted (by outsiders)

upon his people and to elucidate traditional stories so that the children would know their peoples' place in the Great Being's world. Nicolar insisted that in "this work[,] which will give the public the full account of all the pure traditions which have been handed down from the beginning . . . there have been no historical works of the white man, nor any other written history from any source quoted." To the question, "Where did the red man come from?" Nicolar proposed that his book would be the answer. Such an answer was necessary, he conceived, in order "to remove the fear, that the life of the red man will pass away unwritten" and to reveal "a full account of all the original traditions, in a simple way and manner, so that even the small children will readily understand them" (95, 100).

Nicolar acknowledged that his book might have a non-Indian reading audience, especially in his use of the trope of the supposedly "vanishing American" in his expression of concern that Indian people's lives "not pass away unwritten." But Nicolar was writing down Penobscot Indian stories primarily for Indian people, unlike the anthropologists, who seemed to be studying Indians as if they were history. Nicolar cited two reasons for writing his book: first, because "none of the studies nor the researches of the white man have ever penetrated" these traditions, leaving the real traditions to "remain . . . with him [white men] as hidden things," and second, because "their [his peoples'] prophecies are very significant and important, not only to the red man himself, but nations of all other races as well." In telling the stories of Glous'gap or Gluskabe, the Penobscots' cultural hero, Nicolar sought to clarify that the name (he used another version of the name, "Klose-kur-beh") did not mean liar, as others had insisted (101). Nicolar was evidently disputing with white recorders of his peoples' history, and he was making an effort to explain Gluskabe more as a prophet who could create magical events rather than as a mere trickster or liar.

Instead, the children needed to remember Klose-kur-beh's words and the true story of the Penobscots, which he would relate. The stories were of prophecies and history. But Nicolar stressed the prophetic nature of Klose-kur-beh's presence among Penobscots: Klose-kur-beh carried the teaching of the Great Being to the People: "[T]he Great Being made known to Klose-kur-beh that the world was all spiritual, that there was a *living* spirit in all things, and the spirit of all things has power over all, and as the spirit of all things center in Him, he was the Great Spirit, by His will, all things move, all power comes from Him; and he—'Klose-kur-beh' must teach the people that there is but one Great Spirit" (102). As Kolodny concludes in remarking about one of the stories Nicolar relates (this one about the eventual peace that arose, after much dissension, with the Mohawks), "We need to understand that Nicolar was revising and weaving together several different stories and traditions in order to forge a morality tale about the dangers of unbridled human power, the natural phenomena that can restrain that power, and the imperative for peace and cooperation 'for the general good'" (211).

The republication of Nicolar's book results from a remarkable and careful and surely time-consuming collaboration between Kolodny and several members of the Penobscot nation. Charles Norman Shay, Nicolar's

grandson, prefaces the book and it offers an afterword by Bonnie D. Newsom, director of the Penobscot Nation's Cultural and Historic Preservation. It also includes in the annotations some interesting running conversations (by e-mail and telephone) between Kolodny and several people who shared cultural stories, including Carol Dana (Penobscot), Arnie Neptune (Penobscot), and Michael Running Wolf (Micmac). The notes are replete with information and source materials but also with additional running conversations between the editor and several scholars noted for studying the Algonquians and Wabanakis (and specifically the Penobscots) and their languages, such as Conor McDonough Quinn (a linguist), Dean Snow (an anthropologist), and Pauleena McDougall (a folklorist and historian of Penobscot traditions). An insightful and important collaborative effort, Kolodny's and Nicoliar's volume can usefully be read alongside several other publications from the last decade, including Micah Pawling's recent edition of Joseph Treat's papers, *Wabanaki Homeland and the New State of Maine: The 1820 Journal and Plans of Survey of Joseph Treat* (2007), MacDougall's *The Penobscot Dance of Resistance* (2004), and Frederick Matthew Wiseman's *Reclaiming the Ancestors: Decolonizing a Taken Prehistory of the Far Northeast* (2005) and *The Voice of the Dawn: An Autohistory of the Abenaki Nation* (2001). Importantly, too, Nicoliar's life, like his narrative, provides a useful case study in survival and resistance that might fruitfully be examined along the lines suggested by Bruyneel as sovereignty's third space. This volume is an important and welcome contribution to American Indian literary and cultural studies.

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**Native American Women's Studies: A Primer.** Stephanie A. Sellers. New York: New York, Peter Lang Publishing, 2008. 136 pages. \$29.95 paper.

Stephanie A. Sellers provides some ground rules for teaching a course on Native American women. Discovering the popularity of her class among a variety of students, Sellers was compelled to encourage other educators to join her in teaching about the lives of Native American women. Therefore, she aims her book at community and college educators who would use education as a tool to empower others.

In six brief chapters, she presents an introduction and overview; suggests textbook, lecture, and project ideas; defines important terminology and concepts from a Native perspective and for the women's studies' classroom; includes a brief history of patriarchy, colonialism, and feminism; and, finally, provides a brief note on Native American women today. Some of the issues she covers include Western and Native distinctions and epistemological differences regarding women in creation stories, menstruation, leadership, sexuality, and gendered roles. Sellers also provides a concise explanation on Native American women's studies and the appropriateness of applying Western-centered theoretical approaches such as feminism and ecofeminism,

and she concludes with a short description of the ways in which Native women have survived colonization.

This book is original in that it is the first to offer practical tips for course design on Native American women, including assignments, readings, and cautionary notes. She uses her own classroom experiences to clarify some philosophical and ideological differences between Native and non-Native thought that might hinder students' learning and provides ideas for research projects, lists relevant journals, and provides a sample syllabus. However, it is a pedagogical guidebook best used by an instructor planning an undergraduate introductory class, or, as Sellers recommends, by nonacademic organizations serving women. It is also a book best used as a starting point for course design, because there are no methods proposed for organizing the course in a coherent way around the multiple readings suggested. Two texts are suggested as required reading, but the additional and supplemental readings provided address multiple issues: sexual violence, oral storytelling traditions, autobiography, medicine, political activism, popular culture, the environment, sexuality, education, research, and more. The suggested readings are well thought out but would have been more useful if an annotation for each work had been included or if issue, genre, or some other hint at content had tied the readings together stating why these works are useful and others are not. The author provides too much material and too little help in thinking about Native American women as a heuristic device.

At only 136 pages in length and with only sixteen works cited, some of them newspaper articles, there is little in Sellers's book to suggest that the study of Native American women is a thriving, exciting, and contentious area of study. Her guidebook would have been more complete had she included debates currently taking place in the field, clarified how the field is being defined and by whom, or listed some of the leading players in the creation of this discipline. Sellers made a heroic start in writing a primer for teaching Native American Women's studies, but she did not take the opportunity or use the space to historicize, politicize, and contextualize the discipline better. I look at this book as more of a starting point for a larger and more thought-provoking work about teaching in an area long neglected by traditional women's studies departments. Where do Native American women fit into the traditional history of women's studies, and how have they influenced its development? On what issues do Native American and other women converge and diverge and why? How does Native American Women's studies fit into the academy? This primer invited me to ask these and other questions about a newly emerging field of study, but it provided few answers.

Although she offers much to the beginner in this discipline, Sellers takes a novel approach to her subject area in that some sections read more like a book designed for self-help and self-empowerment rather than one filled with teaching strategies. An example includes the "Native Mind Exercises" intended for the beginning of the course. These exercises are designed to help all students "develop their Native mind," but they are presented in ways that appear to essentialize, romanticize, and stereotype indigenous thought (15). To teach Native notions of relationship and wholeness, she suggests that



the instructor hold up a limb in the classroom to see how students initially identify the branch; asks that we have our students begin to see the world around them as their relations; and asks us to have our students take time to observe the earth and sky quietly. Although these are all innovative approaches into an academic subject, my fear would be that non-Native students would continue to view Native peoples through the lens provided by Hollywood and popular culture. A Native American Women's studies class should worry less about insulating non-Native students from the darker side of colonization and focus more on highlighting the struggles Native American women face today.

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**Opening Archaeology: Repatriation's Impact on Contemporary Research and Practice.** Edited by Thomas Killion. Santa Fe, NM: School for Advanced Research Press, 2008. 288 pages. \$29.95 paper.

In 2004 and 2005, the School for Advanced Research and the Society for Applied Anthropology brought together a small group of archaeological archaeologists to review and analyze the impact of repatriation on the theory, education, and practice of archaeology, anthropology, and museology since 1989. This volume presents some of their assessments and shows the benefits of collaboration between anthropologists and indigenous peoples.

During 1989 and 1990, Congress enacted two laws, the National Museum of the American Indian Act and the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA), which require museums and federally funded repositories with Native American human remains and cultural items to work with federally recognized Indian tribes and Native Alaskan and Hawaiian communities toward repatriation. Contributors to this volume represent the fields directly impacted by these laws and discuss the process and evolution of repatriation and their disciplines from personal experiences. *Opening Archaeology* informs the reader about the current thoughts within physical anthropology, archaeology, cultural resource management (CRM), anthropology, and museum studies. It is theoretical and practical in its review and serves as a wonderful exploration of repatriation and its effects. It moves beyond just a simple review of what's bad or good about the laws and focuses on the potential for the future.

The edited volume is broken into four sections: history, outlook on method and theory, experience and practice, and regional perspective. A unifying theme acknowledges the difficulties NAGPRA has brought, but at the same time it acknowledges the transformation that the authors feel will move their fields in a more ethical and knowledge-sharing direction meeting more of today's needs.

