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a militia-true believer quite like Lee Jensen. Jensen adds a new dimension of verisimilitude to their combat simulation, making Jake the target of a kill-or-be-killed militia operation. While Jensen himself carries a high-powered rifle with an infrared scope, Jake is armed only with the remnants of his special operations survival training. Jake may not have a sophisticated weapon, but he does not want for helpers. The women and old men who come to his aid, Indian and non-Indian, have the power of story behind them, and through story they bring Jake home, though the ending, like Owens' contemporary Indians themselves, is not quite traditional.

It is impossible to tell the story of a returned veteran in a contemporary American Indian novel without inviting comparisons to the stories of Abel and Tayo. Even as Owens honors *House Made of Dawn* and *Ceremony*, story thief that he is, he makes it clear that there is another type of veteran in Native communities and one every bit as authentic—the veteran who will not be healed and still survives. Perhaps Jake's closest kin in *Dark River* is Uncle Domingo Perez. The novel's second only surviving twin is a decorated World War II veteran and hairspray addict who, like Tayo's mother, once made his life on the fringes of Gallup. Even if he still lives in his own world after Tali and Mrs. Edwards bring him home to Black Mountain, Domingo is never tragic. Indeed, he and his dog, with shampoo and hair dryer (but no spray), team up to create one of the novel's most hilarious moments, a worthy new verse for "The Cat Came Back." But then, a good story is never dead and buried. It always plants its own seed.

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The Enduring Seminoles: From Alligator Wrestling to Ecotourism. By Patsy West. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998. 150 pages. \$24.95 cloth.

This slender monograph by popular avocational historian Patsy West is best placed within a genre that might be described as Boutique History. Rather than attempting a comprehensive treatment of the cultural history of Florida's Indian peoples, the author has produced a tightly focused study dealing with one salient aspect of Indian life during the middle decades of the twentieth century: the development of an economy based on tourism. Moreover, it is an aspect of Indian life in which West is acknowledged to have a great deal of expertise. Drawing on many years of intimate interaction with the Seminole and Miccosukee tribes, including stints working for the Seminole tribal school and the Seminole Tribune newspaper, she established personal contacts that enabled her to secure first-hand accounts of how some Indian families adapted to placing themselves "on exhibition." West offers an interesting analysis of how an "invented tradition" such as alligator wrestling ensured the economic survival of the Florida Indians while they underwent rapid transformation from a traditional hunting, trapping, and subsistence farming lifestyle in the Everglades, to modern tribal enterprises at the end of Reviews 187

the century. The text is richly illustrated with rare photographs of Seminoles and Miccosukees engaged in various aspects of the tourist trade. Most of these photos come from the author's extensive private collection of several thousand negatives known as the Seminole/Miccosukee Photographic Archive, which many historians consider one of the most valuable sources for visual history of the Florida Indian tribes, ranking alongside—and possibly exceeding—that of the National Archives.

The work opens with a detailed explanation of the cultural and linguistic differences that exist among Florida's indigenous people. There is an intricate deconstruction of ethnonyms, or what people call themselves, and languages. The Miccosukee-Seminole majority that lived south of Lake Okeechobee and throughout the Everglades call themselves i:laponathli:, and their language is i:laponki. They called the minority group of Creeks or Muskogees from north of Lake Okeechobee ci:saponathli: and their language ci:saponki. However, these cultural and linguistic categories do not precisely define contemporary tribal political affiliations. The modern Seminole tribe organized in 1957 includes both i:laponathli: and ci:saponathli: elements, while the Miccosukee tribe organized in 1962 is comprised almost exclusively of i:laponthli:. Nevertheless, prior to the existence of federally recognized tribes in Florida, when all Indians were referred to as Seminoles, it was the i:laponthli: who first engaged in tourist-related ventures. Although West makes this point abundantly clear, she chose to use The Enduring Seminoles as an appropriate title for her work; it is the usage that will be employed from this point forward.

