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One quality that accords credibility to Ostler's conclusions is the fact that he does not attempt to simplify the historical reality to make it neatly fit with his arguments. Rather than portraying a simplistic story of good Lakota versus evil Euro-Americans (or good Euro-Americans versus evil Lakota), Ostler shows the complexity of the voices and desires behind the policies of American colonization, as well as those behind Lakota choices. This in-depth exploration of the character of the historical actors described makes him emphasize the differences not only between Euro-Americans and Lakota communities but also within them. This quality leads Ostler to write a history that does not indulge in romantic stereotypes but at the same time does not end up giving in to the recent revisionist scholarship that blames Indian peoples for their own problems. Without ambiguities, Ostler condemns American colonialism but does so in a very balanced way that does not attempt to go beyond what the evidence warrants. His conclusions seem to be validated by the historical record.

Overall, Ostler's book is an excellent example of the products of a new generation of historians who maintain an Indian-friendly perspective while not perpetuating the "noble savage" stereotype.

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Powwow. Edited by Clyde Ellis, Luke Eric Lassiter, and Gary H. Dunham. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005. 577 pages. \$45.00 cloth; \$19.95 paper.

This well-edited collection joins a growing body of scholarship that examines powwows as social, cultural, and historical phenomena. In creating and organizing this volume, the editors have set their sights squarely on the controversial and—in the opinion of many of the authors of the book—theoretically problematic idea of *pan-Indianism*, a term first coined by James Howard both to describe and theorize the social and cultural reorganization of Indian Country in Oklahoma at midcentury. Howard's original formulation of pan-Indianism was intended to address the new and original dance, dress, and music styles at powwow festivals in the 1950s, practices that had no tribal affiliations or antecedents and that, in his opinion, had come about as a result of large-scale intertribal contact. Originally linked to theories of cultural evolutionism, Howard's pan-Indian thesis posited that these activities represented the last stages of the acculturation process and predicted that pan-Indian activities would slowly but inevitably replace tribally specific music and dance, followed by the loss of all tribally specific cultural practices and identities. It is this aspect of his theory that has come under the most intense scrutiny and drawn the greatest fire, most forcefully by William Powers in *War Dance: Plains Indian Musical Performance* (1990) and most recently by Tara Browner in *Heartbeat of the People: Music and Dance of the Northern Pow-wow* (2002). These scholars, among others, suggest that Howard's theory is troublesome on three

counts. First, in overemphasizing intertribal homogeneity, pan-Indianism fails to explain both the persistence and, in some cases, increased development of tribally specific practices. Howard's thesis does not clarify the complex relationship between pan-Indianism and tribalism, as the adoption of pan-Indian practices have often functioned to *promote* and stimulate performance of other tribally specific music and dances. Second, pan-Indianism is often dismissed as an inappropriate analytic tool for understanding intertribal social dynamics because it fails to take into account complex community interactions and rests on ideas of primordially defined tribal boundaries. Third, pan-Indianism's stress on homogeneity denies the reality that supposedly pan-Indian events, such as powwows, actually display a wide variety of differences in both form and content across North America.

Ellis, Lassiter, and Dunham pick up on and extend these critiques in their introduction, insisting that:

individual communities have accommodated the powwow to their particular needs, purposes, and cultures in a variety of ways. Once widely considered an icon of a post-World War II pan-Indian movement in which Native people seemed to be part of a homogenized, melting pot Indian culture, in fact powwow culture began as—and remains—a complicated amalgam of sources and practices reflecting both particular and generalized notions of identity. (viii–ix)

The polysemic and semiotically rich nature of powwows as wide-ranging and variegated cultural phenomena is repeatedly demonstrated in this very diverse collection of essays.

The coverage and scope of the book is necessarily broad, with essays that discuss the Northern and Southern Plains powwow circuits, powwows modified by groups east of the Mississippi, and even powwow festivals in Germany. Methodologies are equally diverse as the collected works are a balanced and effective mix of historical, ethnographic, and biographical research approaches and feature authors from disciplines that include American Indian studies, anthropology, history, ethnomusicology, folklore, communications, and German studies. A particularly welcome feature of this collection is the number of Native voices heard; several of the essays were written by Native authors or were the result of collaboratively researched work (Ridington, Hastings, and Attachie; Albers and Medicine; Theisz; Cook, Johns, and Wood), an approach not surprising given the editors' predilection for such methods (see, for example, Lassiter's *The Power of Kiowa Song* [1998] and Lassiter, Ellis, and Kotay's *The Jesus Road: Kiowas, Christianity, and Indian Hymns* [2002]).

The collection is organized into three general sections. "Part I: History and Significance" contains four essays that detail the historical development of powwow gatherings for different tribal groups and communities throughout the twentieth century, including the Kiowa (Ellis); Ojibwe, Crow, Dakota, Lakota (Albers and Medicine); Ho-Chunk (Arndt); and Gros Ventres, Cheyenne, and Arapaho (Fowler). Collectively, these essays argue that powwows have deeply local historical trajectories that have given rise to

a plurality of practices and meanings according to the needs and desires of specific communities. As Fowler suggests, “[t]he multivocality and condensation of properties of powwow symbols help explain how tribal social and symbolic forms can coexist with those common to several tribes and, although stimulated by intertribal developments or diffusions, how they can help to revitalize local institutions or can work to precipitate innovations compatible with those traditions” (68).