Kathleen Fine-Dare and David Hurst Thomas (chapters 2 and 3) each provide a history of events leading to repatriation in the United States from their unique perspectives and experiences. Kathleen states that her goal is

to “add the kinds of dimensions to the ever unfolding story that will help us anticipate future problems, understand current skepticism and criticism, and keep the process moving forward productively, even if many mistakes have to be admitted and addressed” (31). Neither provides a simple history of repatriation. Instead Fine-Dare charts the policies and events from colonization that are often overlooked outside of American Indian studies but that importantly reflect the cultural milieu that has led to current federal and state laws and policies, such as NAGPRA.

David Hurst Thomas focuses on the early interactions of anthropologists and Native communities. It is enlightening to read the stories of George Hunt’s contributions to Franz Boas’s work in British Columbia, William Jones (Sauk and Fox) as the first Native American awarded a PhD in anthropology, and Ella Deloria (Yankton Sioux), whose translations of Lakota, Nakota, and Dakota ethnographic texts and publications helped to preserve these languages. Those who saw “themselves as sole proprietors of and reigning authorities on the remote Indian past” have hid these early contributions to the field (70). To this day, some archaeologists view origin myths as absurd, just-so stories that do not contribute to understanding the pasts of Native Americans.

The rest of the book provides individual experiences and thoughts on how the anthropology and museum disciplines have been affected by repatriation. In chapter 4, Tamara Bray challenges the notion of objectivity and rationality in Western science demonstrating instead its expansion based on asymmetrical relations of power. She reminds the reader that anthropology, an often publicly funded endeavor, owes it to the different stakeholders to be relevant and meet contemporary needs and concerns. Therefore, she proposes that theoretical models be developed that integrate endogenous (local) with exogenous (imposed) knowledge systems about the past (88–89).

Larry Zimmerman and Dorothy Lippert (Choctaw), in chapters 5 and 8 respectively, see that through training, education, and the practice of “indigenous archaeology” collaboration between science and the epistemology of community members can help set research agendas and achieve a myriad of goals. “American anthropology with its origins in scientific colonialism, seems to have forgotten that it is about real people with real problems and real lives, not objects of intellectual curiosity” (104–5).

Joe Watkins (Choctaw) agrees with Zimmerman and Lippert’s assessments and sees that many researchers are still practicing “scientific colonialism,” a perception that information is a resource that can be taken and used regardless of how indigenous populations may feel (163). Repatriation has forced this viewpoint into harsh light and questioned control over the past: through ownership, identity, and interpretation. Both Zimmerman and Watkins find that CRM as an applied field following compliance laws and policies has had more time to develop collaborative techniques with indigenous communities, while academic anthropology is still lagging behind, although they do feel that there is still great hope for the future.

Ann Kakaliouras reviews how physical anthropology has responded since the passage of NAGPRA. In general, students and professionals have moved

away from conducting research in the United States. However she believes that many opportunities for disciplinary goals and research remain with the right approach. She points out that “loss of data is the goal in forensics, through the ‘repatriation’ of remains back to families and nations” (124). If physical anthropology curricula and training can be integrative of the historical and cultural aspects of “archaeological” human remains to their living relations, a transformation can take place in the field. Ongoing work needs to be done, from development projects to repatriation, and physical anthropologists should do it.

Many of the authors use case examples to show how the field of anthropology and museums have changed since the implementation of NAGPRA. Thomas Killion draws on his memories from working at the National Museum of Natural History (NMNH) of the Smithsonian Institution to explore how attitudes and practices shifted in the NMNH and now reflect the perspectives of larger museums. He sees the slow start as a matter of course, but believes that through time new relationships, research, and negotiations can become more fully established.

Stephan Loring, Keith Kintigh, and Darby Stapp contextualized their research within the regions and communities where they work. Stephan Loring, a researcher in the Artic Studies Program of the Smithsonian Institution, finds his work with the Innu to be somewhere between ethnography and archaeology as he relies on the linkages to land, language, subsistence, and resources to aid in the production of knowledge and interpretation of data (182). NAGPRA asks anthropologists to become more inclusive and it questions their assumptions, much in the same way. Keith Kintigh comes to similar conclusions working in the American Southwest. His particular focus is how repatriation has furthered an understanding of the past through migration studies and an examination of the complexities of cultural affiliation. He has found true collaboration to be enlightening and an important part of understanding the past.

Darby Stapp provides a lens for looking at how CRM has interacted with tribes during the decades and was transformed by NAGPRA through his work in Washington. Specifically, it has changed the focus and process of how information is generated and disseminated. He does not see the current set of policies as perfect, but believes that if we move beyond the idea of repatriation, much can be improved through policy making and cultural understanding.

Overall, the book offers hope for how anthropology can once again blossom by truly working collaboratively with indigenous communities. The authors show that decolonizing the practice and theoretical models of anthropology and museum studies offers a potential for expanding the understanding of nature, science, and social relations within new frameworks (90). This is a ready-made textbook for applied anthropology classes and one that fills a gap in understanding modern issues surrounding these fields.

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**Out of the Shadow: Ecopsychology, Story, and Encounters with the Land.** By Rinda West. Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 2007. 304 pages. \$65.00 cloth; \$24.50 paper.

Rinda West's interdisciplinary and highly readable study traces an evolution of human relationship to the natural world in twentieth-century novels from several cultural traditions in order to demonstrate the emergence of a new paradigm of knowledge and hope. Part of the University of Virginia's Explorations in Ecocriticism series, *Out of the Shadow* emerges from pursuits that have occupied West for more than a decade: her hands-on experience with habitat restoration and a growing commitment to a land ethic that understands humans to be part of the natural world; her study of Jungian theory and practice; and her teaching, which fostered ecocritical interrogations of representations of nature and human-nature interactions in narrative. Arguing for the power of stories to reframe human experience, alter consciousness, teach new ways of knowing, and motivate change, West cites fiction by Native American writers as particularly influential in her quest for alternative narratives that can guide humans into a healthy and sustainable future.

Drawing on theorists ranging from Aldo Leopold, Carl Jung, and Carol Gilligan to Vine Deloria, Louis Owens, and Linda Tuhiwai Smith, West's study seamlessly interweaves strands of thought from conservation, Jungian analysis, ecopsychology, poststructuralist and postcolonial literary theory, ecocriticism, ecofeminism, and American Indian studies to develop her central argument that bringing a land ethic into practice "requires the psychological work of individuation and maturity" —an acknowledgment and integration of the repressed and denied aspects of consciousness that Jung termed the "shadow"—which is, in turn, enabled by embodied engagement with the natural world (31). The novels West discusses provide her with "site[s] for the significant engagement with outgrown ideas" and an "emotional dimension that provokes reflection and stimulates change" (31–32). She analyzes two quintessential colonial adventure novels, Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* and Francis Parkman's *The Oregon Trail*, to demonstrate how the West's splitting of reason from the unconscious aspects of psyche and its projections of the "wilderness within" onto nature and onto Natives justified the conquest and exploitation of both. Two novels set in pre-conquest Native cultures, James Welch's *Fools Crow* and Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart*, illustrate worldviews in which humans understand themselves to be members of an extended natural community, where the absence of the nature/culture dichotomy allows the development of a "geography of psyche," and ritual provides a "container for shadow" that allows fluid interaction between reason and the energies of the unconscious (28, 60).

West devotes the bulk of her study to more contemporary novels that she sees as defining a process of Jungian individuation that is both individual and cultural. She examines two novels that take young Euro-American protagonists on transformative wilderness journeys that open them to new ways of nonrational knowing rooted in the body—Margaret Atwood's *Surfacing* and

Marilynne Robinson's *Housekeeping*. Whereas these narratives leave open the question of whether their protagonists will be able to locate communities that can nurture their transformations, West finds in N. Scott Momaday's *The Ancient Child*, Leslie Marmon Silko's *Ceremony*, and Barbara Kingsolver's *Animal Dreams* illustrations of midlife "homecomings"—returns from urban to traditional rural communities that allow their damaged protagonists to restore health and wholeness through a process of reinhabitation of place. In each of these three novels, myth and ceremony create conditions for renewal, but it is conscious human action that accomplishes healing, for the protagonists and their communities. In these novels West sees a rebalancing of dualisms—culture/nature, masculine/feminine—through narrative strategies that hold opposites in dialogue. Finally, West's analysis of Louise Erdrich's Anishinaabe novel cycle examines land in a process of restoration that embraces a whole community, a "restoration of vitality of culture in . . . place" (3). She brings the strands of her own narrative of restoration together by using habitat restoration as a lens for examining the narrative strategies Erdrich employs to reanimate Chippewa culture; conversely, West shows, natural restoration relies on stories for the knowledge of the land encoded in them. West focuses particularly on trickster narratives as "seed beds"—reservoirs of shadow energies and creative chaos that "renew relationships of wildness" within the structures preserved in the stories (166).