It was not the Seminoles who introduced alligator wrestling to south Florida tourist attractions early in the twentieth century. That distinction belonged to young Henry Coppinger, Jr. whose family owned Coppinger's Tropical Gardens on the Miami River. However, Seminole men were soon engaged in the crowd-pleasing shows in a number of venues, including the Musa Isle Trading Post and Seminole Village, established by colorful Indian entrepreneur Willie Willie in the 1920s. After the Tamiami Trail (a federal highway crossing the Everglades from Miami to Naples) was opened in 1928, a few Seminole families opened small tourist villages to attract motorists using the roadway. Thus Indians not only became showmen but also owned and managed some of the leading tourist attractions. This confirms one of the most significant themes of this work: Indians were proactive. When Seminoles came to live in the urban tourist villages and took part in events such as alligator wrestling or "Indian weddings," they were not simply passive victims of white abuse. Rather, they were actively taking charge of their own economic destiny by exploiting new opportunities to sell their services and handicrafts. West contends that the tourist camps were a training ground for future tribal leaders. She identifies a number of Indians as "marginal men" who evolved as leaders. They differed from other Seminoles in some cultural norm or norms and were treated accordingly. Usually they had some command of the English language and became cultural brokers with the outside world.

Several years back West suggested that tourist villages were a "transitional environment" that allowed Indians to interact with white communities gradually. This work elaborates on that theme. Although many non-Indians

expressed concern that the Seminole were losing their culture by staying in the camps, they overlooked the fact that it was not a permanent residency. They lived there only a part of the year, then returned to their Everglades homes and lifestyle. Moreover, the Seminole knew exactly what was expected of them—they were to be on exhibit. Indian men become alligator wrestlers and displayed their skills as craftsmen. The women were consistently hard at work making patchwork clothes to be worn and craft items to be sold. Even the Indian children were involved, often having their pictures taken in return for small change from tourists. West reports that in many years of research she had never encountered an Indian who felt oppressed by spending time in the Miami, St. Petersburg, or Silver Springs tourist attractions; they had gone there willingly, stayed as long as it suited them, and were free to leave at will. From time to time groups of Florida Indians were also taken to distant cities as paid participants in exhibitions or fairs, and this further widened their horizons through contact with a world outside the state.

If the Seminole found nothing wrong or debasing in spending part of each year entertaining tourists in these urban settings, there was no lack of vociferous whites criticizing what they considered rank exploitation. Numerous government agents, missionaries, and other self-appointed "friends of the Indians" deplored the use of Seminoles, especially children, in commercial camps. Among the most outspoken was James L. Glenn, a former minister turned Indian agent, who found the tourist attractions "an effective blockade of the government's attempt to extend a program of justice and equity to their people" (p. 99). Deaconess Harriet Bedell, an Episcopal missionary who worked to establish a Seminole handicraft industry, was also indignant about placing "Seminoles on exhibition"; she hoped to wean them away from the tourist attractions by finding a market for their arts and crafts. Bedell's most frequently quoted admonition was, "Exhibit arts and crafts, but not people!" (p. 100) All these well-intended individuals failed to recognize that the Indians generally perceived the attractions as benign settings in which they could perpetuate traditional arts and crafts. West contends that the opportunity to foster traditional Indian arts and lifestyle should have been appealing to Commissioner John Collier and his cohort who promoted Indian cultural revitalization during the New Deal, but the negative stereotype of the urban tourist attractions perpetuated by the government agents and reformers was overwhelming. Apparently no one in Washington, D.C. ever took the time to ask the Seminole how they felt about the experience.

The original Miami tourist attractions at Musa Isle and the successor to Coppinger's Tropical Gardens closed during the 1960s, victims of an urban expressway system that closed off access to the sites, as well as the changing tourist dynamics in Florida. Nevertheless, the Florida Indians would preserve their "invented tradition" by catering to tourists in their tribally operated attractions on the reservations. The Seminole tribe opened its own Okalee Indian Village, featuring alligator-wrestling pits, a zoo, wedding reenactments, and a crafts center. The tribe also sponsored an annual rodeo. Tourism offered one of the few employment opportunities available to members of the nascent tribal government until the coming of tax-exempt cigarette sales and high-stakes

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bingo in the late 1970s. When the very traditional *i:laponthli:* families who lived along Tamiami Trail formed their own tribe in 1962, they, too, turned to tourism-related enterprises. The Miccosukee opened a historical village and crafts center featuring alligator wrestling, and offered airboat rides in the Everglades. Today, the Miccosukee have joined the Seminole in realizing multimillion dollar annual tribal incomes from gambling and a wide variety of commercial activities. Even so, the contemporary tourism enterprises of both tribes, ranging from art and music festivals to powwows and ecotourism, as well as alligator wrestling and crafts peddling at the renovated tourist villages, are both popular and lucrative; they also provide a proud link to their cultural past.

