

much in common with Paul Mapp's *The Elusive West and the Contest for Empire, 1713–1763* (2011), a work that also eschews an overtly indigenous perspective in favor of that of imperial bureaucrats. Those interested in the village politics, intertribal alliances, and the complex array of socioeconomic factors that drove indigenous polities during in this time and place will have to look to Kathleen DuVal, Robert Morrissey, and John Hall, among others.

Nevertheless, due to its unparalleled grasp of the archival sources and the detailed grasp of village-level imperial politics, this volume will be a treasure for scholars of Illinois Country, a must for anybody working on this region and period. It provides a critical reimagining of early Illinois country and the individuals and policies that laid the groundwork for its eventual nineteenth-century rise.

*Joseph Gaudet*

University of Michigan

**Surviving Wounded Knee: The Lakotas and the Politics of Memory.** By David W. Grua. New York: Oxford University Press, 2016. 336 pages. \$34.95 cloth.

Three years after the Wounded Knee Massacre, the perpetrators established a monument to the “battle” of Wounded Knee at Fort Riley in Kansas. In the unveiling ceremony, army officers and local politicians portrayed the massacre as the last conflict in the “Indian Wars.” As historian David W. Grua explains in this insightful new work, however, Lakotas did not relinquish control of Wounded Knee’s memory to American officials. Instead, in 1903 they established their own monument at Wounded Knee to recognize murdered family members and relatives.

Grua recounts these two episodes of official “memory” and Lakota “counter-memory” in a study of how Lakotas and Americans remembered Wounded Knee in the aftermath of the massacre. He traces this memory of Wounded Knee from the hours following the massacre, when newspapers were beginning to compile reports of an incident involving the Seventh Cavalry, up to the 1930s, when Lakota survivors petitioned Congress for compensation. This forty-year period includes army hearings, a visit by William “Buffalo Bill” Cody to the Pine Ridge Reservation to film a depiction of the Wounded Knee “battle,” and the formation of two different Lakota survivor organizations.

By examining the politics of memory surrounding Wounded Knee, Grua follows the lead of historian Ari Kelman, whose work *A Misplaced Massacre* addresses the public memory of another violent incident in the American West: the Sand Creek Massacre. Kelman focuses on the dispute over the massacre’s exact location in Colorado. While searching for the massacre site, local historians and archaeologists ignored the testimony of Cheyennes and Arapahos, and the fact that the massacre site itself was on private land raised questions for Kelman about the silencing of indigenous memory and the control of memorials. Yet Grua notes one crucial difference between the Sand

Creek and Wounded Knee sites: the latter remained on a reservation, granting survivors a degree of control over its memorialization.

Rather than questions about location, Grua's work centers instead on the dispute between Lakota survivors and the War Department over how the massacre started. Following the massacre, Lakotas found an unexpected ally in General Nelson A. Miles, who pressed the army to convene a court of inquiry. In their testimonies, members of the Seventh Cavalry claimed that warriors had hidden guns under their blankets and initiated the firing; that additional casualties were accidental; and that Lakota women had fired at the troops. Soldiers and army officials also asserted that the Minneconjou leader Big Foot and other participants in the Ghost Dance had been promoting a militaristic and "fanatical" religious movement (77). Drawing from the work of Richard Slotkin, Grua argues that these accusations were part of a wider "race war" that shaped American public memories of Wounded Knee (14).

In his analysis of the military hearings, Grua shows how the army constructed an archive that would support its view of the massacre, one built on the selective testimony of the perpetrators. Through a court of inquiry, soldiers' memories "were transformed into written evidence" that entered a government archive (40). When confronting later demands for compensation, the army returned repeatedly to the transcripts it had compiled in hearings. By implicating archives in the erasure of indigenous testimony, Grua's work invites scholars to ask additional questions about the construction of military archives and how the manufacture, exchange, and cataloging of records silenced indigenous voices.

Yet Lakotas established an alternate archive that featured their own voices and memories. Perhaps Grua's most significant contribution in this work is his account of Lakota "intervention" in "western public memory" (84). He chronicles their efforts to combat army narratives in the second half of the book, a section he calls "Lakota Countermemory." Lakota survivors, including the brothers Joseph Horn Cloud and Dewey Beard, who lost most of their family in the massacre, contested army statements about a "battle." In interviews with the journalist Eli S. Ricker and the ethnographers James Mooney and Melvin Gilmore, they made it clear that the commanding officer at Wounded Knee was intoxicated and that troops overreacted to one Lakota man who was reluctant to give up a valuable gun. They stated unequivocally that Wounded Knee was a massacre.

Survivors continued this intervention throughout the first few decades of the twentieth century, building the monument on Pine Ridge and petitioning Congress for compensation. They established two different organizations committed to the recognition of the Wounded Knee Massacre: the Big Foot Survivors Association, whose members mostly came from the Cheyenne River Agency, and the Wounded Knee Survivors Association based on Pine Ridge. Grua conducts perceptive close readings of each organization's statements about Wounded Knee, noting how they emphasized different factors in the massacre and, in one case, downplayed the Ghost Dance in their narrative. By observing these differences, Grua positions Lakota survivors as active shapers of public memory.

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.

*Christopher J. Steinke*

University of Nebraska at Kearney

**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