*Out of the Shadow* argues elegantly for the interdependence of individual psychological and planetary health and the need for approaches to our current environmental crisis that link thinking, feeling, and doing on individual and community scales. In this era of superficial, consumer-oriented "going green," a major contribution of Rinda West's book is her emphasis on the vital necessity of naming, facing, and consciously integrating the negative, violent, and shameful aspects of the Western cultural shadow in order to end the West's exploitation of the natural world and its associated "others." Conquest requires alienation on the part of the conquerors, West points out; and the inheritors of conquest must repress guilt and deaden their feelings of connection and compassion in order to live on its fruits. As individuals, communities, and globally interconnected societies, we cannot effectively move toward health and sustainability without first acknowledging and understanding the sources of violence and exploitation and taking responsibility for the damage we do. The old and new stories told in contemporary American Indian fiction offer a means to acquire the empathetic knowledge on which to base a new ethic of relationship and care. Yet West's restoration narrative is not intended only for the conquerors; as she points out most clearly in her analyses of *Fools Crow*, *Things Fall Apart*, and Louise Erdrich's fiction, the encounter with individual and cultural shadows that exist because of and apart from colonization are necessary aspects of cultural recovery and "nation building" for the oppressed as well (54). West emphasizes the importance of moving through guilt and grief to action, toward embodied reconnection to the natural world through environmental restoration, social activism, and ritual practice. Particularly important are her reclamation of ideas dismissed by the academic mainstream—Jung's theories of archetype and individuation

and the need for a contemporary renewal of myth and ritual as means of rebuilding connections to other-than-human worlds; as sources of energies that transcend the rational and reconnect with the numinous; as containers for shadow urges toward selfish individualism; and as vehicles for the expression of grief, which “makes hope possible” (156).

*Out of the Shadow* will prove most useful to ecocritics, ecopsychologists (especially those interested in bibliotherapy), and American Indian literary scholars, though West’s careful organization and crystal clear prose, exemplified by excellent summary introductions to the theories and concepts that inform her study, would make this book accessible and fascinating to students and general readers. Scholars in the field of American Indian literary studies will find here provocative new contexts for considering familiar novels and their intertextual interconnections. West’s treatment of Native American fiction is knowledgeable and respectful; her focus on the ways tribal storytelling restores the wisdom of ecological practice deliberately defies the stereotype of the “noble savage” who performs “quick fix” magic through ritual (91). Similar to Joni Adamson’s *American Indian Literature, Environmental Justice, and Ecocriticism: The Middle Place* (2001), a major accomplishment of this work is to bring these novels into conversation with discourse fields outside American Indian literary studies, providing a holistic ground for change.

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**Patterns of Exchange: Navajo Weavers and Traders.** By Teresa J. Wilkins. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008. 248 pages. \$34.95 cloth.

Teresa Wilkins’s book on the complex relationship between Navajo weavers and the traders to whom they sold rugs combines several areas of research. She utilizes the seminal work on Southwest weaving by Kate Peck Kent (*Navajo Weaving: Three Centuries of Change*) and her mentor at the University of Colorado, Joe Ben Wheat (“Three Centuries of Navajo Weaving,” *Arizona Highway* and “Early Navajo Weaving,” *Plateau*). She draws on their studies, which delineate the three major stylistic periods—classic (1650–1865), transitional (1865–85), and rug (1895–present)—and her training under Wheat provides her with a solid knowledge of weaving in general and Navajo weaving specifically. Central to this book is Wilkins’s extension of Kent’s discussion of the traders’ role in developing and marketing the Navajo rug. Readers learn the extent of the traders’ role in rebuilding the Navajo economy after they returned from internment at Bosque Redondo. Coming back to their homeland traumatized by memories of internment, devastation, and deaths of loved ones, the Navajo encountered even more hardships: drought, loss of livestock, and a shattered economy.

The extent to which early traders like J. Lorenzo Hubbell and C. N. Cotton at Hubbell’s Trading Post and John B. Moore at Crystal Trading Post helped rebuild their economy has been a topic of great interest to scholars (see Kent;

Sarah Nestor, "The Woven Spirit," in *Harmony by Hand*; Ruth Underhill, *The Navajo*). These traders encouraged the people to trade wool, sheep, and blankets for government commodities. However, with a saturated blanket market by 1900, traders became entrepreneurial by encouraging weavers to create rugs for an Eastern clientele and by initiating a way to market the blankets and other goods through mail-order catalogs (Hubbell 1902; Moore 1903, 1911). With the tastes of their clients in mind, these traders began commissioning and encouraging specific rug styles such as Ganado (Hubbell) and Storm, Crystal, Two Grey Hills, and Teec Nos Pas (Moore).

In chapter 2, Wilkins provides a helpful overview of the rise of the trading post and the patterns of exchange among the people of the Southwest long before the advent of trading posts. Readers might know first-hand accounts of legendary traders through their memoirs: *Tall Sheep: Harry Goulding, Monument Valley Trader* (1992), *Navajo Trader: Gladwell Richardson* (1991), and the Hubbell papers housed at the University of Arizona, which are frequently cited in the literature. Yet there are few such first-hand accounts from the weavers, and one of this book's strengths is the ethnohistory project that Wilkins conducted with weavers and families of weavers in the Ganado area. Here we learn how complex the relationship was between trader and weaver. They had to accommodate each other. In order to be a trusted trading partner, the traders had to adapt to customary Navajo relationships: helping each other, treating others fairly, and establishing a familial role with the other. Successful traders like Hubbell, who spoke Navajo, became an integral part of the Ganado community. Less successful traders like Cotton treated the Navajo poorly and consequently did not last long on the reservation. The weavers also had to accommodate the traders. They did so by weaving the designs the traders wanted, bringing them rugs of heavy weight, which the traders valued, and providing the trader with high-quality rugs, which brought the highest prices. This topic has been well covered in previous literature.

What is most interesting in this book and a new contribution to the field is the extent to which the weavers were not passive workers who allowed traders to dominate their craft but rather were artists who benefited from trader guidance and ultimately created the rugs their way. They used the traders as much as the traders used them. Chapter 6 is the heart of the book as weavers tell their stories and readers learn the various ways in which the weavers accommodated traders' requests while using familial designs and allowing the rug to assume its own shape and design. Each rug has its own particular character and life force, and no trader could ever control this (see chapter 4).

This study has much to recommend. Wilkins includes several helpful appendixes: an index of the Hubbell Blanket Paintings that Hubbell had artist E. A. Burbank (and others) copy from classical Navajo designs. These paintings were essential to reviving a shattered economy and are credited with helping revive the weaving economy. There are three types of paintings: the hybrid drawings that reflect Hubbell's aesthetics, a combination of Hubbell and Navajo ideas of an "authentic" design, and replicated designs from traditional mantas, blankets, and clothing. This chart makes a reader want to take a trip to the Hubbell Trading Post where they hang on the walls. Her map

of the thirty-six communities where Hubbell had trading posts attests to his pivotal role as a trader (44–45). Also helpful is her discussion of the various ways in which early traders helped shape modern rugs: Hubbell insisted on quality of dye, symmetry of design, straight edges, evenly dyed colors, and incorporation of designs that would appeal to an Anglo-buying public; Moore at Crystal Trading Post exploited the buying public's current taste in oriental rugs and asked his weavers to incorporate oriental designs and motifs in their rugs. Interestingly, both he and Hubbell favored the swastika, a design long known in oriental art, which still can be found in contemporary Navajo rugs, although it is known as the "whirling log" and is a symbol featured in many Nightway sand paintings rugs. Also noteworthy is Wilkins's extensive bibliography and eye-catching cover.

However, the book has several weaknesses that detract from Wilkins's interesting topic. The study suffers from poor organization. Key points of discussions, such as Hubbell's contributions to early rug weaving, are repeated throughout the book. Descriptions of Hubbell are found in many areas, and one chapter devoted to him would help centralize her discussion. Using more appropriate cultural terms than *Anasaazi* and *Navajo* would strengthen her credibility. The terms *Ancestral Puebloan* and *Diné* are more widely accepted in the Native community. I was bothered by Wilkins's discussion of Navajo (I will use her term) worldview and cultural values in which she cites only Anglo sources. Perhaps she consulted Navajo elders, who would have been the most appropriate source, but she does not mention them. Native elders should explain their culture, not Anglo scholars, however well intentioned. In her introduction, Wilkins asserts that traders helped create a new Navajo identity. Well, in a way . . . , but the clan system, oral traditions, and cultural values are more central to Navajo identity. Traders clearly helped shape a rug economy, but I wouldn't go so far as to assert that traders played a role in creating a new Navajo identity. Additionally, I was bothered by her consistent use of Marxist theory to explain the relationship between trader and weaver. Applying western European theoretical constructs to a Native worldview is fraught with problems and doesn't translate well. She would be better served if she used Native critical theories, such as the work done by Craig Womack, Robert Warrior, Paula Gunn Allen, or Simon Ortiz. Finally, several authors have published books on the role of the trader and weaver. Kathy M'Closkey (*Swept under the Rug: A Hidden History of Navajo Weaving*) and H. L. James (*Rugs and Posts: The Story of Navajo Weaving and the Role of Indian Trading*) come to mind, and I'd like a discussion in the introduction of the ways in which Wilkins's study differs from these earlier books.

There are several areas she touches on that would make interesting areas for further research. She briefly discusses Fred Harvey's role in helping create a tourist market for Native goods. I would like further discussion of his importance to early Navajo rug trade. Additionally, she brings up the traders' ledgers and what they reveal (and don't reveal) about transactions conducted at various trading posts. This topic could add valuable information to the study of trader/weaver relationships. I was interested in her discussion of the



role of pawn that she brings up in chapter 5 and would like more information about the degree to which pawning influenced early trading. Finally, I was intrigued with Wilkins's assertion that far from using the closest trading post, Navajos often selected a particular post they felt would provide them with the best terms. This is a wonderful topic for further research.

*Patterns of Exchange: Navajo Weavers and Traders* is a valuable contribution to the study of Navajo weaving, traders, evolution of rug designs, the weavers, and the complex intercultural relationships that helped shape modern Navajo rug designs.

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**The People Have Never Stopped Dancing: Native American Modern Dance Histories.** By Jacqueline Shea Murphy. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007. 320 pages. \$75.00 cloth; \$25.00 paper.

