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Choctaws in a Revolutionary Age, 1750-1830. By Greg O'Brien.

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### **Copyright Information**

This work is made available under the terms of a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial License, available at <u>https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/</u> are many who would not accept the idea that the legacy of the Wild West show and its descendants was ultimately "best" for Indian peoples.

However, it is perhaps unfair to apply traditional scholarly standards to a work that is more akin to popular history. Bridger is personally rooted in the era through his descent from frontiersman Jim Bridger, and he is rightly famous for his performances as a musician and chronicler of the American West through his one-man show *A Ballad of the West* trilogy. He clearly has wide knowledge of and love for his subject, but he is not a historian. Rather, he is a compiler of known information. He relies entirely on secondary sources, quoting extensively from Cody's own autobiography, as well as from the work of Don Russell and Stanley Vestal. Research from primary sources would have enlivened the work considerably; for instance, he discusses the importance of dime novels in developing the Buffalo Bill myth but quotes from none directly.

Apart from this, and at the risk of sounding pedantic, I found the book marred by consistently poor copyediting, with frequent misuse of words effect for affect (several times), havoc being "reeked" (78), eminent for imminent (114), a chapter called "Trodding the Boards," and so on. The book is very long and could have been sharpened by judicious editing of lengthy and labored sentences.

In the end this book, while clearly a labor of love and a useful compilation for anyone unfamiliar with its subject, adds little to our knowledge of Buffalo Bill. And its most significant original contribution—consideration of the role of the Lakota in co-creating the myth of the West—is deeply problematic. The mythology of the Wild West certainly transformed the Plains Indians into unique American icons, but that iconic status has arguably served the needs of white culture far more than the cultures of Indians themselves.

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**Choctaws in a Revolutionary Age, 1750–1830.** By Greg O'Brien. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002. 160 pages. \$45.00 cloth.

Greg O'Brien's *Choctaws in a Revolutionary Age, 1750–1830* presents an extremely valuable and long overdue look at Choctaw notions of power and authority by examining the changing roles of power and culture and the coincident involvement with Euro-Americans in the Choctaw homeland in the eastern United States. This book presents the stories of Taboca and Franchimastabe, two prominent, late-eighteenth-/early-nineteenth-century Choctaw chiefs who represented two types of power and influence: traditional, spiritual power and power derived from trade ties with Euro-Americans in and around Choctaw lands. Tracing the lives of these two leaders, O'Brien analyzes the sources of power in the context of cultural transition from a traditional society to one increasingly involved with Euro-American politics and markets. He efficiently combines many primary sources to explain the

relationship of power to *ishtahullos* (sorcerers or those who perform miracles), to roles of women, and to the deerskin trade. While attempting to define power throughout the book, O'Brien provides useful information about notions of American Indian power in his introduction. Also notable is the author's use of the Choctaw language throughout the book. In addition, the book contains thoroughly documented endnotes, making it a valuable reference for the student of Choctaw history and culture.

O'Brien's use of the lives of two chiefs, who represented different ways of achieving what the author calls "chiefly authority," parallels the division the Choctaw people faced having encountered Euro-Americans. Taboca represents the traditional chief, gaining his power and authority through sacredness, his ability to relate to neighboring groups, and ritual. Taboca's power, O'Brien states, is both vertical and horizontal (64). Vertical power refers to Taboca's supernatural connection to the sun's power, while horizontal power is that derived from geographical distance. This distance was conquered through attendance at meetings with other indigenous groups and Euro-Americans outside the lands occupied by Choctaws. The author shows that Taboca used these meetings and the material items he obtained from them, such as letters, portraits, military coats, and tali hullo (medals), to demonstrate his connection to the outside world. The way in which Taboca obtained the items mattered more to those he led than the actual items. He used ritual to prepare for journeys outside the Choctaw world, journeys that many Choctaws never attempted. These rituals allowed Taboca to lead Choctaws unharmed while confronting "mysterious outside forces," and confirmed the scope of his power (54).

Franchimastabe rose to power through his abilities as a warrior much in the same way Taboca did, but his power rested in trade rather than diplomacy. It is this cultural distinction, O'Brien states, that lacks sufficient attention. Because of his trading interaction with Europeans and Euro-Americans, Franchimastabe is found more often in historical accounts. O'Brien has combined many of these accounts to provide a portrait of Franchimastabe's character and motivations for obtaining power. Although a contemporary of Taboca, Franchimastabe used items obtained through trade to develop his authority. The story of how American Indians used trade and politics to obtain goods is relatively recent. Richard White's The Roots of Dependency: Subsistence, Environment, and Social Change among the Choctaws, Pawnees, and Navajos (1983) provides such a description for the Choctaws. O'Brien's exploration of Choctaw power also contributes to the broader knowledge of how American Indians were active players in market and trade. Franchimastabe employed trade to build alliances with those who could provide him with the greatest power, and his power was derived from these alliances in the form of material goods obtained through trade with Euro-Americans. Trade items at first were mysterious to Choctaws because of the great distances from which they came, which explains their ability to influence power. Such goods included metals and clothing worn by elite Choctaws, which helped to define their status. Chiefs controlled the number of traders that could reside in or near a village and, therefore, controlled the

amount of European goods flowing into the village. Franchimastabe manipulated trade by inviting traders into villages in order to increase his power and authority. He also argued in favor of reversing the falling prices of deerskins, items that were crucial to the influx of European goods. Franchimastabe's control over trade goods, obtainable through his elite status, assured his power and authority. O'Brien writes that once more and more Choctaws obtained European goods, the value of trade decreased and a shift occurred to power derived from a political and economic system.

