

Grua anchors this history of Lakota intervention in public memory to a solid account of traditional Lakota forms of record keeping and memorialization. In order to push back against the army's claims, Lakota survivors relied not only on American methods of documentation but also the recording of "collective memories" in groups (144). He also situates their efforts to receive compensation following the Wounded Knee massacre within Lakota standards of restitution. Outside these moments, his definition of Lakota memory seems too narrow and mainly confined to the written and photographic records in state and federal archives. Although he defines memory itself broadly—to include army records, popular media, memorials, and petitions to the government—more consideration of visual records such as calendrical winter counts might have allowed Grua to identify other practices of memory transferral in Lakota communities.

*Surviving Wounded Knee* ends somewhat abruptly, with a conclusion that mostly reiterates the main chapters. Still, Grua's book is an important addition to the work of Jeffrey Ostler, Rani-Henrik Andersson, and Jerome Greene on the Ghost Dance and Wounded Knee. By following Lakota history into the early twentieth century, Grua documents a new period of Lakota intervention in the politics of memory.

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**To Come to a Better Understanding: Medicine Men and Clergy Meetings on the Rosebud Reservation, 1973–1978.** By Sandra L. Garner. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2016. 210 pages. \$45 cloth and electronic.

During the tumultuous mid-1970s, when South Dakota reservations, particularly Pine Ridge, were rocked by political upheaval, Rosebud Reservation emerged as the site of a series of meetings between Sicangu Lakota medicine men and local Catholic clergy. These Medicine Men and Clergy Meetings (MMCM) were in some ways a counterpoint to the turmoil on South Dakota's Lakota reservations. From 1973 to 1978, the Medicine Men's Association (MMA) and Catholic clergy attempted to bridge the distance between them by grappling with their shared history. More than forty Lakota spiritual leaders participated, twenty-five of them regularly. The eighty-five primarily biweekly meetings were tape-recorded and later dutifully transcribed, with those materials eventually ending up at the Marquette University archive. In her debut book, Sandra Garner offers a powerful and insightful reading of the oral history left behind by the MMCM.

Garner is concerned first and foremost with the medicine men who attended the meetings: their agendas, their means of promoting those agendas, and their various successes and failures in doing so. With some notable exceptions, the Catholic clergy who attended and participated in the dialogues largely remain a faceless, nameless group, as Garner foregrounds the MMA in this book. Clergy members are mostly referenced early on, when they fail to grasp the subtleties of Lakota religion and

philosophy or otherwise function as barriers to the medicine men to communicate their understandings effectively. The one cleric who stands out is William Stoltzman, who organized and hosted the MMCM and shaped the meetings in many ways, pursuing his own theological frameworks and professional goals.

Garner shows how, despite the setting, the circumstances of the meetings, and the dominant cultural paradigms of 1970s America, the medicine men nevertheless were able to convey their messages and interpretations through a variety of approaches. For example, Lakotas decided when to speak in Lakota or English (all of the attending medicine men were bilingual), and they handled all translations back and forth between the two languages. Furthermore, they used the meetings to their own ends, frequently challenging clerical interpretations and assertions.

Having been marginalized for decades by invasive colonial forces such as government schools, the church, and even by indigenous colonial actors promoting acculturation, the medicine men were less concerned with finding a happy middle ground between themselves and the clerics, and more interested in promoting their own views and interpretations. Coming to a better understanding, then, was less about mutuality between the two sides (the medicine men already had a sound understanding of Christianity) and more a directive to colonial actors that they finally acknowledge and attempt to understand Lakota points of view. In addition, they sought to save their knowledge for the posterity of the Lakota nation.

Thus, at times it seems the medicine men's primary audience was not the priests who shared the room with them every other week, but rather a broader audience they so often had been denied during the prior century of colonial domination. As Garner notes, the medicine men used the meetings as an opportunity "to document and save their cultural knowledge for their people and future generations . . . and to make Lakota culture intelligible to multiple audiences that sought understanding in a way that involved recognition and acceptance rather than conversion" (77). After introducing the material, Garner organizes the book thematically, not chronologically. There is no sense of the proceedings week to week, or even year to year. Instead, successive issues are discussed in depth, with only the citations providing insight into the chronology of the meetings. Garner conceptualizes the book's main chapters as concentric circles. She posits the medicine men and their participation in the MMCM at the center; emanating out from them are the multiple audiences they hoped to reach, the spirits that guided and helped the medicine men, and the medicine men's ritual experience.

Garner's connection to the archival material is personal. She is a former Rosebud Reservation resident, and her father-in-law was a medicine man and occasional MMCM participant. For years before pursuing her advanced degrees, she had listened to him discuss his role in the meetings. Garner also had a reasonably close personal acquaintance with a more frequent MMCM participant, Albert White Hat. These relationships clearly inform her understanding and interpretations of the MMCM. For example, Garner effectively reveals the tensions marbled into the meetings, such as frequent frustration with some clergymen's hard-headed desire to funnel Lakota religion and philosophy through Western filters. The author connects these various tensions to

the broader colonial forces that fomented the medicine men's desire to advance their own understandings. Indeed, Garner even shows how Marquette University, located 750 miles from Rosebud, has functioned as gatekeeper and interlocutor of the archival materials that the medicine men hoped would be readily available to the Lakota people and other interested parties.

Throughout the monograph, Garner addresses a range of theorists, effectively working with some (e.g., Jodi Byrd and Franz Fanon), while smartly rejecting others (e.g., Elizabeth Cook-Lynn). Through this process, she builds a nuanced interpretation of the medicine men's goals and accomplishments, as well as the various forces that have historically impeded them. She also incorporates the Lakota historical experience that medicine men echoed in their own way. Particularly effective are Garner's periodic discussions of Ella Deloria's mid-century efforts to explain Lakota culture to the broader American audience.

In 1986, Stoltzman published his own interpretation of the MMCM, a problematic account entitled *The Pipe and the Christ: A Christian-Sioux Dialog*. Garner only discusses the book in passing, which is consistent with her general approach. However, since *The Pipe and the Christ* is the only other published account of the MMCM, perhaps a more thorough engagement with it could have shed light on the obstacles the medicine men faced and offered a more direct corrective to Stoltzman's work.

That critique notwithstanding, *To Come to a Better Understanding* is an important and insightful work. Garner offers readers a critical look at established Lakota medicine men of the 1970s, who too often have been shunted to the margins as valiant but hobbled resisters of colonialism, leftover curios from a prior era, or as supporting cast/spiritual guides to the movers and shakers in the American Indian Movement. In this book, they are given the focus they deserve as Garner takes care to understand them on their own terms, instead of through an outsider's lens.

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**Warrior Nation: A History of the Red Lake Ojibwe.** By Anton Treuer. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2015. 456 pages. \$19.95 paper; \$9.99 electronic.

If now it is rather unremarkable to pull up behind a car with a tribal license plate around Indian country, it was audacious in 1974, when Roger Jourdain "saw no need to get permission from a state government to drive a car" and issued tribal plates for members of the Red Lake Ojibwe (279). Today those plates show the distinctive outline of Upper and Lower Red Lake, the largest body of water enclosed by Minnesota and the sacred source of spiritual and economic sustenance for the community. They also depict the seven clans of the original hereditary chiefs and even the clan affiliation of the car owner. As Anton Treuer makes plain in *Warrior Nation: A History of the Red Lake Ojibwe*, the plates today are emblematic of two important lessons of Red Lake's history and that are of urgent significance to those interested in the