With this volume, awarded the Society of Dance History's prestigious de la Torre Bueno Prize in 2008, Jacqueline Shea Murphy makes a major contribution to Native performance studies and transformative scholarship by integrating the study of Native dance into the field of dance. Through extensive ethnographic and archival research and analysis, the book provides an in-depth study of Native American and Aboriginal dance in the United States and Canada from the nineteenth century to the present within the cultural, spiritual, artistic, and political context of the work. In the introduction, Murphy carefully articulates her complex plan for the book as "not just the history of Native dance and dancers, and not just the influence of American Indian dance on modern dance, but especially the interrelations between Native American dance and the history and development of modern dance in America" (4). To address these ambitious goals, the book has an in-depth introduction and three major sections.

The introduction sets up the context for the rest of the book and to me is a must-read in terms of understanding the complex, often oppositional issues raised throughout the volume. Here Murphy presents the thesis exemplified by the book's title, which focuses on the intergenerational continuity and agency of Native peoples to continue their millenniums-old dance and ceremonial traditions during the last two centuries despite ruthless federal bans on dancing in the nineteenth century and later aggressive assimilation policies in the United States and Canada.

The first part of the introduction outlines the theoretical framework that drives the book. Murphy writes that after seeing performances by the American Indian Dance Theatre, directed by Hanay Geiogamah, and Daystar/Rosalie Jones in the 1990s and reading *Chinook Winds: Aboriginal Dance Project*, she began to consider the ways Native dance performances embody theory. She notes that this view is shared by recent dance studies with its emphasis on "the idea that dance theorizes." Although this view remains

contested in mainstream dance scholarship, Murphy observes that the leading Native choreographers whom she interviewed “proceeded from this notion as a given: that learning dance, investigating through dance, is a scholarly and theoretical, as well as political and historical, act” (10). Also drawing from Paula Gunn Allen’s work on ceremony and performance, Murphy observed how many contemporary Native dances on the concert stage “envisioned a multilayered, interconnected, spiritually animated world, and inhabited the stage as a space in which to address, acknowledge, depict, and inhabit these multiple realms and layerings—including the relations of generations and of stories across time, the agency of an ever-present spirit world, and the interconnections of humans and other beings” (12). Then by way of example, she provides an analysis of Daystar/Rosalie Jones’s *No Home but the Heart*.

Murphy concludes the introduction by offering key challenges to mainstream dance criticism with important implications for Native performance studies. The first is “contesting prevailing stereotypes that see American Indian Dance as ‘authentic’ only when practiced in isolation from contemporary culture,” away from the concert stage. According to Murphy, this line of criticism fails to recognize the cultural continuance of contemporary expressions of Native dance. Next, based on ceremonial dimensions of Native performance, Murphy also makes a key distinction that Native “stage dance enacts, and doesn’t merely portray, relationship to ancestors, animals, and land,” in contrast to prevalent European theatrical understandings of stage performance (25).

Part 1, “Restrictions, Regulations, Resiliences,” investigates the complex relationship between colonialism and federal control of religion and culture in the United States and Canada during the nineteenth century. Drawing heavily on archival materials and federal restrictions, Murphy chronicles oppressive governmental policies and federal restrictions on Native peoples, banning their dances and ceremonies. Harsh penalties even included days without food. Against these devastating federal attempts to destroy Native cultures, she then describes the struggle, persistence, and agency of Native peoples to continue their traditions and dances.

In an insightful analysis, “Policing Authenticity,” Murphy historicized issues of authenticity that continue to impact current misunderstandings of Native dance and performance. She discusses how at the end of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century in the United States, “federal Indian agents increasingly assumed the right to police what was really Indian dance and what wasn’t” by discounting “religious practices as fakery” and controlling representations in shows, most notably Buffalo Bill Cody’s Wild West Show (57–58). Although many scholars have written about the Wild West Show and stereotypes, Murphy makes a compelling argument for how this federal authority and control in effect created a “theatrical disciplinary system” with disturbing implications (23). She carefully documents the numerous ways the Wild West Show “codified for the public for years to come what a ‘real Indian’ was” and “authorized viewers—and non-Indian officials—as experts in judging Indian authenticity,” thereby allowing outsiders to perpetuate Plains stereotypes and freeze Native peoples and their dances in the past (59).

Part 2, "Twentieth-Century Modern Dance," analyzes the tensions between Native dance's influences on the emergence of American modern dance and its ironic absence in dance history. Murphy first discusses how Ted Shawn and Lester Horton appropriated elements of Native dance for their own purposes. She then provides an in-depth analysis of Martha Graham's complex relationship with Native dance. Again, even with this icon of American modern dance, Murphy addresses prevalent prejudices. Caught up in mainstream judgments of art, Martha Graham had a stereotypical assessment of Native and African American dance as "two primitive sources, dangerous and hard to handle in the arts, but of intense psychic influence" (2). According to Murphy, in Graham's *Appalachian Spring*, *Indian Girl*, by never appearing, remains a "representational absence from the stage" thus reifying assimilationist policy of the time (168).

Against these views, part 2 concludes with discussions of José Limón and Tom Two Arrows, whom Murphy argues worked against the critical constraints of the American modern dance community "as Native choreographers" (170). In her discussion of their dances, she suggests mainstream notions of authenticity and art marginalized their work. Thus, neither Native choreographer's creativity nor artistry were fully recognized as contributing to Native modern dance—Limón because of his Mexican heritage and mainstream critics' judgments that his innovative dances were not authentic enough, and Two Arrows because of the perception that he was a demonstrator of authentic dances, not a creative artist.

In terms of advancing Native performance studies, part 3, "Indigenous Choreographers Today," is the most important part of the book, bringing the reader into the world of leading Native choreographers and dances. Based on interviews and performances, this section develops a key premise introduced earlier that "Native peoples continue to engage in the Western concert stage as a tool for spiritual and cultural resilience and self-determination" (24). Most notable are discussions by major choreographers Marla Bingham, Daystar/Rosalie Jones, Hanay Geiogamah, Sandra Laronde, Jerry Longboat, Georgina Martinez, Marrie Mumford, and Raoul Trujillo regarding the ceremonial and spiritual power of Native dance, its integral connection to Native communities, and unique artistic traditions. Illuminating these views, Murphy discusses the creative process for *Miingooweziwin . . . The Gift*, "a dance of renewal and strength," based on an Anishinaabe story, performed by the Aboriginal Dance Program and choreographed by Georgina Martinez (256). Integral to the piece was the ongoing collaboration with elders at all stages of development.

Even with the growing strength of contemporary Native dance on concert stages throughout the United States and Canada, Murphy notes lingering colonial issues, tying the book back to the previous sections. She explains that dance in Canada has received far more funding because of improved Canadian/First Nations relationships while American Indian performing arts in the United States, like most Indian programs, remain woefully underfunded. She also describes ongoing colonial policing by some mainstream critics who believe that they have the right to dictate to contemporary Native choreographers what constitutes authenticity or artistry, based on Eurocentric misperceptions of Native dance.

Addressing these dual and often dueling historical and critical performance traditions—Native and Western—is both the strength and at times a weakness of the book. On the one hand, Murphy draws heavily on interviews with Native choreographers, the dances, and Native critical studies, especially in part 3, and goes to great lengths to reposition Native dance away from mainstream dance criticism and scholarship. On the other hand, more than half the book locates Native dance within larger US and Canadian federal policies and American modern dance histories. Given the strength of Murphy's theoretical perspective and interview materials, I would have welcomed more analysis of Native American dance history and performance on its own terms. This is a minor quibble from a reviewer who wanted to see part 3 continue for many more pages.

Overall, *The People Have Never Stopped Dancing* celebrates the power, artistry, spirituality, and agency of Native American dance. The book also opens major transformative spaces in dance studies. I believe it belongs on the bookshelf of all readers interested in Native performing arts and transformative studies.

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**Sacred Claims: Repatriation and Living Tradition.** By Greg Johnson. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2007. 224 pages. \$55.00 cloth; \$19.50 paper.

This book focuses on the 1990 Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) and the means through which Native Americans and indigenous Hawaiians seek repatriation of the bones of ancestors and other sacred objects that are part of their cultural patrimony. Johnson's primary interest is in exploring the religious discourses that Native Americans and indigenous Hawaiians have used to address their claims. In doing so, he argues that living tradition is not found in sacred artifacts but is located in the struggles that indigenous peoples wage over the meaning of such artifacts.

The book provides a wealth of information about the history of NAGPRA and the struggles around repatriation that have ensued during the years since 1990. The author also demonstrates a tremendous breadth of knowledge about the intricacies of each claim, and the contradictory processes that Native groups face. For example, to challenge the scientific paradigm that views ancient bones primarily as sites for research and ancient artifacts solely for their economic value, indigenous peoples are required to highlight the sacred and traditional importance of these skeletal remains and artifacts. This requires them to present themselves at NAGPRA as "authentic" representatives of spiritual traditions. A crucial issue, where authenticity is equated with neutrality, is that regardless of the importance of repatriation to their communities, they cannot appear to be too influenced by political concerns or outcomes, at the risk of undercutting, or "profaning," their claims to authenticity. Another quandary relates to the reality that although modern

liberal thought and nation-state jurisprudence concerns itself with individuals, rather than groups, and eschews matters of religion or tradition as the antithesis of modernity, NAGPRA requires the claimants to focus on collective rights, rather than those of individuals, and to argue their claims on the basis of religion, rather than reason. Because of this, rather than risk alienating themselves from the very bodies that are evaluating their claims, Native peoples must also strive to address their struggles in terms of universality and basic human rights. The balancing acts that must ensue are analyzed carefully and thoughtfully.