Two essays in this section deserve special note. Albers and Medicine provide an insightful series of “reflections” based on almost forty years of participation and study in the Northern powwow circuits of Minnesota and the surrounding area. They provide a succinct but convincing “model” for understanding the structural changes that have taken place within the Northern powwow community in the last number of decades, tracing the evolution of in-group and pan-Indian powwows of the 1960s and connecting these two very different archetypal events to the traditional and competition powwows that now dominate the contemporary Northern circuit. Arndt’s essay is another well-documented study that traces the history and development of Ho-Chunk powwows through the late part of the nineteenth century to the 1950s. His work details how Ho-Chunk powwows have always been a mix of “traditional” gatherings for tribal consumption and staged touristic events for the non-Native population. Arndt reminds us of the extremely varied historical paths that have led to modern-day powwows. The Wisconsin gatherings of the early part of the twentieth century are rooted in very specific and local economic circumstances and social relationships that have only a tangential relationship with the origins of powwows in Oklahoma.

In “Part II: Performance and Expression,” common elements of powwows, such as the use of an emcee (Gelo) or the presence of “powwow princesses” (Roberts), are examined in specific tribal and community contexts in order to address “how various groups negotiate the meaning of the powwow’s symbols and practices, noting that if some traditions are similar from community to community, their meanings do not always follow the same trajectory” (xi). Within this section, Jason Baird Jackson’s comparative analysis of stomp dance and powwow worlds provides an extremely informative description of the sometimes overlapping and sometimes very separate worlds of stomp dance and powwow in Oklahoma. Jackson’s exploration of the political and performative social networks that form the foundation of stomp dancing in Eastern Oklahoma provides a fascinating comparative case study for understanding the intertribal social alliances that also characterize various Northern and Southern powwow circuits. In one of the few essays that directly address the problematic nature of pan-Indianism as a theory (found in an afterword that was prompted by the editors), Jackson’s analysis successfully demonstrates how intertribal social networks need to be reenvisioned as unique, complex, and often very local phenomena. By his own admission, “[i]n certain respects and in certain contexts, the powwow is a Pan-Indian phenomenon. For many people it does express generalized Indian values and identities” (192). But, he is careful to point out, this is only one of the myriad of possible social and semiotic outcomes of intertribal interaction.

The essays featured in “Part III: Appropriations, Negotiations, and Contestations” are particularly welcome additions to the powwow literature. Here we find authors who examine not only the increasing popularity of powwows for several tribal groups who make their home east of the Mississippi (Monacan powwows, examined by Cook, Johns, and Wood; and Occaneechi-Saponis and Haliwa-Saponis, examined by Goertzen) but also non-Native appropriations (German enthusiasts [Watchman] and New Age “wannabees” [Aldred]). One final essay documents the two-spirit powwows and provides a fascinating glimpse into a powwow subculture that is very little known within the wider powwow world. Taken together, these essays address how powwow practices have become increasingly global in nature, crossing various tribal, ethnic, gendered, and geographic boundaries.

A few minor problems prohibit my unqualified recommendation of the book. While I am in full agreement with the editors (and many of the contributing authors) that pan-Indianism is too blunt an analytic tool to make sense of powwows, the larger question still remains: how do we, as scholars and students of Native American lifeways, come to terms with the host of cultural and ideological practices that have, at one time or another, been described or theorized as pan-Indian? The editor’s suggestion that, “as a start we could begin by replacing the term *Pan-Indianism* with *intertribal*” is only mildly helpful, and, while descriptively accurate, it is theoretically vacuous (xiii). Lots of songs, dances, and other practices are intertribal, in that they are shared among different communities, but few have captured the imagination and engendered the devotion of so many different tribal groups for such an extended period of time as powwow. How do we explain this?

Of a more prosaic nature, I was somewhat disappointed that a number of the essays either appear elsewhere (Gelo) or are edited forms of previously published works (Theisz, Fowler, Goertzen). Further, like all collections of this nature, not all relevant topics can be covered. I was particularly disappointed by the lack of coverage regarding the actual music and dancing found at different powwow events and the lack of ethnomusicological voices in the collection. Those looking for more in-depth musicological and movement-based analyses of the very complex song and dance practices of powwows will have to look elsewhere. However it is somewhat unfair to evaluate a book according to what it does *not* do rather than what it *does* offer. The editors readily acknowledge that every myriad issue surrounding such a complex cultural production as powwow can not be addressed in one volume. As they suggest, the goal of the collection “is not to cover all of the powwow’s cultural practices, geographical regions, dances, or song styles but simply to spark interest in the powwow as something more than a set of generalized cultural practices” (xiii). This volume has certainly surpassed this modest goal, presenting a picture of the powwow as an incredibly varied and complex cultural practice and one that certainly appears to be playing an increasingly important role in Native North American popular culture. As such, it is a welcome and timely addition to the growing list of academic studies of this very important phenomenon.

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