Despite its generally fine overall portrayal of Florida Indians' longstanding cultural relationship to the tourist industry, this work is not without flaws. The major problems are stylistic and that is, of course, very much a matter of personal preference. The reader is never swept away by the elegance of the historical narrative, as the author employs a straightforward and unembellished prose style. Perhaps most disconcerting, however, is the unevenness of the presentation. To take a mere 120 pages of text and divide it into twelve chapters, one containing but five pages, raises concern that the author has made a quite arbitrary delineation of issues. In some chapters very interesting nuggets of information strung together newspaper-style contain little analysis. Moreover, some vignettes appear in several places, indicating that they were not fully treated initially. For example, the introduction of alligator wrestling is explored in chapter 2 and again in chapter 6. All the text, appropriately synthesized, could probably have been arranged in six or seven comprehensive chapters. On that same point, one wishes that the author had provided the physiological details of just how an alligator is so effortlessly "put to sleep" by the Indian wrestler, then just as easily awakened.

West does attempt to examine Seminole tourist traditions in the context of "the anthropology of tourism," finding the villages to be an excellent example of cultural tourism. Although Seminoles were not required to have much contact with the visitors, there was a degree of stress from being on exhibit for outsiders. West correctly notes that some Indian men tempered in such stressful environments often became creative and adaptable leaders. They served as important intermediaries between the Indian and white worlds. However, some historians and anthropologists who study Florida's Indians might quarrel with West's unqualified assertion that Cory Osceola represents one of the most influential cultural middleman among those who shared the tourism experience. At a certain time and under specific circumstances perhaps, but leaders such as Ingraham Billie, Jimmie Tiger, and Buffalo Tiger also have been acknowledged as leaders by a majority of i:laponathli: living along the Tamiami Trail. Also, readers would probably appreciate a few more direct comparisons with the tourism experiences of other Native American groups. The text contains one rather glaring geographical gaffe that places the Brighton Reservation "northeast of Lake Okeechobee" rather than in its true location on the opposite side of that body of water (p. 56). Certainly the author knows the correct location of all Florida Indian reservations, so this can be attributed to hasty editing rather than any lack of knowledge.

The Enduring Seminoles offers valuable insights into the functioning of an important facet of Florida Indian life that is only glimpsed in more comprehensive historical treatments. The story of life in the tourist camps is compellingly told from the Indian's viewpoint. The book's greatest contribution is in affirming that Seminoles were indeed sentient beings fully in charge of their lives, even though it may have appeared otherwise to reformers and government officials of the time. In the process the tribes formed an attachment to tourism that persists to the present day. This book fills an important niche alongside such specialized works as Dorothy Downs' study of the Indians' famed patchwork in Art of the Florida Seminole and Miccosukee Indians (1995), and Patricia Wickman's exploration of material culture associated with the Seminoles' greatest leader in Osceola's Legacy (1991). All these books are essential reading for anyone who hopes to develop a comprehensive understanding of the cultural history of Florida's Seminole and Miccosukee peoples.

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Engendered Encounters: Feminism and Pueblo Cultures, 1879–1934. By Margaret D. Jacobs. Lincoln: The University of Nebraska Press, 1999. 328 pages. \$45.00 cloth; \$20.00 paper.

Margaret D. Jacobs has good intentions in trying to weave "what were long scattered and loose threads into a larger rich narrative tapestry" (Ramón A. Gutiérrez, back cover). Her sixty-one pages of endnotes attest to her collection of valuable archival sources such as the John Collier, Mary Austin, Kenneth Chapman, Mabel Dodge Luhan, and Elsie Clews Parsons papers plus another fourteen pages of an extensive bibliographic essay. Her melding of these sources into one book works well.

Void of a much-needed introduction, the book is divided into six sections beginning with "White Women, Pueblo Indians, and Federal Indian Policy." For those readers unfamiliar with John Collier's Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), Jacobs adequately explains the climate of federal Indian policy for the Pueblo Indians around the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, and the rush of white women onto the Southwest landscape. These white women moved in waves. Some wished to educate the Indians to bring them out of their perceived ignorance, while others realized the Indians' value to feminism and felt that exposing Pueblo Indian women's "high status" would further their cause of gaining equality with men (p.72). The women also wished to preserve and document Pueblo cultures before they fell victim to modernism.

The following five chapters relay mostly the viewpoints of the white women reformers, the anti-modern feminists, and the federal governmental organizations. White women reformers, such as Mary Dissette and Clara True, marched across the Southwest crusading to uplift Indian women. They saw the Pueblo women as victims of "Indian male supremacy" (p. 24). They urged Pueblo women to become educated and independent, thereby earning their