A central part of the book is a well-crafted argument that tradition must be understood as something that is lived in the present, that is always in flux, and in which one should not seek religious “truths” as a function of stable collective identities, but rather, that religious claims are bridges and boundaries employed in the articulation and crafting of identities. Because of this, according to Johnson, one should not seek the “one true” voice of tradition but must be attuned to a cacophony of voices. Furthermore, when the “true” voice of tradition is no longer sought, then quests for authenticity are also abandoned in favor of understanding how processes of authentication and authorization take place.

*Sacred Claims* therefore represents a series of rational arguments in defense of “tradition,” particularly in places where its meanings are hotly contested by Native people. In some venues, this is profoundly valuable. To have rational arguments that defend the intense struggles that Native peoples engage in regarding the meaning of tradition in many communities is to have an invaluable tool in legal contexts. At present, rationality is generally used to decry traditional spirituality as “inauthentic,” particularly in contexts where Native peoples struggle with contradictory claims about tradition from different locations. Too often, an inability by outsiders to locate the “authentic” voice of tradition leads to charges that spiritual claims are simply political posturing. This book provides valuable arguments for non-Native authority figures who, all too often, still have the power to make decisions regarding what is and is not “authentically” traditional in Native life. For members of the legislature, the judiciary, and other authority figures who constantly reject the notion that Native people can engage with modernity and still be “traditional,” Johnson’s arguments provide a way that traditional spirituality can be rationally understood by outsiders in ways that still champion Native rights.

Yet this strength—sorely needed in legal contexts—is also in many ways the book’s most profound weakness. By definition, finding ways to “explain,” rationally, conflicts in tradition means engaging in a desacralized worldview whereby rationality “explains” spirituality. This is particularly important in the methodological approach that Johnson uses. Although he suggests that tradition is not a set of objects but is the spirit of the people who seek to animate those objects in the present, what he ends up analyzing are sacred claims as performances. He argues strongly that these “performances” are central to how tradition is being reclaimed and recast; however, to write about spirituality as performance is to desacralize it—particularly as there are no voices from Native traditional people to accompany these analyses.

This is most apparent when he describes the actions of Native Hawaiians taking part in the thirteenth meeting of the NAGPRA review committee, addressing the repatriation of a *ki'i* figure. In speaking of the collective prayers of the Hawaiians at the start of the session, he argues against dismissing their prayers as “empty gesturing,” suggesting that the prayers be seen as a performance that encapsulated exactly what their subsequent presentations would claim (97). He describes one individual’s prayers as “masterful weavings of ancient sources and contemporary resourcefulness” (100). In general, he has high praise for the oratorical skills of the Hawaiians—describing one person’s presentation as “swirling language creat[ing] a vortex . . . wherein spirits, wars, the land, and time itself become vertiginously compressed, held together by the centrifugal force of metaphors” (106). Through his language, it is apparent that he has a profound respect for the skills of each of these traditional practitioners. Yet to analyze prayers as performance leaves no place for the sacred to exist.

Another jarring note is the manner in which he analyzes contemporary presentations, against what is “known” (by non-Native anthropologists) about the past traditions of the peoples he focuses on, and finds “inconsistencies.” To engage in such discussions without entering into any dialogues with Native peoples, about his theories or about the relationship between spirituality and rationality, is inconceivable. Many of the “performances” he writes about are prayers by peoples who also possessed advanced academic degrees. To dialogue with them about their views of his theories would have immeasurably enriched the book, in that it would have interspersed rational arguments about tradition with perspectives on tradition and rationality by Native traditional people.

We are left with a sense that only rationality is unbiased enough to make truth claims about indigenous tradition, and that the claims of traditional people are inherently partial and biased. There is little difference in this perspective than that of the opponents of Native claims in the NAGPRA committee hearings—the archaeologists and museum officials who state that by repatriating certain artifacts and, particularly, ancient bones a heritage will be “lost to mankind” (thereby situating Native peoples outside of modernity).

Because he has not entered into any dialogues with traditional people about his theories, he shows little awareness that many of the divisions that he refers to in communities are created precisely because of NAGPRA’s requirement that spokespersons within repatriation struggles must demonstrate authoritative “ownership” of spiritual traditions. This represents a deforming process, leading to struggles over leadership that are only heightened by the divisions that the return of artifacts inevitably brings within communities, intensifying struggles over who will decide what will be done with these items.

He also shows little understanding about the source of these divisions—for example, how the imposition of Christianity at precisely the time that sacred artifacts were lost has meant that inevitably the return of artifacts stirs up profound divisions within communities, which are extremely painful for those affected, dividing families and rupturing friendships. Another legacy of such wholesale looting of Native artifacts by museums precisely when

communities faced other massive losses—relocations, the loss of their children, the suppression of their languages, to name but a few—has been the divisions manifested in many communities as to whether objects should be utilized as they were originally intended or should simply be kept in museums so future generations can “learn about who we were.” These struggles around the directions in which the evolution of “tradition” will take are responses to profound loss.

Johnson’s beliefs that such divisions should be seen as signs of a vigorous reawakening of lived tradition are important; they would have been much more grounded and enriched had he worked in dialogue with the various communities he referenced in order to see such divisions from the inside.

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**Salish Myths and Legends: One People’s Stories.** Edited by M. Terry Thompson and Steven M. Egesdal. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 592 pages. \$28.95 paper.

*Salish Myths and Legends: One People’s Stories* is a welcome addition to a growing corpus of English-language translations and English-language versions of indigenous people’s verbal art and narrative traditions. The book is composed of forty-eight selections with the narrators recognized and with an introduction by, for the most part, a linguist or anthropologist familiar with the verbal tradition and with the language. The selections are then divided into twelve largely heuristic sections. The book’s goal is to present a broad sampling of verbal genres from as wide a cross-section of Salishan groups as possible. There is a general ethnopoetic sensibility to a number of the translations and presentations. This can be seen in the fact that early promoters of ethnopoetics, Dell Hymes (six selections) and the late M. Dale Kinkade (three selections), have a prominent place in the book. Not all the editors are non-Salish scholars; Lushootseed teacher and storyteller, Vi Taqwǝblu Hilbert, for example, is responsible for three selections (either as storyteller or editor).

As M. Terry Thompson and Steven M. Egesdal note in their highly readable introduction, the book contains samplings from twenty-two of the twenty-three known Salishan languages and “some language groups have selections from more than one dialect” (xxxviii). What is more, “some selections were originally conceived in English” (xxiii). The book then combines translations of Salish-language original verbal genres with English-language originals composed by Salish people. This is an important point; when myths are told today, they are often told in Native-influenced English, and documenting such narrative and poetic traditions is also an important goal. That is, it is important to document the Salish-language originals and the English-language originals. As Thompson and Egesdal astutely note, “Salishan languages largely have devolved into something akin to museum artifacts—objects for preservation, not perpetuation—whose linguistic destiny often

falls to an ‘outsider’ as caretaker. Speech acts, including performance of myths (except in English), have become anthropological events, not natural communicative ones” (xxiii). Given the importance of the Salish-language originals, it is unfortunate that the Salish-language originals are not included in this book. Various Salish-language lexical items are retained, but this often aids in the impression that Salishan languages are not so much languages but rather collections of lexical items (words that can be put on display). That is unfortunate. There are a number of very good linguistic analyses of Salish ethnopoetics that do include the source language original, and the bibliography does a nice job of pointing the way to such work (I wish to note two examples not included in the bibliography: Ivy Doak, “Coeur d’Alene Rhetorical Structure,” *Texas Linguistic Forum* 32 [1991]: 43–70 and Paul Kroeber, “Rhetorical Structure of a Kalispel Narrative,” *Anthropological Linguistics* 37, no. 2 [1995]: 119–40).

Thompson and Egesdal do a fine job of orienting the reader to the place of traditional narrative genres among the Salishan groups and to the current language situations of those Salishan groups. Concerning the status of the Salishan languages, they state, “all are at risk of vanishing by the middle of this century, despite often valiant efforts to perpetuate them” (xxii). As they go on to explain, many Salishan groups make commendable attempts to recover or revive languages that are no longer spoken as a first language. One hopes that an appreciation of the aesthetic and poetic features of Salishan verbal art will aid in such efforts.

Translations of Salishan languages into English pose interesting and intriguing problems, as they do in all languages. As Kinkade argued years ago, “Salish evidence against the universality of the ‘noun’ and the ‘verb,’” are best understood as having two broad word classes (particles and predicates) that do not match English word classes (nouns, verbs, adjectives, etc.) (“Salish Evidence against the Universality of the ‘Noun’ and the ‘Verb,’” *Lingua*, 1983). Egesdal does a good job explaining some of the distinctions between Salish and English in his language characteristics note that follows the introduction. But the process of translating from a language that organizes based on predicates and particles to a language like English that does not, presents interesting issues. Kinkade noted these issues in his discussion of the translations done by Native Salish speaker Lawrence Nicodemus. Take the Coeur d’Alene phrase (I have simplified the orthography here) *xes-ítc’é’ x<sup>w</sup>e c’í’*, which Kinkade glosses as “venison is delicious,” but that Nicodemus translates as “they are good to eat those which are deer.” As Kinkade suggests, Nicodemus’s “translations can only have been made by a native speaker; the idea of translating subjects and objects as separate clauses would hardly occur to anyone not extremely familiar with one of these languages” (34). One wishes that these issues had been attended to a bit more in the various introductions to the selections.