O'Brien gives careful attention to the roles of Choctaw women, especially regarding their attendance and participation at meetings and negotiations. Most of the writings concerning Choctaw women have involved their roles in agriculture, as well as their care of children (for example, Charles Hudson's The Southeastern Indians [1976] and Horatio Cushman's History of the Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Natchez Indians [1999]). Choctaw women attending the meeting at Hopewell in 1786, site of the first treaty between the United States and the Choctaws, danced and sang to prepare for negotiations—a vital part in achieving success in the treaty. Several authors (for example, Hudson in The Southeastern Indians and John Swanton in Source Material for the Social and Ceremonial Life of the Choctaw Indians [2001]) have described the restrictions on women during menstruation, particularly isolation from other Choctaws, but few have considered the role menstruation played in the power and influence of women. For example, Choctaw women spent the time of menstruation isolated from other people because of the heightened power they were believed to possess. So strong was this power that women were to spend four days of ritual reincorporation into Choctaw society. Such heightened power was connected to their ability to create human life, also a form of power.

Two chapters contain most of the information on the sources of power used by Taboca and Franchimastabe, while the final chapter describes the shift that occurred in the power structure from emphasizing spiritual and trade connections to working a capitalist and political system. The final chapter covers an aspect of history on which other works have focused (for example, Angie Debo's The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic [1961], R. S. Cotterill's The Southern Indians: The Story of the Civilized Tribes before Removal [1954], and Jesse McKee and Jon Schlenker's The Choctaws: Cultural Evolution of a Native American Tribe [1980]): Choctaw adaptation and interaction with European politics and removal. Attention to material wealth, O'Brien writes, became more influential on political power than mastery of spiritual power. This wealth, held mostly by wealthy Choctaw families (elites), created a shift in thinking driven by domination: "Early nineteenth-century elite Choctaws established the precedence of men over women, literate over illiterate, landowning over nonlandowning, and wealthy over poor" (112). The author stresses, however, that spiritual power, even in the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth, was retained by many Choctaws. Such power was found with the ishtahullos, also known as "conjurers" or "medicine men." H. B. Cushman, in his History of the Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Natchez Indians, described the powers of the ishtahullos, which he called "medicine men," while O'Brien provides an in-depth description of the spiritual role, as well as a distinction

between the *ishtahullo* and the "witch," a distinction that some have overlooked. The belief in the *ishtahullo* and witch, according to the author, persisted through the nineteenth century, though he does not examine whether the belief remained as strong with the Oklahoma Choctaws as it did with the Mississippi Choctaws. The *ishtahullo* provided a link between Choctaws and the spiritual world and at the same time divided the Choctaw people between those who pursued power traditionally and those elites in the position of authority.

Greg O'Brien has contributed an important source to the history and culture of the Choctaws. He combines in-depth archival research and clear writing to shed new light on the notions of power, how it was attained and used, and how it shifted. In addition, he adds to the comparatively little knowledge of how women impacted Choctaw history and helps to demystify the character of *ishtahullos* in Choctaw culture. O'Brien's extensive use of the Choctaw language is a welcome and encouraging component to any research on American Indians but especially on a language such as Choctaw, which is still in use. This book belongs on the shelf of any serious student of Choctaw history.

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**The Future of Indigenous Peoples: Strategies for Survival and Development.** Edited by Duane Champagne and Ismael Abu-Saad. Los Angeles: UCLA American Indian Studies Center, 2003. 272 pages. \$60.00 cloth; \$20.00 paper.

The impetus for this edited volume was a joint conference between the Center for Bedouin Studies and Development at Ben-Gurion University and the Center for Comparative Education at UCLA (May 2000). This unique collaboration comprises fourteen articles addressing four overarching topics: land, education and development, social and economic development, and self-government and self-determination. One of the more innovative aspects of the book, which is a first to my knowledge in the growing field of indigenous studies, is the inclusion of indigenous Negev Bedouin perspectives in a comparative analysis of indigenous self-determination strategies. This is a major new development in the discourse on global indigenous rights and is a significant contribution to this volume. The timing of such a volume examining the future of indigenous peoples in the Americas and Middle East is critical as we near the end of the United Nations' "International Decade of the World's Indigenous People" (1995-2004) and amid current attempts to assess the implications of the "war on terrorism" for indigenous peoples, such as the recent International Court of Justice advisory opinion on the illegality of the Israeli "security fence" in the West Bank.

Turtle Mountain Chippewa scholar Duane Champagne's introductory statements set the tone for this volume, which focuses on two overlapping themes: redefining the role of indigenous peoples in education and suggesting survival strategies for confronting the forces of globalization. Some of the