The use of indigenous English in many narratives—what Anthony Mattina once termed “Red English”—is also welcome (*The Golden Woman*). Mattina, whose own work on Red English and Salishan languages is well-known, introduces a speech by William M. Charley that discusses the importance of “his two



heads, the English language, and the Indian language” (297). Ivy Doak presents a Coeur d’Alene Coyote story that was told in English by Margaret Stensgar. Doak wisely includes a bit of the interaction between narrator and audience (in this case her grandson Joseph Reno Stensgar) that suggests something about the translation of onomatopoeia across languages and, perhaps, the aesthetic enjoyment that comes with such onomatopoeic forms in the Native language. Below I present a bit of that performance. The passage begins with Margaret Stensgar speaking (I have modified the orthography slightly):

Margaret:

...

His tail is wagging while he’s walking.

Reno:

*wε’ wε’ wí’šups*

Margaret:

Yeah, in Indian they say:

*wε’ wε’ wí’šups*

*wε’ wε’ wí’šups*

That is waggedy-tail, waggedy-tail. That’s Coyote (210–11). Such moments allow for an appreciation of the interactional flavor of a narrating event as well as the Salish English used here. It reminds us of a point that Thompson and Egesdal make, “importantly, a story was never THE story” (xxxiii). Such examples were verbal performances told before audiences, audiences that aid in the calibration of poetic form and content.

One feature of Salishan ethnopoetic structure seems particularly interesting, and one wishes a more detailed discussion had been given. As represented in this collection, we see that initial particles (that is, *húy*, “and then”) and pattern numbers are extremely important in the discourse organization of these narratives (see especially the discussions by Kinkade and Hymes). However, as Hymes notes, in Bella Coola (and it appears only in Bella Coola) the quotative suffix *-kw* (“they say, it is said”) aids in the “marking of relationships among lines or groups of lines” (370). The use of quotative seems to be absent from the narrative traditions of other Salishan-language groups. Such quotatives, either as particles, verbs of speaking, suffixes, or enclitics, are very common in the narrative traditions that I am most familiar with, that of the American Southwest (that is, Uto-Aztec languages, Athabaskan languages, and the language isolate Tonkawa) and those in other parts of North America (Seneca, for example). As Thompson and Egesdal note, “the Bella Coola became isolated far to the north of the body of Central Salish” (xvii). One wonders where or how the quotative suffix came to have such an important place in Bella Coola ethnopoetic traditions.

There are a number of exemplary selections and introductions to those selections. The Douglas Duer and M. Terry Thompson introduction to a composite Tillamook epic is especially enlightening, as are the various introductions by Hymes, Kinkade, Doak, Steven Egesdal, and Sarah G. Thomason. My personal favorite selection, for what it is worth and to pick but one, is the humorous tale told by Mabel Joe (317–18). That story is based on the verbal

play available to Thompson River Salish speakers based on the lexical suffix =*aqs*, which has a variety of meanings based on the sense of “protruding” (that is, “nose” and “end of a branch”). Thompson and Egesdal also include a small sample of contemporary written poetry by Duane Niatum (336–38) and the late Jack Iyall (335). Those selections remind us that creative traditions continue, and they continue in English in the selections presented.

This is an excellent book, and my criticisms are meant to suggest just how little we know about Salish ethnopoetics (here broadly conceived as the poetics of a given people). The book is accessible for students who are not linguists or linguistic anthropologists, and the introductions to the book and to the individual selections are uniformly well done. Focusing on a specific language family is an excellent method to highlight the similarities and the differences across traditions. I would recommend this book for classes on Native American oral literature or Native American verbal art without hesitation. One could certainly imagine putting this book in dialogue with recent collections on Algonquian verbal art (Brian Swann, *Algonquian Spirit: Contemporary Translations of the Algonquian Literatures of North America*) and Native Alaskan verbal art (Ann Fienup-Riordan, *Words of the Real People: Alaska Native Literature in Translation*). I would also recommend this book to those interested in Native American verbal art more generally. Finally, this book expands our understanding of human expressivity and creativity and the important role that language plays in such imaginative displays. It is a shame to conclude by noting that “most Salishan languages are no longer spoken actively” (xxxviii).

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**The State, Removal and Indigenous Peoples in the United States and Mexico, 1620–2000.** By Claudia B. Haake. New York: Routledge, 2007. 293 pages. \$110.00 cloth.

Claudia Haake ends the introduction to her book by joining Tzvetan Todorov in asserting that “it is not enough to damn the conquerors and to feel sorry for the Indians . . . one has to analyze the weapons of the conquerors to stop them from using these even today” (9). She seeks to analyze the weapons of the conquerors by comparing the forced migration of the Delaware (Lenape) in the United States and the Yaqui (Yoeme) in northern Mexico. Her focus is on indigenous responses to Removal from their ancestral lands and the effects of Removal on their identities, politics, and cultures. She concludes that in both cases the nation-state sought to destroy the indigenous societies and that in each case they failed. Today the Delaware and the Yaqui maintain their identities and cultures.

There are extensive literatures about US Indian policy and about the history and anthropology of indigenous peoples in Mexico. Haake’s book stands out as a rare attempt to compare indigenous policies and experiences

across national boundaries. I am an anthropologist who has published on US Indian policy and the history of archaeology. As a current member of a US and Mexican research team carrying out a collaborative project with the Pascua Yaqui tribe of Arizona and the Eight Yaqui Pueblos of Sonora, I was eager to delve into Haake's study. Although her comparative angle is refreshing, Haake's analyses unfortunately do not live up to their potential. She damns the conqueror and feels sorry for the Indian but fails to provide nuanced and complex interpretations of the issues surrounding Removal.

Removal is the key concept in the book, and Haake assigns it a wealth of meanings. In discussions of the Delaware, she refers to the Removal Act of 1830. She also uses the term *Removal* to refer to the nineteenth-century establishment of a reservation system, forced migrations of the Delaware, and the removal of children to boarding schools. Haake further uses the term to refer to the "removal" of Indianness from people through the federal Indian policy of assimilation and through modern conflicts regarding federal recognition of tribal status. In the Yaqui case, she uses *Removal* to refer to the seventeenth-century Jesuit *reducción* of Yaqui people to mission communities, labor migrations in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and the twentieth-century enslavement and deportations of the Porfiriato. In Haake's analysis, Removal becomes all of US and Mexican Indian policy and none of it.

The Delaware may have the distinction of being the most "removed" Indian nation in the United States. Haake provides a brief history of Delaware eighteenth-century movement from the Northeast to various locations in the Midwest and of the 1829 Removal to Kansas. In 1867, the federal government forced the Delaware to sign a treaty that removed them to Cherokee lands, placing them under Cherokee jurisdiction. Most of Haake's discussions focus on Delaware attempts since 1867 to regain their status as a federally recognized Indian nation. In Haake's view, US government motivations in all these cases are reducible to the simple seizure of Indian lands. There is no nuance in her work between the Removal policies or actions of Jefferson and Jackson. Internal conflicts within the Delaware are also portrayed simplistically; although some leaders pursued their own self-interests, Haake believes that in the end every side wished to preserve Delaware identity and sovereignty. She concludes that the US efforts to remove the Delaware and abolish their identity only made that identity stronger. But what beliefs, rituals, institutions, and other cultural practices did the Delaware mobilize to maintain their identity? In what ways did various efforts succeed, or fail? These processes were considerably more complex, divisive, and contested than Haake's portrayal suggests.

Today the Yaqui are unique among indigenous peoples of Mexico because they maintain a degree of sovereignty and self-governance possessed by no other Indian group in the nation-state. In part, this uniqueness springs from the spatial and temporal place of the Yaqui in Mexican history. In the north of Mexico, Indians make up a small minority of the population, generally live in isolated pockets, and rarely intermarry. The Spanish and Mexican governments used different tools of oppression in the north. The mission-presidio system reduced northern aboriginal groups to small areas controlled by the Mendicant orders and secluded them from Spanish-speaking settlers. In most

of the rest of Mexico, by contrast, Spanish *hidalgos* established great estates or *encomiendas* with rights to the labor, and Indians made up the majority of the population until well into the twentieth century. The struggles of the Nahuatl speakers of Morelos to maintain their lands and identity, for example, have been quite different from those of the Yaqui in Sonora.

Haake makes only slight reference to the Yaqui's unique position in Mexico. In her discussion of Spanish Indian policy she lumps together *encomiendas* and missions—quite different institutions—because both sought to deprive Indian people of land. She begins her history of the Yaqui with the Jesuit missionization that reorganized the Yaqui into eight pueblos and established the system of government, religious institutions, and ritual practices that exist today. She documents the Yaqui's nineteenth- and twentieth-century struggles to maintain their lands and sovereignty, giving most of her attention to the early-twentieth-century Yaqui war and deportation to the Yucatan and Oaxaca. Her treatment of the Yaqui in the Yucatan is thin, based on transcripts of a handful of court cases. She concludes with a discussion of the Yaqui after their return to Sonora. As with the Delaware, she damns the conquerors but does not give the reader a nuanced understanding of their actions. For example, did President Lázaro Cárdenas reinstate the Yaquis' lands in Sonora and grant them the unique political status that they have today because he was the great Mexican social reformer of the twentieth century, as Haake suggests, or because it was a way to undermine the power and wealth of his political rivals in Sonora? As with the Delaware, Haake sees internal strife and political struggles among the Yaqui as having little significance because in the end all sides supported a Yaqui identity and the preservation of Yaqui land. Again the reader gets little sense of the culture and the economic, political, and social mechanisms that the Yaqui have mobilized to maintain their land and identity.

Haake's comparisons of the two cases focus on generalized similarities: each group experienced missionization, was moved around, and maintained their identity in the face of oppression. She does little to contrast the two experiences. If Haake's goal was to compare Removal in the two national contexts, her choice of the Delaware for the United State makes sense, as they epitomize the North American experience of Removal, but her choice of the Yaqui is problematic because of their unique position in Mexico. Her conclusions—that nation-states sought to destroy the indigenous societies, that in each case they failed, and that the Delaware and Yaqui survive and continue the struggle today—are already well-known and irrefutable.

The book is not well written nor is it well produced. The study appears to have been Haake's dissertation at the Universitat Bielefeld in Germany. The book is replete with redundancies. Several sentences appear virtually verbatim two, three, or even four times in the text, and entire paragraphs are slightly rephrased multiple times. Removal of redundant text and topics would probably have reduced the book's length by 20 to 25 percent. It is the responsibility of the press and the professional copy editor employed by the press to help an author convert their prose into clear, well-written English. This is especially the case with an author whose first language is not English. In this case,

Routledge failed to live up to this responsibility. Countless grammatical errors and convoluted sentences mar the text, making reading difficult or even painful. The index in the book is sparse and spotty. The publisher produced a cheap book with low-quality paper, a generic cover, and only two illustrations. It is difficult to see how Routledge can justify charging \$110 for the volume.

In her acknowledgments, Haake states “I also need to extend my gratitude to the *Yoeme* and the *Lenape*, for enduring so that I could come along and write about them” (xi). The endurance of indigenous peoples in the face of great oppression is a struggle that scholars should certainly support. At our research team’s first meeting with the Yaqui governors in Sonora, they made this point quite clearly. If we would help them preserve their land, water, and culture, then they welcomed our work. If not, then we should go away. If Haake’s goal is to “analyze the weapons of the conquerors to stop them from using these even today,” then she needs an in-depth understanding of the historical processes involved (9). Her comparison of the Delaware and Yaqui begins such an analysis.

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**The Tupac Amaru and Catarista Rebellions: An Anthology of Sources.** Edited and translated by Ward Stavig and Ella Schmidt with an introduction by Charles Walker. Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing Company, 2008. 288 pages. \$39.95 cloth; \$14.95 paper.

It is perhaps not generally known that the Latin American independence movements historically highlighted by the figures of Simón Bolívar and José de San Martín were prefaced by several major indigenous rebellions that shook the Spanish dominions to the core.

The two renowned South American *libertadores* were yet to be born or in infancy when José Gabriel Túpac Amaru and his wife Micaela Bastidas led the first and most pronounced rebellion in what is present-day Peru, taking up arms against the Spanish colony and raising armies of thousands of Indian men and women. The central Andean region, including Peru and Bolivia (Alto Peru at the time) witnessed a repopularization of Inca identity as several direct descendants of the Inca sovereigns reclaimed their heritage in the line of nobility that had greeted and been subjugated by the Spanish conquest.

A new volume of original materials, *The Tupac Amaru and Catarista Rebellions: An Anthology of Sources*, does excellent justice to the historical sidelining suffered by the aforementioned indigenous rebels who attempted to throw off the yoke of servitude in the 1780s as conditions under Spanish authorities became increasingly intolerable. The selection and translation of original sources from the period include court claims, letters, and proclamations of the rebel leaders as well as testimonies of other witnesses and official documents, including confessions and court sentences condemning the defeated to horrible torture and execution. The volume provides English translation to

many Spanish-language documents for the first time and is a valuable primary source to the study of these events.

The rebellion of José Andres Túpac Amaru and the uprisings of the Catari brothers in the south of Bolivia and Túpac Catari (Julian Apaza) in the area of La Paz are well remembered in the Andean region. Perhaps as many as one hundred thousand people lost their lives during the failed insurrections, which caused widespread disruption of the colonial order and substantial destruction of property. Nevertheless, current political movements of contemporary descendants in Peru and Bolivia often recall the indigenous challenge of the early 1780s, while the salient figures from the time enjoy popular and even official recognition as heroes in both countries.

Many were the causes of the rebellions. The Spanish colony, even nearly three hundred years after the conquest, had not completely controlled the memory of the Inca nor had it achieved total control of the sizable indigenous populations of the highlands. As these original documents make clear throughout, it took only the spark of proclamation by José Gabriel Condorcanqui Noguera to claim his royal Inca blood and take up the name of Túpac Amaru, the “last Inca” executed by the conquistadors in 1571, to cause Indians to throw off their Spanish shirts and answer the call to arms.

By 1780, Spanish authorities, led by the despised *corregidores* (Spanish district administrators), increasingly made outlandish demands on the Indian communities. Already beset by the brutal conditions of the Mita (tribute labor system), which demanded parties of laborers from Indian communities to travel long distances for work in the gold and silver mines at Potosi as well as for the brutal work imposed in the textile mills (*obrajes*), the abusive system of the *reparto*, which forced Indians to buy imported Spanish goods at the whim of the *corregidores*, made the Indian communities seethe with anger. The fact that the Catholic Church demanded Indians’ participation in its many sacraments—from baptism to marriages and funerals—and then charged exorbitantly to perform them, added to the sense of injustice.

We read among the documents the early case taken by José Gabriel Túpac Amaru to the *audiencia* in Lima protesting the Mita to Potosi, which “does not afford them the means of return” (20). Other documents in *The Tupac Amaru and Catarista Rebellions* indicate how the mining authorities were legally made to pay for the long and arduous trip to Potosi, but seldom did; thus the Indians arrived completely impoverished, becoming perpetual slaves. The unsanitary, inhuman conditions killed many each week. Protested the would-be rebel, “the extraction of gold and silver should not be given more attention than [*sic*] the conservation of the Indians” (23). Having received an education in a special school for *kurakas* (*caciques*, or chiefs), José Gabriel cited ordinances from the Laws of the Indies to make his case, but it was of no avail.

The exasperation broke out in rebellion as the new Túpac Amaru declared himself Inca, capturing and hanging a *corregidor*, gathering an army, and taking to the field. Immediately, he issued proclamations ordering the freedom of slaves, abolishing the *reparto* and the Mita, and annulling the power of the *corregidores*. “The Kings of Castile usurped the throne and dominion of my people three centuries ago, making them vassals with unbearable services,

tributes, money, custom dues, *alcabalas*, monopolies . . . tenths, and fifths. The viceroys, *audiencias*, *corregidores*, and other ministers [are] all equally tyrannous, selling justice at auction" (67). Andean prophetic tradition is invoked in the rebellions: "the time [has] come for the fulfillment of the prophecies," states one document from the siege of La Paz (69).

The insurgencies succeed in their early stages. Military victories and invasions of small towns caused many Indians to join in. Túpac Amaru's wife, Micaela Bastidas, still today a heroine to Quechua and Aymara women's movements, is seen to advise her husband and to take command of troops. One document in particular shows her to be more keenly aware of military strategy than her husband. The siege of Cuzco, Micaela warns her husband, cannot wait. While "you . . . dally in those pueblos where there is nothing for us to do," she warns him, "we will lose all those who I had rallied for our taking of Cuzco and they will unite with the soldiers sent from Lima who already have been on the road for days." He does not listen, and the mistake would ultimately cost them the war. Writes Micaela to her husband: "I warned you many times to go immediately to Cuzco, but you have not paid any attention. This has given them time to prepare themselves, as they have done, placing cannons on the Picc[h] Hill and other such dangerous machinery, so you no longer hold the advantage" (109–10).

The Spanish army was already marching, and the viceroys enacted measures to counteract the Túpac Amaru's popular edicts. The dreaded *reparto*, for instance, was officially abolished, while the bishop imposed excommunication from the church upon the rebel leader and all his followers. Many of the rebel Indians, we learn, approached by priests even when mortally wounded, renounced Catholic rites, but many others were terrified by the excommunication and refused to help the rebellion.

Excesses were committed, including massacres of Spaniards and some mestizos, sometimes even as they hid in churches. These set the citizenry of towns against the rebels, most prominently at the crucial battle over Cuzco, which was lost to the Túpac Amaru, demoralizing his army and causing his capture, along with his wife Micaela, their sons, and other followers. Of perhaps even greater importance in Cuzco's resistance, the city's Inca nobility, closely linked to the Spanish Creole elite, claimed stronger genealogical links to the preconquest Inca. David T. Garrett points out how the Inca families of Cuzco proposed themselves as the actual "ongoing ethnic nobility," contrasting to José Gabriel Túpac Amaru's distant link as a "member of the provincial elite" (*Shadows of Empire: The Indian Nobility of Cuzco, 1750–1825*, 2005, 204).

In victory, Spanish retribution was swift and brutal. The Túpac Amaru's whole family was horribly executed at the plaza in Cuzco, tongues slashed off in public spectacle, sons and wife before the leader, who was similarly tortured and ordered to be "quartered," his limbs pulled by four horses, which tried and tried but could not rip his body apart. Instead, he was decapitated, his limbs cut and sent in display to the four corners of the empire. In the official document that describes the executions, we find the stuff of legend: "after having enjoyed dry weather and calm days, that day . . . the sun did not show its face . . . and, around noon, just when the horses were [trying to] pull the Indian

[apart], a strong wind sprang up, followed by a heavy downpour that forced everybody, including the guards, to seek refuge. . . . Indians have started saying that the heavens and nature felt the death of the Inca” (140). The Spanish go on to prohibit (or attempt to) all manifestations of Inca consciousness, in dress, books, painting, assertions of Inca blood, and even language.

Yet a tantalizing document is the letter written by Túpac Amaru’s half-brother, Juan Bautista Túpac Amaru, in 1825, shortly after arriving back in Argentina after decades in Spanish prisons. Eighty-six years old, Juan Bautista writes directly to Simón Bolívar, after the defeat of Spain in South America. “I have survived . . . to see consummated the great and always just struggle that will place us in the full enjoyment of our rights and liberty. This was the aim of Don José Gabriel Túpac Amaru, my venerated and affectionate brother and martyr of the Peruvian Empire, whose blood was the plow which prepared that soil to bring forth the best fruits. . . . I, in the name of the spirits of my sacred ancestors, congratulate the American Spirit of the Century” (167).

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Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian

**Wings in the Desert: A Folk Ornithology of the Northern Pimans.** By Amadeo M. Rea. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2007. 294 pages. \$70.00 cloth.

*Wings in the Desert* presents as complete a picture of the role of birds in the culture of the Northern Pimans of Southern Arizona and Northern Mexico as possible. Folk biology is the study of how a particular people name and classify animals and plants, and this work is a beautiful example from this field of inquiry. The name Northern Piman includes groups such as the Tohono O’odham (formerly known as Papago) and the Akimel O’odham. Amadeo Rea is, without question, the expert in this area, having already produced works on Piman folk mammalogy and Piman ethnobotany. This attractive book is an artful blend of descriptive work and personal narrative, imbued throughout with a deep respect for Piman knowledge and the desire to describe this knowledge properly so that it may be passed on to a new generation. The bulk of this work—a catalog and description of different bird species—is in the book’s second part. The first part discusses various topics that help show the importance of birds in this culture, including “Bird Keeping and Rearing” (chapter 6) and “Feather Use” (chapter 7). Also included is a thorough review of the sources of knowledge, both in the forms of documentary evidence and interviews with Native consultants.

Rea observes that folk biology is more than just pairing indigenous names for species with their counterparts from Western science: understanding the ordering of the animals is essential in order to understand the Piman worldview. He points out that a “native system is ordered hierarchically, as is a Western or evolutionary system,” and understanding this hierarchy is necessary “in order to appreciate that culture’s traditional knowledge or its metaphors.” He warns that, “there are numerous examples of Piman song,



myth, and other genre suffering at the hands of clumsy or lazy translators” (33). In other words, if the ordering of the birds is lost, their cultural role and importance will be severely misunderstood. The author’s goal is to keep alive an incredibly rich body of knowledge that is in great danger as the language and the natural environment are under threat: “More than just vegetation is lost with environmental degradation. Important cultural metaphors, adding to the quality of life, vanish as well” (248).

Of particular interest is chapter 5, “Birds, Guardians, Shamans, and Healers,” in which Rea discusses how certain animals can cause a staying sickness, the cause of which is an act that showed disrespect for that animal’s sacred nature. A Piman suffering from such a sickness goes to a shaman to be diagnosed, followed by a visit to a healer for the actual curing ceremony. Individuals who have been visited by and received power from a particular animal are known as *meeters* and have the ability to conduct a healing ceremony for a staying sickness associated with that animal. Which animals are considered sacred and which are not is, from an outsider’s perspective, unpredictable; Rea suggest one possibility that sacred animals were animals that the Pimans encountered as they moved into new areas and for which they had a special awe. He makes the interesting observation that, “It is perhaps difficult for Westerners to appreciate the respect the O’odham must hold for certain animals. In the past, it was part of a more pervasive pattern regulating human behavior toward the natural world” (47). The attitudes patterning behavior toward individual bird species are carefully described in the species accounts.

Throughout this work Rea reminds the reader of the inseparable link between environmental degradation, rapid cultural change, and the erosion of traditional knowledge. He notes a dramatic decline in knowledge of local plants and animals for River Pima speakers born after 1920, and he links it to a catastrophic change in the ecology of the Gila River. The introduction of Western schooling and the English language have accompanied a dramatic shift from an active to a sedentary lifestyle. The change in activity level, as well as the rapid introduction of new foods, further compounds this cultural devastation. Rea is at his best when he makes such links: “The ultimate toll has been the twin scourge of obesity and adult-onset diabetes. The ramifications of the disruption of a local ecology and the culture that had evolved in it continue to unfold. Not just bird knowledge was lost” (44). The goal of *Wings in the Desert* is to preserve as accurately as possible this rapidly disappearing traditional knowledge by exhaustively cataloging the species the Pimans recognize and what roles these species play in the traditional culture.

These species accounts make up the bulk of this book. Rea states that the primary function of these descriptions is to “help the reader, especially younger generations of O’odham, identify the birds in the desert and the torn scrub that older O’odham once knew so well” (92). Each of these accounts is a self-contained glimpse into the Piman worldview, and in them Rea skillfully meshes personal observations and narrative with evocative descriptions. He also includes copious examples of songs and narratives that further exemplify the cultural role of a particular species. Rea’s observations are accurate and pithy; to offer just one example, the entry on the Cactus Wren begins: “These clowns

of the desert seem the antithesis of wren-dom (typically small, furtive, dull-colored birds with elaborate melodious songs). Cactus Wrens do everything wrong” (219). The overall result is a work that is authoritative yet approachable with its combination of first-person narrative, lively descriptions, and exhaustive use of existing documentation. Rea’s knowledge in this area is profound, but he freely admits where information is lacking and avoids presenting speculation as fact. Some species accounts have a comparative linguistics note; many accounts discuss misidentifications where the result is that one “misses the metaphor” (218). All of the species are accompanied by attractive hand drawings of the bird under discussion, often drawn by the author.

For a book that is so thorough, it almost seems ungrateful to ask for more. However, there is an absence of a brief discussion of the language. The beginning of *Wings in the Desert* contains only the most cursory descriptions of the sound system, and a one-page “Orthography: The Sound of Akimel and Tohono O’odham” found on the book’s last page seems like it should be expanded and placed at the front. Adding just a few pages on the language would help the reader better appreciate the naming patterns. For example, it seems that many of the names contain an element of “it-has-X.” Because the book is essentially organized around a set of names, it would not be out of place to have a brief description of the way in which nouns are formed from other parts of speech. A short introduction to the language would allow the reader to appreciate the important distinction Rea makes among nonanalyzable, partially analyzable, and analyzable names of birds better. Because many of the birds described play an important role in Piman myths, it would also be more desirable to have more introductory material on this topic. A brief discussion of the cultural significance of colors would also be relevant, as this aspect occasionally arises in the species accounts. Some brief discussion of these topics—language, myth, and colors—might make this book more accessible to the nonspecialist.

*Wings in the Desert* is essentially a reference work; two-thirds of the book is a catalog and description of about seventy-five bird species. The main audience for the book will be the specialist in folk biology, ornithology, or Piman culture in general. For a younger generation of Pimans this book is a treasure trove of rapidly disappearing cultural information. The amount of Native knowledge contained in this book is vast and awe inspiring, and it is an indispensable read for anyone interested in the cultures of this region.

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**Women Who Pioneered Oklahoma: Stories from the WPA Narratives.** Edited by Terri M. Baker and Connie Oliver Henshaw with a foreword by M. Susan Savage. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007. 226 pages. \$29.95 cloth.

In this volume, editors Terri M. Baker and Connie Oliver Henshaw gather dozens of excerpts from the narratives of white, American Indian, and African American Oklahoma women as written and edited by Works Progress

Administration (WPA) workers in the 1930s. The scores of well-chosen and often gripping vignettes will provide teachers with an excellent resource for classroom use and will capture the imagination of what seems to be its intended audiences: general readers interested in Oklahoma history, women in the American West, and American Indian studies. The book, however, will likely frustrate scholars who have read and thought deeply in these fields.

The book's source is a group of documents known as the Indian Pioneer Papers, which were generated by WPA workers in the 1930s in a project akin to those that generated the "ex-slave narratives" that have proven such a valuable though problematic source in African American studies. Baker and Henshaw have combed through these narratives and selected excerpts. Most are a paragraph or two in length, though some are a page or more. Most of the excerpts describe the experiences of white women; about a fifth are narratives of American Indian women. The editors have arranged the vignettes into topical chapters, for example, coming to Oklahoma Territory or Indian Territory, making a home, and living with animals. *Women Who Pioneered Oklahoma* succeeds admirably in giving the reader a sense of the challenges, dangers, and dramas of life in nineteenth-century Indian Territory and Oklahoma Territory.

It does not succeed, however, in providing an analysis of these experiences as represented in these texts. In the introduction, the editors argue that together these vignettes constitute a collective autobiography of the women who pioneered Oklahoma. Yet these are not autobiographies. The WPA workers who wrote them, following interviews with the women in question, generated narrative stories in the first person. Although the editors claim that this permits "the subjects' voices to emerge unhindered," there is no way for us to know whether the questions asked and the topics discussed were the ones these women would have chosen nor is there anyway to know whose voice we hear (xvi). The editors' argument that these vignettes constitute a collective story does not bear up under closer consideration. The idea that these women—Indian women who were forced to walk the Trail of Tears, black women who were held as slaves in Indian Territory, and white women who homesteaded or purchased lands that were until recently protected by treaty—can all be placed into the single category of "pioneers" leads us away from an understanding of the particularities of these women's lives. Despite these interpretive missteps, however, *Women Who Pioneered Oklahoma* will reward the reader and offer teachers a wonderful tool for classroom use.

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